

BLAKE

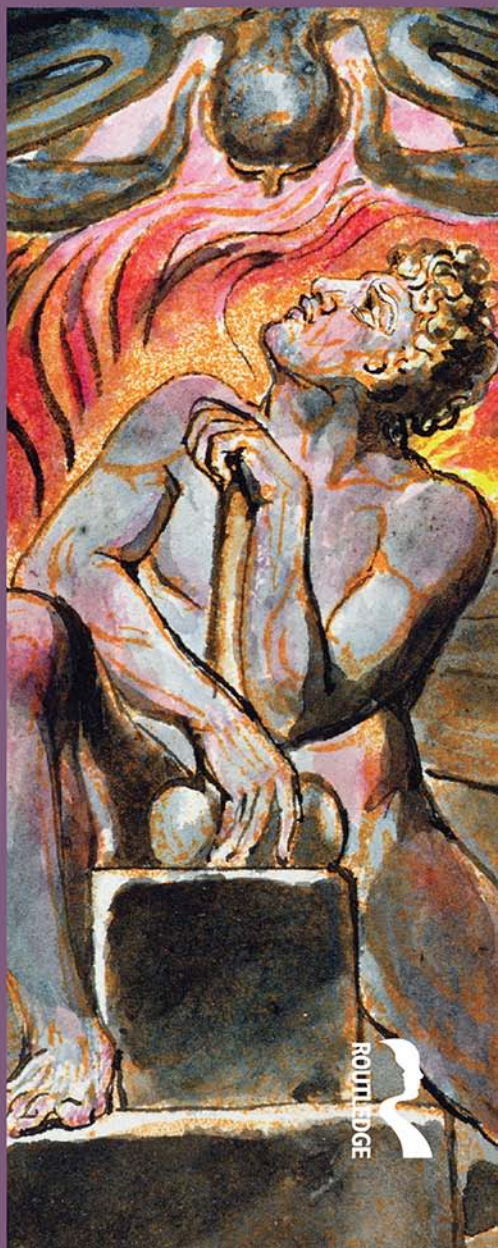
BLAKE THE COMPLETE POEMS

*'Blake is for strong
minds...but not to have read
him is to have missed
one of the most
rewarding experiences in
English literature; and this
is by far the best book
in which to
read him.'*

Victor Price, BBC

WILLIAM BLAKE
250 YEARS
1757-2007

THIRD EDITION
EDITED BY W. H. STEVENSON



ROUNDEDGE

Blake
The Complete Poems

LONGMAN ANNOTATED ENGLISH POETS

General Editors: John Barnard and Paul Hammond
Founding Editor: F. W. Bateson

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Blake The Complete Poems

Edited by
W. H. Stevenson

Third Edition

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Note by the General Editors

Longman Annotated English Poets was launched in 1965 with the publication of Kenneth Allott's edition of *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*. F. W. Bateson wrote that the 'new series is the first designed to provide university students and teachers, and the general reader with complete and fully annotated editions of the major English poets'. That remains the aim of the series, and Bateson's original vision of its policy remains essentially the same. Its 'concern is primarily with the *meaning* of the extant texts in their various contexts'. The two other main principles of the series were that the text should be modernized and the poems printed 'as far as possible in the order in which they were composed'.

These broad principles still govern the series. Its primary purpose is to provide an annotated text giving the reader any necessary contextual information. However, flexibility in the detailed application has proved necessary in the light of experience and the needs of a particular case (and each poet is by definition, a particular case).

First, proper glossing of a poet's vocabulary has proved essential and not something which can be taken for granted. Second, modernization has presented difficulties, which have been resolved pragmatically, trying to reach a balance between sensitivity to the text in question and attention to the needs of a modern reader. Thus, to modernize Browning's text has a double redundancy: Victorian conventions are very close to modern conventions, and Browning had firm ideas on punctuation. Equally, to impose modern pointing on the ambiguities of Marvell would create a misleading clarity. Third, in the very early days of the series Bateson hoped that editors would be able in many cases to annotate a *textus receptus*. That has not always been possible, and where no accepted text exists or where the text is controversial, editors have been obliged to go back to the originals and create their own text. The series has taken, and will continue to take, the opportunity not only of providing thorough annotations not available elsewhere, but also of making important scholarly textual contributions where necessary. A case in point is the edition of *The Poems of Tennyson* by Christopher Ricks, the Second Edition of which (1987) takes into account a full collation of the Trinity College Manuscripts, not previously available for an edition of this kind. Yet the series' primary purpose remains annotation.

The requirements of a particular author take precedence over principle. It would make little sense to print Herbert's *Temple* in the order of composition even if it could be established. Where Ricks

rightly decided that Tennyson's reader needs to be given the circumstances of composition, the attitude to Tennyson and his circle, allusions, and important variants, a necessary consequence was the exclusion of twentieth-century critical responses. Milton, however, is a very different case. John Carey and Alastair Fowler, looking to the needs of their readers, undertook synopses of the main lines of the critical debate over Milton's poetry. Finally, chronological ordering by date of composition will almost always have a greater or lesser degree of speculation or arbitrariness. The evidence is usually partial, and is confused further by the fact that poets do not always write one poem at a time and frequently revise at a later period than that of composition.

John Barnard
Paul Hammond

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Preface

The passage of time, and the arrival of William Blake's 250th birthday, not to mention the unflagging enthusiasm of scholars, who continue to unearth and clarify the minute particulars of his life and works, and his ever-growing audience, all make another edition of this work very necessary. The text itself has been available for a generation through the labours of David V. Erdman and G. E. Bentley, Jr. Joseph Viscomi's *Blake and the Idea of the Book*, and his other publications of the 1990s, have put the dating of B.'s printed poems, and the understanding of his methods of production, on a much firmer foundation than ever before. But the audience is far wider than the devoted company of B. scholars, and the problem remains, of making B.'s undoubtedly difficult verse accessible to that audience. The purpose of this new edition is as before: to present the whole of B.'s verse, including the scattered fragments and epigrams, with whatever annotation may be necessary to clarify the poetry for all kinds of readers.

This edition may therefore resemble its two predecessors, but much about it is changed or new, in particular the addition of both text and plates. The text of the early tracts, *All Religions are One* and *There is No Natural Religion*, is now included. These are not poetry, but they are in many ways fundamental to B.'s work, and essential for all students of his poetry and art. The arrangement of the First, Second and Seventh Nights of *Vala*, of the 'Myrtle' poems (p. 159), and also of *The Everlasting Gospel* (pp. 895ff), remains as in the second edition, but there is considerable rearrangement of the Miscellaneous Verses after 1807, taking account of Erdman's work on the Notebook. For the text of *Milton*, I have now adopted the order of plates in the later copies. Previously, I had relegated to an appendix the five plates added in later copies. These plates do intrude upon the narrative, but (especially pls. 18 and 32) they contain material that is very important for an understanding of all B.'s later work. The Preface, containing B.'s most famous poem, which he omitted from the later copies, cannot be discarded, and is now printed separately. To enable the reader to follow the poem in its earlier state, the added plates are distinguished typographically. Plates 25–27 are now in their later order, which makes better sense.

The plates have been chosen to show how B., throughout his career, repeatedly used certain motifs to express his feeling of the situation depicted in line or words. There is the serpent coiling round the tree, the symmetry of angels, the burden of stone, and the expressive power of patterned movement: the freedom of swirling upward

curves, the oppression of crushing rocks, the security of the circle. This can be only a small selection; the enthusiast or the student can supplement it from the many facsimiles now available, in particular the Tate one-volume facsimile, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Works* (2000), or, on the Internet, the invaluable William Blake Archive of the University of Virginia. However, as far as available space permits, the present selection aims to represent the scope and variety of B.'s art, in the Illuminated Books and elsewhere.

The heart and lungs of the edition, however, are its head- and footnotes. In the maturer light of another sixteen years the headnotes have been largely rewritten, as can be seen most evidently in the introduction to his culminating work, *Jerusalem*. There and throughout, the footnotes too have been scoured and revised, and where necessary entirely renewed. As before, the more general 'influences' have not been my concern; there could never be enough space for full exposition, say, of Jacob Boehme's philosophy, or of British politics of the 1790s. It would have been impossible in one volume to specify every one of B.'s verbal allusions (especially to Milton and the Bible), even if one could be sure of having identified them all. I could only confine myself to the more necessary or revealing references – not, I hope, so many that they will confuse the reader. The quantity of B. scholarship is vast, and growing. This audience deserves an edition that distills that scholarship, as far as that is possible, and presents it in a manner that can be read by all, without espousing any one school of interpretation. My task has been to provide whatever is essential for understanding. I have quoted or summarized the studies of other scholars only where comprehension depends on it; although, needless to say, my debt to them is incalculable; but the assessments of the material are my own.

An edition designed as a contribution to academic debate, with its particular demands for a full scholarly apparatus, differs from one such as this, which, though it must be based on a sound scholarly foundation, is designed to be widely, and fluently, read. Its editor must necessarily break away from the debate to make decisions on his own responsibility, if the flow of the text is not to be continually disturbed. There has been much discussion, especially in B.'s case, of the policy of the whole series, that spelling and punctuation are to be modernized. This argument is likely to continue. Some poems, such as the lyrics, seem best when quite unpunctuated, and their simplicity harmed by a too-sophisticated punctuation. B.'s scattering of exclamation marks across the page, though erratic, is often expressive. On the other hand, the reader faced with page after page of unpunctuated obscurity in *Vala*, for example, is probably very glad of the guidance that punctuation can give. Much of B.'s punctuation consists of dots which, like the colons that may be

exclamation marks, have to be interpreted by any editor; and even Erdman and Bentley do not reproduce B.'s 'long s' when it occurs. I can only hope to have reached a not intolerable compromise, without losing too often the individual flavour of B.'s page. In particular, I have written out in full such forms as *turnd*, *hovring*, as *turned*, *hovering*, etc. There has been some debate as to the significance of B.'s usage in such cases, but the evidence is indecisive. B.'s abbreviations seem intended to save manual labour more often than to indicate the omission of a sound. Except in a few places, and in rhymes, the reader's ear, rather than B.'s spelling, will determine the number of syllables.

In *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, more than in his earlier poems, B. was prodigal with his capitals, and erratic in his prodigality. A phrase such as *the Great Eternal Humanity Divine* could be written more than once on one plate, with a variety of capitals each time. In pl.67, every other word seems to attract a capital initial; on pl.79, seventy lines go by without capitals except for proper names, until a sudden burst of capitals in lines 71-77. Earlier versions of this edition, aiming to make the text as accessible as possible, evened out B.'s practice into something more modern. However, I recognize that this variability represents not mere chance, but B.'s state of mind as he copied. Enthusiasm, anger, simple haste, but certainly no set rule, seem to affect him. In short, his erratic practice seems to echo enough of B. himself, without seriously affecting accessibility, for me to replace the capitals largely, if not entirely, as he made them.

At the end of the book (pp. 927-9) there are two indexes. The first refers to certain footnotes of major importance, identified in the body of the notes by reference words in small capitals. B. used many words idiosyncratically, and I have resisted this temptation to try to encapsulate a general meaning in some kind of Index of Symbols, as Sloss and Wallis did in 1927. The danger of such an index lies in its dissociation of the name or word from its context, so that it appears to be pre-existent, an idea fixed in B.'s mind quite apart from the poem into which he then inserts it. B.'s thought developed with the years, and shifts of meaning, and the central meanings themselves, change with context. However, it would be impossible to annotate words special to B., such as *Spectre*, *Druid* or *State* for each occurrence and each shade of meaning. I have therefore given an extended note on each of the important words listed in the Index, setting it either in the place of first appearance or, if more appropriate, in the most illuminating context.

The second index is a guide to the more extensive quotations from B.'s prose works to be found in the notes and headnotes. These passages are placed where they are felt to be most useful, but some are of wider interest, as the index suggests.

For the reader seeking to read B.'s poems in the form he intended, the situation continues to improve. Readers no longer have to search for the earlier, limited-edition Blake Trust facsimiles, or one of the occasional facsimiles of single works. In particular, under the auspices of the Tate Gallery, the 1990s saw the production of facsimiles of all the illuminated works, in two forms: in expansive volumes with valuable introductions, elucidating B.'s methods of production, besides some useful annotations; and also in a single volume with minimal introductions but containing all the illuminated poems at once. I have continued to refer in my notes to David Erdman's *The Illuminated Blake* (New York 1974), with its helpful commentary, and *The Complete Graphic Works of William Blake*, ed. David Bindman (London 1978), as the most useful references for the designs.

An edition whose primary purpose is to assist the reader rather than to establish a text leans heavily, as I have already remarked, on the great textual scholars. The first edition was prepared in collaboration with David Erdman, who supplied the basic text, at a time when he was still wrestling with the many problems that it contained, for in spite of Keynes's sterling work numerous errors survived in the text. Although the time for such collaboration is now past, it would be churlish not to admit the debt of all scholars to Prof. Erdman's work. Without it the foundations of any edition would be very shaky indeed. One must also pay tribute to his colleague in B. and sparring-partner, G. E. Bentley, Jr, the value of whose meticulous labours in the text, and in the production of such works as *Blake Records* and *Blake Books*, is inestimable.

In previous editions, I have expressed my gratitude to M. J. Tolley, Dr Rachel Bromwich, and Prof. Earl Miner and others acknowledged in the notes, and my debt to them remains as high as ever. I must also add to the list Mrs Maria Stockl and Rev. Stanley Wilton, for their expert assistance, and Prof. Christopher M. Williams, who has pointed me towards more than one amendment in the notes.

The present General Editors of the series, John Barnard and Paul Hammond, have given me all the leeway I could want in the process of preparing this revision, and I must thank too, the staff at Pearson, who have been helpful and efficient throughout, particularly Philip Langeskov, the commissioning editor, without whom there would have been no revised edition at all. And none of us must forget F. W. Bateson, whose child this series was, and who gave me the forbidding but rewarding opportunity to edit B. in this way for the first time. We did not agree on every detail, and particularly on that thorny question of punctuation; but without his guidance this work could not have been the success it has proved.

Chronological Table of the Life and Work of William Blake

- 1741 Heinrich Füsslich (later anglicized as Henry Fuseli) and James Barry born (later artist-friends of B.).
- 1745 William Hayley born.
- 1752 (*October 15*) James Blake and Catherine Armitage married.
- 1753 (*July 10*) James Blake, William's brother, born.
- 1755 John Flaxman and Thomas Stothard born.
- 1757 (*November 28*) William Blake born, at 28 Broad Street, near Golden Square, London (now Broadwick St, W. 1).
- 1760 (*March 20*) John Blake born.
- 1762 (*June 19*) Robert Blake, William's favourite brother, born.
- 1764 (*January 7*) Catherine Elizabeth, the only sister, born.
- 1767 or '68 B. begins to attend Henry Parr's drawing school in the Strand (he attended no other school).
- c. 1769 Begins to write some of the lyrics later printed in *Poetical Sketches*.
- 1772 (*August 4*) Apprenticed to James Basire, engraver.
- 1773 Engraves plate called 'Joseph of Arimathea' after a drawing from Michaelangelo (first state; B.'s earliest engraving known).
- 1774 After difficulties with other apprentices, sent to make drawings in Westminster Abbey.
- 1774-76 Jacob Bryant, *A New System of Ancient Mythology*.
- 1775 Outbreak of War of Independence in America.
- 1777 According to the 'ADVERTISEMENT' in *Poetical Sketches*, the last of these poems were written in this year.
- 1778 John Varley, B.'s friend from 1819, born.
- 1779 (*October 8*) End of apprenticeship; admitted to the Royal Academy as student, under G. M. Moser. About this time, made drawing of *Edward and Elenor*, and water-colour of *The Penance of Jane Shore*. Begins to receive engraving work from booksellers, including Joseph Johnson. Meets Flaxman.
- 1780 Original drawing for the *Glad Day* engraving. Exhibited at the Royal Academy for the first time – a water-colour of *The Death of Earl Goodwin*. About this time, meets his lifelong friend, George Cumberland (1754-1848). In summer, briefly arrested while sketching with friends on the Medway.

- (June 4–6) Caught up in the Gordon Riots of June 2–8, and witness of the burning of Newgate Prison.
- 1782 (August 18) Marries Catherine Sophia Boucher (b. 1762), whom he had met in 1781. They go to live at 23 Green Street, Leicester Fields (now Leicester Square). About this time, a member of the circle of artists, including Flaxman, Stothard, and poss. Cumberland, regularly entertained by Mrs Harriet Mathew.
- 1783 *Poetical Sketches* printed at the expense of John Flaxman and Rev. A. S. Mathew, but not published; the copies given to B. for private distribution.
- 1784 Goes into partnership with James Parker in a print-shop at 27 Broad Street. Exhibits at the Royal Academy. Meets Josiah Wedgwood, the master potter. (c. July 2) B.'s father dies. (Autumn) Writing 'An Island in the Moon'.
- 1785 Late in the year, leaves the partnership and goes to live at 28 Poland Street. Exhibits again at the R.A.
- 1787 (February 11) Burial of B.'s brother Robert, died of consumption.
- 1788 'W. Blake's original stereotype' – probably the set of small tracts *All Religions are One. There is no Natural Religion* perhaps this year, or left to 1793.
- 1788–89 Writes *Tiriel*; annotates Fuseli's translation of Lavater's *Aphorisms* and Swedenborg's *Wisdom of Angels*. On the fringe of the Swedenborgian Society.
- 1789 (June) Beginning of the French Revolution. *Thel* and *Songs of Innocence* engraved.
- 1790 Hostile annotation of Swedenborg's *Divine Providence*.
- 1790–91 *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. French Revolution*, printed for Joseph Johnson but not published.
- 1791 (April 18) Rejection of Bill in Commons to abolish slave trade (this campaign is reflected in *Visions*). Illustrates Mary Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories from Real Life*. Begins engravings for Stedman (see 1796). By the second quarter of the year, has moved to 13 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth. First Part of Paine's *Rights of Man* (Pt. II, 1792). Erasmus Darwin, *Botanic Garden*, illustrated by B.
- 1791–92 *America*, first form, may be written and partly engraved. Begins to write lyrics in Notebook, on pp. 115–109 (reversed), and *Visions*. Perhaps also new endings to *Tiriel* and *Thel*.

- 1792 (April 23) Commons pass ineffective motion calling for end of slave trade.
(c. September 7) Death of B.'s mother.
'Fayette' lyrics end series of verses in Notebook.
- 1793 (January 21) Execution of Louis XVI.
(February 1) Britain goes to war with France.
William Godwin's *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*.
Writes and engraves *America*.
For Children; The Gates of Paradise.
(October 10) Prospectus advertising *Innocence, Thel, Marriage, Visions, America* and *Experience*.
- 1794 William Boucher, B.'s father-in-law, dies.
Songs of Innocence and of Experience first published in combined volume.
Europe and 'First' *Book of Urizen* engraved.
Engaged to make designs for Young's *Night Thoughts*.
- 1794-95 Large colour prints, incl., *Newton, Nebuchadnezzar, Pity, Elohim Creating Adam*.
- 1795 *Song of Los* (*Africa* and *Asia*); *Books of Ahania* and *Los* engraved.
- 1796 Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Year's Expedition* (in) *Surinam*, publ., with engravings by B.
(June 27) First plates of Young's *Night Thoughts* engraved; B. made 537 drawings, of which 43 were selected and engraved.
- 1797 Engravings for *Night Thoughts* completed.
Vala, or The Death and Judgment of the Ancient Man, A Dream of Nine Nights, projected and begun.
Illustrates Gray and writes dedicatory poem.
- 1798 2nd edn. of *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* bought, and annotated by B. between 1798 and 1808; so also Bacon's *Essays*.
Appearance of *Lyrical Ballads*, by Wordsworth and Coleridge.
- 1800 Flaxman encourages Hayley to employ B.
First of series of 80 water-colours on biblical subjects; most painted 1803-6 for Butts.
Probable date of 'When Klopstock England defied'.
(September 18) Moves to Felpham, to live in a cottage rented for him by Hayley.
(October 5) *Little Tom the Sailor*, a broadsheet ballad by Hayley, engraved by B. and sold for charity.
- 1800-3 Work on altered *Vala*, and *Milton*.
- 1802 (March 27) Peace of Amiens.

- (*June*) First of series of Hayley's *Ballads on Anecdotes relating to Animals*, with B.'s engravings.
- (*November 22*) Two letters to Butts, indicating dissatisfaction with Hayley's interference with his private work at Felpham (see p. 484).
- 1803 (*January 30*) Letter to B.'s brother James, complaining of Hayley's envy, referring to Catherine's illness, and stating intention of leaving Felpham.
- (*April 25*) Letter to Butts mentioning 'the Spiritual Acts of my three years Slumber on the banks of the Ocean' and 'my long Poem descriptive of those Acts . . . an immense number of verses on One Grand Theme'.
- (*May 10*) War with France renewed.
- (*August 12*) Warrant issued for B.'s arrest on a charge of assault and seditious words, 'taken out against me by [Schofield, whose] enmity arises from my having turned him out of my garden'. About this time, writing some of the 'Pickering MS' poems.
- (*September*) Returns to London, and goes to live in rooms at 17 South Molton Street.
- 1804 (*January 11-12*) Trial and acquittal at Chichester Quarter Sessions.
- Titlepages of *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, intended to have 12 and 28 chapters respectively. Probable completion of *Milton* (engraved c. 1809).
- Visits to Truchsessian Gallery, where 'I was again enlightened with the light I enjoyed in my youth, and which has for exactly twenty years been closed from me'.
- 1805 'Pickering MS' copied?
- (*October 18*) Flaxman writes to Hayley that 'Mr Cromek has employed Blake to make a set of forty drawings from Blair's poem of *The Grave*, twenty of which he proposes to have engraved by the designer . . .'
- Samuel Palmer and Frederick Tatham, B.'s disciples in old age, born.
- 1806 B. works on his painting of the *Canterbury Pilgrims*.
- B. H. Malkin's *A Father's Memoirs of his Child*, including in the dedicatory epistle to Thos Johnes biographical details of B., with examples of his verse: 'How sweet I roamed' and 'I love the jocund dance' from *Poetical Sketches*; 'The Divine Image', 'Holy Thursday', 'Laughing Song' from *Innocence*; 'The Tiger' from *Experience*.
- (*June*) Letter to *Bell's Weekly Messenger* defending Fuseli's art.

- Death of James Barry.
- 1807 (May) Stothard's *Canterbury Pilgrims* exhibited. B. believes the idea to have been stolen from him. Cromeck writes an insulting letter to B., having previously given the engraving work on *The Grave* to Schiavonetti.
- 1807-8 Makes *Paradise Lost* water-colours for Butts.
- 1808 (January 18) Writes to Ozias Humphrey that he has completed painting of *The Last Judgment*, and describes it. Publication of Cromeck's edition of *The Grave*, with portrait of B. by Phillips, and dedicatory poem to the Queen by B.
- (August 7) B.'s *Grave* designs attacked by Robert Hunt in *The Examiner*.
- Notebook epigrams continue; further annotation to Reynold's *Discourses*.
- 1809 (May 15) MS date on advertisement of B.'s exhibition, which includes his *Canterbury Pilgrims* painting, and the *Spiritual Forms* of Pitt and Nelson.
- (May-September) Exhibition at 28 Broad Street; *Descriptive Catalogue* also printed for this exhibition, which fails to attract the attention and fame hoped for. Visited by Crabb Robinson and Southey.
- (September 17) Attack on the exhibition in *The Examiner*, describing B. as an 'unfortunate lunatic' and his paintings as 'the wild effusions of a distempered brain'.
- (December) Death of Johnson, the bookseller.
- 1809-10 Engraving of *Milton* (first stage, without the extra plates). More Notebook epigrams; B. begins an engraving of the *Canterbury Pilgrims*: plans a further exhibition for 1810, and drafts the so-called 'Public Address' in the Notebook, and also the commentary 'The Vision of the Last Judgment, For the Year 1810: Additions to Blake's Catalogue of Pictures &c'.
- 1810 (March) Death of Ozias Humphrey.
- (June 7) Death of Schiavonetti from consumption.
- 1810-12 ?Work on *Jerusalem* (engraved 1819-20); perhaps late changes to *Vala*, renamed *The Four Zoas*.
- 1811 (July 24) Crabb Robinson records that Southey had visited B. and had seen *Jerusalem*.
- (December 26) Reduced plate of part of *Canterbury Pilgrims* engraved.
- 1812 *The Prologue . . . of the Canterbury Pilgrims* published, to draw attention to B.'s full engraving.
- (March 12) Death of Cromeck from consumption.

- Exhibits three pictures at Associated Artists in Water Colour.
- 1814 Begins to engrave Flaxman's designs for Longmans' edition of *Hesiod*.
- 1815 End of Napoleonic war; period of general economic depression follows. B. very poor: engraves designs for Wedgwood's chinaware catalogues, 1815-17.
Visits Royal Academy to draw the Laocoön.
- 1816 Water-colours of Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, *Comus*, etc.
- 1817 *Hesiod* published.
- 1818 (June 9) Letter with price-list of illuminated books, not incl. *Marriage* or *Jerusalem*; *Innocence* and *Experience* quoted separately; *Milton* in its enlarged form of 50 plates. *Everlasting Gospel* (approx. date).
- 1818 Begins series of *Job* water-colours for Butts.
- 1818-27 In his last years (dates uncertain) revises *The Gates of Paradise* (see 1793) as *For the Sexes*; works on *The Everlasting Gospel*, etc.
- 1819 Meets Varley; draws 'Visionary Heads'.
- 1820 First copy of *Jerusalem* printed.
Designs and engraves woodcuts for Thornton's *Virgil* (the only woodcuts B. ever did).
September issue of *London Magazine* contains a facetious allusion to *Jerusalem* by Thomas Wainewright.
- 1821 Sells collection of prints.
Paints new series of *Job* water-colours for Linnell, who buys *Jerusalem* and other illuminated books.
Removes to lodgings at 3 Fountain Court, Strand.
- 1822 Receives donation of £25 from the Royal Academy.
The Ghost of Abel, B.'s last illuminated book.
- 1823 (March 25) Agreement with Linnell to engrave *Job* designs, at L.'s risk; B. assured of £100, plus up to £10 from the profits (if any).
- 1824 Begins *Pilgrim's Progress* water-colours.
Death of James Blake.
Letter of uncertain date refers to B.'s illness.
(October 9) Samuel Palmer introduced to B.
- 1824-27 Drawings illustrating *The Book of Enoch*.
- 1825 (March) *Job* completed. Begins Dante drawings, making 100 between 1825 and 1827, and engraving seven.
(April 16) Death of Fuseli.
(December 10) Crabb Robinson's first visit to B.

- 1826 (*February 1*) Writes to Linnell referring to renewed illness: so also 31 March and 19 May.
 (*March*) Publication of *Job*.
 (*July 2, 5, 16, 29*) Writes to Linnell on attacks and recessions of illness.
 (*December 7*) Death of Flaxman.
- 1827 Begins Dante engravings.
 (*April 12*) Writes to Cumberland: 'I have been very near the gates of death, and have returned very weak and an old man, feeble and tottering, but not in spirit and life . . .' Gives price-list of illuminated books: *Jerusalem*, *Thel*, *Visions*, *Songs* (combined), *America*, *Europe*, *Urizen*. Promises to engrave C.'s visiting-card (eventually his last engraving).
 Satiric annotations to Thornton's *New Translation of the Lord's Prayer*.
 (*July 3*) Writes to Linnell: 'I must not go on in a youthful style . . . I have been yellow, accompanied by all the old symptoms'.
 (*August*) Colours copy of his *Ancient of Days* engraving for Tatham.
 (*August 12*) Dies, at 6 p.m., 'the exact moment almost unperceived' (Gilchrist).
- 1831 (*October 18*) Death of Catherine Blake.

(For full details and documentation of B.'s life, see G. E. Bentley: *Blake Records*, Oxford 1969; *Supplement*, 1988; and *The Stranger from Paradise*, 2001.)

Abbreviations

<i>Adlard</i>	John Adlard, <i>Sports of Cruelty</i> , London, 1792.
<i>Bentley</i>	<i>William Blake's Writings</i> , ed. G. E. Bentley, 2 vols., Oxford 1978.
<i>BIB</i>	Joseph Viscomi, <i>Blake and the Idea of the Book</i> , Princeton, 1993.
<i>BNYPL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the New York Public Library</i> .
<i>BQ</i>	<i>Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly</i> (originally <i>The Blake Newsletter</i>).
<i>BR</i>	<i>Blake Records</i> , ed. G. E. Bentley, Oxford, 1969.
<i>Bray</i>	William Bray, <i>Sketch of a Tour into Derbysire and Yorkshire</i> , London, 1782.
<i>BRS</i>	<i>Blake Records Supplement</i> , ed. G. E. Bentley, Oxford, 1995.
<i>CGW</i>	<i>The Complete Graphic Works of William Blake</i> , compiled by David Bindman and Deirdre Toomey, London 1978, 1986.
<i>Cordiner</i>	Charles Cordiner, <i>Antiquities and Scenery of the North of Scotland</i> , London, 1780.
<i>EIB</i>	Bindman, D (gen. editor): M. Eaves, R. Essick, J, Viscomi, eds., <i>Early Illuminated Books</i> , 1994.
<i>Erdman</i>	<i>The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake</i> , ed. David V. Erdman, Commentary by Harold Bloom, Newly Revised Edition, New York, 1988.
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i> .
<i>IB</i>	<i>The Illuminated Blake</i> , ed. David V. Erdman, New York, 1974.
<i>Magno</i>	<i>The Four Zoas</i> , ed. C. T. Magno and David V. Erdman, London, 1987.
<i>Marriage</i>	<i>The Marriage of Heaven and Hell</i> .
<i>NB</i>	<i>The Notebook of William Blake</i> , ed., with facsimile, David V. Erdman, Oxford, 1973.
<i>N & Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i> (New Series).
<i>PAE</i>	David V. Erdman, <i>Blake: Prophet against Empire</i> , 3 rd edn. rev., Princeton 1977.
<i>PD</i>	<i>The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake</i> , ed. Martin Butlin, New Haven and London, 1981.
<i>Raine</i>	Kathleen Raine, <i>Blake and Tradition</i> , 2 vols., London, 1969.
<i>SFP</i>	G. E. Bentley, <i>The Stranger from Paradise, A Biography of William Blake</i> , London, 2001.

<i>SIE</i>	<i>Songs of Innocence and of Experience</i> , ed. Andrew Lincoln, London, 1993.
<i>SiR</i>	<i>Studies in Romanticism</i> .
<i>Visions</i>	<i>Visions of the Daughters of Albion</i> .
<i>VLJ</i>	Commentary on 'A Vision of the Last Judgement', identified by <i>NB</i> page no.
L, R	(in notes on designs) left, right.
pl.	plate (i.e., a page of an illuminated book).
st.	stanza.
<i>1st rdg del.</i>	first (deleted) reading.

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THE POEMS

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I Poetical Sketches

This collection is the fruit of B.'s association with the artists' circle of the Rev. A. S. Mathew and his wife. (B.'s biographer, Alexander Gilchrist, gave the name inaccurately as 'Henry Mathew', following J. T. Smith.) Although some at least of the poems had been written before this association (they are given here in the order of the only edition), it was doubtless the enthusiasm of Mathew and his friends that caused some fifty copies of the poems to be printed – though they seem to have circulated only privately. If the 'Advertisement' is accurate, the outside dates of composition are 1768–77; there is therefore a gap of six years before the printing in 1783. Perhaps Mathew (who probably wrote the 'Advertisement') stretched a point; the more sophisticated poems may have been written under the influence of the 'salon', but there is no evidence for this. B. was certainly writing the poems which appear in *An Island in the Moon* around 1784.

Poetical Sketches contains a number of B.'s most obviously attractive- and derivative-work. Yet there is little direct borrowing, and it would be truer to say that, even at this early stage, he is experimenting with verse forms, and has formed for himself a style as individual as Collins's and Akenside's – though he has learnt from such writers of his father's generation as well but he bypasses the standard sonnet form. The notes on *To Spring* and 'My silks and fine array' illustrate the typical difficulty of relating apparently secondhand phrases to any precise original, and show that B. rather made a chosen style of his own than plagiarized other poets.

For 'To the Nightingale', attributed to B., see p. 913.

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS

I TO SPRING

O thou with dewy locks, who lookest down
Through the clear windows of the morning, turn

¶ [1 i. *dewy locks*] The association of *morning* and *dew* is a commonplace of Elizabethan poetry and the Petrarchan tradition as a whole; and the image of the god or goddess (often Aurora herself) rising from bed and looking out on to the world is almost as widespread. B. has adapted this dawn convention to a Spring dawn in particular; it is significant that he goes much farther than the conventions in realizing the figure of his 'angel' – her *locks, eyes, feet, garments*, etc. The blank verse, with its near-regularity, its shortness of clause, contrasted with the looseness of its line endings, follows Akenside rather than Milton.

Thine angel eyes upon our western isle,
Which in full choir hails thy approach, O Spring!

- 5 The hills tell each other, and the listening
Valleys hear; all our longing eyes are turned
Up to thy bright pavilions. Issue forth,
And let thy holy feet visit our clime.

- Come o'er the eastern hills, and let our winds
10 Kiss thy perfumed garments; let us taste
Thy morn and evening breath; scatter thy pearls
Upon our love-sick land that mourns for thee.

- O deck her forth with thy fair fingers. Pour
Thy soft kisses on her bosom, and put
15 Thy golden crown upon her languished head,
Whose modest tresses were bound up for thee.

II TO SUMMER

- O thou, who passest through our valleys in
Thy strength, curb thy fierce steeds, allay the heat
That flames from their large nostrils! Thou, O Summer,
Oft pitched'st here thy golden tent, and oft
5 Beneath our oaks has slept, while we beheld
With joy thy ruddy limbs and flourishing hair.

- Beneath our thickest shades we oft have heard
Thy voice, when noon upon his fervid car
Rode o'er the deep of heaven; beside our springs
10 Sit down, and in our mossy valleys, on
Some bank beside a river clear, throw thy
Silk draperies off, and rush into the stream:
Our valleys love the Summer in his pride.

Our bards are famed who strike the silver wire;

i 5-6. This is, evidently, 'biblical', with its naive personification and its antithetical clauses: but it is B.'s own, not derived directly from any passage in the Bible.

i 7. *pavilions*] Used in the Bible rarely, and only of dark places; but Milton has 'pavilions numberless . . . celestial tabernacles' (*Paradise Lost* v 653-4).

i 9. *Come . . . hills*] In the convention of e.g. *Hamlet* I i 166: 'the morn . . . Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastward hill', itself not an original image.

i 15. *languished head*] Occurs twice in Milton: *Comus* 744 and *Samson Agonistes* 118-19, where Samson ' . . . lies at random, carelessly diffused, / With languished head unproppe'd'.

ii 6. Cp. *Notebook* (1791-92, p. 169, no. xxxvi): 'the ruddy limbs and flaming hair'.

- 15 Our youth are bolder than the southern swains;
Our maidens fairer in the sprightly dance.
We lack not songs, nor instruments of joy,
Nor echoes sweet, nor waters clear as heaven,
Nor laurel wreaths against the sultry heat.

III TO AUTUMN

- O Autumn, laden with fruit and stained
With the blood of the grape, pass not, but sit
Beneath my shady roof! There thou may'st rest,
And tune thy jolly voice to my fresh pipe,
5 And all the daughters of the year shall dance.
Sing now the lusty song of fruits and flowers:
- 'The narrow bud opens her beauties to
The sun, and love runs in her thrilling veins;
Blossoms hang round the brows of morning, and
10 Flourish down the bright cheek of modest eve,
Till clustering Summer breaks forth into singing,
And feathered clouds strew flowers round her head.
- The spirits of the air live on the smells
Of fruit; and joy, with pinions light, roves round
15 The gardens, or sits singing in the trees.'
Thus sang the jolly Autumn as he sat;
Then rose, girded himself, and o'er the bleak
Hills fled from our sight—but left his golden load.

IV TO WINTER

- O Winter, bar thine adamantine doors!
The north is thine; there hast thou built thy dark
Deep-founded habitation. Shake not thy roofs,
Nor bend thy pillars with thine iron car.
- 5 He hears me not, but o'er the yawning deep
Rides heavy; his storms are unchained. Sheathed
In ribbed steel, I dare not lift mine eyes;
For he hath reared his sceptre o'er the world.
- Lo! now the direful monster, whose skin clings
10 To his strong bones, strides o'er the groaning rocks;
He withers all in silence, and his hand
Unclothes the earth and freezes up frail life.

He takes his seat upon the cliffs; the mariner
 Cries in vain. Poor little wretch! that deal'st
 15 With storms—till heaven smiles, and the monster
 Is driven yelling to his caves beneath Mount Hecla.

V TO THE EVENING STAR

Thou fair-haired angel of the evening,
 Now, while the sun rests on the mountains, light
 Thy bright torch of love! Thy radiant crown
 Put on, and smile upon our evening bed!
 5 Smile on our loves; and, while thou drawest the
 Blue curtains of the sky, scatter thy silver dew
 On every flower that shuts its sweet eyes
 In timely sleep. Let thy west wind sleep on
 The lake; speak silence with thy glimmering eyes,
 10 And wash the dusk with silver. Soon, full soon,
 Dost thou withdraw; then the wolf rages wide,
 And the lion glares through the dun forest.
 The fleeces of our flocks are covered with
 Thy sacred dew: protect them with thine influence.

VI TO MORNING

O holy virgin, clad in purest white,
 Unlock heaven's golden gates and issue forth!
 Awake the dawn that sleeps in heaven; let light
 Rise from the chambers of the east and bring
 5 The honeyed dew that cometh on waking day.
 O radiant morning, salute the sun,
 Roused like a huntsman to the chase; and, with
 Thy buskined feet, appear upon our hills.

VII FAIR ELENOR

The bell struck one and shook the silent tower;
 The graves give up their dead: fair Elenor

iv 16. *Hecla*] In Iceland (there is also a Hecla on S. Uist in the Outer Hebrides).
 v 2. *while*] Revised by B. in one copy; printed *whilst*.

vi 1–4. Cp. Spenser's *Epithalamion* 148–51: 'Lo where she comes along with portly
 pace, / Like Phoebe from her chamber of the East, / Arising forth to run her
 mighty race, / Clad all in white, that seems a virgin best.'

vii. This poem and *Gwin* (p. 14) embody the full Gothic strain deriving from the
 ballads and Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, at this time fashionable and becoming

- Walked by the castle gate, and looked in.
 A hollow groan ran through the dreary vaults.
- 5 She shrieked aloud, and sunk upon the steps
 On the cold stone her pale cheek. Sickly smells
 Of death issue as from a sepulchre,
 And all is silent but the sighing vaults.
- Chill death withdraws his hand, and she revives;
- 10 Amazed, she finds herself upon her feet,
 And, like a ghost, through narrow passages
 Walking, feeling the cold walls with her hands.
- Fancy returns, and now she thinks of bones,
 And grinning skulls, and corruptible death,
- 15 Wrapped in his shroud; and now fancies she hears
 Deep sighs and sees pale sickly ghosts gliding.
- At length, no fancy, but reality
 Distracts her. A rushing sound, and the feet
 Of one that fled, approaches—Ellen stood,
- 20 Like a dumb statue, froze to stone with fear.
- The wretch approaches, crying, ‘The deed is done;
 Take this, and send it by whom thou wilt send;
 It is my life—send it to Elenor—
 He’s dead, and howling after me for blood!
- 25 ‘Take this,’ he cried; and thrust into her arms
 A wet napkin, wrapped about; then rushed
 Past, howling: she received into her arms
 Pale death and followed on the wings of fear.
- They passed swift through the outer gate; the wretch,
- 30 Howling, leaped o’er the wall into the moat,
 Stifling in mud. Fair Ellen passed the bridge,
 And heard a gloomy voice cry, ‘Is it done?’
- As the deer wounded, Ellen flew over
 The pathless plain; as the arrows that fly

more and more popular. This poem has all the classical Gothic elements (later to be used e.g. by Coleridge in *Christabel*, and Keats in *Isabella*) – midnight, a fair maiden, a castle, vaults, a horrific bloody head, ghostly voices, and a macabre ending.

vii 20. *froze*] Acceptable grammar in 1780.

vii 34–6 Cp. *Psalms* xci 5–6: ‘Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day; Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday.’

35 By night, destruction flies and strikes in darkness.
She fled from fear, till at her house arrived.

Her maids await her; on her bed she falls,
That bed of joy, where erst her lord hath pressed:
'Ah, woman's fear!' she cried; 'Ah, cursed duke!

40 Ah, my dear lord! ah, wretched Elenor!

'My lord was like a flower upon the brows
Of lusty May! Ah, life as frail as flower!
O ghastly death, withdraw thy cruel hand,
Seek'st thou that flower to deck thy horrid temples?

45 'My lord was like a star in the highest heaven,
Drawn down to earth by spells and wickedness;
My lord was like the opening eyes of day,
When western winds creep softly o'er the flowers.

'But he is darkened; like the summer's noon,
50 Clouded; fallen like the stately tree cut down;
The breath of heaven dwelt among his leaves.
O Elenor, weak woman, filled with woe!

Thus having spoke, she raised up her head,
And saw the bloody napkin by her side,
55 Which in her arms she brought; and now, tenfold
More terrified, saw it unfold itself.

Her eyes were fixed; the bloody cloth unfolds,
Disclosing to her sight the murdered head
Of her dear lord, all ghastly pale, clotted
60 With gory blood; it groaned, and thus it spake:

'O Elenor, behold thy husband's head,
Who, sleeping on the stones of yonder tower,
Was reft of life by the accursed duke!
A hired villain turned my sleep to death.

65 'O Elenor, beware the cursed duke,
O give not him thy hand, now I am dead;
He seeks thy love—who, coward, in the night
Hired a villain to bereave my life.'

She sat with dead cold limbs, stiffened to stone;
70 She took the gory head up in her arms;

She kissed the pale lips; she had no tears to shed;
 She hugged it to her breast, and groaned her last.

VIII SONG

How sweet I roamed from field to field
 And tasted all the summer's pride,
 Till I the prince of love beheld,
 Who in the sunny beams did glide.

5 He showed me lilies for my hair,
 And blushing roses for my brow;
 He led me through his gardens fair,
 Where all his golden pleasures grow.

With sweet May dew my wings were wet,
 10 And Phoebus fired my vocal rage.
 He caught me in his silken net,
 And shut me in his golden cage.

He loves to sit and hear me sing,
 Then laughing sports and plays with me—
 15 Then stretches out my golden wing,
 And mocks my loss of liberty.

IX SONG

My silks and fine array,
 My smiles and languished air,

viii. Dr B. H. Malkin, who wrote on B. and his work, quoting some poems, in *A Father's Memoirs of his Child* (1806), said in the dedication that this poem was written before B. was fourteen. Its form is the traditional 'long metre', but other poems in *Poetical Sketches* seem more immature than this; however, there is no direct evidence to disprove Malkin's assertion.

ix. At first appearance a poem compiled at second-hand by collecting Elizabethan phrases and images. It too is in a well-known metre. In fact, though there are commonplaces in the lover's threat that he will die of love (but here the lover is female), and the references to yew (but in Elizabethan verse, with its Mediterranean sources, the cypress is more usual than the English church-yard yew), to grave and shroud, and also in the view of the lover as pilgrim, and though the poem has a general resemblance to such others as Shakespeare's 'Come away, death', the only close allusion it contains is the likeness of 13-14 to Vaux's 'I loth that I did love' (in Tottel's *Miscellany*, though B. will have read it in Percy's *Reliques*): 'A pikeax and a spade, / And eke a shrowding shete.' There is perhaps also an echo of the dirge for *Cymbeline*, without its conceit: 'all lovers must / Consign to thee, and come to dust'.

By love are driven away;
 And mournful lean Despair
 5 Brings me yew to deck my grave:
 Such end true lovers have.

 His face is fair as heaven,
 When springing buds unfold;
 O why to him was't given,
 10 Whose heart is wintry cold?
 His breast is love's all-worshipped tomb,
 Where all love's pilgrims come.

 Bring me an axe and spade,
 Bring me a winding sheet;
 15 When I my grave have made,
 Let winds and tempests beat.
 Then down I'll lie, as cold as clay;
 True love doth pass away!

X SONG

Love and harmony combine,
 And around our souls entwine,
 While thy branches mix with mine,
 And our roots together join.

 5 Joys upon our branches sit,
 Chirping loud and singing sweet;
 Like gentle streams beneath our feet,
 Innocence and virtue meet.

 Thou the golden fruit dost bear,
 10 I am clad in flowers fair;
 Thy sweet boughs perfume the air,
 And the turtle buildeth there.

 There she sits and feeds her young,
 Sweet I hear her mournful song;
 15 And thy lovely leaves among,
 There is Love: I hear his tongue.

x. 4. *join*] Rhyming with *mine*, a pronunciation becoming obsolete. This song in the first appearance of one of B.'s favourite metres; e.g. 'A Dream', p. 69; 'The Tiger', p. 221; also Milton's 'Let us with a gladsome mind' and Wesley's 'Gentle Jesus' (see 'The Lamb', pp. 70-71).

x 16. *his*] Printed 'her' and altered by B. in one copy.

There his charming nest doth lay,
There he sleeps the night away;
There he sports along the day,
20 And doth among our branches play.

XI SONG

I love the jocund dance,
The softly-breathing song,
Where innocent eyes do glance,
And where lisps the maiden's tongue.
5 I love the laughing vale,
I love the echoing hill,
Where mirth does never fail,
And the jolly swain laughs his fill.
I love the pleasant cot,
10 I love the innocent bower.
Where white and brown is our lot,
Or fruit in the midday hour.
I love the oaken seat
Beneath the oaken tree,
15 Where all the old villagers meet,
And laugh our sports to see.
I love our neighbours all,
But, Kitty, I better love thee;
And love them I ever shall;
20 But thou art all to me.

XII SONG

Memory, hither come,
And tune your merry notes;
And, while upon the wind
Your music floats,
5 I'll pore upon the stream,
Where sighing lovers dream,
And fish for fancies as they pass
Within the watery glass.
I'll drink of the clear stream,
10 And hear the linnet's song;

And there I'll lie and dream
 The day along:
 And, when night comes, I'll go
 To places fit for woe;
 15 Walking along the darkened valley
 With silent Melancholy.

XIII MAD SONG

The wild winds weep,
 And the night is a-cold;
 Come hither, Sleep,
 And my griefs enfold.
 5 But lo! the morning peeps
 Over the eastern steeps,
 And the rustling birds of dawn
 The earth do scorn.
 Lo! to the vault
 10 Of paved heaven,
 With sorrow fraught
 My notes are driven;
 They strike the ear of night,
 Make weep the eyes of day;
 15 They make mad the roaring winds,
 And with tempests play.
 Like a fiend in a cloud
 With howling woe,
 After night I do crowd,
 20 And with night will go;
 I turn my back to the east,
 From whence comforts have increased;

xiii. There are six 'Mad Songs' in Percy's *Reliques*, though none quite like B.'s (note esp. the characteristic sentiment of the last two lines). Cp. from Percy's songs (Series II, Book II, nos. 17-22): 'Fears and cares oppress my soul; / Hark how the angry Furies howl! / Pluto laughs, and Proserpine is glad / To see poor naked Tom of Bedlam mad' ('Old Tom of Bedlam', st. 2). 'Ah! 'tis in vain! 'tis all, 'tis all in vain! / Death and despair must end the fatal pain: / Cold, cold despair, disguis'd like snow and rain, / Falls on my breast; bleak winds in tempests blow; / My veins all shiver, and my fingers glow: / My pulse beats a dead march for lost repose, / And to a solid lump of ice my poor fond heart is froze' ('The Lady Distracted with Love', attrib. Tom D'Urfey, st. 4). The difference between B.'s source and his invention is plain.

xiii. 4. *enfold*] Printed *unfold*, but altered by B. to *infold* in one copy. The spelling above is modernized from this.

For light doth seize my brain
With frantic pain.

XIV SONG

Fresh from the dewy hill, the merry year
Smiles on my head and mounts his flaming car;
Round my young brows the laurel wreathes a shade,
And rising glories beam around my head.

5 My feet are winged, while o'er the dewy lawn,
I meet my maiden, risen like the morn.
Oh, bless those holy feet, like angels' feet;
Oh, bless those limbs, beaming with heavenly light!

Like as an angel glittering in the sky,
10 In times of innocence and holy joy;
The joyful shepherd stops his grateful song
To hear the music of an angel's tongue.

So when she speaks, the voice of Heaven I hear;
So when we walk, nothing impure comes near;
15 Each field seems Eden, and each calm retreat;
Each village seems the haunt of holy feet.

But that sweet village where my black-eyed maid
Closes her eyes in sleep beneath night's shade,
Whene'er I enter, more than mortal fire
20 Burns in my soul and does my song inspire.

XV SONG

When early morn walks forth in sober grey,
Then to my black-eyed maid I haste away;
When evening sits beneath her dusky bower,
And gently sighs away the silent hour,
5 The village bell alarms—away I go,
And the vale darkens at my pensive woe.

To that sweet village, where my black-eyed maid
Doth drop a tear beneath the silent shade,
I turn my eyes; and, pensive as I go,
10 Curse my black stars and bless my pleasing woe.

xiv, xv. Two conventional songs in the idiom of eighteenth-century sensibility. The 'black eyes' belong to the convention, but B.'s wife Catherine is said to have had black eyes. (Note the 'Kitty' of xi.)

Oft when the summer sleeps among the trees,
 Whispering faint murmurs to the scanty breeze,
 I walk the village round; if at her side,
 A youth doth walk in stolen joy and pride,
 15 I curse my stars in bitter grief and woe
 That made my love so high, and me so low.

 O should she e'er prove false, his limbs I'd tear,
 And throw all pity on the burning air;
 I'd curse bright fortune for my mixed lot,
 20 And then I'd die in peace and be forgot.

XVI TO THE MUSES

Whether on Ida's shady brow,
 Or in the chambers of the east,
 The chambers of the sun, that now
 From ancient melody have ceased;
 5 Whether in Heaven ye wander fair,
 Or the green corners of the earth,
 Or the blue regions of the air,
 Where the melodious winds have birth;

 Whether on crystal rocks ye rove,
 10 Beneath the bosom of the sea
 Wandering in many a coral grove,
 Fair Nine, forsaking Poetry!

 How have you left the ancient love
 That bards of old enjoyed in you!
 The languid strings do scarcely move,
 15 The sound is forced, the notes are few.

XVII GWIN, KING OF NORWAY

Come, kings, and listen to my song,
 When Gwin, the son of Nore,
 Over the nations of the north
 His cruel sceptre bore.

xvii. Cp. 'Fair Elenor' (pp. 6-9). Gordred here may derive from Chatterton's *Godred Crovan*; the style is very Chattertonian. The ballad form is Percy's rather than Chatterton's (who borrowed it from Percy), but B. would know it also from its general circulation. Yet B.'s ballad is noticeably literary; he misses the spare vigour of the Scottish ballad.

- 5 The nobles of the land did feed
 Upon the hungry poor;
 They tear the poor man's lamb and drive
 The needy from their door.
- 'The land is desolate; our wives
10 And children cry for bread;
 Arise, and pull the tyrant down;
 Let Gwin be humbled.'
- Gordred the giant roused himself
 From sleeping in his cave;
15 He shook the hills, and in the clouds
 The troubled banners wave.
- Beneath them rolled, like tempests black,
 The numerous sons of blood,
 Like lions' whelps, roaring abroad,
20 Seeking their nightly food.
- Down Bleron's hills they dreadful rush,
 Their cry ascends the clouds—
 The trampling horse, and clanging arms
 Like rushing mighty floods.
- 25 Their wives and children, weeping loud,
 Follow in wild array,
 Howling like ghosts, furious as wolves,
 In the bleak wintry day.
- 'Pull down the tyrant to the dust,
30 Let Gwin be humbled,'
 They cry, 'And let ten thousand lives
 Pay for the tyrant's head.'
- From tower to tower the watchmen cry,
 'O Gwin, the son of Nore,
35 Arouse thyself! the nations black,
 Like clouds, come rolling o'er.'
- Gwin reared his shield, his palace shakes,
 His chiefs come rushing round;
 Each, like an awful thunder cloud,
40 With voice of solemn sound.

Like reared stones around a grave
 They stand around the King;
 Then suddenly each seized his spear,
 And clashing steel does ring.
 45 The husbandman does leave his plough,
 To wade through fields of gore;
 The merchant binds his brows in steel
 And leaves the trading shore;
 The shepherd leaves his mellow pipe
 50 And sounds the trumpet shrill;
 The workman throws his hammer down
 To heave the bloody bill.
 Like the tall ghost of Barraton,
 Who sports in stormy sky,
 55 Gwin leads his host as black as night,
 When pestilence does fly,
 With horses and with chariots;
 And all his spearmen bold,
 March to the sound of mournful song,
 60 Like clouds around him rolled.
 Gwin lifts his hand; the nations halt;
 'Prepare for war,' he cries—
 Gordred appears; his frowning brow
 Troubles our northern skies.
 65 The armies stand, like balances
 Held in the Almighty's hand:
 'Gwin, thou hast filled thy measure up,
 Thou'rt swept from out the land.'
 And now the raging armies rushed,
 70 Like warring mighty seas;
 The heavens are shook with roaring war,
 The dust ascends the skies!
 Earth smokes with blood and groans and shakes.
 To drink her children's gore,

xvii 43ff. Echoes years later in *Vala* vii 495ff.

xvii 65. *like balances*] Cp. *Paradise Lost* iv 1011-14: '... read thy lot in yon celestial sign, / Where thou art weighed, and shown how light, how weak / If thou resist. The Fiend looked up, and knew / His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled ...'

- 75 A sea of blood; nor can the eye
See to the trembling shore.
- And on the verge of this wild sea
Famine and death doth cry;
The cries of women and of babes
80 Over the field doth fly.
- The king is seen raging afar
With all his men of might;
Like blazing comets, scattering death
Through the red feverous night.
- 85 Beneath his arm like sheep they die,
And groan upon the plain;
The battle faints, and bloody men
Fight upon hills of slain.
- Now death is sick, and riven men
90 Labour and toil for life;
Steed rolls on steed, and shield on shield,
Sunk in this sea of strife.
- The god of war is drunk with blood,
The earth doth faint and fail;
95 The stench of blood makes sick the heavens;
Ghosts glut the throat of hell.
- O what have kings to answer for
Before that awful throne,
When thousand deaths for vengeance cry,
100 And ghosts accusing groan?
- Like blazing comets in the sky
That shake the stars of light,
Which drop like fruit unto the earth,
Through the fierce burning night;
- 105 Like these did Gwin and Gordred meet,
And the first blow decides;
Down from the brow unto the breast
Gordred his head divides.

xvii 78. *Famine and death doth cry*] The use of a singular verb after a combined subject like this was not unknown; it was at this time attracting the attention of the more pedantic grammarians.

xvii 88. *hills of slain*] A phrase used several times by Chatterton.

xvii 97-8. An interjection characteristic of B.; cp. 48-52.

- Gwin fell; the sons of Norway fled,
 110 All that remained alive;
 The rest did fill the vale of death;
 For them the eagles strive.
- The river Dorman rolled their blood
 Into the northern sea,
 115 Who mourned his sons, and overwhelmed
 The pleasant south country.

XVIII AN IMITATION OF SPENSER

- Golden Apollo, that through heaven wide
 Scatter'st the rays of light and truth's beams,
 In lucent words my darkling verses dight,
 And wash my earthy mind in thy clear streams,
 5 That wisdom may descend in fairy dreams,
 All while the jocund hours in thy train
 Scatter their fancies at thy poet's feet;
 And when thou yields to night thy wide domain,
 Let rays of truth enlight his sleeping brain.
- 10 For brutish Pan in vain might thee assay
 With tinkling sounds to dash thy nervous verse,
 Sound without sense; yet in his rude affray
 (For ignorance is Folly's leeing nurse,
 And love of Folly needs none other curse)
- 15 Midas the praise hath gained of lengthened ears,
 For which himself might deem him ne'er the worse
 To sit in council with his modern peers,
 And judge of tinkling rhimes and elegances terse.
- And thou, Mercurius, that with winged brow
 20 Dost mount aloft into the yielding sky,
 And through Heaven's halls thy airy flight dost throw,

xviii. This is an 'imitation' in the normal eighteenth-century sense: not a parody; but an attempt to reproduce the manner of the original in a contemporary form. B. aims at the elaborateness of imagery and allusion (for once using classical mythology) as well as the diction and the archaism; but does not seek to add verses to *The Faerie Queene* or even to maintain Spenser's rhyme-scheme.

xviii 8. *when thou yields*] This should strictly be 'yieldest', but it saves the rhythm. B., unlike Spenser, was not colloquially familiar with 'thou' forms.

xviii 13. *leeing*] In Spenser, 'lesing' or 'leasing' (lie, falsehood) is always a noun, but B. not unexpectedly sees it as an adjective formed from a verb.

xviii 14. *other*] Printed 'others' and corrected by B. in some copies.

xviii 15. *ears*] Printed 'cares' and altered to *eares* by B. in one copy.

- Entering with holy feet to where on high
 Jove weighs the counsel of futurity;
 Then, laden with eternal fate, dost go
 25 Down, like a falling star, from autumn sky,
 And o'er the surface of the silent deep dost fly.
- If thou arrivest at the sandy shore,
 Where nought but envious hissing adders dwell,
 Thy golden rod, thrown on the dusty floor,
 30 Can charm to harmony with potent spell.
 Such is sweet eloquence, that does dispel
 Envy and hate that thirst for human gore,
 And cause in sweet society to dwell
 Vile savage minds that lurk in lonely cell.
- 35 O Mercury, assist my labouring sense,
 That round the circle of the world would fly!
 As the winged eagle scorns the towery fence
 Of Alpine hills round his high eyrie,
 And searches through the corners of the sky,
 40 Sports in the clouds to hear the thunder's sound,
 And see the winged lightnings as they fly,
 Then, bosomed in an amber cloud, around
 Plumes his wide wings and seeks Sol's palace high.
- And thou, O warrior maid invincible,
 45 Armed with the terrors of almighty Jove!
 Pallas, Minerva, maiden terrible,
 Lov'st thou to walk the peaceful solemn grove,
 In solemn gloom of branches interwove?
 Or bear'st thy ægis o'er the burning field,
 50 Where, like the sea, the waves of battle move?
 Or have thy soft piteous eyes beheld
 The weary wanderer through the desert rove?
 Or does the afflicted man thy heavenly bosom move?

XIX BLIND-MAN'S BUFF

When silver snow decks Susan's clothes,
 And jewel hangs at the shepherd's nose,

xviii 25. *Down, like a falling star*] Cp. *Paradise Lost* i 744–5, where Mulciber ‘with the setting sun/Dropped from the zenith, like a falling star’.

xviii 38. *eyrie*] B. spells it *aery*.

xviii 41. *see* is grammatically parallel with *hear* in line 40.

The blushing bank is all my care,
With hearth so red and walls so fair.
5 'Heap the sea-coal; come heap it higher;
The oaken log lay on the fire.'
The well-washed stools, a circling row,
With lad and lass, how fair the show!
The merry can of nut-brown ale,
10 The laughing jest, the love-sick tale,
Till tired of chat, the game begins;
The lasses prick the lads with pins;
Roger from Dolly twitched the stool,
She falling, kissed the ground, poor fool!
15 She blushed so red, with sidelong glance
At hob-nail Dick, who grieved the chance.
But now for blind-man's buff they call;
Of each encumbrance clear the hall—
Jenny her silken kerchief folds,
20 And blear-eyed Will the black lot holds.
Now laughing stops, with 'Silence! hush!'
And Peggy Pout gives Sam a push.
The blind-man's arms, extended wide,
Sam slips between—'O woe betide
25 Thee, clumsy Will!'—but tittering Kate
Is penned up in the corner straight!
And now Will's eyes beheld the play,
He thought his face was t'other way.
Now, Kitty, now; what chance hast thou,
30 Roger so near thee trips, I vow!
She catches him—then Roger ties
His own head up—but not his eyes;
For through the slender cloth he sees,
And runs at Sam, who slips with ease
35 His clumsy hold, and, dodging round,
Sukey is tumbled on the ground!
See what it is to play unfair!
Where cheating is, there's mischief there.
But Roger still pursues the chase—
40 'He sees! he sees!' cries softly Grace;
O Roger, thou, unskilled in art,
Must, surer bound, go through thy part!
Now Kitty, pert, repeats the rhymes,
And Roger turns him round three times;
45 Then pauses ere he starts—but Dick
Was mischief bent upon a trick:

Down on his hands and knees he lay,
 Directly in the blind-man's way—
 Then cries out, 'Hem!'—Hodge heard and ran
 50 With hood-winked chance—sure of his man;
 But down he came. Alas, how frail
 Our best of hopes, how soon they fail!
 With crimson drops he stains the ground,
 Confusion startles all around.
 55 Poor piteous Dick supports his head,
 And fain would cure the hurt he made;
 But Kitty hasted with a key,
 And down his back they straight convey
 The cold relief—the blood is stayed,
 60 And Hodge again holds up his head.
 Such are the fortunes of the game,
 And those who play should stop the same
 By wholesome laws, such as: all those
 Who on the blinded man impose
 65 Stand in his stead, as long a-gone
 When men were first a nation grown;
 Lawless they lived—till wantonness
 And liberty began to increase,
 And one man lay in another's way;
 70 Then laws were made to keep fair play.

XX KING EDWARD THE THIRD

PERSONS

<i>King Edward</i>	<i>Lord Audley</i>
<i>The Black Prince</i>	<i>Lord Percy</i>
<i>Queen Philippa</i>	<i>Bishop</i>
<i>Duke of Clarence</i>	<i>William, Dagworth's</i>
<i>Sir John Chandos</i>	man
<i>Sir Thomas Dagworth</i>	<i>Peter Blunt, a common</i>
<i>Sir Walter Manny</i>	soldier

xx. The debts of this dramatic fragment to Shakespeare are evident; but to imitate Shakespeare in this period was blameless and almost inevitable. However, the style is primarily late eighteenth-century, as elsewhere in *Poetical Sketches*; contemporary conventions predominate, coloured by a reading of Percy and Chatterton, and of the Elizabethans. B. included two incidents from Edward III's reign in a series of historical engravings mentioned in a draft prospectus of 1793. Erdman argues (*PAE* 63–74) that B.'s completed play would have revealed the true nature of war, though these scenes appear to glorify it, as pillage, rape, destruction, followed by the Black Death.

SCENE I, *The Coast of France. King Edward and Nobles
before the Army.*

- King.* O thou, to whose fury the nations are
But as dust, maintain thy servant's right.
Without thine aid, the twisted mail and spear,
And forged helm, and shield of seven times beaten brass,
5 Are idle trophies of the vanquisher.
When confusion rages, when the field is in a flame,
When the cries of blood tear horror from heaven,
And yelling death runs up and down the ranks,
Let Liberty, the chartered right of Englishmen,
10 Won by our fathers in many a glorious field,
Enerve my soldiers; let Liberty
Blaze in each countenance, and fire the battle.
The enemy fight in chains, invisible chains, but heavy;
Their minds are fettered; then how can they be free,
15 While, like the mounting flame,
We spring to battle o'er the floods of death?
And these fair youths, the flower of England,
Venturing their lives in my most righteous cause,
O sheathe their hearts with triple steel, that they
20 May emulate their fathers' virtues.
And thou, my son, be strong; thou fightest for a crown
That death can never ravish from thy brow,
A crown of glory: but from thy very dust
Shall beam a radiance to fire the breasts
25 Of youth unborn. Our names are written equal
In fame's wide trophied hall; 'tis ours to gild
The letters and to make them shine with gold
That never tarnishes: whether Third Edward,
Or the Prince of Wales, or Montacute, or Mortimer,
30 Or even the least by birth, shall gain the brightest fame,
Is in his hand to whom all men are equal.
The world of men are like the numerous stars,
That beam and twinkle in the depth of night,
Each clad in glory according to his sphere.
35 But we that wander from our native seats
And beam forth lustre on a darkling world

xx. *Scene 1*] B. does not number the scenes.

xx 1.9. *Liberty*] Britons' heritage of Freedom was one of the staple elements of eighteenth-century patriotism.

xx 1.28-30. This sentiment illustrates B.'s egalitarianism rather than the feelings of a medieval king, or of most authors contemporary with B.

Grow larger as we advance, and some perhaps
 The most obscure at home, that scarce were seen
 To twinkle in their sphere, may so advance,
 40 That the astonished world, with up-turned eyes,
 Regardless of the moon, and those that once were bright,
 Stand only for to gaze upon their splendour!

[*He here knights the Prince and other young Nobles.*

Now let us take a just revenge for those
 Brave lords, who fell beneath the bloody axe
 45 At Paris. Thanks, noble Harcourt, for 'twas
 By your advice we landed here in Brittany—
 A country not yet sown with destruction,
 And where the fiery whirlwind of swift war
 Has not yet swept its desolating wing.
 50 Into three parties we divide by day,
 And separate march, but join again at night:
 Each knows his rank, and heaven marshal all. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE 2, *English Court. Lionel, Duke of Clarence,
 Queen Philippa, Lords, Bishop, etc.*

Clarence. My Lords, I have, by the advice of her
 Whom I am doubly bound to obey, my parent
 And my sovereign, called you together.
 My task is great, my burden heavier than
 5 My unfledged years;
 Yet, with your kind assistance, Lords, I hope
 England shall dwell in peace; that while my father
 Toils in his wars, and turns his eyes on this
 His native shore, and sees commerce fly round
 10 With his white wings, and sees his golden London

XX 1.43. STAGE DIRECTION] This event happened soon after Edward's landing in Normandy.

XX 1.46. *Brittany*] In fact, in the Crécy campaign, Edward landed at Saint-Vaast-de-la-Hogue on the Cotentin peninsula. He had landed in Brittany in 1343.

XX 1.50. *Into three parties*] As reported by Froissart (the ultimate source of most eighteenth-century histories of this war).

XX 2.9. *commerce*] This admiration of commerce, improbable from aristocratic Clarence, is an eighteenth-century commonplace: cp. James Thomson's *Liberty* v 569–73: 'The times I see, whose glory to supply / For toiling ages, commerce round the world / Has winged unnumbered sails and from each land / Materials heaped that, well employed, with Rome / Might vie our grandeur, and with Greece our art!'

- And her silver Thames, thronged with shining spires
 And corded ships, her merchants buzzing round
 Like summer bees, and all the golden cities
 In his land overflowing with honey,
 15 Glory may not be dimmed with clouds of care.
 Say, lords, should not our thoughts be first to commerce?
 My Lord Bishop, you would recommend us agriculture?
Bishop. Sweet prince, the arts of peace are great,
 And no less glorious than those of war,
 20 Perhaps more glorious in the philosophic mind.
 When I sit at my home, a private man,
 My thoughts are on my gardens and my fields,
 How to employ the hand that lacketh bread.
 If industry is in my diocese,
 25 Religion will flourish; each man's heart
 Is cultivated, and will bring forth fruit.
 This is my private duty and my pleasure.
 But, as I sit in council with my prince,
 My thoughts take in the general good of the whole,
 30 And England is the land favoured by Commerce;
 For Commerce, though the child of Agriculture,
 Fosters his parent, who else must sweat and toil,
 And gain but scanty fare. Then, my dear lord,
 Be England's trade our care; and we, as tradesmen,
 35 Looking to the gain of this our native land.
Clar. O my good lord, true wisdom drops like honey
 From your tongue, as from a worshipped oak!
 Forgive, my lords, my talkative youth that speaks
 Not merely what my narrow observation has
 40 Picked up, but what I have concluded from your lessons.
 Now, by the Queen's advice, I ask your leave
 To dine to-morrow with the Mayor of London:
 If I obtain your leave, I have another boon
 To ask, which is the favour of your company;
 45 I fear Lord Percy will not give me leave.
Percy. Dear sir, a prince should always keep his state,
 And grant his favours with a sparing hand,
 Or they are never rightly valued.
 These are my thoughts, yet it were best to go;

xx 2.37. *a worshipped oak*] It was a commonplace of eighteenth-century historical knowledge drawn from Caesar's *Gallie Wars*, that the druids had worshipped in oak groves. Clarence's simile is out of character, but the anachronism shows how 'the past' – of all ages – was one notion in Blake's mind.

- 50 But keep a proper dignity, for now
You represent the sacred person of
Your father. 'Tis with princes as 'tis with the sun,
If not sometimes o'er-clouded, we grow weary
Of his officious glory.
- 55 *Clar.* Then you will give me leave to shine sometimes,
My lord?
Lord. Thou hast a gallant spirit, which I fear
Will be imposed on by the closer sort! [*Aside.*
Clar. Well, I'll endeavour to take
- 60 Lord Percy's advice; I have been used so much
To dignity that I'm sick on't.
Queen Phil. Fie, fie, Lord Clarence; you proceed not to
business,
But speak of your own pleasures.
I hope their lordships will excuse your giddiness.
- 65 *Clar.* My lords, the French have fitted out many
Small ships of war, that, like to ravening wolves,
Infest our English seas, devouring all
Our burdened vessels, spoiling our naval flocks.
The merchants do complain and beg our aid.
- 70 *Percy.* The merchants are rich enough;
Can they not help themselves?
Bish. They can, and may; but how to gain their will
Requires our countenance and help.
Percy. When that they find they must, my lord, they will;
- 75 Let them but suffer awhile, and you shall see
They will bestir themselves.
Bish. Lord Percy cannot mean that we should suffer
This disgrace; if so, we are not sovereigns
Of the sea; our right, that heaven gave
- 80 To England, when at the birth of nature
She was seated in the deep, the ocean ceased
His mighty roar, and fawning played around
Her snowy feet, and owned his awful queen.
Lord Percy, if the heart is sick, the head
- 85 Must be aggrieved; if but one member suffer,
The heart doth fail. You say, my Lord, the merchants
Can, if they will, defend themselves against
These rovers: this is a noble scheme,
Worthy the brave Lord Percy, and as worthy

- 90 His generous aid to put it into practice.
Percy. Lord Bishop, what was rash in me is wise
 In you; I dare not own the plan. 'Tis not
 Mine. Yet will I, if you please,
 Quickly to the Lord Mayor, and work him onward
 95 To this most glorious voyage, on which cast
 I'll set my whole estate,
 But we will bring these Gallic rovers under.
Queen Phil. Thanks, brave Lord Percy; you have the
 thanks
 Of England's Queen, and will, ere long, of England.
 [Exeunt.]

SCENE 3, *At Crecy. Sir Thomas Dagworth and
 Lord Audley, meeting.*

- Aud.* Good morrow, brave Sir Thomas; the bright morn
 Smiles on our army, and the gallant sun
 Springs from the hills like a young hero
 Into the battle, shaking his golden locks
 5 Exultingly. This is a promising day.
Dagw. Why, my Lord Audley, I don't know.
 Give me your hand, and now I'll tell you what
 I think you do not know—Edward's afraid of Philip.
Aud. Ha, ha, Sir Thomas! you but joke;
 10 Did you e'er see him fear? At Blanchetaque,
 When almost singly he drove six thousand
 French from the ford, did he fear then?
Dagw. Yes, fear—that made him fight so.
Aud. By the same reason I might say, 'tis fear
 15 That makes you fight.
Dagw. Mayhap you may; look upon Edward's face—
 No one can say he fears. But when he turns
 His back, then I will say it to his face,
 He is afraid; he makes us all afraid.
 20 I cannot bear the enemy at my back.
 Now here we are at Crecy; where, to-morrow,
 To-morrow we shall know. I say, Lord Audley,

XX 3.10. *e'er*] Printed 'ere'.

Blanchetaque] A ford near Abbeville where Edward's army forced a crossing of the Somme on the way to Flanders, and thus avoided being trapped against the sea by the larger French army. Froissart records 1,000 horsemen and 6,000 footmen, but does not give this personal glory to Edward.

That Edward runs away from Philip.

Aud. Perhaps you think the Prince too is afraid?

25 *Dagw.* No; God forbid! I'm sure he is not—
He is a young lion. Oh, I have seen him fight,
And give command, and lightning has flashed
From his eyes across the field. I have seen him
Shake hands with death, and strike a bargain for

30 The enemy; he has danced in the field
Of battle, like the youth at morrice play.
I'm sure he's not afraid, nor Warwick, nor none,
None of us but me; and I am very much afraid.

Aud. Are you afraid too, Sir Thomas?

35 I believe that as much as I believe
The King's afraid; but what are you afraid of?

Dagw. Of having my back laid open; we turn
Our backs to the fire, till we shall burn our skirts.

Aud. And this, Sir Thomas, you call fear? Your fear
40 Is of a different kind then from the King's;
He fears to turn his face, and you to turn your back.
I do not think, Sir Thomas, you know what fear is.

Enter Sir John Chandos.

Chand. Good morrow, Generals; I give you joy.
Welcome to the fields of Crecy. Here we stop,

45 And wait for Philip.

Dagw. I hope so.

Aud. There Sir Thomas; do you call that fear?

Dagw. I don't know; perhaps he takes it by fits.

Why, noble Chandos, look you here—

50 One rotten sheep spoils the whole flock;
And if the bell-wether is tainted, I wish
The Prince may not catch the distemper too.

Chand. Distemper, Sir Thomas! what distemper?
I have not heard.

55 *Dagw.* Why, Chandos, you are a wise man,
I know you understand me; a distemper
The King caught here in France of running away.

Aud. Sir Thomas you say you have caught it too.

xx 3.23. *Edward runs away*] Edward, intending to join his allies in Flanders, avoided the superior French army, but he reached an advantageous position at Crécy and unexpectedly turned to face them.

xx 3.51. *bell-wether*] The leader of the flock, given a bell so that other sheep can follow him.

- Dag.* And so will the whole army; 'tis very catching,
 60 For when the coward runs, the brave man totters.
 Perhaps the air of the country is the cause.
 I feel it coming upon me, so I strive against it;
 You yet are whole, but after a few more
 Retreats, we all shall know how to retreat
 65 Better than fight. To be plain, I think retreating
 Too often takes away a soldier's courage.
Chand. Here comes the King himself; tell him your
 thoughts
 Plainly, Sir Thomas.
Dagw. I've told him before, but his disorder
 70 Makes him deaf.

Enter King Edward and Black Prince.

- King.* Good morrow, Generals. When English courage
 fails,
 Down goes our right to France;
 But we are conquerors everywhere; nothing
 Can stand our soldiers; each man is worthy
 75 Of a triumph. Such an army of heroes
 Ne'er shouted to the heavens, nor shook the field.
 Edward, my son, thou art
 Most happy, having such command; the man
 Were base who were not fired to deeds
 80 Above heroic, having such examples.
Prince. Sire! with respect and deference I look
 Upon such noble souls, and wish myself
 Worthy the high command that Heaven and you
 Have given me. When I have seen the field glow,
 85 And in each countenance the soul of war
 Curbed by the manliest reason, I have been winged
 With certain victory; and 'tis my boast,
 And shall be still my glory. I was inspired
 By these brave troops.
 90 *Dagw.* Your Grace had better make
 Them all generals.
King. Sir Thomas Dagworth, you must have your joke,
 And shall, while you can fight as you did at
 The ford.
 95 *Dagw.* I have a small petition to your Majesty.
King. What can Sir Thomas Dagworth ask, that Edward
 Can refuse?
Dagw. I hope your Majesty cannot refuse so great

- A trifle; I've gilt your cause with my best blood,
100 And would again, were I not forbid
By him whom I am bound to obey: my hands
Are tied up, my courage shrunk and withered,
My sinews slackened, and my voice scarce heard;
Therefore I beg I may return to England.
- 105 *King.* I know not what you could have asked,
Sir Thomas,
That I would not have sooner parted with
Than such a soldier as you have been, and such a friend.
Nay, I will know the most remote particulars
Of this strange petition; that, if I can,
110 I still may keep you here.
- Dagw.* Here on the fields of Crecy we are settled,
Till Philip springs the timorous covey again.
The wolf is hunted down by causeless fear;
The lion flees, and fear usurps his heart—
115 Startled, astonished at the clamorous cock;
The eagle, that doth gaze upon the sun,
Fears the small fire that plays about the fen;
If, at this moment of their idle fear,
The dog doth seize the wolf, the forester the lion,
120 The negro in the crevice of the rock
Doth seize the soaring eagle; undone by flight,
They tame submit—such the effect flight has
On noble souls. Now hear its opposite:
The timorous stag starts from the thicket wild,
125 The fearful crane springs from the splashy fen,
The shining snake glides o'er the bending grass,
The stag turns head and bays the crying hounds;
The crane o'ertaken fighteth with the hawk;
The snake doth turn and bite the padding foot;
130 And, if your Majesty's afraid of Philip,
You are more like a lion than a crane.
Therefore I beg I may return to England.
- King.* Sir Thomas, now I understand your mirth,
Which often plays with wisdom for its pastime,
135 And brings good counsel from the breast of laughter.
I hope you'll stay, and see us fight this battle,
And reap rich harvest in the fields of Crecy,
Then go to England, tell them how we fight,
And set all hearts on fire to be with us.
- 140 Philip is plumed and thinks we flee from him;
Else he would never dare to attack us. Now,

- Now the quarry's set, and death doth sport
 In the bright sunshine of this fatal day.
Dagw. Now my heart dances, and I am as light
 145 As the young bridegroom going to be married.
 Now must I to my soldiers, get them ready,
 Furbish our armours bright, new-plume our helms,
 And we will sing, like the young housewives busied
 In the dairy. My feet are winged, but not
 150 For flight, an please your grace.
King. If all my soldiers are as pleased as you,
 'Twill be a gallant thing to fight or die;
 Then I can never be afraid of Philip.
Dagw. A raw-boned fellow t'other day passed by me;
 155 I told him to put off his hungry looks—
 He answered me, 'I hunger for another battle.'
 I saw a little Welshman with a fiery face;
 I told him he looked like a candle half
 Burned out; he answered, he was 'pig enough
 160 To light another pattle.' Last night, beneath
 The moon I walked abroad; when all had pitched
 Their tents and all were still,
 I heard a blooming youth singing a song
 He had composed, and at each pause he wiped
 165 His dropping eyes. The ditty was, 'If he
 Returned victorious, he should wed a maiden
 Fairer than snow, and rich as midsummer.'
 Another wept, and wished health to his father.
 I chid them both, but gave them noble hopes.
 170 These are the minds that glory in the battle,
 And leap and dance to hear the trumpet sound.
King. Sir Thomas Dagworth, be thou near our person;
 Thy heart is richer than the vales of France.
 I will not part with such a man as thee.
 175 If Philip came armed in the ribs of death,
 And shook his mortal dart against my head,
 Thou'dst laugh his fury into nerveless shame.
 Go now, for thou art suited to the work,
 Throughout the camp; inflame the timorous,
 180 Blow up the sluggish into ardour, and
 Confirm the strong with strength, the weak inspire,
 And wing their brows with hope and expectation:
 Then to our tent return and meet to council.

[*Exit Dagworth.*]

Chand. That man's a hero in his closet, and more
 185 A hero to the servants of his house
 Than to the gaping world; he carries windows
 In that enlarged breast of his that all
 May see what's done within.

Prince. He is a genuine Englishman, my Chandos,
 190 And hath the spirit of liberty within him.
 Forgive my prejudice, Sir John; I think
 My Englishmen the bravest people on
 The face of the earth.

Chand. Courage, my Lord, proceeds from self-
 dependence;
 195 Teach man to think he's a free agent,
 Give but a slave his liberty, he'll shake
 Off sloth, and build himself a hut, and hedge
 A spot of ground. This he'll defend; 'tis his
 By right of nature. Thus set in action,
 200 He will still move onward to plan conveniences,
 Till glory fires his breast to enlarge his castle,
 While the poor slave drudges all day, in hope
 To rest at night.

King. O liberty, how glorious art thou!
 205 I see thee hovering o'er my army, with
 Thy wide-stretched plumes; I see thee
 Lead them on to battle;
 I see thee blow thy golden trumpet, while
 Thy sons shout the strong shout of victory!
 210 O noble Chandos, think thyself a gardener,
 My son a vine, which I commit unto
 Thy care; prune all extravagant shoots, and guide
 The ambitious tendrils in the paths of wisdom;
 Water him with thy advice, and heaven
 215 Rain freshening dew upon his branches. And,
 O Edward, my dear son, learn to think lowly of
 Thyself, as we may all each prefer other—
 'Tis the best policy, and 'tis our duty.

[*Exit King Edward.*

Prince. And may our duty, Chandos, be our pleasure.
 220 Now we are alone, Sir John, I will unburden
 And breathe my hopes into the burning air,
 Where thousand deaths are posting up and down,

- Commissioned to this fatal field of Crecy.
 Methinks I see them arm my gallant soldiers,
 225 And gird the sword upon each thigh, and fit
 Each shining helm, and string each stubborn bow,
 And dance to the neighing of our steeds.
 Methinks the shout begins, the battle burns;
 Methinks I see them perch on English crests,
 230 And roar the wild flame of fierce war upon
 The thronged enemy. In truth, I am too full.
 It is my sin to love the noise of war.
 Chandos, thou seest my weakness. Strong nature
 Will bend or break us; my blood, like a springtide,
 235 Does rise so high to overflow all bounds
 Of moderation; while reason, in his
 Frail bark, can see no shore or bound for vast
 Ambition. Come, take the helm, my Chandos,
 That my full-blown sails overset me not
 240 In the wild tempest; condemn my venturous youth,
 That plays with danger, as the innocent child,
 Unthinking, plays upon the viper's den.
 I am a coward in my reason, Chandos.
Chand. You are a man, my prince, and a brave man,
 245 If I can judge of actions; but your heat
 Is the effect of youth and want of use;
 Use makes the armed field and noisy war
 Pass over as a summer cloud, unregarded,
 Or but expected as a thing of course.
 250 Age is contemplative; each rolling year
 Brings forth fruit to the mind's treasure-house,
 While vacant youth doth crave and seek about
 Within itself, and findeth discontent;
 Then, tired of thought, impatient takes the wing,
 255 Seizes the fruits of time, attacks experience,
 Roams round vast nature's forest—where no bounds
 Are set, the swiftest may have room, the strongest
 Find prey; till tired at length, sated and tired
 With the changing sameness, old variety,
 260 We sit us down and view our former joys
 With distaste and dislike.
Prince. Then if we must tug for experience,

XX 3.236. *his*] Printed 'her', corrected by B. in some copies (cp. 291-93).

XX 3.243. *I am a coward in my reason*] 'My spirit leads me to do daring acts which my reason counsels me to avoid.'

Let us not fear to beat round nature's wilds
 And rouse the strongest prey; then if we fall,
 265 We fall with glory. I know the wolf
 Is dangerous to fight, not good for food,
 Nor is the hide a comely vestment; so
 We have our battle for our pains. I know
 That youth has need of age to point fit prey,
 270 And oft the stander-by shall steal the fruit
 Of the other's labour. This is philosophy;
 These are the tricks of the world; but the pure soul
 Shall mount on native wings, disdain
 Little sport, and cut a path into the heaven of glory,
 275 Leaving a track of light for men to wonder at.
 I'm glad my father does not hear me talk;
 You can find friendly excuses for me, Chandos.
 But do you not think, Sir John, that if it please
 The Almighty to stretch out my span of life,
 280 I shall with pleasure view a glorious action,
 Which my youth mastered?
Chand. Considerate age, my Lord, views motives,
 And not acts; when neither warbling voice,
 Nor trilling pipe is heard, nor pleasure sits
 285 With trembling age, the voice of conscience then,
 Sweeter than music in a summer's eve,
 Shall warble round the snowy head and keep
 Sweet symphony to feathered angels, sitting
 As guardians round your chair. Then shall the pulse
 290 Beat slow, and taste, and touch, and sight, and sound,
 and smell,
 That sing and dance round reason's fine-wrought throne,
 Shall flee away and leave him all forlorn—
 Yet not forlorn if conscience is his friend. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE 4, in *Sir Thomas Dagworth's Tent. Dagworth and
 William his Man.*

Dagw. Bring hither my armour, William;
 Ambition is the growth of every clime.
Will. Does it grow in England, sir?
Dagw. Aye, it grows most in lands most cultivated.
 5 *Will.* Then it grows most in France; the vines here
 Are finer than any we have in England.
Dagw. Aye, but the oaks are not.
Will. What is the tree you mentioned? I don't think
 I ever saw it.

10 *Dagw.* Ambition.

Will. Is it a little creeping root that grows in ditches?

Dagw. Thou dost not understand me, William.

It is a root that grows in every breast;

Ambition is the desire or passion that one man

15 Has to get before another in any pursuit after glory;

But I don't think you have any of it.

Will. Yes, I have; I have a great ambition to know every thing, sir.

Dagw. But when our first ideas are wrong, what follows

20 must all be wrong of course; 'tis best to know a little, and to know that little aright.

Will. Then, sir, I should be glad to know if it was not ambition that brought over our King to France to fight for his right?

25 *Dagw.* Though the knowledge of that will not profit thee much, yet I will tell you that it was ambition.

Will. Then if ambition is a sin, we are all guilty in coming with him and in fighting for him.

Dagw. Now, William, thou dost thrust the question
30 home; but I must tell you that guilt, being an act of the mind, none are guilty but those whose minds are prompted by that same ambition.

Will. Now I always thought that a man might be guilty of doing wrong without knowing it was wrong.

35 *Dagw.* Thou art a natural philosopher and knowest truth by instinct, while reason runs aground, as we have run our argument. Only remember, William, all have it in their power to know the motives of their own actions, and 'tis a sin to act without some reason.

40 *Will.* And whoever acts without reason may do a great deal of harm without knowing it.

Dagw. Thou art an endless moralist.

Will. Now there's a story come into my head that I will tell your honour, if you'll give me leave.

45 *Dagw.* No, William, save it till another time; this is no time for story-telling. But here comes one who is as entertaining as a good story.

Enter Peter Blunt.

Peter. Yonder's a musician going to play before the King; it's a new song about the French and English, and the Prince

50 has made the minstrel a squire, and given him I don't know
 what, and I can't tell whether he don't mention us all one
 by one; and he is to write another about all us that are to
 die, that we may be remembered in Old England, for all
 our blood and bones are in France. And a great deal more
 55 that we shall all hear by and by; and I came to tell your
 honour, because you love to hear war-songs.

Dagw. And who is this minstrel, Peter, dost know?

Peter. Oh, ay, I forgot to tell that; he has got the same
 name as Sir John Chandos, that the prince is always with—
 60 the wise man, that knows us all as well as your honour, only
 ain't so good natured.

Dagw. I thank you, Peter, for your information, but not
 for your compliment, which is not true. There's as much
 difference between him and me as between glittering sand
 65 and fruitful mould or shining glass and a wrought diamond,
 set in rich gold, and fitted to the finger of an emperor. Such
 is that worthy Chandos.

Peter. I know your honour does not think anything of
 yourself, but everybody else does.

70 *Dagw.* Go, Peter, get you gone; flattery is delicious, even
 from the lips of a babbler. [*Exit Peter.*]

Will. I never flatter your honour.

Dagw. I don't know that.

Will. Why, you know, sir, when we were in England, at
 75 the tournament at Windsor, and the Earl of Warwick was
 tumbled over, you asked me if he did not look well when
 he fell? And I said, No, he looked very foolish; and you
 was very angry with me for not flattering you.

Dagw. You mean that I was angry with you for not
 80 flattering the Earl of Warwick. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE 5, *Sir Thomas Dagworth's Tent. Sir Thomas
 Dagworth. To him—*

Enter Sir Walter Manny.

Sir Walter. Sir Thomas Dagworth, I have been weeping
 Over the men that are to die today.

Dagw. Why, brave Sir Walter, you or I may fall.

Sir Walter. I know this breathing flesh must lie and rot,
 5 Covered with silence and forgetfulness.

- Death wons in cities' smoke and in still night,
 When men sleep in their beds, walketh about.
 How many in walled cities lie and groan,
 Turning themselves upon their beds,
 10 Talking with death, answering his hard demands!
 How many walk in darkness, terrors are round
 The curtains of their beds, destruction is
 Ready at the door! How many sleep
 In earth, covered with stones and deathly dust,
 15 Resting in quietness, whose spirits walk
 Upon the clouds of Heaven, to die no more!
 Yet death is terrible, though borne on angel's wings.
 How terrible then is the field of death
 Where he doth rend the vault of Heaven
 20 And shake the gates of Hell!
 O Dagworth, France is sick, the very sky,
 Though sunshine light it, seems to me as pale
 As the pale fainting man on his death-bed,
 Whose face is shown by light of sickly taper.
 25 It makes me sad and sick at very heart;
 Thousands must fall today.
Dagm. Thousands of souls must leave this prison house,
 To be exalted to those heavenly fields,
 Where songs of triumph, palms of victory,
 30 Where peace, and joy, and love, and calm content,
 Sit singing in the azure clouds and strew
 Flowers of Heaven's growth over the banquet-table.
 Bind ardent hope upon your feet like shoes,
 Put on the robe of preparation,
 35 The table is prepared in shining Heaven,
 The flowers of immortality are blown.
 Let those that fight, fight in good stedfastness,
 And those that fall shall rise in victory.
Sir Walter. I've often seen the burning field of war,
 40 And often heard the dismal clang of arms,
 But never, till this fatal day of Crecy,
 Has my soul fainted with these views of death.
 I seem to be in one great charnel-house,
 And seem to scent the rotten carcases.
 45 I seem to hear the dismal yells of death,
 While the black gore drops from his horrid jaws.
 Yet I not fear the monster in his pride—

- But oh, the souls that are to die to-day!
Dagw. Stop, brave Sir Walter; let me drop a tear,
 50 Then let the clarion of war begin.
 I'll fight and weep, 'tis in my country's cause;
 I'll weep and shout for glorious liberty.
 Grim war shall laugh and shout, decked in tears,
 And blood shall flow like streams across the meadows
 55 That murmur down their pebbly channels and
 Spend their sweet lives to do their country service.
 Then shall England's verdure shoot, her fields shall smile,
 Her ships shall sing across the foaming sea,
 Her mariners shall use the flute and viol,
 60 And rattling guns, and black and dreary war,
 Shall be no more.
Sir Walter. Well, let the trumpet sound, and the drum
 beat;
 Let war stain the blue heavens with bloody banners;
 I'll draw my sword, nor ever sheathe it up,
 65 Till England blow the trump of victory,
 Or I lay stretched upon the field of death. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE 6, *in the Camp. Several of the Warriors
 met at the King's Tent with a Minstrel, who sings
 the following Song:*

- O sons of Trojan Brutus, clothed in war,
 Whose voices are the thunder of the field,
 Rolling dark clouds o'er France, muffling the sun
 In sickly darkness like a dim eclipse,
 5 Threatening as the red brow of storms, as fire
 Burning up nations in your wrath and fury.
 Your ancestors come from the fires of Troy,
 (Like lions roused by lightning from their dens,
 Whose eyes do glare against the stormy fires)
 10 Heated with war, filled with the blood of Greeks
 With helmets hewn, and shields covered with gore,
 In navies black, broken with wind and tide.
 They landed in firm array upon the rocks
 Of Albion; they kissed the rocky shore.
 15 'Be thou our mother, and our nurse,' they said;
 'Our children's mother, and thou shalt be our grave;

xx 6.1. *sons of Trojan Brutus*] Referring to the legend that Trojans, escaping from Troy when it fell, came to Britain and founded a nation under Brutus.

The sepulchre of ancient Troy, from whence
Shall rise cities, and thrones, and arms, and awful powers.'

Our fathers swarm from the ships. Giant voices
20 Are heard from the hills, the enormous sons
Of Ocean run from rocks and caves—wild men,
Naked and roaring like lions, hurling rocks,
And wielding knotty clubs, like oaks entangled,
Thick as a forest, ready for the axe.

25 Our fathers move in firm array to battle,
The savage monsters rush like roaring fire;
Like as a forest roars with crackling flames,
When the red lightning, borne by furious storms,
Lights on some woody shore; the parched heavens
30 Rain fire into the molten raging sea.

The smoking trees are strewn upon the shore,
Spoiled of their verdure. Oh, how oft have they
Defied the storm that howled o'er their heads!
Our fathers, sweating, lean on their spears and view
35 The mighty dead—giant bodies, streaming blood,
Dread visages, frowning in silent death.

Then Brutus spoke, inspired; our fathers sit
Attentive on the melancholy shore.
Hear ye the voice of Brutus: 'The flowing waves
40 Of time come rolling o'er my breast,' he said;
'And my heart labours with futurity.
Our sons shall rule the empire of the sea.

'Their mighty wings shall stretch from east to west,
Their nest is in the sea; but they shall roam
45 Like eagles for the prey; nor shall the young
Crave or be heard; for plenty shall bring forth,
Cities shall sing, and vales in rich array
Shall laugh, whose fruitful laps bend down with fulness.

'Our sons shall rise from thrones in joy,
50 Each one buckling on his armour. Morning
Shall be prevented by their swords' gleaming,
And evening hear their song of victory.
Their towers shall be built upon the rocks,
Their daughters shall sing, surrounded with shining spears.

55 'Liberty shall stand upon the cliffs of Albion,
Casting her blue eyes over the green ocean;
Or, towering, stand upon the roaring waves,

Stretching her mighty spear o'er distant lands,
 While, with her eagle wings, she covereth
 60 Fair Albion's shore and all her families.'

XXI PROLOGUE,
 intended for a dramatic piece of
 KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

Oh, for a voice like thunder, and a tongue
 To drown the throat of war! When the senses
 Are shaken, and the soul is driven to madness,
 Who can stand? When the souls of the oppressed
 5 Fight in the troubled air that rages, who can stand?
 When the whirlwind of fury comes from the
 Throne of God, when the frowns of his countenance
 Drive the nations together, who can stand?
 When sin claps his broad wings over the battle,
 10 And sails rejoicing in the flood of death;
 When souls are torn to everlasting fire,
 And fiends of hell rejoice upon the slain,
 Oh, who can stand? Oh, who hath caused this?
 Oh, who can answer at the throne of God?
 15 The kings and nobles of the land have done it!
 Hear it not, Heaven, thy ministers have done it!

XXII PROLOGUE TO KING JOHN

Justice hath heaved a sword to plunge in Albion's breast;
 for Albion's sins are crimson dyed, and the red scourge
 follows her desolate sons. Then Patriot rose; full oft did

xxi. *Title*. No trace of such a play survives, and the word 'intended' in the title implies that it was never written.

xxi 1. *Oh, for a voice*] Cp. Shakespeare's well-known prologue to *King Henry V*, line 1. B.'s prologue is clearly not a practical stage piece.

xxi 4. *Who can stand?*] Cp. *Malachi* iii 2: 'Who may abide the day of his coming? And who shall stand when he appeareth?'

xxii. Although written as prose, *Prologue to King John* should be recognized as belonging to an intermediate kind, the *prose-poem*, a form which was popular in B.'s age. Several examples of attempts in this medium by B. exist: in *Poetical Sketches* itself, two other pieces called 'The Couch of Death' and 'Contemplation'; and two pieces in MS, beginning 'Then she bore pale desire . . .' and 'Woe, cried the muse . . .' These four pieces have been omitted; this *Prologue*, more dramatically rhetorical, is important, not as literature, but as an illustration of a stage in the development of B.'s style, which soon rejected prose-poetry, but retained, in his long-lined verse, many of its features. Solomon Gessner's

Patriot rise, when Tyranny hath stained fair Albion's breast
 5 with her own children's gore. Round his majestic feet deep
 thunders roll; each heart does tremble, and each knee
 grows slack. The stars of heaven tremble: the roaring voice
 of war, the trumpet, calls to battle! Brother in brother's blood
 must bathe, rivers of death! O land, most hapless! O
 10 beauteous island, how forsaken! Weep from thy silver
 fountains; weep from thy gentle rivers! The angel of the
 island weeps! Thy widowed virgins weep beneath thy
 shades! Thy aged fathers gird themselves for war! The
 suckling infant lives to die in battle; the weeping mother
 15 feeds him for the slaughter! The husbandman doth leave
 his bending harvest! Blood cries afar! The land doth sow
 itself! The glittering youth of courts must gleam in arms!
 The aged senators their ancient swords assume! The
 trembling sinews of old age must work the work of death
 20 against their progeny; for Tyranny hath stretched his
 purple arm, and 'Blood', he cries; 'the chariots and the
 horses, the noise of shout, and dreadful thunder of the battle
 heard afar!'—Beware, O proud! thou shalt be humbled; thy
 cruel brow, thine iron heart is smitten, though lingering
 25 Fate is slow. O yet may Albion smile again, and stretch her
 peaceful arms, and raise her golden head, exultingly! Her
 citizens shall throng about her gates, her mariners shall sing
 upon the sea, and myriads shall to her temples crowd! Her
 sons shall joy as in the morning! Her daughters sing as to
 30 the rising year!

XXIII A WAR SONG TO ENGLISHMEN

Prepare, prepare the iron helm of war;
 Bring forth the lots, cast in the spacious orb;

The Death of Abel, translated into English by Mary Collyer in 1761, was the leading work in the vogue, which continued well into the nineteenth century, but produced little of any literary value. The essence of the prose-poem is that it has the diction and sentiments of poetry – the poetry of sensibility – and tries to capture the effects of the poetic use of metre in the freer rhythms of prose. B.'s pieces are by no means bad examples of the style, but they illustrate its major inherent defect – an almost complete lack of any technical discipline, with a resultant excess of rhetoric and sentimentality.

xxii 12. *Thy widowed virgins*] Brides widowed on the day of their wedding, a theme found in a number of ballads in Percy's *Reliques*.

xxiii. In appearance and sentiment the most juvenile of the *Poetical Sketches*; hence, perhaps, its obscure place in the collection. See *Edward III* 4.52n.

The Angel of Fate turns them with mighty hands,
And casts them out upon the darkened earth.

5 Prepare, prepare.

Prepare your hearts for Death's cold hand; prepare
Your souls for flight, your bodies for the earth!
Prepare your arms for glorious victory!
Prepare your eyes to meet a holy God!

10 Prepare, prepare.

Whose fatal scroll is that? Methinks 'tis mine!
Why sinks my heart, why faltereth my tongue?
Had I three lives, I'd die in such a cause,
And rise, with ghosts, over the well-fought field.

15 Prepare, prepare.

The arrows of Almighty God are drawn.
Angels of death stand in the lowering heavens.
Thousands of souls must seek the realms of light,
And walk together on the clouds of Heaven.

20 Prepare, prepare.

Soldiers, prepare! Our cause is Heaven's cause;
Soldiers, prepare! Be worthy of our cause;
Prepare to meet our fathers in the sky;
Prepare, O troops, that are to fall today.

25 Prepare, prepare.

Alfred shall smile and make his harp rejoice;
The Norman William and the learned Clerk,
And Lion-Heart, and black-browed Edward, with
His loyal queen shall rise and welcome us!

30 Prepare, prepare.

2 Poems written in a copy of *Poetical Sketches*

Three poems written in a copy of *Poetical Sketches* which was inscribed 'from Mrs Flaxman May 15 1784'; discovered and transcribed by G. L. Keynes in 1910. It is now in Wellington, N.Z. The second song is a variant of 'Laughing Song' in *Innocence* (see *n*, p. 62).

I SONG 1ST BY A SHEPHERD

Welcome, stranger, to this place,
Where joy doth sit on every bough,
Paleness flies from every face;
We reap not what we do not sow.

- 5 Innocence doth like a rose
Bloom on every maiden's cheek;
Honour twines around her brows,
The jewel health adorns her neck.

II SONG 2ND BY A YOUNG SHEPHERD

When the trees do laugh with our merry wit,
And the green hill laughs with the noise of it,
When the meadows laugh with lively green,
And the grasshopper laughs in the merry scene;

- 5 When the greenwood laughs with the voice of joy,
And the dimpling stream runs laughing by,
When Edessa, and Lyca, and Emilie,
With their sweet round mouths sing *Ha, ha, he!*

- When the painted birds laugh in the shade
10 Where our table with cherries and nuts is spread,
Come live and be merry and join with me,
To sing the sweet chorus of *Ha, ha, he!*

III SONG BY AN OLD SHEPHERD

When silver snow decks Sylvio's clothes,
And jewel hangs at shepherd's nose,
We can abide life's pelting storm
That makes our limbs quake, if our hearts be warm.

- 5 Whilst virtue is our walking-staff,
And truth a lantern to our path,
We can abide life's pelting storm
That makes our limbs quake, if our hearts be warm.

- Blow, boisterous wind; stern winter, frown—
10 Innocence is a winter's gown;
So clad, we'll abide life's pelting storm
That makes our limbs quake, if our hearts be warm.

3 Songs from *An Island in the Moon*

The amusing skit, known as *An Island in the Moon*, from its opening phrase and its setting in a supposed lunar world indistinguishable from Europe, England and London, exists in a holograph MS of c. 1784, as shown chiefly by an allusion to a fantastic fashion in ladies' hats in the autumn of that year. As a whole, *An Island in the Moon* parodies the activities and idiosyncrasies of B.'s circle of friends; the following selection contains all the songs that are sung in the course of their gatherings, with the immediate prose context. See the facsimile edn, Michael Phillips, ed., Cambridge University Press, 1987.

I CHAPTER 3

In the moon as Phœbus stood over his oriental gardening,
'Oh, ay, come, I'll sing you a song' said the Cynic. 'The
trumpeter shit in his hat' said the Epicurean. 'And clapped
it on his head' said the Pythagorean.

- 5 'I'll begin again', said the Cynic:
Little Phœbus came strutting in
With his fat belly and his round chin.
What is it you would please to have?
Ho! Ho!

10 I won't let it go at only so and so—

- Mrs Gimblet looked as if they meant her. Tilly Lally
laughed like a cherry clapper. Aradobo asked, 'Who was
Phœbus, sir?' Obtuse Angle answered, quickly, 'He was
the god of physic, painting, perspective, geometry, geo-
15 graphy, astronomy, cookery, chemistry, mechanics, tactics,
pathology, phraseology, theology, mythology, astrology,
osteology, somatology—in short, every art and science
adorned him as beads round his neck.' Here Aradobo
looked astonished and asked if he understood engraving.
20 Obtuse Angle answered, 'Indeed he did.' 'Well,' said the
other, 'he was as great as Chatterton.' Tilly Lally turned
round to Obtuse Angle and asked who it was that was as

¶ 3.i 2. *the Cynic*] Quid the Cynic is B. himself.

i 3. *the Epicurean*] Suction the Epicurean and Sipsop the Pythagorean are the others of a trio of philosophers: they have not been certainly identified, but Suction may well be Robert Blake.

great as Chatterton. 'Hey, how should I know?' answered
 Obtuse Angle. 'Who was it, Aradobo?' 'Why, sir,' said he,
 25 'the gentleman that the song was about.' 'Ah,' said Tilly
 Lally, 'I did not hear it; what was it, Obtuse Angle?'
 'Pooh', said he, 'Nonsense.' 'Mhm', said Tilly Lally. 'It
 was Phœbus,' said the Epicurean. 'Ah, that was the gentle-
 man,' said Aradobo. 'Pray, sir', said Tilly Lally, 'who was
 30 Phœbus?' Obtuse Angle answered, 'The heathens in the old
 ages used to have gods that they worshipped and they used
 to sacrifice to them. You have read about that in the
 Bible.' 'Ah,' said Aradobo, 'I thought I had read of
 Phœbus in the Bible.' 'Aradobo, you should always think
 35 before you speak,' said Obtuse Angle. 'Ha, ha, ha, he means
 Pharaoh!' said Tilly Lally. 'I am ashamed of you making
 use of the names in the Bible,' said Mrs Sigtagatist. 'I'll tell
 you what, Mrs Sinagain, I don't think there's any harm in
 it,' said Tilly Lally. 'No,' said Inflammable Gass, 'I have got
 40 a camera obscura at home—what was it you was talking
 about?' 'Law,' said Tilly Lally, 'what has that to do with
 Pharaoh?' 'Pho, nonsense—hang Pharaoh and all his host,'
 said the Pythagorean, 'sing away, Quid.'

Then the Cynic sung:

45 Honour and genius is all I ask,
 And I ask the gods no more.
 No more! No more! } *The three philosophers*
 No more! No more! } *bear chorus.*

Here Aradobo sucked his underlip.

II FROM CHAPTER 6

'Ah,' said Sipsop, 'I only wish Jack Tearguts had had the
 cutting of Plutarch. He understands anatomy better than
 any of the ancients; he'll plunge his knife up to the hilt in

i 39. *Inflammable Gass*] Perhaps Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), Unitarian minister and radical, who discovered oxygen. But more probably Wm. Nicholson (1753–1815), author of many scientific books, incl. *An Introduction to Natural Philosophy* (1782), with engravings at least partly by B., whose friend Cumberland mentions him in a letter to B. of 8 Aug. 1808 (Baine, *BQ* 10:51; Heppner, *BQ* 12:195).

i 45. A parody of a song in James Harris's *Daphnis and Chloe* (1762).

i 48. *No more!*] Ironical: 'Is that *all*?' Cp. *There is No Natural Religion* V: 'More! More! is the cry of a mistaken soul . . .' See p. 57.

ii 1. *Jack Tearguts*] *1st rdg del.* Jack Hunter. A famous surgeon (1728–93), the founder of modern surgery.

a single drive and thrust his fist in, and all in the space of
 5 a quarter of an hour. He does not mind their crying—though
 they cry ever so, he'll swear at them and keep them down
 with his fist and tell them that he'll scrape their bones if
 they don't lay still and be quiet.
 What the devil should the people in the hospital, that
 10 have it done for nothing, make such a piece of work for?'
 'Hang that,' said Suction, 'let us have a song.'
 Then the Cynic sang:

When old Corruption first begun,
 Adorned in yellow vest,
 15 He committed on Flesh a whoredom—
 O what a wicked beast!

2
 From them a callow babe did spring,
 And old Corruption smiled
 To think his race should never end,
 20 For now he had a child.

3
 He called him Surgery, and fed
 The babe with his own milk;
 For Flesh and he could ne'er agree—
 She would not let him suck.

4
 25 And this he always kept in mind,
 And formed a crooked knife,
 And ran about with bloody hands
 To seek his mother's life.

5
 And as he ran to seek his mother
 30 He met with a dead woman;
 He fell in love and married her—
 A deed which is not common.

6
 She soon grew pregnant, and brought forth
 Scurvy and Spotted Fever:
 35 The father grinned and skipped about
 And said, 'I'm made for ever.

ii 5. *a quarter of an hour*] With no anaesthesia, speed was essential; fifteen minutes was impossibly slow.

7

‘For now I have procured these imps,
I’ll try experiments.’
With that he tied poor Scurvy down
40 And stopped up all its vents,

8

And when the child began to swell
He shouted out aloud:
‘I’ve found the dropsy out, and soon
Shall do the world more good.’

9

45 He took up Fever by the neck
And cut out all its spots,
And through the holes which he had made
He first discovered guts.

‘Ah,’ said Sipsop, ‘you think we are rascals, and we think
50 you are rascals. I do as I choose—what is it to anybody,
what I do? I am always unhappy too, when I think of surgery.
I don’t know: I do it because I like it. My father does what
he likes and so do I. I think somehow I’ll leave it off. There
was a woman having her cancer cut and she shrieked so
55 that I was quite sick.’

III FROM CHAPTER 8

Steelyard the Lawgiver, sitting at his table taking extracts
from Hervey’s *Meditations among the Tombs* and Young’s
Night Thoughts. ‘He is not able to hurt me’, said he, ‘more
than making me constable or taking away the parish business.
5 Hah! “My crop of corn is but a field of tares.”

Says Jerome, ‘happiness is not for us poor crawling reptiles
of the earth.’ Talk of happiness and happiness; it’s no such
thing—every person has a something:

10 Hear then the pride and knowledge of a sailor—
His spritsail, foresail, mainsail, and his mizzen.
A poor frail man God wot, I know none frailer—
I know no greater sinner than John Taylor.

iii 1. *Steelyard*] John Flaxman, B.’s friend for many years; sculptor and Swedenborgian.

iii 5. *My crop . . . tares*] from *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (1685): Chidioc Tychbourn’s lines written on the eve of his execution (1586).

‘If I had only myself to care for, I’d soon make Double
Elephant look foolish—and Filigree work. I hope shall live
15 to see “The wreck of matter and the crush of worlds,” as
Young says’.

. . . Then said Miss Gittipin, ‘Mr Scopprell, do you know
the song of Phœbe and Jellicoe?’ ‘No, miss,’ said
Scopprell. Then she repeated these verses while Steelyard
20 walked about the room:

Phœbe dressed like beauty’s queen,
Jellicoe in faint peagreen,
Sitting all beneath a grot
Where the little lambkins trot;

25 Maidens dancing, loves a-sporting,
All the country folks a-courting,
Susan, Johnny, Bet, and Joe,
Lightly tripping on a row.

Happy people! who can be
30 In happiness compared with ye?
The pilgrim with his crook and hat
Sees your happiness complete.

‘A charming song indeed, miss!’ said Scopprell. Here
they received a summons for a merrymaking at the
35 Philosophers’ house.

IV CHAPTER 9

‘I say, this evening we’ll all get drunk.’ ‘I say, dash, an
anthem, an anthem!’ said Suction:

Lo! the bat with leathern wing,
Winking and blinking,
5 Winking and blinking,
Winking and blinking,
Like Doctor Johnson.

Quid—‘Oho!’ said Doctor Johnson
To Scipio Africanus,
10 ‘If you don’t own me a philosopher,
I’ll kick your Roman anus’.

iii 15–16 Not Young, but Addison’s *Cato* v i 28.

iv 3. From William Collins’s *Ode to Evening* 9–10.

Suction—‘Aha!’ to Doctor Johnson
Said Scipio Africanus,
‘Lift up my Roman petticoat
And kiss my Roman anus’.

And the cellar goes down with a step.
(*Grand Chorus*)

‘Ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, ho, hooooo, my poooooor
 siides! II should die if I was to live here!’ said Scopprell,
 ‘Ho, ho, ho, ho, ho—’

20	$I^{\text{st}} V_0$	Want matches?
	$2^{\text{d}} V_0$	Yes, Yes, Yes!
	$I^{\text{st}} V_0$	Want matches?
	$2^{\text{d}} V_0$	No-----
	$I^{\text{st}} V_0$	Want matches?
25	$2^{\text{d}} V_0$	Yes, Yes, Yes!
	$I^{\text{st}} V_0$	Want matches?
	$2^{\text{d}} V_0$	No-----

Here was great confusion and disorder. Aradobo said that the boys in the street sing something very pretty and funny
30 about matches. Then Mrs Nannicantiopot sung:

I cry my matches as far as Guildhall.
God bless the Duke and his Aldermen all.

Then sung Scopprell:

35 I ask the Gods no more,
no more, no more.

Then said Suction, ‘Come, Mr Lawgiver, your song,’ and the Lawgiver sung:

40 As I walked forth one May morning,
To see the fields so pleasant and so gay,
Oh, there did I spy a young maiden sweet
Among the violets that smell so sweet,
Smell so sweet,
Smell so sweet,
Among the violets that smell so sweet.

45 ‘Hang your violets, here’s your rum and water!’ ‘Oh, ay,’ said Tilly Lally: ‘Joe Bradley and I was going along one day in the sugar house. Joe Bradley saw – for he had but one eye – saw a treacle jar. So he goes of his blind side and dips his hand up to the shoulder in treacle. “Here, lick, lick, lick!”

50 said he. Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha! For he had but one eye! Ha,
ha, ha, ho!' Then sung Scopprell:

And I ask the gods no more,
no more, no more,
no more, no more.

55 'Miss Gittipin,' said he, 'you sing like a harpsichord. Let
your bounty descend to our fair ears, and favour us with a
fine song'

Then she sung:

This frog he would a wooing ride—
60 Kitty alone, Kitty alone.
This frog he would a wooing ride—
Kitty alone and I.
Sing cock I carry, Kitty alone,
Kitty alone, Kitty alone,
65 Cock I carry, Kitty alone,
Kitty alone and I.

'Charming, truly elegant' said Scopprell,

And I ask the gods no more.

70 'Hang your serious songs,' said Sipsop, and he sung as
follows

Fa ra so bo ro
Fa ra bo ra
Sa ba ra ra ba rare roro
Sa ra ra ra bo ro ro ro
75 Radara
Sarapodo no flo ro.

'Hang Italian songs, let's have English,' said Quid.
'English genius for ever! Here I go':

80 Hail Matrimony, made of Love,
To thy wide gates how great a drove
On purpose to be yoked do come!
Widows and maids and youths also,
That lightly trip on beauty's toe
Or sit on beauty's bum.

85 Hail, fingerfooted lovely creatures,
 The females of our human natures,
 Formed to suckle all mankind—
 'Tis you that come in time of need;
 Without you we should never breed,
 90 Or any comfort find.

 For if a damsel's blind or lame,
 Or nature's hand has crooked her frame,
 Or if she's deaf or is wall-eyed;
 Yet if her heart is well inclined,
 95 Some tender lover she shall find
 That panteth for a bride.

 The universal poultice this,
 To cure whatever is amiss
 In damsel or in widow gay;
 100 It makes them smile, it makes them skip;
 Like birds just cured of the pip
 They chirp and hop away.

 Then come, ye maidens, come, ye swains,
 Come and be eased of all your pains
 105 In Matrimony's golden cage.

 'I – go and be hanged', said Scopprell, 'How can you have
 the face to make game of matrimony?'

 Then Quid called upon Obtuse Angle for a song, and he,
 wiping his face and looking on the corner of the ceiling,
 110 sang:

 To be or not to be
 Of great capacity,
 Like Sir Isaac Newton
 Or Locke or Doctor South,
 115 Or Sherlock upon Death—
 I'd rather be Sutton.

 For he did build a house
 For aged men and youth
 With walls of brick and stone.
 120 He furnished it within
 With whatever he could win,
 And all his own.

iv 115. Wm. *Sherlock*, author of *A Practical Discourse concerning Death*.

iv 116. *Sutton*] Founder of the Charterhouse (1611).

He drew out of the stocks
His money in a box,
125 And sent his servant
To Green the bricklayer,
And to the carpenter;
He was so fervent.

The chimneys were three score,
130 The windows many more;
And for convenience
He sinks and gutters made,
And all the way he paved
To hinder pestilence.

Was not this a good man,
Whose life was but a span,
Whose name was Sutton,
As Locke or Doctor South
Or Sherlock upon Death
140 Or Sir Isaac Newton?

The Lawgiver was very attentive and begged to have it sung over again and again till the company were tired and insisted on the Lawgiver singing a song himself—which he readily complied with:

145 This city and this country has brought forth many
mayors,
To sit in state and give forth laws out of their old oak chairs,
With face as brown as any nut with drinking of strong ale;
Good English hospitality, oh, then it did not fail!

With scarlet gowns and broad gold lace would make a
yeoman sweat,
150 With stockings rolled above their knees, and shoes as
black as jet;
With eating beef and drinking beer, oh, they were
stout and hale;
Good English hospitality, oh, then it did not fail!

Thus sitting at the table wide, the Mayor and Aldermen
Were fit to give law to the City; each ate as much as ten.
155 The hungry poor entered the hall to eat good beef
and ale;
Good English hospitality, oh, then it did not fail!

Here they gave a shout and the company broke up.

V CHAPTER II

Another merry meeting at the house of Steelyard the Lawgiver.

After supper Steelyard and Obtuse Angle had pumped Inflammable Gass quite dry. They played at forfeits and tried
 5 every method to get good humour. Said Miss Gittipin, 'Pray, Mr Obtuse Angle, sing us a song'; then he sung:

Upon a Holy Thursday, their innocent faces clean,
 The children walking two and two in grey and blue
 and green;
 Grey-headed beadies walked before with wands as
 white as snow,
 10 Till into the high dome of Paul's they like Thames
 waters flow.
 Oh, what a multitude they seemed, these flowers of
 London town!
 Seated in companies they sit, with radiance all their own.
 The hum of multitudes were there, but multitudes of
 lambs,
 Thousands of little girls and boys raising their innocent
 hands.
 15 Then like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice
 of song,
 Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of heaven
 among.
 Beneath them sit the reverend men, the guardians of
 the poor:
 Then cherish pity, lest you drive an angel from your
 door.

After this they all sat silent for a quarter of an hour. And
 20 Mrs Nannicantipot said, 'It puts me in mind of my mother's
 song:'

When the tongues of children are heard on the green,
 And laughing is heard on the hill,
 My heart is at rest within my breast,
 25 And everything else is still.

'Then come home, my children, the sun is gone down
 And the dews of night arise;

Come come, leave off play, and let us away
Till the morning appears in the skies.'

- 30 'No, no, let us play, for it is yet day,
And we cannot go to sleep;
Besides, in the sky the little birds fly,
And the meadows are covered with sheep.'
- 'Well, well, go and play till the light fades away,
35 And then go home to bed.'
The little ones leaped and shouted and laughed,
And all the hills echoèd.

Then sung Quid:

- 'Oh, father, father, where are you going?
40 Oh, do not walk so fast!
Oh, speak, father, speak to your little boy,
Or else I shall be lost.'
- The night it was dark, and no father was there,
And the child was wet with dew;
45 The mire was deep, and the child did weep,
And away the vapour flew.

Here nobody could sing any longer, till Tilly Lally
plucked up a spirit and he sung:

- Oh, I say, you Joe,
50 Throw us the ball.
I've a good mind to go
And leave you all.
I never saw such a bowler—
To bowl the ball in a tansy
55 And to clean it with my handkercher
Without saying a word!
- That Bill's a foolish fellow,
He has given me a black eye;
He does not know how to handle a bat
60 Any more than a dog or cat.
He has knocked down the wicket
And broke the stumps,
And runs without shoes to save his pumps.

v 54. *tansy*] Euphemism for 'turd', to rhyme with 'word'.

v 63. *pumps*] light shoes, like modern plimsolls.

Here a laugh began, and Miss Gittipin sung:

- 65 Leave, oh, leave me to my sorrows;
 Here I'll sit and fade away,
 Till I'm nothing but a spirit,
 And I lose this form of clay.
- Then if chance along this forest
- 70 Any walk in pathless ways,
 Through the gloom he'll see my shadow,
 Hear my voice upon the breeze.

- The Lawgiver all the while sat delighted to see them in
 such a serious humour. 'M' Scopprell,' said he, 'you must
- 75 be acquainted with a great many songs.' 'O, dear sir! Ho,
 ho, ho, I am no singer – I must beg of one of these tender-
 hearted ladies to sing for me.' They all declined and he was
 forced to sing himself:

- There's Doctor Clash
- 80 And Signor Falalasole;
 Oh, they sweep in the cash
 Into their purse-hole.
 Fa me la sol. La me fa sol.

- Great A, little A,
- 85 Bouncing B,
 Play away, play away,
 You're out of the key.
 Fa me la sol. La me fa sol.

- Musicians should have
- 90 A pair of very good ears,
 And long fingers and thumbs,
 And not like clumsy bears.
 Fa me la sol. La me fa sol.

- Gentlemen, gentlemen,
- 95 Rap, rap, rap!
 Fiddle, fiddle, fiddle!
 Clap, clap, clap!
 Fa me la sol. La me fa sol

- 'Hm,' said the Lawgiver, 'funny enough. Let's have
- 100 Handel's "Water Piece". Then Sipsop sung:

 A crowned king,
 On a white horse sitting,

With his trumpets sounding,
 And banners flying,
 105 Through the clouds of smoke he makes his way;
 And the shout of his thousands fills his heart with
 rejoicing and victory,
 And the shout of his thousands fills his heart with
 rejoicing and victory,
 110 Victory, victory! – 'twas William, the prince of Orange!

4 All Religions are One There is No Natural Religion

These tracts contain B.'s very early statement of fundamental opinions he held all his life. His last Illuminated Book, *The Ghost of Abel*, published in 1822, has a colophon inscribed at its foot: '1822 W. Blake's Original Stereotype was 1788'. It has long been assumed that this referred to these sets of small tracts. Recent study by Joseph Viscomi (see *BIB*) suggests that, though they may have been prepared then, *There is No Natural Religion* at least was not printed until 1794–5. They are placed here in this edition since this is believed to be the time they were prepared. Each 'Principle' is printed on a separate, very small plate (about $2 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ ins., 50×75 mm), and each one includes both text and design. The words were therefore very cramped, and had several times to be awkwardly divided. This is reflected in the following presentation, although the exact layout is not followed.

Nineteen plates of *No Natural Religion* exist. A frontispiece, titlepage, *Argument*, and Principles i to vi, I, II, and 'Therefore' in one form; a different frontispiece, the same titlepage, plates I to VI, *Conclusion*, *Application*, and 'Therefore', printed in a larger frame. (All B.'s numbers are Roman capitals; I have distinguished the set without the large frame by the lower-case *i–vi*.) The present arrangement is Viscomi's very sensible suggestion as to B.'s intentions. It certainly displays the irony of *No Natural Religion*. The *Argument* and Principles i to vi seem to state Lockean views, but from Principle I onwards, the falsity of their foundations is revealed.

ALL RELIGIONS are ONE

*The Voice of one
crying in the Wilderness*

The Argument

As the true method of knowledge is experiment the true faculty of knowing must be the faculty which experiences. This faculty I treat of.

PRINCIPLE 1ST

That the Poetic Genius is the true Man, and that the body or outward form of Man is derived from the Poetic Genius. Likewise that the forms of all things are derived from their Genius, which by the Ancients was call'd an Angel & Spirit & Demon.

PRINCIPLE 2^d

As all men are alike in outward form, So (and with the same infinite variety) all are alike in the Poetic Genius.

PRINCIPLE 3^d

No man can think write or speak from his heart, but he must intend truth. Thus all sects of Philosophy are from the Poetic Genius adapted to the weaknesses of every individual.

PRINCIPLE 4.

As none by travelling over known lands can find out the unknown. So from already acquired knowledge Man could not acquire more. Therefore an universal Poetic Genius exists.

PRINCIPLE 5.

The Religions of all Nations are derived from each Nations different reception of the Poetic Genius which is every where call'd the Spirit of Prophecy.

PRINCIPLE 6 The Jewish & Christian Testaments are An original derivation from the Poetic Genius. This is necessary from the confined nature of bodily sensation.

PRINCIPLE 7 As

all men are alike (tho' infinitely various) So all Religions & as all similars have one source The true Man is the source he being the Poetic Genius.

THERE is NO NATURAL RELIGION

The Author & Printer
W. Blake

The Argument

Man has no notion of moral fitness but from Education. Naturally he is only a natural organ subject to Sense.

iii From a Perception of only 3 senses or 3 elements none could deduce a fourth or fifth.

vi The desires & perceptions of man untaught by any thing but organs of sense, must be limited to objects of sense.

IV The bounded is loathed by its possessor. The same dull round even of a universe would soon become a mill with complicated wheels.

VII The desire of Man being Infinite & himself Infinite.

i Man cannot naturally Perceive. but through his natural or bodily organs.

iv None could have other than natural or organic thoughts if he had none but organic perceptions.

I Mans perceptions are not bounded by organs of perception. he perceives more than sense (tho' ever so-acute) can discover.

V If the many became the same as the few, when possess'd, More! More! is the cry of a mistaken soul, less than All cannot satisfy Man.

[VIII] *Conclusion* If it were not for the Poetic or Prophetic character, the Philosophic & Experimental would soon be at the ratio of all things, & stand still, unable to do other than repeat the same dull round over again.

ii Man by his reasoning power. can only compare & judge of what he has already perceiv'd.

v Mans desires are limited by his perceptions. none can desire what he has not perceiv'd.

II Reason or the ratio of all we have already known, is not the same that it shall be when we know more.

VI If any could desire what he is incapable of possessing, despair must be his eternal lot.

[IX] *Application* He who sees the infinite in all things, sees God. He who sees the Ratio only sees himself only.

[X] *Therefore* God becomes as we are, that we may be as he is.

5 Songs of Innocence

Date: on the titlepage, 1789. Three poems, 'Nurse's Song', 'The Little Boy Lost' and 'Holy Thursday' appear in the MS *An Island in the Moon* (pp. 43–55 above), c. 1784. An early text of 'Laughing Song' (see p. 42 above) is dated May 1784. Other external evidence about particular poems is slight. 'The Chimney Sweeper' may reflect the agitation on behalf of child-sweeps, for the poem is less naive than it seems; in any case B. had no need of an agitation to show him the sweeps. 'The Little Girl Lost' and 'Found', and 'The Voice of the Ancient Bard' have a 'prophetic' tone which perhaps indicates lateness; with 'The School Boy', they were moved to *Experience* in 1794. This apart, we can only say that the poems' outside dates are 1784–9, and that the book was made in 1789.

The Songs. In 1784–85 B., aged 27, was partner in a print shop, where an illustrated book of verse of high artistic quality would have been a useful addition to his stock. During this period these *Songs* began to be written, although they were not published until 1789, too late to be useful in the shop. *Songs of Innocence* was original in its process of printing and exceptional in poetic value, but such illustrated booklets for children were becoming more popular at this time, in the tradition of Isaac Watts's *Divine Songs for Children* (1715), familiar to the children of two centuries, and parodied by Lewis Carroll 80 years later. The quality of B.'s work, with its lavish embellishment, engraved ornaments and illustrations, is far beyond theirs; but there is another major difference. With few exceptions, such as *The Butterfly's Ball* of 1807, these books entertained in order to instruct, while the *Innocence* poems do little to instruct their child readers. If anything, they instruct their adult carers. B. consistently rates freedom and joy in a child's life above discipline. As Andrew Lincoln says, 'the emphasis falls on distress and comfort' (*SIE*, p. 169). We must also distinguish between the overtones which some sophisticated readers too quickly detect – phallic symbols in 'The Blossom', for example – and the simpler effects of the poems on real child readers. The overtones are there – this is the B. who was soon to produce the *enfant-terrible* pieces of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* – but it is plain that B. himself knew the difference, since he later went on to produce *Songs of Experience*, in which such overtones are explicit. The bitterness of *Experience* should not make us doubt the sincerity of the *Songs of Innocence*, which he continued to issue separately even after the combined *Songs* had appeared in 1794.

Songs of Innocence is striking in its variety. The poems, and the designs, are not aimed at a single mass market labelled 'Children'. They range from the naivety of 'The Blossom' and 'Spring' to the relative sophistication of 'Night', from the mini-tales of 'Little Boy

Lost' and 'Found' to the more formal hymn-like poems such as 'The Divine Image'. Their verse forms, too, show more experiment than *Lyrical Ballads*, where Wordsworth is largely content to vary traditional ballad stanzas and the decasyllabic line. B.'s verse forms include not only the 8/6 and 8/8-syllable ballad (and hymn) stanzas but also several different irregular patterns. In an age when syllable-counting was the norm, his rhythms are increasingly patterned by stress. A favourite is the seven-syllable line (really a five-stress line), as in the 'Introduction' and 'A Dream' (and later in 'The Tiger'), in what is really a traditional 'long metre' or 8-syllable line with the opening unstressed syllable removed. He finds for each poem, in short, its own stanza form, and makes sure that it fits. This feat should be more noticed than it is.

The order here is that of one of B.'s early copies – Keynes's 'copy A'. It has the advantage of presenting the simpler and probably earlier poems first: the only liberties with this order have been to move the 'Little Girl' poems and 'The Ancient Bard' to the end; both were later removed to *Experience*. In this copy they followed 'A Dream' and 'The Little Black Boy' respectively. B. never settled the order of these poems, though this is probably a sign of experiment rather than of carelessness. However, in eight early copies (c. 1789–94), the following pairs are found seven times, suggesting that B. found a point in the associations:

'The Shepherd' and 'Infant Joy':	'The Blossom' and 'The Lamb'
'Nurse's Song' and 'Holy Thursday':	'The Chimney Sweeper' and 'The Divine Image'
'Spring' and 'The Schoolboy':	'A Dream' and 'Little Girl' poems
'Laughing Song' and 'The Little Black Boy', with 'The Voice of the Ancient Bard'.	

[*Frontispiece*]

I INTRODUCTION

Piping down the valleys wild,
Piping songs of pleasant glee,
On a cloud I saw a child
And he laughing said to me:

¶ 5. *Frontispiece*. The piper with his flock; the child of the 'Introduction' hovers in the air over him.

i. Twining stems in both margins make ovals in which happy scenes of 'Innocence' are shown.

5 ‘Pipe a song about a lamb.’
 So I piped with merry cheer;
 ‘Piper, pipe that song again.’
 So I piped; he wept to hear.

 ‘Drop thy pipe, thy happy pipe;
 10 Sing thy songs of happy cheer.’
 So I sung the same again,
 While he wept with joy to hear.

 ‘Piper, sit thee down and write
 In a book that all may read.’
 15 So he vanished from my sight:
 And I plucked a hollow reed,

 And I made a rural pen,
 And I stained the water clear,
 And I wrote my happy songs
 20 Every child may joy to hear.

II THE SHEPHERD

How sweet is the shepherd’s sweet lot—
 From the morn to the evening he strays!
 He shall follow his sheep all the day,
 And his tongue shall be filled with praise.

 5 For he hears the lambs innocent call,
 And he hears the ewes tender reply;
 He is watchful while they are in peace,
 For they know when their shepherd is nigh.

III INFANT JOY

 ‘I have no name—
 I am but two days old.’
 What shall I call thee?
 ‘I happy am,
 5 Joy is my name.’

ii. This poem drifts from the pastoral to the religious, in keeping with its twin traditions – simple but polite pastoral poetry, in the same vein of sentimental mimicry that produced the Dresden shepherdess; and the *Divine Hymns for Children* of Isaac Watts, which put lessons for children into a genuine ballad form (for example, see ‘Cradle Song’ below). The design shows a youthful shepherd with his flock.

iii. The design shows an open flower, in which an angel admires a child on its mother’s lap.

iii 5. *Joy . . . name*] Joy was not a common name for girls in B.’s time; he is using the abstract noun. The child may be boy or girl.

Sweet joy befall thee!
 Pretty joy!
 Sweet joy but two days old—
 Sweet joy I call thee.
 10 Thou dost smile,
 I sing the while—
 Sweet joy befall thee!

IV A CRADLE SONG

Sweet dreams, form a shade
 O'er my lovely infant's head,
 Sweet dreams of pleasant streams,
 By happy silent moony beams.
 5 Sweet sleep, with soft down
 Weave thy brows an infant crown;
 Sweet sleep, angel mild,
 Hover o'er my happy child.
 10 Sweet smiles in the night
 Hover over my delight.
 Sweet smiles, Mother's smiles,
 All the livelong night beguiles.
 Sweet moans, dovelike sighs,
 Chase not slumber from thy eyes.

iv. The text is on two plates; most of the second is taken up with a picture of a mother watching her child in his cradle. Note the close parallel with Watts's 'Cradle Hymn' (V. de S. Pinto, *The Divine Vision* pp. 71–6):

Hush! my dear, lie still and slumber;
 Holy angels guard thy bed!
 Heavenly blessings without number
 Gently falling on thy head.
 Sleep, my babe; thy food and raiment
 House and home thy friends provide,
 All without thy care or payment,
 All thy wants are well supplied.
 How much better thou'rt attended
 Than the Son of God could be,
 When from heaven he descended
 And became a child like thee.
 Soft and easy is thy cradle;
 Coarse and hard thy Saviour lay;
 When his birthplace was a stable,
 And his softest bed was hay . . .

iv 4. *By*] Either 'lit by' or 'together with'.

- 15 Sweet moans, sweeter smiles,
All the dovelike moans beguiles.
- Sleep, sleep, happy child:
All creation slept and smiled.
Sleep, sleep, happy sleep,
20 While o'er thee thy mother weep.
- Sweet babe, in thy face
Holy image I can trace;
Sweet babe once like thee
Thy maker lay and wept for me,
- 25 Wept for me, for thee, for all,
When he was an infant small.
Thou his image ever see,
Heavenly face that smiles on thee—
- Smiles on thee, on me, on all,
30 Who became an infant small.
Infant smiles are his own smiles,
Heaven and earth to peace beguiles.

V LAUGHING SONG

- When the green woods laugh with the voice of joy,
And the dimpling stream runs laughing by;
When the air does laugh with our merry wit,
And the green hill laughs with the noise of it;
- 5 When the meadows laugh with lively green
And the grasshopper laughs in the merry scene;
When Mary and Susan and Emily,
With their sweet round mouths, sing *Ha, ha, he!*

iv 15–16. i.e. ‘Sweet moans! but your mother’s sweeter smiles will beguile the moans away’.

Beguiles should strictly be ‘beguile’, but the rhyme forces a plural form. B. was not pedantic on these matters.

iv 17–24. First, the mother’s care (‘weeping’) for her sleeping child is like the creator’s care for his unknowing creation. Then the child is like the infant Jesus: the creator’s care caused him to become like a child, to look after the woman who then became his mother, as well as all creation.

v. For an earlier form, see p. 42 above. The design above the text shows a gay party around a table.

v 7. *Mary . . . Emily*] Cp. the names in the earlier version – ‘Edessa, Lyca and Emilie’. For once, B.’s alteration brings the poem nearer to the everyday world.

v 8. *Ha, ha, he!* calls for a sung chorus.

- When the painted birds laugh in the shade
 10 Where our table with cherries and nuts is spread,
 Come live and be merry and join with me,
 To sing the sweet chorus of *Ha, ha, he!*

VI THE LITTLE BLACK BOY

- My mother bore me in the southern wild,
 And I am black, but oh, my soul is white;
 White as an angel is the English child,
 But I am black as if bereaved of light.
- 5 My mother taught me underneath a tree,
 And sitting down before the heat of day
 She took me on her lap and kissed me,
 And pointing to the east began to say:
- ‘Look on the rising sun: there God does live
 10 And gives his light, and gives his heat away;
 And flowers and trees and beasts and men receive
 Comfort in morning joy in the noon day.
- ‘And we are put on earth a little space,
 That we may learn to bear the beams of love,
 15 And these black bodies and this sun-burnt face
 Is but a cloud, and like a shady grove.
- ‘For when our souls have learned the heat to bear
 The cloud will vanish, we shall hear his voice,
 Saying: “Come out from the grove, my love and care,
 20 And round my golden tent like lambs rejoice.”’
- Thus did my mother say, and kissed me;
 And thus I say to little English boy:
 When I from black and he from white cloud free
 And round the tent of God like lambs we joy,
- 25 I’ll shade him from the heat till he can bear
 To lean in joy upon our Father’s knee;
 And then I’ll stand and stroke his silver hair,
 And be like him and he will then love me.

vi. A poem in the spirit of contemporary radical anti-slavery writing. It apparently hints at the commonplace of ‘the benighted heathen’; but note that the black boy leads the white boy to God, not vice versa. The design above the poem illustrates st. 2; the design after the poem illustrates the last stanza.

In the copy which is otherwise followed here for the order of *Songs of Innocence*, ‘The Voice of the Ancient Bard’ is the next poem. It has been put at the end on account of its undoubted lateness, but normally it went with this poem (see headn.).

VII THE ECHOING GREEN

The sun does arise,
 And make happy the skies;
 The merry bells ring
 To welcome the spring;
 5 The skylark and thrush,
 The birds of the bush,
 Sing louder around,
 To the bells' cheerful sound,
 While our sports shall be seen
 10 On the Echoing Green.

 Old John with white hair
 Does laugh away care,
 Sitting under the oak,
 Among the old folk.
 15 They laugh at our play,
 And soon they all say,
 'Such, such were the joys,
 When we all, girls and boys,
 In our youth-time were seen
 20 On the Echoing Green.'

 Till the little ones weary
 No more can be merry;
 The sun does descend,
 And our sports have an end.
 25 Round the laps of their mothers,
 Many sisters and brothers,
 Like birds in their nest,
 Are ready for rest—
 And sport no more seen,
 30 On the darkening Green.

VIII NURSE'S SONG

When the voices of children are heard on the green,
 And laughing is heard on the hill,

vii. Above the text, a family (four adults and a large group of children of all ages) sit or play round a leafy tree. The margins contain figures of children and branches with leaves and fruit; beneath the text the father and mother lead the children home. vii 11–13. *Old John*] The conventional 'old shepherd'; B.'s later notion of old age under an oak tree as evil has not yet grown.

viii. Cp. 'Nurse's Song', *Experience*, p. 221 below; and an early version in *Island in the Moon*, p. 52 above. Beneath the text, the nurse sits and watches the children dance in a ring.

My heart is at rest within my breast,
And everything else is still.

- 5 'Then come home, my children, the sun is gone down
And the dews of night arise;
Come, come, leave off play, and let us away
Till the morning appears in the skies.'

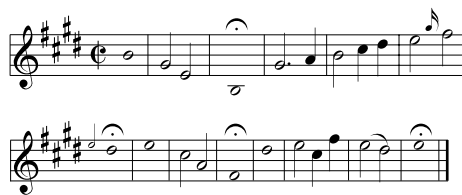
- 'No, no, let us play, for it is yet day,
10 And we cannot go to sleep;
Besides, in the sky the little birds fly,
And the hills are all covered with sheep.'

- 'Well, well, go and play till the light fades away,
And then go home to bed.'
15 The little ones leaped and shouted and laughed,
And all the hills echoed.

IX HOLY THURSDAY

'Twas on a Holy Thursday, their innocent faces clean,
The children walking two and two in red and blue and green;

ix. Annual services for all the Charity Schools in London – i.e. schools (for poor and destitute children) whose income was the voluntary subscriptions of the rich – had been held since 1704, but in St Paul's only since 1782. 'Holy Thursday' strictly speaking is Ascension Day; these services were held on a Thursday, usually in May, but never on Ascension Day. Thus the occasion was 'Holy Thursday' by its own worth, not by ecclesiastical tradition. The emotional effect of the singing of perhaps 5,000 children, evidently felt by B., is testified to by a number of observers, including Haydn, who made a note of the music of their *Gloria*:



This poem is found in *An Island in the Moon*, c. 1784 (see p. 52); cp. also 'Holy Thursday' in *Experience*, p. 225. The designs above and below the text show the children in procession.

ix 2. *red*] 1st version (p. 52) has 'grey'. There were charity schools wearing red, grey, blue and green; one wore orange. B. would make the alteration for poetical reasons therefore, not for accuracy.

- Grey-headed beadles walked before with wands as white
 as snow,
 Till into the high dome of Paul's they like Thames
 waters flow.
- 5 Oh, what a multitude they seemed, these flowers of
 London town!
 Seated in companies they sit, with radiance all their own.
 The hum of multitudes was there, but multitudes of lambs,
 Thousands of little boys and girls raising their innocent
 hands.
- Now like a mighty wind they raise to heaven the voice of
 song,
 10 Or like harmonious thunderings the seats of Heaven
 among.
 Beneath them sit the aged men, wise guardians of the poor:
 Then cherish pity, lest you drive an angel from your door.

X ON ANOTHER'S SORROW

- Can I see another's woe,
 And not be in sorrow too?
 Can I see another's grief,
 And not seek for kind relief?
- 5 Can I see a falling tear,
 And not feel my sorrow's share?
 Can a father see his child
 Weep, nor be with sorrow filled?
- 10 Can a mother sit and hear,
 An infant groan, an infant fear?
 No, no, never can it be,
 Never, never can it be!
- And can he, who smiles on all,
 Hear the wren with sorrows small,
 15 Hear the small bird's grief and care,
 Hear the woes that infants bear,

ix 11. *Beneath*] St Paul's has no permanent gallery; on these occasions wooden stands were built to accommodate the thousands of children.

ix 12. 'Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares' (*Hebrews* xiii 2).

x. See note on iv, 'A Cradle Song'.

And not sit beside the nest
Pouring pity in their breast,
And not sit the cradle near
20 Weeping tear on infant's tear,

And not sit both night and day,
Wiping all our tears away?
Oh, no, never can it be,
Never, never can it be!

25 He doth give his joy to all,
He becomes an infant small.
He becomes a man of woe,
He doth feel the sorrow too.

Think not thou canst sigh a sigh,
30 And thy maker is not by;
Think not thou canst weep a tear,
And thy maker is not near.

Oh, he gives to us his joy
That our grief he may destroy;
35 Till our grief is fled and gone,
He doth sit by us and moan.

XI SPRING

Sound the flute!
Now it's mute;
Birds delight
Day and night;
5 Nightingale
In the dale,
Lark in the sky,
Merrily
Merrily merrily, to welcome in the year.

10 Little boy
Full of joy;
Little girl
Sweet and small;
Cock does crow,
15 So do you;
Merry voice,

xi. Above the text, a mother under a leafy tree holds up her baby to see the feeding sheep around them. Beneath the text, the child sits and plays with a lamb.

Infant noise,
Merrily, merrily, to welcome in the year.

Little lamb
20 Here I am;
Come and lick
My white neck.
Let me pull
Your soft wool,
25 Let me kiss
Your soft face;
Merrily, merrily, we welcome in the year.

XII THE SCHOOLBOY

I love to rise in a summer morn,
When the birds sing on every tree;
The distant huntsman winds his horn,
And the skylark sings with me.
5 Oh, what sweet company!

But to go to school in a summer morn—
Oh, it drives all joy away!
Under a cruel eye outworn
The little ones spend the day,
10 In sighing and dismay.

Ah, then at times I drooping sit,
And spend many an anxious hour;
Nor in my book can I take delight,
Nor sit in learning's bower,
15 Worn through with the dreary shower.

How can the bird, that is born for joy,
Sit in a cage and sing?
How can a child, when fears annoy,
But droop his tender wing,
20 And forget his youthful spring?

xii. This poem seems to belong to *Experience* because of its unhappy mood; yet even after B. had issued the double volume, he kept 'The Schoolboy' in *Innocence* in thirteen copies. Perhaps the reason is that the poem expresses the child's feelings, and not the disillusioned adult's recollections of them.

xii. *Design*: a group of boys play marbles or taws at the foot; behind them a shrub twists its way up the R margin.

Oh, father and mother, if buds are nipped,
 And blossoms blown away,
 And if the tender plants are stripped
 Of their joy in the springing day
 25 By sorrow and care's dismay,

 How shall the summer arise in joy,
 Or the summer fruits appear?
 Or how shall we gather what griefs destroy,
 Or bless the mellowing year,
 30 When the blasts of winter appear?

XIII A DREAM

Once a dream did weave a shade,
 O'er my angel-guarded bed,
 That an emmet lost its way
 Where on grass methought I lay.

 5 Troubled, wildered and forlorn,
 Dark, benighted, travel-worn,
 Over many a tangled spray
 All heart-broke I heard her say:

 'Oh, my children, do they cry?
 10 Do they hear their father sigh?
 Now they look abroad to see,
 Now return and weep for me.'

 Pitying, I dropped a tear;
 But I saw a glow-worm near,
 15 Who replied, 'What wailing wight
 Calls the watchman of the night?

 'I am set to light the ground,
 While the beetle goes his round.
 Follow now the beetle's hum;
 20 Little wanderer, hie thee home.'

xiii. This poem has been likened to Watts's song 'The Ant, or Emmet', beginning: 'These emmets, how little they seem in our eyes! / We tread them to dust, and a troop of them dies . . .' (cp. Pinto, *Divine Vision*, p. 77); yet it seems nearer the well-known nursery rhyme 'Ladybird, ladybird, fly away home' in its mood and sentiment, though the versification is like Watts's.

xiii 8. *heart-broke*] Standard eighteenth-century English (as commonly in Jane Austen).

xiii 13. *Pitying*] But the glow-worm was more practical, and showed a light.

XIV THE BLOSSOM

Merry, merry sparrow,
 Under leaves so green,
 A happy blossom
 Sees you, swift as arrow,
 5 Seek your cradle narrow
 Near my bosom.

 Pretty, pretty robin,
 Under leaves so green,
 A happy blossom
 10 Hears you sobbing, sobbing,
 Pretty, pretty robin,
 Near my bosom.

XV THE LAMB

Little lamb, who made thee?
 Dost thou know who made thee,
 Gave thee life and bid thee feed
 By the stream and o'er the mead—
 5 Gave thee clothing of delight,
 Softest clothing, woolly bright,
 Gave thee such a tender voice,
 Making all the vales rejoice?

 Little lamb, who made thee,
 10 Dost thou know who made thee?

 Little lamb, I'll tell thee,
 Little lamb, I'll tell thee!

xiv. The extreme simplicity of this poem has puzzled interpreters, who have worked hard to find sexual symbolism. It is doubtful that B. would embody such symbolism so deeply in a book planned for children; in any case, he usually indicates quite clearly when he has an important notion to propound. B. speaks of the flower which looks on (i.e. it is a sentient being) at the human and the birds who laugh and weep together; all creation is united. This is one of B.'s favourite themes, both in this simple form in his early works, and more metaphysically in his last epics. The design shows a flame rising like a plant from the ground up the right margin and above the title; on its 'branches' sits a woman with a child; cherubs sport around: cp. 'The Sick Rose' in *Experience*, p. 223.

xv. The text is set in the midst of a scene with a byre and a spreading, leafy tree in the background, while a naked child feeds one of a flock of sheep in the foreground; saplings reach up on either side of the text and entangle their branches beneath the title. Cp. 'The Tiger', *Experience*, p. 221.

He is called by thy name,
 For he calls himself a Lamb;
 15 He is meek and he is mild,
 He became a little child:
 I a child, and thou a lamb,
 We are called by his name.
 Little lamb, God bless thee,
 20 Little lamb, God bless thee!

XVI THE LITTLE BOY LOST

'Father, father, where are you going?
 Oh, do not walk so fast!
 Speak, father, speak to your little boy,
 Or else I shall be lost.'
 5 The night was dark, no father was there,
 The child was wet with dew;
 The mire was deep, and the child did weep,
 And away the vapour flew.

XVII THE LITTLE BOY FOUND

The little boy lost in the lonely fen,
 Led by the wandering light,

xv 13. *called by thy name*] ('callèd' in two syllables): the phrase is from *Isaiah* xliii 7, *Jeremiah* xiv 9, xv 16, where the Israelites are 'called. . .'. But B., adding a Christian meaning, passes over the sense 'named as God's people'. Cp. Charles Wesley's hymn, 'Gentle Jesus, meek and mild', verse 2:

Lamb of God, I look to thee,
 Thou shalt my example be;
 Thou art gentle, meek and mild,
 Thou wast once a little child.

xvi. The child is led astray by a will-o'-the-wisp, which he thinks is his father. The poem, with very minor variations, appears in *An Island in the Moon*. The design above the poem shows the boy, in a short gown, following the light past a bare tree. Cp. 'A Little Boy Lost' in *Experience*, p. 223.

xvii. *The Little Boy Found*] This poem is not in *An Island in the Moon*. Kathleen Raine has found a source in Salzmann's *Elements of Morality*, although the translation B. knew was not published by 1789. Above the poem, the boy walks through the grim wood with his rescuer; an aura is seen round both heads.

xvii 2. *the wandering light* of the previous poem.

- Began to cry, but God ever nigh
 Appeared like his father in white.
- 5 He kissed the child and by the hand led,
 And to his mother brought,
 Who in sorrow pale through the lonely dale
 Her little boy weeping sought.

XVIII NIGHT

- The sun descending in the west,
 The evening star does shine;
 The birds are silent in their nest,
 And I must seek for mine.
- 5 The moon like a flower
 In heaven's high bower,
 With silent delight,
 Sits and smiles on the night.
- Farewell, green fields and happy groves,
 10 Where flocks have took delight;
 Where lambs have nibbled, silent moves
 The feet of angels bright.
 Unseen they pour blessing,
 And joy without ceasing,
- 15 On each bud and blossom,
 And each sleeping bosom.
- They look in every thoughtless nest,
 Where birds are covered warm;
 They visit caves of every beast
 20 To keep them all from harm;
 If they see any weeping,
 That should have been sleeping,
 They pour sleep on their head
 And sit down by their bed.
- 25 When wolves and tigers howl for prey
 They pitying stand and weep—

xvii 4. *like his father*] Note the illustration; B. approved the Swedenborgian idea that God is the unbroken perfection of the spiritual *human* being.

xviii 10. *have took*] Like 'heart-broke', xiii 8, an acceptable form.

xviii 11. *moves*] Unlike the above, a flaw: unusual but not unknown in B. The rhyme causes it (as *beguiles*, iv 16, p. 62).

xviii 17. *thoughtless*] i.e. unreflecting – without the cares of thinking man. Cp. 'The Fly' 3, *Experience* xix, p. 227.

- Seeking to drive their thirst away,
 And keep them from the sheep.
 But if they rush dreadful,
 30 The angels most heedful
 Receive each mild spirit
 New worlds to inherit.
- And there the lion's ruddy eyes
 Shall flow with tears of gold,
 35 And pitying the tender cries,
 And walking round the fold,
 Saying: 'Wrath by his meekness,
 And by his health sickness,
 Is driven away
 40 From our immortal day.
- 'And now beside thee, bleating lamb,
 I can lie down and sleep;
 Or think on him who bore thy name,
 Graze after thee and weep.
 45 For washed in life's river
 My bright mane for ever
 Shall shine like the gold,
 As I guard o'er the fold.'

XIX THE CHIMNEY SWEEPER

When my mother died I was very young,
 And my father sold me while yet my tongue

xviii 27. *thirst*] The angels not only seek to repel the beasts of prey; they also try to remove the cause of their ferocity – a thirst for blood.

xviii 37. *his*] Christ's: see line 43.

xviii 45. *life's river*] The vision of the River of Life was seen by Ezekiel (xlvii 1–13), and used in *Revelation* xxii 1–2: 'And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb.' The image derives its power from the necessity of the river in a desert land, both for washing and for life. It involves such traditions as Naaman's washing away his leprosy; the baptisms of John the Baptist; the healing of the blind man in the pool of Siloam; and the apocalyptic 'blood of the Lamb' which washes away evil as a river washes clothes clean.

The design on the second pl. (sts 4–6) shows figures walking, with auras about their heads, in a leafy park.

xix. Cp. the 'contrary' poem in *Experience* (p. 225). In 1788, Jonas Hanway brought to Parliament the plight of these children. They were often 'apprenticed' (i.e. sold) at the age of about seven; they were brutally and unscrupulously used by their masters, not clothed, fed or washed; when sweeping, they were in constant danger of suffocation or burning, besides the cancer of the scrotum caused by

- Could scarcely cry 'weep 'weep, 'weep 'weep!
 So your chimneys I sweep, and in soot I sleep.
- 5 There's little Tom Dacre, who cried when his head,
 That curled like a lamb's back, was shaved; so I said,
 'Hush Tom, never mind it, for when your head's bare,
 You know that the soot cannot spoil your white hair.'
- And so he was quiet, and that very night,
 10 As Tom was asleeping he had such a sight—
 That thousands of sweepers, Dick, Joe, Ned, and Jack,
 Were all of them locked up in coffins of black;
- And by came an angel, who had a bright key,
 And he opened the coffins and set them all free;
 15 Then down a green plain leaping, laughing they run,
 And wash in a river and shine in the sun.
- Then naked and white, all their bags left behind,
 They rise upon clouds and sport in the wind.
 And the angel told Tom, if he'd be a good boy,
 20 He'd have God for his father and never want joy.
- And so Tom awoke, and we rose in the dark,
 And got with our bags and our brushes to work.
 Though the morning was cold, Tom was happy and warm;
 So if all do their duty, they need not fear harm.

XX THE DIVINE IMAGE

To Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
 All pray in their distress;

the soot which was literally never washed from their bodies; they were encouraged to steal, and were often turned out in the streets by their masters to 'cry the streets' on the chance of employment, or for mere begging; their dirt and their reputation for stealing made them social outcasts. Lines 1-8, 11-12 were literally true. The design at the foot illustrates lines 15-16. James Montgomery's miscellany *The Chimney-Sweeper's Friend, and Climbing-Boy's Album* (1824) included the poem 'Communicated by Mr. Charles Lamb, from a very rare and curious little work . . . Blake's *Songs of Innocence*'.

xx. This poem was said by an unnamed friend of B.'s to have been written in the Hatton Garden (Swedenborgian) Church; but the church was not built in 1789. The poem is very Swedenborgian, nevertheless. The design is a curling flame (cp. 'The Blossom') which rises bottom R, under the text and up the L margin, branching beneath st. 3, the main branch crossing the plate up the R margin and over the text; at top and bottom idyllic figures are seen. Cp. 'A Divine Image', p. 149; and 'The Human Abstract', *Experience*, p. 222.

xx. 1. i.e. in praying to God, one prays to the sum of these virtues personified in man. In Swedenborgian thought, God is the Divine Man, and virtues are the virtues of man. Cp. 13-15. God's nature is found in humankind in a debased form.

And to these virtues of delight
Return their thankfulness.

5 For Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
Is God our father dear;
And Mercy, Pity, Peace and Love
Is man, his child and care.

For Mercy has a human heart;
10 Pity, a human face;
And Love, the human form divine;
And Peace, the human dress.

Then every man of every clime
That prays in his distress,
15 Prays to the human form divine—
Love, Mercy, Pity, Peace.

And all must love the human form
In heathen, Turk or Jew.
Where Mercy, Love and Pity dwell
20 There God is dwelling too.

XXI THE LITTLE GIRL LOST

In futurity
I, prophetic, see
That the earth from sleep
(Grave the sentence deep)

xxi, xxii. In Keynes's copy A, normally followed here, this pair of poems comes after 'A Dream' (p. 69); this association is very common (see headn.). But the poems seem late in composition; they (and the 'Ancient Bard') introduce for the first time the notion of *prophecy* (2).

The poems contrast the innocence of the child who is not afraid of nature and its life with the fears of her parents. At its simplest, this is a very naive idea; but the design in the R margin of the first of the three pls shows a youth and girl (her hair in a bun – i.e. artificially dressed) embracing beneath a sapling with delicately arched branches. This implies that the 'nature' which Lyca does not fear includes her own instincts as well as those of the beasts around. Yet she rests lightly in them, and the savage beast her parents fear becomes, in the 'Found' poem, a sort of fairy prince. Cp. 'A Little Girl Lost', *Experience*, p. 228: these poems were transferred to *Experience* in later copies. For an elaborate Neo-Platonic exegesis, see *Raine* Ch. 5.

Other designs: on the 2nd pl. between the two poems, Lyca lying down in the forest. Beside 1–14 of 'Found', a tiger: the rest of the poem is on the 3rd pl. At the foot, children play with a lion and lioness; twisted massive tree-trunks rise up the R margin, delicate stems up the L.

xxi 4. *Grave*] Engrave.

- 5 Shall arise and seek
 For her maker meek,
 And the desert wild
 Become a garden mild.
- 10 In the southern clime,
 Where the summer's prime
 Never fades away,
 Lovely Lyca lay.
- Seven summers old
 Lovely Lyca told.
- 15 She had wandered long,
 Hearing wild birds' song.
- 'Sweet sleep, come to me
 Underneath this tree;
 Do father, mother weep,
 "Where can Lyca sleep?"
- 20 'Lost in desert wild
 Is your little child.
 How can Lyca sleep,
 If her mother weep?
- 25 'If her heart does ache,
 Then let Lyca wake;
 If my mother sleep,
 Lyca shall not weep.
- 30 'Frowning, frowning night,
 O'er this desert bright
 Let thy moon arise,
 While I close my eyes.'
- Sleeping Lyca lay—
 While the beasts of prey
- 35 Come from caverns deep,
 Viewed the maid asleep.

xxi 7–8. *desert . . . garden mild*] Cp. *Marriage* (Argument) 6–8; both derive from *Isaiah* xxxv 1 (quoted in *Marriage* note, p. 109 below).

xxi 12. *Lyca*] The name occurs in 'Song 2nd by a Young Shepherd' (p. 42) but is altered on its appearance as 'Laughing Song' (p. 62).

xxi 17. *Sweet sleep . . .*] Similar to 'A Cradle Song' (p. 61), 1, 5.

xxi 19–24. Lyca is unafraid; rather she sympathizes with the fears of her mother. In her innocence she understands better that there is nothing to fear.

xxi 30. *bright*] Refers to *moon* – 'let the moon rise bright over the desert'.

40 The kingly lion stood
 And the virgin viewed;
 Then he gambolled round
 O'er the hallowed ground.

 Leopards, tigers play
 Round her as she lay,
 While the lion old,
 Bowed his mane of gold,

45 And her bosom lick;
 And upon her neck,
 From his eyes of flame
 Ruby tears there came;

 While the lioness
 50 Loosed her slender dress,
 And naked they conveyed
 To caves the sleeping maid.

XXII THE LITTLE GIRL FOUND

 All the night in woe
 Lyca's parents go
 Over valleys deep,
 While the deserts weep.
 5 Tired and woe-begone,
 Hoarse with making moan,
 Arm in arm seven days
 They traced the desert ways.

10 Seven nights they sleep
 Among shadows deep,
 And dream they see their child
 Starved in desert wild.

 Pale through pathless ways
 The fancied image strays—
 15 Famished, weeping, weak,
 With hollow piteous shriek.

xxi 40. *hallowed*] By her innocence.

xxi 45. *lick*] Should strictly be 'licks'; perhaps B. was still thinking in the plural of the *Leopards, tigers* of 41. See 'A Cradle Song' 15-16*n*.

xxi 50-1. *Loosed her slender dress, /And naked . . .*] She loses her contact with artificiality and returns to the natural life to which her innocence entitles her.

xxii. See note on previous poem.

- 20 Rising from unrest
 The trembling woman pressed,
 With feet of weary woe;
 She could no further go.
- In his arms he bore
 Her armed with sorrow sore—
 Till before their way
 A couching lion lay.
- 25 Turning back was vain;
 Soon his heavy mane
 Bore them to the ground;
 Then he stalked around,
- Smelling to his prey.
30 But their fears allay,
 When he licks their hands,
 And silent by them stands.
- They look upon his eyes
 Filled with deep surprise,
35 And wondering behold,
 A spirit armed in gold;
- On his head a crown,
 On his shoulders down
 Flowed his golden hair—
40 Gone was all their care.
- ‘Follow me,’ he said,
 ‘Weep not for the maid;
 In my palace deep,
 Lyca lies asleep.’
- 45 Then they followed
 Where the vision led,
 And saw their sleeping child
 Among tigers wild.
- To this day they dwell
50 In a lonely dell,
 Nor fear the wolvis howl,
 Nor the lions’ growl.

xxii 30. *allay*] Intransitive.

xxii 36. *A spirit*] An early example of B.’s vision of a non-human creature in a human form; cp. the lily, cloud, worm and clay in *Thel*, pls. 1–5, which may belong to the same period as this poem (by its theme and treatment). But note also its fairy-tale origins, remarked in the comment on the ‘Lost’ poem.

XXIII THE VOICE OF THE ANCIENT BARD

- Youth of delight, come hither,
 And see the opening morn,
 Image of truth new born.
 Doubt is fled, and clouds of reason,
 5 Dark disputes and artful teasing.
 Folly is an endless maze,
 Tangled roots perplex her ways—
 How many have fallen there.
 They stumble all night over bones of the dead,
 10 And feel they know not what but care—
 And wish to lead others when they should be led.

6 Tiriel

Date. c. 1789; B.'s first poem in the long-line 'fourteener' rhythm from the same period as *Thel*. B. uses, in both poems, names from the same obscure source (see *1n*). The MS is fastened in a cover marked 'Tiriel/MS by Mr. Blake': this suggests that it went into another reader's hands, but it was never published or engraved. The last lines (334ff) were written probably two or three years later (as was the last plate of *Thel*), and may represent an attempt to improve an unsatisfactory ending, or to bring the poem into line with B.'s style and expression of the period 1790–3. Even so, the poem seems to have satisfied neither B. nor any other publisher sufficiently to be engraved or printed.

xxiii. This poem was transferred to *Experience*, yet occasionally appears in *Innocence* in copies issued as late as 1815. Certainly the last engraved of the *Songs of Innocence*, and engraved in a different script, it is the first to be devoted entirely to the spirit of prophecy. The design below the text shows an aged bard speaking or singing to the music of his large triangular celtic harp, while young people stand round listening.

¶ *6.1. Tiriel*] The name appears, with Zazel and Bne Seraphim (cp. *Thel 1n*) in *De Occulta Philosophia* II xxii, by Cornelius Agrippa, a sixteenth-century German alchemist. The only English translation is dated 1651. Tiriel is there associated with the planet Mercury and the elements sulphur and mercury: Zazel with Saturn and the element earth: Bne Seraphim with Venus. Zazel appears also in the occult Hebraic-Christian tradition as a demon of earth, who eats dust and to whose power corpses are left. In alchemical tradition, mercury represents the *prima materia*, the crude, unformed base of nature.

Theme. The poem as a whole concerns the tragic discovery of Tiriel, King of 'the west', that his world, and the society that he has built up around himself, are worthless. He has enslaved his brother Zazel; another brother, Ijim, is a grim, fierce, solitary figure living alone in the wilds. Tiriel is first seen spurned by his children after the death of his wife Myratana; he fails to find solace with the senile Har and Heva, his parents; Ijim does not recognize him and scornfully carries him back to his palace. There he again curses his children, and forces one of his daughters, Hela, to take him back to Har. On the way they pass Zazel and his sons, who take the chance of insulting him; and when he comes at last to Har, Tiriel curses him too, and dies.

The poem is thus much less obviously didactic or moralistic than most of B.'s long poems. The theme is not clearly related to any political, philosophical, religious or moral doctrine. There are a number of echoes: *King Lear*; the Oedipus plays (*Raine* i 36ff.); David's flight in 2 *Samuel* xvi. It seems that B. was attempting to write a 'pure' but 'Gothic' tragic poem about aged tyranny.

There is a facsimile of the MS (BL Egerton 2876), ed. G. E. Bentley (1967).

I

- [1] And aged Tiriel stood before the gates of his beautiful
 palace
 With Myratana, once the Queen of all the western
 plains;
 But now his eyes were darkened, and his wife fading in
 death.
 They stood before their once delightful palace, and thus
 the voice
5 Of aged Tiriel arose—that his sons might hear in their
 gates:

2. *Myratana* has been traced (1969) by Mary S. Hall to Jacob Bryant's *New System*, in which *Myrina* is a Queen of the Amazons in Mauretania (the *West* of Africa). Some of B.'s own illustrations to *Tiriel* may be held to support the Amazonian association. See Bogen & Hall, *BNYPL* 74/3: 153ff, 166ff (1970).

western plains] B. consistently thought of the west as beautiful, the east as ominous – the associations being largely political. America, land of freedom, and the fabled land of Atlantis, lay in the west; the oppressive kingdoms of the modern and ancient worlds lay in the east.

3. *darkened*] B. spells it 'darkned', and perhaps intends the pronunciation 'dark-néd'.

‘Accursed race of Tiriël, behold your father.
Come forth and look on her that bore you; come,
you accursed sons!
In my weak arms I here have borne your dying mother.
Come forth, sons of the Curse, come forth, see the
death of Myratana!’

- 10 His sons ran from their gates and saw their aged
parents stand,
And thus the eldest son of Tiriël raised his mighty
voice:

‘Old man, unworthy to be called the father of Tiriël’s
race—
For every one of those thy wrinkles, each of those grey
hairs,
Are cruel as death, and as obdurate as the devouring
pit—

- 15 Why should thy sons care for thy curses, thou accursed
man?
Were we not slaves till we rebelled? Who cares for
Tiriël’s curse?
His blessing was a cruel curse; his curse may be a
blessing.’

He ceased: the aged man raised up his right hand to
the heavens,
His left supported Myratana shrinking in pangs of
death;

- 20 The orbs of his large eyes he opened, and thus his voice
went forth:

‘Serpents, not sons, wreathing around the bones of
Tiriël!
Ye worms of death feasting upon your aged parents’
flesh,
Listen and hear your mother’s groans! No more
accursed sons
She bears; she groans not at the birth of Heuxos or
Yuva.

- 25 These are the groans of death, ye serpents, these are the
groans of death—

21. *Serpents, not sons*] *King Lear* IV ii 40, ‘Tigers, not daughters’; and the word
‘serpents’ is recurrent in the play. See also 202.

22. *parents*] B. has no apostrophe: the word may be singular or plural.

Nourished with milk, ye serpents, nourished with
mother's tears and cares.

Look at my eyes, blind as the orbless skull among the
stones,

Look at my bald head! Hark, listen, ye serpents, listen!
What, Myratana? What, my wife? O Soul, O Spirit, O
Fire!

30 What, Myratana, art thou dead? Look here, ye serpents,
look!

The serpents sprung from her own bowels have drained
her dry as this.

[2] Curse on your ruthless heads, for I will bury her even
here.'

So saying he began to dig a grave with his aged hands;
But Heuxos called a son of Zazel to dig their mother a
grave:

35 'Old cruelty, desist, and let us dig a grave for thee.
Thou hast refused our charity, thou hast refused our
food,

Thou has refused our clothes, our beds, our houses for
thy dwelling,

Choosing to wander like a son of Zazel in the rocks.

Why dost thou curse? Is not the curse now come upon
your head?

40 Was it not you enslaved the sons of Zazel, and they
have cursed

And now you feel it. Dig a grave and let us bury our
mother.'

'There, take the body, cursed sons, and may the
heavens rain wrath

As thick as northern fogs around your gates, to choke
you up,

That you may lie as now your mother lies, like dogs
cast out,

45 The stink of your dead carcasses annoying man and
beast,

Till your white bones are bleached with age for a
memorial.

No, your remembrance shall perish, for when your
carcasses

Lie stinking on the earth, the buriers shall arise from
the east
And not a bone of all the sons of Tiriel remain.
50 Bury your mother; but you cannot bury the curse of
Tiriel.'

He ceased and darkling o'er the mountains sought his
pathless way.

II

[3] He wandered day and night; to him both day and night
were dark;
The sun he felt, but the bright moon was now a useless
globe.
O'er mountains and through vales of woe, the blind
and aged man
55 Wandered, till he that leadeth all led him to the vales of
Har.
And Har and Heva like two children sat beneath the
oak.
Mnetha (now aged) waited on them, and brought them
food and clothing;
But they were as the shadow of Har, and as the years
forgotten;
Playing with flowers, and running after birds they spent
the day,
60 And in the night like infants slept delighted with infant
dreams.
Soon as the blind wanderer entered the pleasant
gardens of Har
They ran weeping like frightened infants for refuge in
Mnetha's arms.
The blind man felt his way and cried, 'Peace to these
open doors!
Let no one fear, for poor blind Tiriel hurts none but
himself.

52-3. *to him . . . a useless globe*] A reminiscence of the imagery, rather than the words, of *Samson Agonistes* 80-9, esp.: 'The sun to me is dark, / And silent as the moon . . .'

55. *the vales of Har*] Cp. *Thel* 125 (and an allusion in *Song of Los (Africa)* 36, 45). In each case the notion of 'second childhood' is apt, though not essential.

61. The next line del: 'The aged father & mother saw him as they sat at play'.

65 Tell me, O friends, where am I now, and in what pleasant place?’

‘This is the valley of Har,’ said Mnetha, ‘and this the tent of Har.

Who art thou, poor blind man, that takest the name of Tiriël on thee?

Tiriël is King of all the west; who art thou?—I am Mnetha,

And this is Har and Heva, trembling like infants by my side.’

70 ‘I know Tiriël is King of the west, and there he lives in joy.

No matter who I am, O Mnetha; if thou hast any food Give it to me, for I cannot stay; my journey is far from hence.’

Then Har said: ‘O my mother Mnetha, venture not so near him,

For he is the king of rotten wood and of the bones of death.

75 He wanders without eyes, and passes through thick walls and doors.

Thou shalt not smite my mother Mnetha, O thou eyeless man!’

‘A wanderer, I beg for food. You see I cannot weep; I cast away my staff, the kind companion of my travel, And I kneel down that you may see I am a harmless man.’

[4] 80 He kneeled down; and Mnetha said: ‘Come, Har and Heva, rise;

He is an innocent old man and hungry with his travel.’

Then Har arose and laid his hand upon old Tiriël’s head:

‘God bless thy poor bald pate. God bless thy hollow winking eyes.

God bless thy shrivelled beard. God bless thy many-wrinkled forehead.

76. Note Har’s horrible childishness, though he is an aged man.

77. Before this line a del. line: ‘O venerable O most piteous O most woeful day’: and between 77 and 78, another del. line: ‘But I can kneel down at your door. I am a harmless man’.

85 Thou hast no teeth, old man; and thus I kiss thy sleek
bald head.

Heva, come kiss his bald head, for he will not hurt us,
Heva.'

Then Heva came and took old Tiriel in her mother's
arms:

'Bless thy poor eyes, old man, and bless the old father
of Tiriel;

Thou art my Tiriel's old father; I know thee through
thy wrinkles,

90 Because thou smelllest like the fig tree; thou smelllest
like ripe figs.

How didst thou lose thy eyes, old Tiriel? Bless thy
wrinkled face.'

Mnetha said: 'Come in, aged wanderer; tell us of thy
name.

Why shouldest thou conceal thyself from those of thine
own flesh?'

'I am not of this region,' said Tiriel dissemblingly;

95 'I am an aged wanderer, once father of a race
Far in the north, but they were wicked and were all
destroyed,

And I their father sent an outcast. I have told you all;
Ask me no more, I pray, for grief hath sealed my
precious sight.'

'O Lord,' said Mnetha, 'how I tremble! Are there then
more people,

100 More human creatures on this earth, beside the sons of
Har?'

'No more,' said Tiriel, 'but I remain on all this globe,
And I remain an outcast. Hast thou anything to drink?'

Then Mnetha gave him milk and fruits, and they sat
down together.

91. After this, a two-line del. paragraph:

The aged Tiriel could not speak, his heart was full of grief

He strove against his rising passions. But still he could not speak.

94. The next line del.: 'Fearing to tell them who he was. Because of the weakness of Har'.

99. The peace of the vale of Har is false; it arises from ignorance, and separation from the world, not from mature achievement. Cp. 139.

III

- [5] They sat and ate, and Har and Heva smiled on Tiriël:
 105 'Thou art a very old, old man, but I am older than
 thou.
 How came thine hair to leave thy forehead? How came
 thy face so brown?
 My hair is very long; my beard doth cover all my breast.
 God bless thy piteous face—to count the wrinkles in
 thy face
 Would puzzle Mnetha. Bless thy face, for thou art
 Tiriël.'
- 110 'Tiriël I never saw but once. I sat with him and ate.
 He was as cheerful as a prince and gave me
 entertainment;
 But long I stayed not at his palace, for I am forced to
 wander.'
 'What! wilt thou leave us too?' said Heva. 'Thou shalt
 not leave us too.
 For we have many sports to show thee, and many songs
 to sing,
 115 And after dinner we will walk into the cage of Har,
 And thou shalt help us to catch birds, and gather them
 ripe cherries.
 Then let thy name be Tiriël, and never leave us more.'
 'If thou dost go,' said Har, 'I wish thine eyes may see
 thy folly.
 My sons have left me; did thine leave thee?—
 Oh, 'twas very cruel!'
- 120 'No, venerable man,' said Tiriël, 'Ask me not such
 things:
 For thou dost make my heart to bleed. My sons were
 not like thine

104. *ate*] B. spells it 'eat', in the old fashion.

109. A two-line del. paragraph follows:

Tiriël could scarce dissemble more & his tongue could scarce refrain
 But still he feared that Har & Heva would die of joy & grief.

110. Tiriël speaks.

115. Har's sports are not innocent, though he is childish. The bird would rather find its cherries by its own efforts, in freedom.

119. The implication is that Tiriël is their child, though 88-91 are not clear: cp. 276-80, 332-3.

But worse. Oh, never ask me more or I must flee
away.'

'Thou shalt not go,' said Heva, 'till thou hast seen our
singing birds,
And heard Har sing in the great cage, and slept upon
our fleeces.

125 Go not, for thou art so like Tiriel that I love thine
head,
Though it is wrinkled, like the earth parched with the
summer heat.'

Then Tiriel rose up from the seat and said: 'God bless
these tents.

My journey is o'er rocks and mountains, not in pleasant
vales.

I must not sleep nor rest, because of madness and
dismay.'

[6] 130 And Mnetha said: 'Thou must not go to wander dark,
alone,
But dwell with us and let us be to thee instead of eyes,
And I will bring thee food, old man, till death shall call
thee hence.'

Then Tiriel frowned and answered: 'Did I not
command you, saying

Madness and deep dismay possess the heart of the
blind man,

135 The wanderer who seeks the woods leaning upon his
staff?'

Then Mnetha trembling at his frowns led him to the
tent door

And gave to him his staff and blessed him; he went on
his way.

But Har and Heva stood and watched him till he
entered the wood,

And then they went and wept to Mnetha; but they
soon forgot their tears.

127. Followed by a del. line: 'God bless my benefactors for I cannot tarry longer.'

129. A three-line del. paragraph follows (cp. 137-9):

Then Mnetha led him to the door & gave to him his staff
And Har & Heva stood & watchd him till he enterd the wood,
And then they went & wept to Mnetha but they soon forgot their tears.

IV

[7] 140 Over the weary hills the blind man took his lonely way.
 To him the day and night alike was dark and desolate,
 But far he had not gone when Ijim, from his woods
 come down,
 Met him at entrance of the forest in a dark and lonely
 way:

‘Who art thou, eyeless wretch, that thus obstructs the
 lion’s path?

145 Ijim shall rend thy feeble joints, thou tempter of dark
 Ijim!

Thou hast the form of Tiriel, but I know thee well
 enough.

Stand from my path, foul fiend. Is this the last of thy
 deceits,

To be a hypocrite, and stand in shape of a blind
 beggar?’

The blind man heard his brother’s voice and kneeled
 down on his knee:

150 ‘O brother Ijim, if it is thy voice that speaks to me,
 Smite not thy brother Tiriel, though weary of his life.
 My sons have smitten me already, and if thou smitest
 me

The curse that rolls over their heads will rest itself on
 thine.

’Tis now seven years since in my palace I beheld thy
 face.’

155 ‘Come, thou dark fiend, I dare thy cunning. Know that
 Ijim scorns

To smite thee in the form of helpless age and eyeless
 policy.

Rise up, for I discern thee, and I dare thy eloquent
 tongue!

Come, I will lead thee on thy way and use thee as a
 scoff.’

145. *Ijim*] B. took the name from *Isaiah* xiii 21, where A.V. reads ‘satyrs’, creatures of the wilderness (who will dance among the ruins of Babylon: the context is irrelevant). B.’s Ijim is an old-fashioned Puritan – honest but grim, always a ready adversary of Sin (145–8).

154. Written in the margin, with the del. half-line: ‘Seven years of sorrow then the curse of Zazel . . .’

‘O brother Ijim, thou beholdest wretched Tiriel;
 160 Kiss me, my brother and then leave me to wander
 desolate.’

‘No, artful fiend—but I will lead thee. Dost thou
 want to go?
 Reply not, lest I bind thee with the green flags of the
 brook.
 Ay, now thou art discovered I will use thee like a slave.’

When Tiriel heard the words of Ijim he sought not to
 reply.
 165 He knew ’twas vain, for Ijim’s words were as the
 voice of Fate.

And they went on together, over hills, through woody
 dales,
 Blind to the pleasures of the sight and deaf to warbling
 birds.
 All day they walked and all the night beneath the
 pleasant moon,
 Westwardly journeying, till Tiriel grew weary with his
 travel:

170 ‘O Ijim, I am faint and weary, for my knees forbid
 To bear me further. Urge me not, lest I should die
 with travel.

[8] A little rest I crave, a little water from a brook,
 Or I shall soon discover that I am a mortal man,
 And you will lose your once-loved Tiriel. Alas, how
 faint I am!’

175 ‘Impudent fiend,’ said Ijim, ‘Hold thy glib and
 eloquent tongue.
 Tiriel is a king, and thou the tempter of dark Ijim.
 Drink of this running brook, and I will bear thee on
 my shoulders.’

He drank and Ijim raised him up and bore him on his
 shoulders.
 All day he bore him, and when evening drew her
 solemn curtain
 180 Entered the gates of Tiriel’s palace, and stood and
 called aloud:

162. *flags*] Water irises; Tiriel is so weak that flower stems will bind him.

‘Heuxos, come forth! I here have brought the fiend
that troubles Ijim.
Look: knowst thou aught of this grey beard, or of these
blinded eyes?’

Heuxos and Lotho ran forth at the sound of Ijim’s
voice,

And saw their aged father borne upon his mighty
shoulders.

185 Their eloquent tongues were dumb and sweat stood on
their trembling limbs;
They knew ’twas vain to strive with Ijim; they bowed
and silent stood.

‘What, Heuxos, call thy father, for I mean to sport
tonight.

This is the hypocrite that sometimes roars a dreadful
lion;

Then I have rent his limbs and left him rotting in the
forest

190 For birds to eat. But I have scarce departed from the
place

But like a tiger he would come and so I rent him too.
Then like a river he would seek to drown me in his
waves,

But soon I buffeted the torrent; anon like to a cloud
Fraught with the swords of lightning, but I braved the
vengeance too.

195 Then he would creep like a bright serpent, till around
my neck

While I was sleeping he would twine; I squeezed his
poisonous soul.

Then, like a toad or like a newt, would whisper in
my ears;

Or like a rock stood in my way, or like a poisonous
shrub.

At last I caught him in the form of Tiriel, blind and old,

200 And so I’ll keep him. Fetch your father, fetch forth
Myratana!”

189–192. These changes resemble the varied forms taken by Orc in the Preludium to *America*, 13–16. Cp. the changes of Proteus (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* viii).

194–7. These appearances are similar to Satan’s in *Paradise Lost* iv 800 and ix 494ff, where he appears to Eve whispering like a toad in her ear as she sleeps, and then as a serpent.

They stood confounded, and thus Tiriel raised his silver voice:

- ‘Serpents, not sons! Why do you stand? Fetch hither
Tiriel,
[9] Fetch hither Myratana, and delight yourselves with
scoffs.
For poor blind Tiriel is returned, and this much injured
head
205 Is ready for your bitter taunts. Come forth, sons of the
curse!’”

Meantime the other sons of Tiriel ran around their
father;
Confounded at the terrible strength of Ijim they knew
’twas vain.
Both spear and shield were useless and the coat of iron
mail;
When Ijim stretched his mighty arm, the arrow from his
limbs
210 Rebounded, and the piercing sword broke on his naked
flesh.

‘Then is it true, Heuxos, that thou hast turned thy
aged parent
To be the sport of wintry winds?’ said Ijim. ‘Is this
true?
It is a lie, and I am like the tree torn by the wind.
Thou eyeless fiend—and you dissemblers! Is this Tiriel’s
house?’

202. *Why . . . Tiriel*] 1st rdg del. ‘you see and know your father’. See 21n.

210. Followed by 10 del. lines:

Then Ijim said. ‘Lotho Clithyma. Makuth fetch your father
Why do you stand confounded thus Heuxos why art thou Silent

O noble Ijim thou hast brought our father to our eyes
That we may tremble & repent before thy mighty knees
O we are but the slaves of Fortune & that most cruel man
Desires our deaths. O Ijim, [*tis one whose aged tongue*
Deceive the noble &] if the eloquent voice of Tiriel
Hath workd our ruin we submit nor strive against stern fate

He spoke, & kneeld upon his knee. Then Ijim on the pavement
Set aged Tiriel. In deep thought whether these things were so.

The words in italics were deleted before the whole passage was cancelled.

- 215 It is as false as Matha, and as dark as vacant Orcus.
 Escape, ye fiends, for Ijim will not lift his hand against
 ye!’
- So saying, Ijim gloomy turned his back, and silent
 sought
 The secret forests, and all night wandered in desolate ways.

V

- [10] And aged Tiriel stood and said: ‘Where does the
 thunder sleep?
- 220 Where doth he hide his terrible head, and his swift and
 fiery daughters?
 Where do they shroud their fiery wings and the terrors
 of their hair?
 Earth, thus I stamp thy bosom! Rouse the earthquake
 from his den,
 To raise his dark and burning visage through the
 cleaving ground
 To thrust these towers with his shoulders. Let his fiery
 dogs
- 225 Rise from the centre belching flames and roarings, dark
 smoke.
 Where art thou, pestilence that bathest in fogs and
 standing lakes?
 Rise up thy sluggish limbs, and let the loathsome of
 poisons
 Drop from thy garments as thou walkest. Wrapped in
 yellow clouds
 Here take thy seat in this wide court; let it be strown
 with dead,
- 230 And sit and smile upon these cursed sons of Tiriel.
 Thunder and fire and pestilence, hear you not Tiriel’s
 curse?’

215. *Matha, Orcus*] The first is borrowed from Ossian, out of context. Orcus was the Roman god of the underworld, and the name was applied to the region of the underworld itself.

as Matha] The MS has an ‘&’ for *as*.

231. *Tiriel’s curse*] Another echo of *King Lear*, though the solemn curse is well known in legend. The imagery of flame, smoke and fog recalls in particular the curse of *King Lear* II iv: ‘You nimble lightnings, dart your blinding flames / Into her scornful eyes, infect her beauty, / You fensuck’d fogs, drawn by the powerful sun, / To fall and blast her pride.’ But in *Tiriel* the curse has a visible effect, as befits the legendary narrative (235).

- He ceased: the heavy clouds confused rolled round the
lofty towers,
Discharging their enormous voices at the father's curse.
The earth trembled, fires belched from the yawning
clefts,
235 And when the shaking ceased a fog possessed the
accursed clime.
- The cry was great in Tiriél's palace; his five daughters
ran
And caught him by the garments, weeping with cries of
bitter woe.
- 'Ay, now you feel the curse you cry; but may all ears be
deaf
As Tiriél's, and all eyes as blind as Tiriél's to your woes.
240 May never stars shine on your roofs, may never sun nor
moon
Visit you, but eternal fogs hover around your walls.
Hela, my youngest daughter; you shall lead me from
this place,
And let the curse fall on the rest and wrap them up
together!'
- He ceased; and Hela led her father from the noisome
place.
245 In haste they fled, while all the sons and daughters of
Tiriél,
Chained in thick darkness, uttered cries of mourning all
the night.
And in the morning, lo, an hundred men in ghastly
death!
The four daughters stretched on the marble pavement,
silent—all
Fallen by the pestilence. The rest moped round in
guilty fears;
250 And all the children in their beds were cut off in one
night.
Thirty of Tiriél's sons remained, to wither in the
palace—
Desolate, loathed, dumb, astonished, waiting for black
death.

242. *Hela*] The name seems to have begun as *Hili* – certainly not *Hela*: so until 258. From 268 *Hela* is decided on. The name is that of the goddess of death through age in Norse mythology; Gray mentions her in *The Descent of Odin*.

VI

- [II] And Hela led her father through the silent of the night,
Astonished, silent, till the morning beams began to
spring:
- 255 'Now, Hela, I can go with pleasure and dwell with Har
and Heva,
Now that the curse shall clean devour all those guilty
sons.
This is the right and ready way; I know it by the sound
That our feet make. Remember, Hela, I have saved thee
from death;
Then be obedient to thy father, for the curse is taken
off thee.
- 260 I dwelt with Myratana five years in the desolate rock,
And all that time we waited for the fire to fall from
heaven,
Or for the torrents of the sea to overwhelm you all.
But now my wife is dead and all the time of grace is
past.
You see the parents' curse. Now lead me where I have
commanded.'
- 265 'O leagued with evil spirits, thou accursed man of sin!
True, I was born thy slave. Who asked thee to save me
from death?
'Twas for thy self, thou cruel man, because thou
wantest eyes!'
- 'True, Hela: this is the desert of all those cruel ones.
Is Tiriell cruel? Look, his daughter—and his youngest
daughter—
- 270 Laughs at affection, glories in rebellion, scoffs at love.
I have not eat these two days. Lead me to Har and
Heva's tent,
Or I will wrap thee up in such a terrible father's curse
That thou shalt feel worms in thy marrow creeping
through thy bones;
Yet thou shalt lead me. Lead me, I command, to Har
and Heva.'

266. *slave*] 1st rdg *del.* child.

275 'O cruel! O destroyer! O consumer! O avenger!
 To Har and Heva I will lead thee then. Would that
 they would curse;
 Then would they curse as thou hast cursed. But they
 are not like thee.
 Oh, they are holy and forgiving, filled with loving
 mercy.
 Forgetting the offences of their most rebellious
 children;
 280 Or else thou wouldest not have lived to curse thy
 helpless children.'

'Look on my eyes, Hela, and see—for thou hast eyes to
 see.
 The tears swell from my stony fountains; wherefore do
 I weep?
 Wherefore from my blind orbs art thou not seized with
 poisonous stings?
 Laugh, serpent, youngest venomous reptile of the flesh
 of Tiriel,
 [12] 285 Laugh! For thy father Tiriel shall give thee cause to
 laugh,
 Unless thou lead me to the tent of Har, child of the
 curse.'

'Silence thy evil tongue, thou murderer of thy helpless
 children!
 I lead thee to the tent of Har—not that I mind thy
 curse,
 But that I feel they will curse thee, and hang upon thy
 bones
 290 Fell shaking agonies, and in each wrinkle of that face
 Plant worms of death, to feast upon the tongue of
 terrible curses.'

'Hela, my daughter, listen; thou art the daughter of
 Tiriel.
 Thy father calls. Thy father lifts his hand unto the
 heavens,
 For thou hast laughed at my tears, and curst thy aged
 father.
 295 Let snakes rise from thy bedded locks and laugh among
 thy curls!'

He ceased: her dark hair upright stood, while snakes
 enfolded round

Her madding brows. Her shrieks appalled the soul of
Tiriel:

‘What have I done? Hela, my daughter, fearest thou
now the curse,
Or wherefore dost thou cry? Ah, wretch to curse thy
aged father!

300 Lead me to Har and Heva, and the curse of Tiriel
Shall fail. If thou refuse, howl in the desolate mountains!’

VII

[13] She howling led him over mountains and through
frighted vales
Till to the caves of Zazel they approached at eventide.
Forth from their caves old Zazel and his sons ran, when
they saw
305 Their tyrant prince blind, and his daughter howling and
leading him.
They laughed and mocked; some threw dirt and stones
as they passed by,
But when Tiriel turned around and raised his awful
voice
Some fled away, but Zazel stood still and thus began:
‘Bald tyrant, wrinkled cunning, listen to Zazel’s chains!
310 ’Twas thou that chained thy brother Zazel. Where are
now thine eyes?
Shout, beautiful daughter of Tiriel; thou singest a sweet
song!
Where are you going? Come and eat some roots and
drink some water.
Thy crown is bald, old man; the sun will dry thy brains
away,
And thou wilt be as foolish as thy foolish brother
Zazel.’

306. *threw dirt*] 2 *Samuel* xvi 5–14: ‘Shimei cursed as he went, and threw stones at him, and cast dust.’

308. *1st rdg.* ‘They fled away & hid themselves but some stood still & thus scoffing begun’.

309. *cunning*] *1st rdg del.* cunning wretch.

- 315 The blind man heard, and smote his breast and
trembling passed on.
They threw dirt after them, till to the covert of a wood
The howling maiden led her father, where wild beasts
resort,
Hoping to end her woes; but from her cries the tigers
fled.
All night they wandered through the wood, and when
the sun arose
320 They entered on the mountains of Har; at noon the
happy tents
Were frightened by the dismal cries of Hela on the
mountains.

But Har and Heva slept, fearless as babes on loving
breasts.
Mnetha awoke; she ran and stood at the tent door, and
saw
The aged wanderer led towards the tents. She took her
bow
325 And chose her arrows, then advanced to meet the
terrible pair.

VIII

- [14] And Mnetha hasted and met them at the gate of the
lower garden:

'Stand still, or from my bow receive a sharp and winged
death!'
Then Tiriel stood, saying: 'What soft voice threatens
such bitter things?
Lead me to Har and Heva; I am Tiriel, King of the
west.'

330 And Mnetha led them to the tent of Har, and Har and
Heva
Ran to the door. When Tiriel felt the ankles of aged
Har
He said: 'O weak mistaken father of a lawless race,
Thy laws, O Har, and Tiriel's wisdom end together in a
curse.'

329. The rest of the MS is written hurriedly, with another pen, perhaps some years later. See headnote.

- Why is one law given to the lion and the patient ox,
 335 And why men bound beneath the heavens in a reptile
 form—
 A worm of sixty winters creeping on the dusky ground?
 The child springs from the womb, the father ready
 stands to form
 The infant head, while the mother idle plays with her
 dog on her couch.
 The young bosom is cold for lack of mother's
 nourishment, and milk
 340 Is cut off from the weeping mouth. With difficulty and
 pain
 The little lids are lifted and the little nostrils opened.
 The father forms a whip to rouse the sluggish senses to
 act,
 And scourges off all youthful fancies from the newborn
 man.
 Then walks the weak infant in sorrow, compelled to
 number footsteps
 345 'Upon the sand', etc.
 And when the drone has reached his crawling length

334. Tiriél's speech from this line on has a quite different character from the rest of the poem. It is one of the sets of rhetorical questions much liked by B. around the period 1790–93 – similar passages occur in *The French Revolution* 181–9, *Visions* from 44 *passim*, *America* 118–29, and also in *Thel* 118–27. These speeches are usually given to a voice of righteous indignation, and it is thus unusual to find Tiriél the speaker here.

Line 334 is similar to the line 'One Law for the Lion and Ox is Oppression', written under the design on *Marriage* pl.24.

335–6. These lines replace the following twelve cancelled lines:

Dost thou not see that men cannot be formed all alike [. . .]
 Some nostrild wide breathing out blood. Some close shut up
 In silent deceit. Poisons inhaling from the morning rose
 With daggers hid beneath their lips & poison in their tongue
 Or eyed with little sparks of Hell or with infernal brands
 Flinging flames of discontent and plagues of dark despair
 Or those whose mouths are graves whose teeth the gates of eternal death.
 Can wisdom be put in a silver rod or love in a golden bowl
 Is the son of a king warmed without wool or does he cry with a voice
 Of thunder does he look upon the sun & laugh or stretch
 His little hands into the depths of the sea to bring forth
 The deadly cunning of the flatterer & spread it to the morning

In the last line, *flatterer* originally read 'scaly tribe'.

342. *The father*] An important line reflecting B.'s image of a father.

345. *etc.*] This must refer to a passage now lost.

Black berries appear that poison all around him. Such
 was Tiriel,
 [15] Compelled to pray repugnant, and to humble the
 immortal spirit
 Till I am subtle as a serpent in a paradise,
 350 Consuming all, both flowers and fruits, insects and
 warbling birds,
 And now my paradise is fallen, and a drear sandy plain
 Returns my thirsty hissings in a curse on thee, O Har,
 Mistaken father of a lawless race. My voice is past.⁷

He ceased, outstretched at Har and Heva's feet in awful
 death.

7 Thel

Date: 1789, as on the titlepage. B. probably aspired to something longer alongside *Songs of Innocence*. Such dates generally mean no more than that the titlepage was engraved in that year. *Thel's Motto* and pl.6 are very different in tone and style from pls.1–5 as well as being etched in a slightly different script; conjectures pointing to a date *c.* 1791 for these two plates, pl.6 perhaps replacing an earlier one, are unsubstantiated.

Fifteen copies of *Thel* exist, most of them dating from the time of first publication, though two, more richly finished, are from about 1815.

Sections i–iii preach two simple messages. First, B.'s lifelong belief that, to those with eyes to see, even the slightest object can bring a vision of eternal life. Thel sees four creatures, anthropomorphically, as human. Second, the particular message of *Thel* in its early form. Thel is a timid girl, afraid because of the transience of life. One by one, a lily, a cloud, a worm and even a piece of clay try to persuade her that life given in the service of others knows no fear; that even death then becomes a fulfilment and a realization of new life. But Thel is still too fearful to accept this. Finally, 'the matron clay' offers to show her the secrets of the grave – and at this point the early text breaks off.

The remainder (i.e. iv. pl.6) is strongly tinged with Neo-Platonic influences (see *104n*, *112n*). Thel is no longer a girl wandering in some mythical valley, fearful of her present life; she is a spirit destined to go down to mortal life, and she is afraid of it. The two themes have been made to fit, but do not do so perfectly.

347. After this, the del. line: 'Hypocrisy the idiot's wisdom & the wise man's folly'.

Pl.i

Thel's Motto

Does the eagle know what is in the pit
 Or wilt thou go ask the mole?
 Can wisdom be put in a silver rod,
 Or love in a golden bowl?

Pl.i

THEL

I

[*Design*]

The daughters of Mne Seraphim led round their sunny
 flocks,
 All but the youngest. She in paleness sought the secret
 air,
 To fade away like morning beauty from her mortal day.
 Down by the river of Adona her soft voice is heard,
 5 And thus her gentle lamentation falls like morning dew:
 'O life of this our spring, why fades the lotus of the water?
 Why fade these children of the spring, born but to smile
 and fall?
 Ah, Thel is like a watry bow, and like a parting cloud,
 Like a reflection in a glass, like shadows in the water,
 10 Like dreams of infants, like a smile upon an infant's face,
 Like the dove's voice, like transient day, like music in the
 air;
 Ah, gentle may I lay me down, and gentle rest my head,

¶ 7. Pl.i *Motto*] For date see headnote. For this cryptic verse cp. *Visions* 144ff, esp. 150-1: 'Does not the eagle scorn the earth and despise the treasures beneath? / But the mole knoweth what is there . . .' In some copies the *Motto* is placed at the end.

Lines 3-4 are the same as a del. line after *Tiriel* 334 (*q.v.*, *n*). Thus 1-2 mean that each individual creature has its own place and its own vision: 3-4 mean that wisdom and love are infinite, and unlimitable, qualities.

1. *Design*: The title in large, flowing script, surrounded by flying figures; one flies with an eagle, one reclines on a branch, one holds shield and sword, and a woman plays with an infant.

1. *Mne Seraphim*] Various emendations have been suggested for this curious name. The text has always stood thus; it is not an emendation, but apparently a variation on the name referred to by the mystical alchemist Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535), 'Bne Seraphim'. B. only uses the name this once, and it therefore does not develop any special significance. Cp. *Tiriel* 11*n*: B. derived 'Tiriel' from the same source.

- And gentle sleep the sleep of death, and gentle hear the
voice
Of him that walketh in the garden in the evening time.'
- 15 The Lily of the valley breathing in the humble grass
Answered the lovely maid, and said: 'I am a watry weed,
And I am very small, and love to dwell in lowly vales;
So weak, the gilded butterfly scarce perches on my head;
Yet I am visited from heaven, and he that smiles on all
20 Walks in the valley and each morn over me spreads his
hand,
Saying, "Rejoice, thou humble grass, thou new-born lily
flower,
Thou gentle maid of silent valleys and of modest brooks;
For thou shalt be clothed in light and fed with morning
manna,
Till summer's heat melts thee beside the fountains and
the springs
25 To flourish in eternal vales." Then why should Thel
complain,
Pl.2 Why should the mistress of the vales of Har utter a sigh?'
She ceased and smiled in tears, then sat down in her
silver shrine.
- Thel answered: 'O thou little virgin of the peaceful valley,
Giving to those that cannot crave, the voiceless, the o'ertired.
30 Thy breath doth nourish the innocent lamb; he smells
thy milky garments,
He crops thy flowers, while thou sittest smiling in his face,
Wiping his mild and meekin mouth from all contagious
taints.
Thy wine doth purify the golden honey; thy perfume,
Which thou dost scatter on every little blade of grass that
springs,

14. *him that walketh*] From *Genesis* iii 8: 'And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day'. Cp. also 'Introduction' to *Experience* (p. 215): 'The Holy Word / That walked among the ancient trees.' In *Thel* 'the voice' is not a tyrant's.

26. *vales of Har*] Cp. *Tiriel* 55ff, 320ff. a place of pastoral simplicity; in *Tiriel* also a place of false simplicity and senile innocence.

32. *meekin*] Either (a) a variety of 'meek', from the rare word 'meeken' (which is, however, normally a verb – 'to make meek'): or (b) less probably the word 'meäking', recorded by the *English Dialect Dictionary*, as used in Shropshire and Gloucestershire only, and meaning 'low-spirited, poorly' – hence, here, 'humble'. It may have come to B. through Chatterton, but I have not found it. Perhaps B. coined it.

35 Revives the milked cow and tames the fire-breathing
 steed.
 But Thel is like a faint cloud kindled at the rising sun:
 I vanish from my pearly throne, and who shall find my
 place?'

'Queen of the vales', the Lily answered, 'ask the tender
 cloud,
 And it shall tell thee why it glitters in the morning sky,
 40 And why it scatters its bright beauty through the humid
 air.
 Descend, O little cloud, and hover before the eyes of
 Thel.'

The Cloud descended, and the Lily bowed her modest
 head,
 And went to mind her numerous charge among the
 verdant grass.

[*Design*]

Pl.3

II

'O little Cloud', the virgin said, 'I charge thee, tell to me
 45 Why thou complainest not, when in one hour thou fade
 away.
 Then we shall seek thee but not find; ah, Thel is like to
 thee,
 I pass away; yet I complain, and no one hears my voice.'
 The Cloud then showed his golden head, and his bright
 form emerged,
 Hovering and glittering on the air before the face of Thel:

50 'O virgin, knowest thou not? Our steeds drink of the
 golden springs
 Where Luvah doth renew his horses. Lookest thou on
 my youth,
 And fearest thou because I vanish and am seen no more,
 Nothing remains? O maid, I tell thee, when I pass away
 It is to tenfold life, to love, to peace, and raptures holy.

43. *went to mind* . . .] The lily is a person with a duty – not merely an object. The *design* here shows Thel speaking to the lily.

51. *Luvah*] He reappears much later, in *The Four Zoas*, but here no special significance need be given to him except, as is obvious, that he is the Apollo-like figure who drives the chariot of the sun across the sky.

- 55 Unseen descending weigh my light wings upon balmy
 flowers,
 And court the fair-eyed dew to take me to her shining
 tent.
 The weeping virgin trembling kneels before the risen sun,
 Till we arise linked in a golden band and never part,
 But walk united, bearing food to all our tender flowers.'
- 60 'Dost thou, O little Cloud? I fear that I am not like thee;
 For I walk through the vales of Har, and smell the
 sweetest flowers,
 But I feed not the little flowers; I hear the warbling birds,
 But I feed not the warbling birds. They fly and seek their
 food.
 But Thel delights in these no more, because I fade away;
- 65 And all shall say, "without a use this shining woman
 lived—
 Or did she only live to be at death the food of worms?"'
- The Cloud reclined upon his airy throne and answered
 thus:
 'Then if thou art the food of worms, O virgin of the
 skies,
 How great thy use, how great thy blessing! Everything
 that lives
- 70 Lives not alone, nor for itself. Fear not and I will call
 The weak worm from its lowly bed, and thou shalt hear
 its voice.
 Come forth, worm of the silent valley, to thy pensive
 queen.'
- The helpless worm arose, and sat upon the Lily's leaf,
 And the bright Cloud sailed on to find his partner in
 the vale.

III

Pl.4

[*Design*]

- 75 Then Thel astonished viewed the Worm upon its dewy
 bed:
 'Art thou a worm, image of weakness? Art thou but a
 worm?

I see thee like an infant wrapped in the Lily's leaf.
 Ah, weep not; little voice, thou canst not speak, but thou
 canst weep.

Is this a worm? I see thee lay helpless and naked weeping,
 80 And none to answer, none to cherish thee with mother's
 smiles.'

The Clod of Clay heard the Worm's voice and raised her
 pitying head;
 She bowed over the weeping infant and her life exhaled
 In milky fondness; then on Thel she fixed her humble
 eyes:

'O beauty of the vales of Har, we live not for ourselves;
 85 Thou seest me, the meanest thing, and so I am indeed;
 My bosom of itself is cold and of itself is dark,
 Pl.5 But he that loves the lowly pours his oil upon my head,
 And kisses me, and binds his nuptial bands around my
 breast,
 And says; "Thou mother of my children, I have loved
 thee,
 90 And I have given thee a crown that none can take away."
 But how this is, sweet maid, I know not, and I cannot
 know,
 I ponder, and I cannot ponder; yet I live and love.'

The daughter of beauty wiped her pitying tears with her
 white veil
 And said: 'Alas! I knew not this, and therefore did I weep.
 95 That God would love a worm I knew, and punish the
 evil foot
 That wilful bruised its helpless form. But that he
 cherished it
 With milk and oil I never knew, and therefore did I weep,
 And I complained in the mild air, because I fade away
 And lay me down in thy cold bed and leave my shining
 lot.'

100 'Queen of the vales', the matron Clay answered, 'I heard
 thy sighs.

77. *an infant wrapped in the Lily's leaf*] B. used this subject for engraving, but disapprovingly, in his emblem-book *The Gates of Paradise*.

Pl.5. *Design* shows Thel watching the matron and worm.

And all thy moans flew o'er my roof but I have called
 them down.
 Wilt thou, O Queen, enter my house—'tis given thee to
 enter
 And to return. Fear nothing; enter with thy virgin feet.'

[*Design*]

Pl.6

IV

The eternal gates' terrific porter lifted the northern bar.
 105 Thel entered in and saw the secrets of the land unknown.
 She saw the couches of the dead, and where the fibrous
 roots
 Of every heart on earth infixes deep its restless twists—
 A land of sorrows and of tears where never smile was seen.
 She wandered in the land of clouds, through valleys dark,
 listening
 110 Dolours and lamentations; waiting oft beside a dewy grave
 She stood in silence, listening to the voices of the ground,
 Till to her own grave plot she came, and there she sat
 down,
 And heard this voice of sorrow breathed from the hollow
 pit:

Pl.6. For the late date of this pl. see headnote.

104. *the northern bar*] This phrase derives ultimately from a passage in the *Odyssey*, xiii 109–12, describing the 'cave of the Naiads'. This cave has two gates; the northern, for mortals, the southern for gods. See *Milton* pl.26.13, p. 561 below, for full quotation. The passage was given an allegorical interpretation by the Neo-Platonists, who read it as an allusion to the descent of souls to earth (by the northern gate), and the occasional visits by gods and spirits (by the southern gate). Such a reading was available to B., through the writings of Thomas Taylor (*Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*, c. 1790). By the addition (probably replacing an early sect. iv) of this plate, B. has turned the legend of Thel into a story of the fear of a soul which dare not enter the mortal world. See also 112n. The imagery of 104–8 is quite unlike anything in the early B.; note esp. the words evocative of evil, common in his verse after about 1794 (*Urizen*) but rare before: *secrets of the land unknown: couches of the dead: fibrous roots: infixes deep its restless twists*.

112. *grave plot*] Taking their cue from Plato himself, the Neo-Platonists emphasized the notion that this mortal world is a sort of death; that real life is only known in Heaven; and that this world is no more than a cave of the dead, a grave.

- ‘Why cannot the ear be closed to its own destruction,
 115 Or the glistening eye to the poison of a smile?
 Why are the eyelids stored with arrows ready drawn,
 Where a thousand fighting men in ambush lie?
 Or an eye of gifts and graces, showering fruits and
 coined gold?
 Why a tongue impressed with honey from every wind?
 120 Why an ear a whirlpool fierce to draw creations in?
 Why a nostril wide inhaling terror, trembling and affright?
 Why a tender curb upon the youthful burning boy?
 Why a little curtain of flesh on the bed of our desire?’
 The virgin started from her seat, and with a shriek
 125 Fled back unhindered till she came into the vales of Har.

The End

[*Design*]

8 The Marriage of Heaven and Hell

Date. One copy is dated by hand, 1790, when B.’s 33rd birthday fell on Advent Sunday (see ii.1*n*). His cryptic allusions on pl.3 suggest that he was taking advantage of that fact to tease the orthodox still further as he wrote that page at least. Various datings between 1790 and 1793 have been proposed at different times. On a frontispiece of one copy is written, ‘Publishd June 5 1793’, but this is a date of publication, not of writing. The triumphal tone of *A Song of Liberty* has been ascribed to the final collapse of the French monarchy in June 1792, rather than to the fall of the Bastille in July 1789. The script of pls.4, 7–10, 14–20 has been identified by Erdman as later than the rest, but the certainty of this has been disputed. Now, however, Viscomi’s cogent technical arguments (*HLQ* 78 pp. 285ff)

114–23. About 1791–93 B. became very fond of sets of rhetorical questions. Cp. *Tiriel* 334ff; and in *Visions* 63–70, 83–110, 116–53, 205–10. Here they form a cry of the lost creation, ‘Why must mankind be imaginative?’. They would rather remain sunk in the cave, unable to sense any reality beyond material nature.

122–3. These lines were del. in two copies; in the other thirteen the lines are retained. These do not fit the general sense (see *n.* above) and seem to mean ‘Why must desire be restrained?’ – a contrary idea.

Design at the end: three children ride on a serpent.

¶ 8. Pl.1 is the titlepage.

are largely accepted, that the whole is a compilation of a series of short pieces made over several months in 1790, and that private publication was held up during the commercially busy period of 1791–2. Some hesitation remains over *A Song of Liberty*, which Viscomi agrees was devised as a separate pamphlet, but otherwise the arguments for 1790 hold firm.

Themes. *A Song of Liberty* apart, the satirical, almost flippant tone of *Marriage* is rare in B., in contrast with the passion, the enthusiasm or the anger of most of his writings. Marriage is much quoted; perhaps too much, since the views so challengingly expressed here were greatly modified in later years. The central opinions remain, however: that truth is found neither through logic nor rule, but through the fearless exercise of the Imagination.

Marriage marks B.'s plain rejection of Swedenborg's doctrines, though it is by no means the end of his influence on B. After the opening poem, B. parodies Swedenborg's manner and themes, arguing again and again that Swedenborg was handling the right material in the wrong way. Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) was a Swedish engineer who claimed divine revelations. His writings are not altogether to be ignored and were the source of much inspiration to B., who derived from them his ideas of the Divine Humanity; of the spiritual world as true reality, with this world a limited image of it; of the power of ordinary mortals to enter the spiritual world if they choose to purify themselves. But Swedenborg's visions are prosaic; his angels and devils are conventional, as are his morals and most of his theological principles. He was too stolid for the Blake of 1790, enthusiastic for the new age of political freedom. To Swedenborg 'Divine Humanity' meant that Christ was God without reservation; to B. it meant that divinity resided in every human soul. In this book he relegates Swedenborg to the position of 'the angel sitting at the tomb; his writings are the linen clothes folded up' (pl.3). The 'clothes' have served their purpose, and can be put away; in the new age, which B. heralds, only naked and pure beauty and truth will remain. B.'s chief opinions here argued are (a) that the energies of natural desire, not behaviour according to a predetermined code, will lead to the proper way of life; and (b) that each individual's imagination is 'the truth' for him – sacred, and not to be denied by others. He retained both ideas for the rest of his life, but they underwent serious modification; he did not long believe, as he did in 1790, in the necessity for complete moral individualism.

After the *Argument* B. gives a series of parodies of Swedenborg, who often wrote in just this way, a philosophical discourse being followed by a *Memorable Relation*, a narrative of what he saw and

said on one of the many occasions when he was carried up to heaven. These are parodied here in B.'s *Memorable Fancies*. Two examples will suffice to show the kind of thing B. had in mind, both bearing some similarity to B.'s *Fancy* on pls.17–20. They are drawn from *The True Christian Religion*, paras 161 and 388.

I once heard, in the spiritual World, a Noise like the Grinding of a Mill . . . Then I observed something like an arched Roof above the Ground, the Entrance to which was through a Cave, and entered in; and lo! there was a large Room, and an aged Person sitting therein, surrounded with Books, and holding before him the Word or Holy Scripture, wherein he was searching what might be serviceable to his Doctrine; about him lay several sheets of Paper, whereon he wrote such Passages as favoured his Purpose; in the next Apartment were a number of Scribes, who collected the scattered Sheets, and copied out the Contents on one entire Paper. [*The Doctrine was of the implacable wrath of God against sin; Swedenborg replies that 'Grace on God's Part, as it is infinite, so also is it eternal'.*] As I uttered these words, the Old Man was inflamed to such a Height of Passion, that he sprung forwards from his Chair, and called his Scribes to turn me out of his House; and as I walked out of my own Accord, he threw after me the first Book that he could lay his Hands on, and the Book proved to be the Word.

[*A Dragon*] led me through a gloomy Wood to the Top of a Hill, whence I might behold the Amusements of the Dragons; and I saw an Amphitheatre . . . they who sat on the lowest Seats appeared to me, at a Distance, like Satyrs and Priapusses, some with a covering to conceal their Privy Parts, and some naked without a Covering; on the Benches over those sat Whore-mongers and Harlots . . . and I saw, as it were, Heifers, Rams, Sheep, Kids and Lambs, driven into the Area of the Circus, and when they were in, a Gate was opened, and there rushed in, as it were, young Lions, Panthers, Tigers, and Wolves, who attacked the Flock with great Fury, and tore them in Pieces, and killed them; but the Satyrs, when the bloody Slaughter was over, scattered Sand over the Place . . .

A SONG OF LIBERTY (p. 127), which B. used to finish *Marriage* with a rousing chorus, though related in spirit to *Marriage*, is very different in theme and style. The biblical 'verses' of poetic prose are part of the dramatic tradition established by Solomon Gessner (see p. 39 above). The *Song* exists alone, but *Marriage* does not exist (in known copies) without the *Song*. B. is not here concerned directly with Swedenborg; he almost forgets him. Whereas the substance of most of *Marriage* is religious philosophy, *A Song of Liberty* is political. In describing the failure of 'the starry king's' attempt

to destroy 'the son of fire', as Louis XVI had failed to stem the tide of revolution, the *Song* almost resembles an abstract for *America*, where Albion's Angel and Urizen fail to destroy Orc. Yet the principles of the body of *Marriage* – freedom, youthful energy and imagination – are still very active, though at this point their outlet is political. B.'s mind was never compartmented, and political freedom involves social and moral freedom. Whatever the precise date, B. characteristically sees events in France as heralding of a wider victory of the powers of truth, and the advent of a New Age.

Pl.2

I THE ARGUMENT

Rintrah roars and shakes his fires in the burdened air;
Hungry clouds swag on the deep.

Once meek, and in a perilous path,
The just man kept his course along

5 The vale of death.

Roses are planted where thorns grow,
And on the barren heath
Sing the honey bees.

Then the perilous path was planted;

10 And a river and a spring
On every cliff and tomb;
And on the bleached bones
Red clay brought forth.

Pl.2. *Argument* (that false religion has invaded the paths of truth).

i 1. *Rintrah*] A shadowy figure here, apparently a sort of wrathful thunder-'god': he reappears in *Europe* 36, 49, 54 as 'furious king'; and, much later, in *Milton* pls.7-13, as ploughman, and still furious. It would be a mistake, however, to read these future developments into this allusion.

i 2. *swag*] 'sway, hang unsteadily' – an obsolete word.

i 3-5. This seems to be an allusion to Christian's journey in *Pilgrim's Progress* through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, when he had to walk on a knife-edge path; deviation from it meant destruction.

i 6. Cp. the well-known passage in *Isaiah* xxxv 1: 'The desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose'. But the similarity is only that both look forward to a millennium.

i 9. *planted*] Planted with flowers (6-8).

i 13. i.e. clay – the flesh of the earth, fertile soil – appeared on the rocks, the 'dry bones' of the earth. Cp. *Ezekiel* xxxvii, the vision of the valley full of dry bones, which were clothed with flesh by the word and spirit of God. But 'clay' may also mean, by a literal translation from Hebrew, 'Adam'.

Till the villain left the paths of ease
 15 To walk in perilous paths and drive
 The just man into barren climes.

Now the sneaking serpent walks
 In mild humility,
 And the just man rages in the wilds
 20 Where lions roam.

Rintrah roars and shakes his fires in the burdened air;
 Hungry clouds swag on the deep.

[*Design*]

II

Pl.3

[*Design*]

As a new heaven is begun, and it is now thirty-three
 years since its advent, the Eternal Hell revives. And
 lo! Swedenborg is the angel sitting at the tomb; his
 writings are the linen clothes folded up. Now is the
 5 dominion of Edom, and the return of Adam into Paradise;
 see Isaiah xxxiv & xxxv chap:

i 15. *perilous paths*] So-called; they are now perilous no longer, and villains choose to enjoy the pleasures they find there, using the force of their unscrupulousness to drive out the just men who were there when the place was really perilous. The *sneaking serpent* of 17 claims humility by following the pilgrimage – but he is a hypocrite, because it is a pilgrimage of hardship no longer.

Design: In the R margin, a leafy tree; a gowned youth reaches down to a gowned girl to give her its fruit.

Pl.3. *Design*: A female figure, stretching in enjoyment of vital flames.

ii 1–2. *a new Heaven . . . advent*] B. wrote '1790' in one copy. Swedenborg claimed that a new dispensation had been granted by God, and revealed to him in 1757 – the year of B.'s birth. The thirty-third year (Christ's age at the end of his ministry), 1790, is the year when B.'s birthday falls on Advent Sunday, thereby producing, not another heaven on the old model, but a resurgence of 'hellish' energy, as B. goes on to display it. This kind of irony is characteristic of the whole book. The following references to Swedenborg show that B. now thinks of him, not as the bearer of the new gospel, but merely as an assistant at B.'s arrival.

ii 5. *Edom*] The disinherited descendants of Esau, often reviled in the Old Testament, come into their rights. In *Genesis* xxvii 40, when Jacob has cheated Esau of his birthright, Isaac still grants Esau one blessing, that, though he must serve Jacob, 'it shall come to pass when thou shalt have dominion, that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck'. The passage in *Isaiah* is apocalyptic, describing the destruction of the enemies of Israel including Edom (i.e. 'dominion *over* Edom') and the restoration of the land of the chosen people. The lines quoted in the note to *Argument 6* come from this well-known passage.

Without Contraries is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence.

10 From these contraries spring what the religious call Good and Evil. Good is the passive that obeys reason: Evil is the active springing from Energy.

Good is Heaven; Evil is Hell.

[*Design*]

Pl.4 THE VOICE OF THE DEVIL

15 All Bibles or sacred codes have been the causes of the following Errors:

1. That man has two real existing principles, viz, a Body and a Soul.
2. That Energy, called Evil, is alone from the body, and that Reason, called Good, is alone from the soul.
- 20 3. That God will torment man in Eternity for following his energies.

But the following Contraries to these are true:

- 1 Man has no Body distinct from his Soul, for that called Body is a portion of Soul discerned by the five senses, the
- 25 chief inlets of Soul in this age.
- 2 Energy is the only life and is from the body, and Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy.
- 3 Energy is eternal delight.

[*Design*]

ii 7. *Contraries*] In this paragraph B. argues that opposite principles are necessary; it is wrong to choose one (e.g. Reason, Love) as good, and declare its opposite to be evil. He also takes the more perverse attitude that the commonly supposed good is evil, and the commonly supposed evil, which he associates with all things impulsive and energetic, is good. Both lines of thought appear throughout the book.

ii. *Design*: L, a woman in childbirth; two figures R; a woman supine, and a man kissing her as he runs past.

Pl.4. Cp. the small tracts, p. 55. *The Devil*] B.'s new Messiah (see ii 7*n.*).

ii 22. *Contraries*] A word that B. gave a special meaning: see *Experience*, head-note, and *Jerusalem* 10.7*n.*

ii 25. *inlets of Soul*] This is basically the Swedenborgian idea that all things on earth are 'correspondences' of their equivalents in heaven; alternatively, that the things we see on earth are embodiments of divine or eternal truths. B. removes the theological implications which Swedenborg took for granted and leaves this idea (which is also a common Platonic and Neo-Platonic notion).

ii 26. *Energy is the only life*] This is B.'s own development. Swedenborg's morality was very conventional.

ii. *Design*: An angel coming over the sea snatches a child from a chained angel surrounded by flames. A rising sun beyond the sea. (This became the colour-print 'The good and evil angels'; in it the fettered evil angel was made blind.)

Pl.5

[*Design*]

Those who restrain desire do so because theirs is weak
 30 enough to be restrained; and the restrainer or reason
 usurps its place and governs the unwilling.

And being restrained it by degrees becomes passive, till
 it is only the shadow of desire.

The history of this is written in *Paradise Lost*, and the
 35 governor (or reason) is called Messiah.

And the original archangel, or possessor of the command
 of the heavenly host, is called the Devil or Satan, and his
 children are called Sin and Death.

But in the *Book of Job* Milton's Messiah is called Satan. For
 40 this history has been adopted by both parties.

It indeed appeared to Reason as if Desire was cast out;
 Pl.6 but the Devil's account is that the Messiah fell, and formed
 a heaven of what he stole from the abyss.

This is shown in the Gospel, where he prays to the Father
 45 to send the comforter (or Desire) that Reason may have
 ideas to build on, the Jehovah of the Bible being no other
 than he who dwells in flaming fire. Know that after
 Christ's death he became Jehovah.

But in Milton the Father is destiny, the Son a ratio of
 50 the five senses, and the Holy Ghost vacuum!

Pl.5. *Design*: Above the text, a falling man, horse and military equipment drop
 into the flames of hell (cp. *Song of Liberty* 15, p. 128).

ii 31. *usurps*] The notion of the false god who usurps the place of truth is impor-
 tant to B. throughout his life, recurring in *Urizen*, *The Four Zoas*, *Milton*, *Jerusalem*
 and scattered references up to the last year of his life, when he parodied
 Thornton's new version of the Lord's Prayer thus: 'Thy Kingdom on Earth is
 not, nor thy Will done, but Satan's, who is God of this World, the Accuser'. In
 1790, B.'s beliefs were tending against Christianity, but the image is the same.

ii 38. *Sin and Death*] A ref. to the famous passage in *Paradise Lost* ii 643ff.

ii 39. *the Book of Job*] The Messiah of *Paradise Lost* is identified with Reason, which
 in turn is associated with the 'Right' and 'Good', and therefore with the Satan
 of *Job*, the Tempter whose function is to distinguish 'wrong' from 'right'. This
 is of the true, energetic Satan of B.'s imagination. See p. 121 below, pl.17 iv 122n.
 Pl.6 (begins at *Messi/ah*).

ii 47. *he who dwells . . .*] i.e. Jehovah is Satan, living in the eternal fires of energy
 and desire; his power gives life, and even Jesus (here his enemy, not his incar-
 nation) must ask him for benefits.

ii 49. *ratio*] i.e. a 'rationale' derived from the limitations of the mortal senses.
 The Son is shown by Milton as a product, rather than the lord, of the material
 universe 'closed by your senses five' (ii 68). See *Milton* 29.18n.

ii 50. *vacuum*] Because he is ignored by Milton.

Note. The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of angels and God, and at liberty when of devils and Hell, is because he was a true poet, and of the Devil's party without knowing it.

A MEMORABLE FANCY

55 As I was walking among the fires of Hell, delighted with
the enjoyments of genius (which to angels look like torment
and insanity), I collected some of their proverbs, thinking
that, as the sayings used in a nation mark its character, so
60 the proverbs of Hell show the nature of Infernal wisdom
better than any description of buildings or garments.

When I came home, on the abyss of the five senses, where
a flat-sided steep frowns over the present world, I saw a
mighty devil folded in black clouds, hovering on the sides
Pl.7 of the rock. With corroding fires he wrote the following
65 sentence now perceived by the minds of men, and read by
them on earth:

How do you know but every bird that cuts the airy way Is
an immense world of delight, closed by your senses five?

III PROVERBS OF HELL

In seed time learn, in harvest teach, in winter enjoy.
Drive your cart and your plough over the bones of the dead.
The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom.
Prudence is a rich ugly old maid courted by incapacity.
5 He who desires but acts not breeds pestilence.

ii 51. *in fetters*] B. was the first to propose that Milton has erected a 'human' Satan who attracts the reader's sympathies far more than the apparently despotic God or the colourless Christ.

ii. *A Memorable Fancy*] A parody of Swedenborg's *Memorable Relations*. B. is more concerned with fancy and imagination than with merely relating accurately what he saw. See headnote.

Pl.7 (*cor/roding*). A later style of lettering (?1792/3–1805) begins here (see headnote). It may be more than coincidence that he chooses to discuss his printing technique on this plate.

ii 64. *corroding fires*] B. is probably thinking of his own trade of engraving with corrosive acid into a metal plate.

iii. *Proverbs*] Collections of aphorisms were popular eighteenth-century reading; B.'s own annotations on Fuseli's translation of J. K. Lavater's *Aphorisms* are extant.

iii 2. The image is of the farmer ploughing land under which lie the burial grounds of past ages.

- The cut worm forgives the plough.
 Dip him in the river who loves water.
 A fool sees not the same tree that a wise man sees.
 He whose face gives no light shall never become a star.
 10 Eternity is in love with the productions of time.
 The busy bee has no time for sorrow.
 The hours of folly are measured by the clock, but of
 wisdom no clock can measure.
 All wholesome food is caught without a net or a trap.
 Bring out number, weight and measure in a year of
 dearth.
 15 No bird soars too high, if he soars with his own wings.
 A dead body revenges not injuries.
 The most sublime act is to set another before you.
 If the fool would persist in his folly he would become
 wise.
 Folly is the cloak of knavery.
 20 Shame is Pride's cloak.
 Pl.8 Prisons are built with stones of Law, brothels with bricks
 of Religion.
 The pride of the peacock is the glory of God.
 The lust of the goat is the bounty of God.
 The wrath of the lion is the wisdom of God.
 25 The nakedness of woman is the work of God.
 Excess of sorrow laughs. Excess of joy weeps.
 The roaring of lions, the howling of wolves, the raging
 of the stormy sea, and the destructive sword are
 portions of eternity too great for the eye of man.
 The fox condemns the trap, not himself.
 Joys impregnate. Sorrows bring forth.

iii 6. Used also, but deleted, in the draft of 'The Fly' (*Experience*, p. 227 below), as the second stanza: 'The cut worm / Forgives the plough / And dies in peace, / And so do thou.'

iii 8. An important principle in B.'s thought.

iii 14. In *Daniel* v 25-8 'mene, tekel, upharsin' means 'numbered, weighed, discarded'. Marvell praises Milton's blank verse because it 'created . . . In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime'.

iii 16. Not 'dead men tell no tales', but 'if a man is alive, you must expect him to react to what you do to him'.

iii 18. *Proverbs* xvi 22: 'the instruction of fools is folly'; xxvi 11: 'a fool returneth to his folly'. But B.'s idea is different; cp. His Proverb 52.

- 30 Let man wear the fell of the lion, woman the fleece of
the sheep.
The bird a nest, the spider a web, man friendship.
The selfish smiling fool and the sullen frowning fool shall
be both thought wise, that they may be a rod.
What is now proved was once only imagined.
The rat, the mouse, the fox, the rabbit, watch the roots.
The lion, the tiger, the horse, the elephant, watch
the fruits.
- 35 The cistern contains: the fountain overflows.
One thought fills immensity.
Always be ready to speak your mind, and a base man will
avoid you.
Everything possible to be believed is an image of truth.
The eagle never lost so much time as when he submitted
to learn of the crow.
- Pl.9 The fox provides for himself, but God provides for the
lion.
- 41 Think in the morning. Act in the noon. Eat in the
evening. Sleep in the night.
He who has suffered you to impose on him, knows you.
As the plough follows words, so God rewards prayers.
The tigers of wrath are wiser than the horses of
instruction.
- 45 Expect poison from the standing water.
You never know what is enough unless you know what is
more than enough.
Listen to the fool's reproach: it is a kingly title.
The eyes of fire, the nostrils of air, the mouth of water,
the beard of earth.
The weak in courage is strong in cunning.
- 50 The apple tree never asks the beech how he shall grow,
nor the lion the horse, how he shall take his prey.
The thankful receiver bears a plentiful harvest.
If others had not been foolish, we should be so.
The soul of sweet delight can never be defiled.

Pl.8. iii 33. i.e. imagination is prior, and superior, to reason, which follows on behind.

iii 39. i.e. every creature has its own nature, and it is folly to try to make it something else. This is the argument of pl.3: it follows from it that what is good for one being may not be good for another. Cp. Proverb 50.

Pl.9. iii 43. i.e. plans are discussed first, then the work is done.

iii 48. *the beard of earth*] Associating old age and the grave.

iii 50. Cp. Proverb 39.

- When thou seest an eagle, thou seest a portion of
 Genius: lift up thy head!
- 55 As the caterpillar chooses the fairest leaves to lay her eggs
 on, so the priest lays his curse on the fairest joys.
 To create a little flower is the labour of ages.
 Damn braces. Bless relaxes.
 The best wine is the oldest. The best water the newest.
 Prayers plough not. Praises reap not.
- 60 Joys laugh not! Sorrows weep not!
- Pl.10 The head Sublime, the heart Pathos, the genitals Beauty,
 the hands and feet Proportion.
 As the air to a bird or the sea to a fish, so is contempt to
 the contemptible.
 The crow wished everything was black; the owl, that
 everything was white.
 Exuberance is Beauty.
- 65 If the lion was advised by the fox, he would be cunning.
 Improvement makes straight roads, but the crooked
 roads without improvement are roads of Genius.
 Sooner murder an infant in its cradle than nurse unacted
 desires.
 Where man is not, nature is barren.
 Truth can never be told so as to be understood and not
 be believed.
- 70 Enough! or Too much!

[*Design*]

IV

- Pl.11 [*Design*]

The ancient poets animated all sensible objects with gods
 or geniuses, calling them by the names, and adorning
 them with the properties, of woods, rivers, mountains,
 lakes, cities, nations, and whatever their enlarged and
 5 numerous senses could perceive.

iii 53. So in *Visions* 9–10 and *America* 72.

Pl.10. iii 65. i.e. the lion would be cunning, but not kingly (cp. Proverb 40).

iii 70. *Enough! . . . much*] Perhaps an ironic remark on the 'Proverbs'.

iii. *Design*: A devil with a scroll teaches two young women, who write.

Pl.11. iv. *Design*: The sea (in some copies enclosed in a cave); a triton-like male figure; and on an island, a woman with a child.

And particularly they studied the genius of each city and country, placing it under its mental deity.

Till a system was formed, which some took advantage of and enslaved the vulgar by attempting to realise or abstract
10 the mental deities from their objects. Thus began Priesthood—choosing forms of worship from poetic tales.

And at length they pronounced that the gods had ordered such things.

Thus men forgot that All deities reside in the human
15 breast.

[*Design*]

Pl.12

A MEMORABLE FANCY

The Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel dined with me, and I asked them how they dared so roundly to assert that God spake to them; and whether they did not think at the time that they would be misunderstood, and so be the cause of
20 imposition.

Isaiah answered, 'I saw no God, nor heard any, in a finite organical perception; but my senses discovered the infinite in everything, and as I was then persuaded, and remain confirmed, that the voice of honest indignation is the voice
25 of God, I cared not for consequences but wrote.'

iv 11. *Choosing forms . . .*] i.e. converting poetry into rigid rituals.

iv 14–15. *All deities . . . breast*] i.e. are creations of the human imagination, which is infinite. Swedenborg held that supreme divinity resided in Christ; that is, he was unitarian in rejecting the doctrine of a divided Trinity, but different from the Unitarians in seeing Jesus Christ, not merely as the ideal man, but as entirely God. This leads to an emphasis on the nearness of true humanity and godhead, which B. here develops into the statement that godhead springs from the state of Humanity which is fully and imaginatively realized. Further, gods that men worship are their own imaginative ideals. This was a lifelong view of B.'s: he did not mean it to devalue worship, but to emphasize that the true vision of perfection – which is Human perfection – is impossible in this world. Then to elevate such worship into an absolute demand is to elevate a partial truth (thus making it false).

iv. *Design*: An aged figure: a rolling sea carries a youth.

Pl.12. iv 16. *The Prophets . . .*] B. parodies Swedenborg's *Relations* of familiarity with heavenly spirits. This is not to say that B. entirely disbelieved in this possibility; the succeeding conversation is not parody, but expresses what B. believed to be true. B. did not persuade himself that this dinner-party had occurred; this is an imaginative creation in which he envisages the conversation that would have taken place at such a party – with a little humour at Swedenborg's expense. Note the sentence beginning 'All poets believe . . .'

Then I asked: 'Does a firm persuasion that a thing is so, make it so?'

He replied, 'All poets believe that it does, and in ages of imagination the firm persuasion removed mountains;
30 but many are not capable of a firm persuasion of anything.'

Then Ezekiel said, 'The philosophy of the east taught the first principles of human perception; some nations held one principle for the origin and some another. We of
35 Israel taught that the Poetic Genius (as you now call it) was the first principle, and all the others merely derivative—which was the cause of our despising the Priests and Philosophers of other countries, and prophesying that all
Pl.13 gods would at last be proved to originate in ours and to
40 be the tributaries of the Poetic Genius. It was this that our great poet King David desired so fervently and invoked so pathetically, saying by this he conquers enemies and governs kingdoms. And we so loved our God, that we cursed in his name all the deities of surrounding nations, and asserted
45 that they had rebelled; from these opinions the vulgar came to think that all nations would at last be subject to the Jews.

'This,' said he, 'like all firm persuasions, is come to pass, for all nations believe the Jews' code and worship the Jews' God, and what greater subjection can be?'

50 I heard this with some wonder, and must confess my own conviction. After dinner I asked Isaiah to favour the world with his lost works; he said none of equal value was lost. Ezekiel said the same of his.

I also asked Isaiah what made him go naked and barefoot
55 for three years. He answered, 'The same that made our friend Diogenes the Grecian.'

iv 35. *The Poetic Genius*] i.e. B. says that the God of *Genesis* i is not the Miltonic despot, but the supreme imaginative genius; all works of the imagination, such as poetry – and including such poetic inventions as the gods of human religions – derive from this first Genius.

Pl.13. (*gods/would*).

iv 41. *King David*] The reference is not to a particular passage, though B. may have had 2 *Samuel* xxii (i.e. *Psalms* xviii), or *Psalms* lx, in mind; both refer to the strength of the Lord in specific victories of David's.

iv 42. *pathetically*] *sic*: vehemently, or nobly (*OED*, sense 2). This form of the adverb is also recorded.

iv 54. *naked and barefoot*] *Isaiah* xx: at the time of an Assyrian invasion which penetrated well into the Israelite territory from the N, capturing Ashdod (now Isdud, on the coast west of Jerusalem), Isaiah 'walked naked and barefoot three

I then asked Ezekiel why he ate dung; and lay so long on his right and left side. He answered, 'The desire of raising other men into a perception of the infinite. This the
 60 North American tribes practise, and is he honest who resists his genius or conscience only for the sake of present ease or gratification?'

Pl.14 [Design]

The ancient tradition that the world will be consumed in fire at the end of six thousand years is true, as I have heard
 65 from Hell.

For the cherub with his flaming sword is hereby commanded to leave his guard at [*the*] Tree of Life; and when he does, the whole creation will be consumed, and appear infinite and holy, whereas it now appears finite and corrupt.
 70 This will come to pass by an improvement of sensual enjoyment.

But first the notion that man has a body distinct from his soul is to be expunged. This I shall do by printing in

years for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia; so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners and the Ethiopians captives'. Diogenes' assumption of extreme poverty is said by B. to have had the same inspiration, though Isaiah claimed his to have been a response to the Word of God.

iv 57. *ate dung*] Ezekiel iv: Ezekiel was taken into exile from Jerusalem with King Jehoiachin; five years later Jerusalem, under King Zedekiah, rebelled again. At this time, in Babylon, in obedience to the Word, Ezekiel made a model of the coming siege of Jerusalem, and then lay on his left side for 390 days, to signify the number of years Israel would be held captive, and then forty days on his right, to signify the length of Judah's captivity. Then he ate barley cakes, carefully measured, baked on dung, to signify the rationing and hardship that would come with the siege of Jerusalem.

iv 60. *North American*] It is not clear what B. had in mind. North American religions are animist, relating the spiritual world to visible objects, and do not consider 'the infinite' in the abstract. Perhaps he refers to the ordeals of initiation into 'manhood'.

Pl.14. *Design*: A sleeper (or a corpse): a figure, arms outspread, hovers over, and flames rise behind.

iv 64. *six thousand years*] Taking the Creation as 4004 B.C., this would be 1996, or beyond B.'s own day – but near enough, perhaps, for B. to consider it 'our own times'. The *Revelation* term is 'A thousand years', signifying a long time, and making the total, not six, but five thousand. But, as B. says, six thousand years is a traditional figure.

iv 66. *the cherub*] *Genesis* iii 24: God 'placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life'.

the infernal method by corrosives, which in Hell are salutary
 75 and medicinal, melting apparent surfaces away, and displaying
 the infinite which was hid.

If the doors of perception were cleansed everything
 would appear to man as it is—infinite.

For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things
 80 through narrow chinks of his cavern.

Pl.15 A MEMORABLE FANCY

I was in a printing-house in Hell and saw the method
 in which knowledge is transmitted from generation to
 generation.

In the first chamber was a Dragon-man, clearing away
 85 the rubbish from a cave's mouth; within, a number of drag-
 ons were hollowing the cave.

In the second chamber was a Viper folding round the
 rock and the cave, and others adorning it with gold, silver
 and precious stones.

90 In the third chamber was an Eagle with wings and
 feathers of air; he caused the inside of the cave to be infinite.
 Around were numbers of eagle-like men, who built palaces
 in the immense cliffs.

In the fourth chamber were Lions of flaming fire, raging
 95 around and melting the metals into living fluids.

In the fifth chamber were Unnamed forms, which cast
 the metals into the expanse.

There they were received by Men who occupied the sixth
 chamber, and took the forms of books and were arranged
 100 in libraries.

[*Design*]

Pl.16 [*Design*]

iv 74. *the infernal method*] See note on pl.7 ii, 64, *corroding fires*.

Pl.15. iv 81. *printing-house*] The trend of this passage is to emphasize the infinite
 beauty of the printing process; B. follows it step by step.

iv 96. *forms . . . cast*] a play on technical terms.

iv 98–100. *Men . . . books . . . libraries*] Note how prosaic and dull men are, after
 the dazzling animals.

iv. *Design*: An eagle grasps a serpent (perhaps struggling) in the sky.

Pl.16. *Design*: Ugolino, who with two sons and two grandsons was sealed in a
 prison (*Inferno* xxxi; see also *The Gates of Paradise Design* 12, p. 893 below). This
 section is quite different from the earlier-engraved pl.11, and embodies an idea
 which was no doubt conceived at a different time. There is, however, still the
 same attitude, that of free energy being preferable to a tame acceptance of rea-
 son and custom.

The giants who formed this world into its sensual existence, and now seem to live in it in chains, are in truth the causes of its life and the sources of all activity; but the chains are the cunning of weak and tame minds, which have
 105 power to resist energy—according to the proverb, ‘the weak in courage is strong in cunning.’

Thus one portion of being is the Prolific, the other, the Devouring. To the Devourer it seems as if the producer was in his chains, but it is not so; he only takes portions
 110 of existence and fancies that the whole.

But the Prolific would cease to be prolific unless the devourer as a sea received the excess of his delights.

Some will say, ‘Is not God alone the prolific?’ I answer, ‘God only acts and is in existing beings or men.’

115 These two classes of men are always upon earth, and they
 Pl.17 should be enemies; whoever tries to reconcile them seeks to destroy existence.

Religion is an endeavour to reconcile the two.

120 *Note.* Jesus Christ did not wish to unite but to separate them, as in the parable of sheep and goats. And he says, ‘I came not to send peace, but a sword.’

Messiah or Satan or Tempter was formerly thought to be one of the antediluvians who are our energies.

A MEMORABLE FANCY

125 An angel came to me and said, ‘O pitiable foolish young man! O horrible! O dreadful state! Consider the hot burning dungeon thou art preparing for thyself to all eternity, to which thou art going in such a career.’

iv 101. *giants*] Many antiquarians argued that the ‘giants in the earth’ (*Genesis* vi 4) before the flood (‘antediluvians’, 123) were granted a higher wisdom now lost.
 iv 116. *enemies*] i.e. it is wrong to claim that one or the other is ‘the good’, and so to force the opposite to conform. Both are essential. The argument also involves B.’s belief in preserving the essential individuality of different natures – ‘One Law for the Lion and Ox is Oppression’ (iv 284).

Pl.17 (*tries/to*).

iv 119. *Jesus Christ*] the allusions are to *Matthew* xxv 32–3 and x 34.

iv 122. *Messiah or Satan or Tempter*] (See ii 39*n* above). B. says the Messiah was formerly, but mistakenly, thought to be one of those giants whose energy infused the world with life. But he was not; he was the Tempter of *Job* whose wish was to judge right and wrong, not to allow people to enjoy their lives fully.

iv. *Memorable Fancy*] See headnote and the quotation from Swedenborg there for a parallel to this ‘Fancy’.

I said: 'Perhaps you will be willing to show me my eternal lot, and we will contemplate together upon it, and see
 130 whether your lot or mine is most desirable.'

So he took me through a stable and through a church and down into the church vault, at the end of which was a mill. Through the mill we went, and came to a cave; down the winding cavern we groped our tedious way, till a void
 135 boundless as a nether sky appeared beneath us, and we held by the roots of trees and hung over this immensity. But I said, 'If you please we will commit ourselves to this void, and see whether providence is here also; if you will not; I will.' But he answered, 'Do not presume, O young man;
 140 but as we here remain, behold thy lot which will soon appear when the darkness passes away.'

Pl.18 So I remained with him sitting in the twisted root of an oak. He was suspended in a fungus which hung with the head downward into the deep.

By degrees we beheld the infinite abyss, fiery as the smoke of a burning city; beneath us at an immense distance was the sun, black but shining. Round it were fiery tracks on which revolved vast spiders, crawling after their prey, which flew or rather swum in the infinite deep, in the most
 145 terrific shapes of animals sprung from corruption; and the air was full of them, and seemed composed of them. These are devils, and are called Powers of the Air. I now asked my companion which was my eternal lot; he said, 'Between the black and white spiders.'

But now, from between the black and white spiders a cloud and fire burst and rolled through the deep, blackening all beneath, so that the nether deep grew black as a sea, and rolled with a terrible noise. Beneath us was nothing now to be seen but a black tempest, till looking east between
 155 the clouds and the waves, we saw a cataract of blood
 160

iv 131. *he took me . . .*] A place for animals leads to a church, which leads to a place for hard labour and slavery (B. usually has Milton's phrase 'grinding at the mill with slaves' in mind when using this word), which leads to a 'tedious cavern'. B. imagines a flat earth, with an abyss like a 'nether sky' underneath it, and the roots of trees serving instead of their trunks and branches as a sort of downwards vegetation. This is the reverse of Swedenborg's common experience of being carried up to heaven.

Pl.18 (*twisted/root*).

iv 155. The place indicated by the angel as a place of horror becomes a place of inspiration (perhaps through its assignment to B.).

mixed with fire; and not many stones'-throw from us
 appeared and sunk again the scaly fold of a monstrous
 serpent. At last to the east, distant about three degrees,
 appeared a fiery crest above the waves; slowly it reared like
 165 a ridge of golden rocks, till we discovered two globes of
 crimson fire, from which the sea fled away in clouds of
 smoke; and now we saw it was the head of Leviathan. His
 forehead was divided into streaks of green and purple like
 those on a tiger's forehead; soon we saw his mouth and
 170 red gills hang just above the raging foam, tinging the black
 Pl.19 deep with beams of blood, advancing toward us with all
 the fury of a spiritual existence.

My friend the angel climbed up from his station into the
 mill. I remained alone, and then this appearance was no
 175 more, but I found myself sitting on a pleasant bank beside
 a river by moonlight, hearing a harper who sung to the harp;
 and his theme was, 'The man who never alters his opinion
 is like standing water, and breeds reptiles of the mind.'

But I arose, and sought for the mill, and there I found
 180 my angel, who, surprised, asked me how I escaped?

I answered, 'All that we saw was owing to your meta-
 physics; for when you ran away, I found myself on a bank
 by moonlight hearing a harper. But now we have seen my
 eternal lot, shall I show you yours?' He laughed at my pro-
 185 posal; but I by force suddenly caught him in my arms,
 and flew westerly through the night, till we were elevated
 above the earth's shadow. Then I flung myself with him
 directly into the body of the sun. Here I clothed myself in
 white, and taking in my hand Swedenborg's volumes sunk
 190 from the glorious clime, and passed all the planets till we
 came to Saturn. Here I stayed to rest and then leaped into
 the void between Saturn and the fixed stars.

Pl.19. (*toward/us.*)

iv 175. *I found myself sitting* . . .] He had created this pleasant state for himself; the horrors of the deep were created by the diseased imagination of the angel, which bred 'reptiles of the mind'.

iv 186. *flew westerly*] B. always thought of the West as the land of hope (except in *Tiriel*): this is an early example of it. Note that the pair are now flying, not crawling.

iv 192. *the void* . . .] Uranus was discovered in 1781, but B. evidently did not know of this, or chose to ignore it. Traditionally, in the Ptolemaic cosmology, Saturn was the outermost of the planetary spheres, and beyond it only the sphere of the 'fixed stars' and, outermost, the firmament.

195 'Here,' said I, 'is your lot, in this space, if space it may
 be called.' Soon we saw the stable and the church, and I
 took him to the altar and opened the Bible, and lo! it was
 a deep pit, into which I descended, driving the angel
 before me. Soon we saw seven houses of brick, one we
 Pl.20 entered; in it were a number of monkeys, baboons, and all
 of that species, chained by the middle, grinning and
 200 snatching at one another, but withheld by the shortness of
 their chains. However I saw that they sometimes grew
 numerous, and then the weak were caught by the strong
 and with a grinning aspect, first coupled with them and then
 devoured, by plucking off first one limb and then another
 205 till the body was left a helpless trunk. This after grinning
 and kissing it with seeming fondness they devoured too;
 and here and there I saw one savourily picking the flesh off
 of his own tail; as the stench terribly annoyed us both we
 went into the mill, and I in my hand brought the skeleton
 210 of a body, which in the mill was Aristotle's *Analytics*.

So the angel said: 'Thy fantasy has imposed upon me and thou oughtest to be ashamed.'

I answered: 'We impose on one another, and it is but
 lost time to converse with you whose works are only
 215 *Analytics*.'

[*Design*]

Opposition is true Friendship

Pl.21

[*Design*]

I have always found that angels have the vanity to speak of themselves as the only wise; this they do with a confident insolence sprouting from systematic reasoning.

220 Thus Swedenborg boasts that what he writes is new,
 though it is only the Contents or Index of already-published books.

Pl.20 (*were a/number*)

iv 209. *skeleton*] i.e. philosophical works are no more than grotesque notions, with whatever life they had in them extinct.

iv 210. *Aristotle's Analytics*] B. may only have known the name, which carries enough meaning to damn the books in his eyes.

iv. *Design*: The serpent of pl.18 coiling over the sea.

iv. *Opposition is true Friendship*] Del. by colouring in six of the nine copies.

Pl.21. *Design*: The resurrection figure of *America* pl.6, in some copies here against a background of pyramids: a youth rising from a mound on which bones are scattered, and looking upwards.

A man carried a monkey about for a show, and because he was a little wiser than the monkey, grew vain, and conceived himself as much wiser than seven men. It is so with
 225 Swedenborg; he shows the folly of churches and exposes hypocrites, till he imagines that all are religious, and
 Pl.22 himself the single one on earth that ever broke a net.

Now hear a plain fact: Swedenborg has not written one new truth. Now hear another: he has written all the old
 230 falsehoods.

And now hear the reason. He conversed with angels, who are all religious, and conversed not with devils who all hate religion, for he was incapable through his conceited notions.

235 Thus Swedenborg's writings are a recapitulation of all superficial opinions and an analysis of the more sublime, but no further.

Have now another plain fact: any man of mechanical talents may from the writings of Paracelsus or Jacob Behmen
 240 produce ten thousand volumes of equal value with Swedenborg's—and from those of Dante or Shakespeare an infinite number.

But when he has done this, let him not say that he knows better than his master, for he only holds a candle in
 245 sunshine.

A MEMORABLE FANCY

Once I saw a devil in a flame of fire, who arose before an angel that sat on a cloud; and the devil uttered these words:

Pl.23 'The worship of God is honouring his gifts in other men, each according to his genius, and loving the greatest men

Pl.22 (*single/one*)

iv 231. *conversed with angels*] As in the second passage quoted in the headnote, Swedenborg treated the devils in his visions with disdain.

iv 239. *Paracelsus or Jacob Behmen*] (i.e. Boehme); the former (1493–1541) was a noted, and quarrelsome, physician and mystic philosopher, the second (1575–1624) a shoemaker; untutored but a great mystic. There is evidence in *Urizen* (1794) that B. knew Boehme and though the offhand tone of this remark suggests that at this time he had no close acquaintance with his writings, the letter-poem of 12 Sept. 1800 (p. 484 below) implies that B. read both authors in youth.

iv 246–7. *devil . . . angel*] The devil expresses B.'s point of view, the angel that which B. takes to be the orthodox.

Pl.23 (*the/greatest*)

251 best. Those who envy or calumniate great men hate God,
for there is no other God’.

The angel, hearing this, became almost blue, but mastering himself he grew yellow, and at last white pink and
255 smiling, and then replied,

‘Thou idolater, is not God One, and is he not visible in Jesus Christ? And has not Jesus Christ given his sanction to the law of ten commandments; and are not all other men fools, sinners, and nothings?’

260 The devil answered, ‘Bray a fool in a mortar with wheat, yet shall not his folly be beaten out of him. If Jesus Christ is the greatest man, you ought to love him in the greatest degree. Now hear how he has given his sanction to the law of ten commandments: did he not mock at the Sabbath,
265 and so mock the Sabbath’s God? Murder those who were murdered because of him? Turn away the law from the woman taken in adultery? Steal the labour of others to support him? Bear false witness when he omitted making a defence before Pilate? Covet when he prayed for his
270 disciples, and when he bid them shake off the dust of their feet against such as refused to lodge them? I tell you no virtue can exist without breaking these ten commandments. Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules.’

Pl.24

275 When he had so spoken I beheld the angel who stretched out his arms embracing the flame of fire, and he was consumed and arose as Elijah.

iv 260. *Bray a fool*] *Proverbs* xxvii 22: ‘Though thou shouldest bray a fool in a mortar among wheat with a pestle, yet will not his foolishness depart from him’ – the devil is quoting scripture for his own purposes. *Bray* (now dialect only) = ‘beat’.

iv 264. *did he not mock*] This set of paradoxes, showing Christ in opposition to the religious laws of his day, was worked out in full, many years later, in *The Everlasting Gospel* (1818 approx.). But although the contradiction was still the same, B.’s religious ideas were by then much developed and matured. The events referred to may be found in: *Mark* ii 27 (‘the sabbath was made for man . . .’); *John* viii 2–11 (the woman taken in adultery); *Matthew* xxvii 13–14 (‘and he answered him to never a word’); *Matthew* x 14 (‘and whosoever shall not receive you . . . when ye depart . . . shake off the dust of your feet’).

Pl.24 (*im/pulse*).

iv 277. *as Elijah*] i.e. like Elijah, who (2 *Kings* ii 11) went up by a whirlwind into Heaven. Since he was first separated from Elisha by a chariot and horses of fire, he is commonly said to have ascended in the fiery chariot – as, indeed, the text may intend, though it does not say so.

Note. This angel, who is now become a devil, is my particular friend. We often read the Bible together in its
 280 infernal or diabolical sense, which the world shall have if they behave well.

I have also The Bible of Hell—which the world shall have whether they will or no.

[*Design*]

One Law for the Lion and Ox is Oppression.

Pl.25

V A SONG OF LIBERTY

1. The Eternal Female groaned; it was heard over all the earth.
2. Albion's coast is sick, silent; the American meadows faint.
3. Shadows of prophecy shiver along by the lakes and the rivers, and mutter across the ocean. France, rend down thy dungeon!
4. Golden Spain, burst the barriers of old Rome!
5. Cast thy keys, O Rome, into the deep—down falling, even to eternity down falling,
6. And weep.
7. In her trembling hands she took the new-born terror, howling.

iv 282. *The Bible of Hell*] It may be that B.'s two *Prophecies*, i.e. *America* and *Europe*, and his '*Genesis*' (*The Book of Urizen*), together with the other similar poems of the next few years – but not, probably, *Visions* – were intended as parts or all of the *Bible of Hell*. The deliberate imitation of Biblical themes and, to a less extent, of Biblical manner, makes this probable; but these poems were never so labelled.

iv. *Design*: Nebuchadnezzar (*Daniel* iv 25, 33), insane and half-beast, crawling on all fours. The following line probably alludes to this design.

iv 284. *One Law . . . Oppression*] B.'s reaction to *Isaiah* xi 7: 'the lion shall eat straw like the ox'. Cp. *Tiriel* 334, and *Visions* 108.

Pl.25. *A Song of Liberty*

v 1. *The Eternal Female*] A figure who was later much developed; in this context she is the mother of *Revelation* xii, producing destined events.

v 3. *thy dungeon*] The Bastille, destroyed in 1789. B. makes much of its terror in his unpublished *The French Revolution*.

v 5. *keys*] The keys of Rome are the traditional symbol of Papal power.

v 6. *And weep*] B.'s shortest verse echoes the Bible's: 'Jesus wept' (*John* xi 35). Original reading: 'And weep and bow thy reverend locks.'

v 7. *the new-born terror*] The fiery youth, another figure later fully developed, into Orc who appears in most poems from *America* (1793) to *Vala* (begun c. 1795). He is the spirit and champion of revolution.

8. On those infinite mountains of light, now barred out by the Atlantic sea, the new-born fire stood before the starry king.
9. Flagged with grey-browed snows and thunderous visages, the jealous wings waved over the deep.
10. The speary hand burned aloft, unbuckled was the shield, forth went the hand of jealousy among the flaming hair, and hurled the new-born wonder through the starry night.
- Pl.26 11. The fire, the fire, is falling!
12. Look up, look up! O citizen of London, enlarge thy countenance; O Jew, leave counting gold! Return to thy oil and wine, O African, black African! (Go, winged thought, widen his forehead!)
13. The fiery limbs, the flaming hair shot like the sinking sun into the western sea.
14. Waked from his eternal sleep, the hoary element roaring fled away.
15. Down rushed, beating his wings in vain, the jealous king; his grey browed counsellors, thunderous warriors, curled veterans, among helms, and shields, and chariots, horses, elephants, banners, castles, slings and rocks,

v 8. *mountains of light . . . sea*] Atlantis, the fabled land of beauty and civilization, which was overcome by a deluge. B. came to use the Atlantis story as a myth of devouring chaos.

the Atlantic sea is a constant barrier in B.'s poems against light and hope (e.g., *Jerusalem* 4.9–10).

the starry king] The king of the stars, of the vacant law-governed universe. Although B. may think of a star as bright, his use of the word *starry* almost always implies the universe of Newton – silent, fixed, and dead.

v 9. *Flagged*] Weighed down, wearied.

v 10. *speary*] A 'poetic' word, formed after such Miltonic adjectives as 'massy'. The antique power of oppression tries to do away with the power of youth and freedom.

Pl.26 (*and/hurled*)

v 13. The fire falls in the ocean, but instead of being quenched, boils the sea ('the hoary element', always hated by B., see verse 8*n*).

v 15. The sudden collapse of power recurs in *America*, cancelled plate *b* (which may well be earlier than this), and in *Europe* 66–70, but the story is not exactly the same.

16. Falling, rushing, ruining! Buried in the ruins, on Urthona's dens.
17. All night beneath the ruins; then, their sullen flames faded, emerge round the gloomy king.
- Pl.27 18. With thunder and fire, leading his starry hosts through the waste wilderness, he promulgates his ten commands, glancing his beamy eyelids over the deep in dark dismay,
19. Where the son of fire in his eastern cloud, while the morning plumes her golden breast,
20. Spurning the clouds written with curses, stamps the stony law to dust, loosing the eternal horses from the dens of night, crying:

Empire is no more! And now the lion & wolf shall cease.

CHORUS

Let the priests of the raven of dawn no longer, in deadly black, with hoarse note curse the sons of joy. Nor his accepted brethren whom, tyrant, he calls free, lay the bound or build the roof. Nor pale religious lechery call that virginity that wishes but acts not.

For everything that lives is holy.

v 16. *Urthona*] A shadowy figure; in *America* (Preludium) he is an earth-god, father of the Shadowy Female; and generally associated with grim strength, even in his further development in *The Four Zoas* where he is identified with Los, the Eternal Prophet. Here he seems to be little more than a dark, old earth spirit, probably an associate of the evil King.

v 18. *leading . . . wilderness*] cp. *America* 62. The leading away of his followers by the king also recurs in *Europe* 71ff, and (in a different myth) in *Urizen* 515.

Pl.27 (*wilderness/he promulgates*)

v 20. *stony law*] The ten commandments were inscribed on 'tablets' of stone, written by the 'finger of God' (*Exodus* xxxi 18).

v. *Chorus*] A poetic-prose version of the chorus of a choral ode, such as that which ends Dryden's *Song for St Cecilia's Day*, and many others.

v. *Chorus*] *bound . . . roof*] Marks of enclosure and limitation.

v. *Chorus*] *religious lechery . . .*] Cp. *America* 68-9. B. uses the word 'lechery' because he means that the so-called virginity which is prudery is not pure at all, but depraved.

v. *Chorus*] *everything . . . holy*] Cp. *Visions* 215, *America* 71.

9 The French Revolution

A Poem in Seven Books

This is B.'s only book apart from *Poetical Sketches* to appear in printed form, but like the *Sketches*, it was never published; the unique extant copy – of the First Book only – is a page-proof, not a copy of a published edition. If the poem was ever completed, the remaining six books indicated on the titlepage (dated 1791) are lost; but there is no evidence that they were ever written, in spite of the *Advertisement*. It may be that B. deemed this experiment with a very long line a failure, and did not wish to continue it.

The poem deals with the very earliest stages of the Revolution, before the fall of the Bastille, when all turned on the challenge of the Third Estate (which on 17 June 1789 constituted itself National Assembly) to the king and nobility. B. did not possess an accurate knowledge of the day-to-day course of events, and, as the notes show, he might be in confusion about them. However, his main purpose was to give an imaginative history of the attempt by the aristocracy to browbeat the commons, of the commons' defiance, and of the sense of catastrophe pervading the whole period, even before violence had broken out. Therefore, his misunderstanding of the positions and characters of Orleans and Lafayette is not only to be expected; it is irrelevant to his purposes.

The essential events were that on 17 June 1789, after refusing to act for some weeks, the Third Estate constituted itself a National Assembly and on the 20th, in the famous tennis-court resolution, the Assembly became openly defiant. On the 19th and 21st the king had a private session with his council, and on the 23rd an open 'royal session' with the States-General, in which he spurned their independence of his will – and, after his departure, was again defied. On the 27th the king at last ordered the three Estates to hold combined meetings – since many of the less reactionary nobles and clergy had already gone to join the commons in the Assembly. On 8 July, and again on the 13th, 14th (Bastille day) and 15th the Assembly protested at the quantity of troops being brought to the neighbourhood of Paris. On the 15th, after they had not been used to save the Bastille, their withdrawal was ordered.

The titlepage date, 1791, was that of intended publication. At the rate events move in the one book we have, the whole poem of seven books would scarcely have covered more than a year, and perhaps less, so that the poem was probably drafted somewhere in mid-1790. The stress laid here on events which later proved less important suggests a nearness to them. On the other hand, B.'s error in

supposing that the troops were moved before the Bastille fell suggests that memories were already beginning to blur. *PAE* proposes Joel Barlow's *Vision of Columbus*, an imaginative, quasi-Dantesque vision of the history of America, as a source for B.'s imaginative-historical narrative in *America*, but it may also have influenced *The French Revolution*.

Advertisement.

The remaining Books of this Poem are finished, and will be published in their order.

BOOK THE FIRST

The dead brood over Europe, the cloud and vision
descends over cheerful France.

O cloud well appointed! Sick, sick, the Prince on his
couch, wreathed in dim

And appalling mist, his strong hand outstretched, from
his shoulder down the bone,

Runs aching cold into the sceptre too heavy for mortal
grasp. No more

5 To be swayed by visible hand, nor in cruelty bruise the
mild flourishing mountains.

Sick the mountains, and all their vineyards weep, in the
eyes of the kingly mourner;

Pale is the morning cloud in his visage. 'Rise, Necker:
the ancient dawn calls us

To awake from slumbers of five thousand years! I awake,
but my soul is in dreams;

From my window I see the old mountains of France, like
aged men, fading away.'

10 Troubled, leaning on Necker, descends the King, to his
chamber of council; shady mountains

In fear utter voices of thunder; the woods of France
embosom the sound;

¶ 9.2. *the Prince*] Louis XVI.

7. *Rise, Necker!*] The king speaks. Necker was Director-General of Finance; his economy and reforms had made him unpopular with the aristocracy – he was also Swiss and a Protestant – and it was at his instance that the States-General was called. He was later (11 July) dismissed by Louis for his relatively democratic sympathies. But he was no politician, and did not wish to see the power of the Third Estate increase for its own sake, but only in so far as it would be useful assistance towards his own reforms.

- Clouds of wisdom prophetic reply, and roll over the
palace roof heavy.
Forty men, each conversing with woes in the infinite
shadows of his soul,
Like our ancient fathers in regions of twilight, walk,
gathering round the King;
15 Again the loud voice of France cries to the morning, the
morning prophecies to its clouds.
- For the Commons convene in the Hall of the Nation.
France shakes! And the heavens of France
Perplexed vibrate round each careful countenance!
Darkness of old times around them
Utters loud despair, shadowing Paris; her grey towers
groan, and the Bastille trembles.
In its terrible towers the Governor stood, in dark fogs
listening the horror;
20 A thousand his soldiers, old veterans of France, breathing
red clouds of power and dominion.
Sudden seized with howlings, despair, and black night,
he stalked like a lion from tower
To tower, his howlings were heard in the Louvre; from
court to court restless he dragged
His strong limbs; from court to court cursed the fierce
torment unquelled,
Howling and giving the dark command; in his soul stood
the purple plague,
25 Tugging his iron manacles, and piercing through the
seven towers dark and sickly,
Panting over the prisoners like a wolf gorged; and the
den named *Horror* held a man
Chained hand and foot, round his neck an iron band,
bound to the impregnable wall.

13. *Forty men*] No particular group seems to be implied.

16. *the Commons . . . Nation*] B. translates 'Tiers Etat', reasonably, by the English equivalent 'Commons'. They had been meeting during May and June in the large chamber at Versailles intended for general meetings of all the Estates together, as no separate hall had been provided for them. This was the *Salle des Menus Plaisirs du Roi*, but for B. it has become 'the Hall of the [whole] Nation'. B. does not refer to any particular session, but imagines a Commons meeting occurring at the same time as a royal council.

19. *in dark fogs*] These are figurative; the weather was not foggy.

20. *A thousand*] A gross overestimate; the garrison was about 130.

25. *seven towers*] B.'s list of towers, their names and their prisoners, is imaginative: there were, however, seven prisoners in the Bastille at the time of its fall.

- In his soul was the serpent coiled round his heart, hid
 from the light, as in a cleft rock;
 And the man was confined for a writing prophetic: in the
 tower named *Darkness*, was a man
- 30 Pinioned down to the stone floor, his strong bones
 scarce covered with sinews; the iron rings
 Were forged smaller as the flesh decayed, a mask of iron
 on his face hid the lineaments
 Of ancient Kings, and the frown of the eternal lion was
 hid from the oppressed earth.
 In the tower named *Bloody*, a skeleton yellow remained
 in its chains on its couch
 Of stone, once a man who refused to sign papers of
 abhorrence; the eternal worm
- 35 Crept in the skeleton. In the den named *Religion*, a
 loathsome sick woman, bound down
 To a bed of straw; the seven diseases of earth, like birds
 of prey, stood on the couch,
 And fed on the body. She refused to be whore to the
 Minister, and with a knife smote him.
 In the tower named *Order*, an old man, whose white
 beard covered the stone floor like weeds
 On the margin of the sea, shrivelled up by heat of day
 and cold of night; his den was short
- 40 And narrow as a grave dug for a child, with spiders'
 webs wove, and with slime
 Of ancient horrors covered, for snakes and scorpions are
 his companions; harmless they breathe
 His sorrowful breath: he, by conscience urged, in the city
 of Paris raised a pulpit,
 And taught wonders to darkened souls. In the den
 named *Destiny* a strong man sat,
 His feet and hands cut off, and his eyes blinded; round
 his middle a chain and a band
- 45 Fastened into the wall; fancy gave him to see an image of
 despair in his den,
 Eternally rushing round, like a man on his hands and
 knees, day and night without rest:
 He was friend to the favourite. In the seventh tower,
 named the *Tower of God*, was a man

31. *a mask of iron*] B. has brought the old seventeenth-century story of the Man in the Iron Mask, supposedly disguised because of his royal blood, down to his own day.

35. *the den named Religion*] B.'s names for the towers now become ironic.

Mad, with chains loose, which he dragged up and down;
 fed with hopes year by year, he pined
 For liberty; vain hopes: his reason decayed, and the
 world of attraction in his bosom
 50 Centred, and the rushing of chaos overwhelmed his dark
 soul. He was confined
 For a letter of advice to a King, and his ravings in winds
 are heard over Versailles.

But the dens shook and trembled, the prisoners look up
 and assay to shout; they listen,
 Then laugh in the dismal den, then are silent, and a light
 walks round the dark towers.

For the Commons convene in the Hall of the Nations;
 like spirits of fire in the beautiful
 55 Porches of the sun, to plant beauty in the desert craving
 abyss, they gleam
 On the anxious city; all children new-born first behold
 them; tears are fled,
 And they nestle in earth-breathing bosoms. So the city of
 Paris, their wives and children,
 Look up to the morning Senate, and visions of sorrow
 leave pensive streets.

But heavy-browed jealousies lower o'er the Louvre, and
 terrors of ancient Kings
 60 Descend from the gloom and wander through the palace,
 and weep round the King and his nobles.
 While loud thunders roll, troubling the dead, kings are
 sick throughout all the earth.
 The voice ceased: the Nation sat. And the triple forged
 fettors of times were unloosed.
 The voice ceased: the Nation sat: but ancient darkness
 and trembling wander through the palace.

As in day of havoc and routed battle, among thick shades
 of discontent,

48. *Mad*] One of the prisoners, when released, had to be taken to an asylum. B. may not have known this, however. He is more concerned with irony: Reason decayed brings the victim into Newton's world of attraction.

59. *Louvre*] As this and the preceding lines show, B. seems to think that the king's council was held in Paris. In fact, most of its meetings were at Versailles.

62. *The voice*] i.e. the prophetic voice of France (15).

- 65 On the soul-skirting mountains of sorrow cold waving:
 the nobles fold round the King,
 Each stern visage locked up as with strong bands of iron,
 each strong limb bound down as with marble,
 In flames of red wrath burning, bound in astonishment a
 quarter of an hour.
- Then the King glowed: his nobles fold round, like the
 sun of old time quenched in clouds;
 In their darkness the King stood, his heart flamed, and
 uttered a withering heat, and these words burst
 forth:
- 70 'The nerves of five thousand years' ancestry tremble,
 shaking the heavens of France;
 Throbs of anguish beat on brazen war foreheads, they
 descend and look into their graves.
 I see through darkness, through clouds rolling round me,
 the spirits of ancient kings
 Shivering over their bleached bones; round them their
 counsellors look up from the dust,
 Crying: "Hide from the living! Our bands and our
 prisoners shout in the open field,
- 75 Hide in the nether earth! Hide in the bones! Sit
 obscured in the hollow skull.
 Our flesh is corrupted, and we wear away. We are not
 numbered among the living. Let us hide
 In stones, among roots of trees. The prisoners have burst
 their dens,
 Let us hide; let us hide in the dust; and plague and
 wrath and tempest shall cease."'
- He ceased, silent pondering, his brows folded heavy, his
 forehead was in affliction,

65. B. seems to be thinking of the royal council on 21 June, after the Third Estate, on 20 June, in the famous Tennis Court session, had declared itself a National Assembly. But it is equally likely that B. did not attempt any historical correctness. 70. *five thousand years' ancestry*] An exaggeration of course; the Bourbons traced their monarchy to the first Capetian king, Robert, briefly king of France in 922–25, and his more successful grandson Hugh (reigned 987–96). 74. *bands*] The text has 'bonds', which seems to be an error. 76. *'numbered . . . living'*] Biblical language, but not a quotation. '*Let us hide . . .*'] Cp. *Revelation* vi 15–16: 'The kings of the earth, and the great men . . . hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; And said . . . Fall on us, and hide us . . .'.

80 Like the central fire: from the window he saw his vast
armies spread over the hills,
Breathing red fires from man to man, and from horse to
horse; then his bosom
Expanded like starry heaven, he sat down: his nobles
took their ancient seats.

Then the ancientest peer, Duke of Burgundy, rose from
the monarch's right hand; red as wines
From his mountains, an odour of war, like a ripe
vineyard, rose from his garments,

85 And the chamber became as a clouded sky; o'er the
council he stretched his red limbs,
Clothed in flames of crimson, as a ripe vineyard stretches
over sheaves of corn,
The fierce Duke hung over the council; around him
crowd, weeping in his burning robe,
A bright cloud of infant souls; his words fall like purple
autumn on the sheaves.

'Shall this marble-built heaven become a clay cottage,
this earth an oak stool, and these mowers

90 From the Atlantic mountains, mow down all this great
starry harvest of six thousand years?
And shall Necker, the hind of Geneva, stretch out his
crooked sickle o'er fertile France,
Till our purple and crimson is faded to russet, and the
kingdoms of earth bound in sheaves,
And the ancient forests of chivalry hewn, and the joys of
the combat burnt for fuel;
Till the power and dominion is rent from the pole,
sword and sceptre from sun and moon,
95 The law and gospel from fire and air, and eternal reason
and science

80. *his vast armies*] As the tension grew during the sitting of the States-General, more and more regiments were brought in and encamped around Paris, and their presence became a major source of complaint by the Third Estate and their supporters, who felt the troops were meant to intimidate them.

83. *Burgundy*] B.'s word *ancientest* refers no doubt to the historic title; however, although the name was great, the duchy was absorbed by the Crown in the 15th century; the last Duke died in 1714. B. makes much use of the association of the name and region with wines.

90. *six thousand years*] Cp. *Marriage* iv 66n.

93-4. The Duke is trying to defend the indefensible.

- From the deep and the solid, and man lay his faded head
 down on the rock
 Of eternity, where the eternal lion and eagle remain to
 devour?
 This to prevent, urged by cries in day, and prophetic
 dreams hovering in night,
 To enrich the lean earth that craves, furrowed with
 ploughs; whose seed is departing from her;
 100 Thy Nobles have gathered thy starry hosts round this
 rebellious city,
 To rouse up the ancient forests of Europe, with clarions
 of loud breathing war;
 To hear the horse neigh to the drum and trumpet, and
 the trumpet and war shout reply;
 Stretch the hand that beckons the eagles of heaven; they
 cry over Paris, and wait
 Till Fayette point his finger to Versailles; the eagles of
 heaven must have their prey.’
 105 The King leaned on his mountains, then lifted his head
 and looked on his armies, that shone
 Through heaven, tinging morning with beams of blood,
 then turning to Burgundy troubled:
 ‘Burgundy, thou wast born a lion! My soul is o’ergrown
 with distress
 For the nobles of France, and dark mists roll round me
 and blot the writing of God
 Written in my bosom. Necker rise, leave the kingdom,
 thy life is surrounded with snares;

100–1. *starry hosts . . . ancient forests*] Both images are constantly used by B. to denote profound evils in religious and political systems.

104. *Fayette*] The Marquis de Lafayette, already in 1789 a popular figure on account of his exploits against the old enemy, England, in the American War of Independence. But he was not in command of the French army. B. imagines Burgundy looking to him to repress revolt: in particular, ‘pointing his finger at Versailles’ to use the army to scatter the Assembly. Its use against the Assembly was widely expected after the fall of the Bastille on 14 July (on 8 July the Assembly had requested its withdrawal); but the next day Louis agreed to move the army, and on 17 July it was withdrawn.

105. In the original, the sequence of lines is: 1–104, 116–20, 105–15, 121ff. W. F. Halloran has made a convincing case for the rearrangement which, as can be seen without further elaboration, makes better sense.

109. *Necker . . . kingdom*] Necker was dismissed on July 11th, his position having been undermined by the reactionary party, and left for Switzerland (see 122).

- 110 We have called an Assembly, but not to destroy; we have
 given gifts, not to the weak;
 I hear rushing of muskets, and brightening of swords,
 and visages reddening with war,
 Frowning and looking up from brooding villages and
 every darkening city;
 Ancient wonders frown over the kingdom, and cries of
 women and babes are heard,
 And tempests of doubt roll around me, and fierce
 sorrows, because of the nobles of France;
 115 Depart, answer not, for the tempest must fall, as in years
 that are passed away.⁷

- He ceased, and burned silent, red clouds roll round
 Necker, a weeping is heard o'er the palace;
 Like a dark cloud Necker paused, and like thunder on
 the just man's burial day he paused;
 Silent sit the winds, silent the meadows, while the
 husbandman and woman of weakness
 And bright children look after him into the grave, and
 water his clay with love,
 120 Then turn towards pensive fields; so Necker paused, and
 his visage was covered with clouds.

- Dropping a tear the old man his place left, and when he
 was gone out
 He set his face toward Geneva to flee, and the women
 and children of the city
 Kneeled round him and kissed his garments and wept; he
 stood a short space in the street,
 Then fled; and the whole city knew he was fled to
 Geneva, and the Senate heard it.
 125 But the nobles burned wrathful at Necker's departure,
 and wreathed their clouds and waters
 In dismal volumes; as risen from beneath the Archbishop
 of Paris arose,

121. *the old man*] Necker was fifty-seven in 1789.

122. *Geneva*] Necker actually went to Basle.

124. *the Senate*] The National Assembly.

125. *wrathful*] Either at losing him; or at all liberals, their wrath increased by this success. Such a generalization, on whichever side, cannot easily be made of *all* the nobles.

126. *the Archbishop of Paris*] He played no important part in these events, but did dissuade a large group of clergy from joining the Commons in mid-June.

- In the rushing of scales and hissing of flames and rolling
of sulphurous smoke.
- ‘Hearken, Monarch of France, to the terrors of heaven,
and let thy soul drink of my counsel;
Sleeping at midnight in my golden tower, the repose of
the labours of men
- 130 Waved its solemn cloud over my head. I awoke; a cold
hand passed over my limbs, and behold
An aged form, white as snow, hovering in mist, weeping
in the uncertain light,
Dim the form almost faded, tears fell down the shady
cheeks; at his feet many, clothed
In white robes, strewn in air censers and harps, silent
they lay prostrated;
Beneath, in the awful void, myriads descending and
weeping through dismal winds,
- 135 Endless the shady train shivering descended, from the
gloom where the aged form wept.
At length, trembling, the vision sighing, in a low voice,
like the voice of the grasshopper whispered:
“My groaning is heard in the abbeys, and God, so long
worshipped, departs as a lamp
Without oil; for a curse is heard hoarse through the land,
from a godless race
Descending to beasts; they look downward and labour
and forget my holy law;
- 140 The sound of prayer fails from lips of flesh, and the holy
hymn from thickened tongues:
For the bars of Chaos are burst; her millions prepare
their fiery way
Through the orbéd abode of the holy dead, to root up
and pull down and remove,
And Nobles and Clergy shall fail from before me, and
my cloud and vision be no more;

127. The casting of an archbishop in the rôle of a devil is in keeping with B.’s anti-ecclesiastical views.

130. This dream recalls the dream of Eliphaz in *Job* iv 13–16: ‘When deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up: it stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof . . .’.

139. Note that the vision complains, not of the degradation and poverty of God’s people, but of their neglect of ritual and the risk of the rulers losing their prestige.

- The mitre become black, the crown vanish, and the
sceptre and ivory staff
- 145 Of the ruler wither among bones of death; they shall
consume from the thistly field,
And the sound of the bell, and voice of the sabbath, and
singing of the holy choir,
Is turned into songs of the harlot in day, and cries of the
virgin in night.
They shall drop at the plough and faint at the harrow,
unredeemed, unconfessed, unpardoned;
The priest rot in his surplice by the lawless lover, the
holy beside the accursed,
- 150 The King, frowning in purple, beside the grey
ploughman, and their worms embrace together.”
The voice ceased, a groan shook my chamber; I slept, for
the cloud of repose returned,
But morning dawned heavy upon me. I rose to bring my
Prince heaven-uttered counsel.
Hear my counsel, O King, and send forth thy generals,
the command of Heaven is upon thee;
Then do thou command, O King, to shut up this
Assembly in their final home;
- 155 Let thy soldiers possess this city of rebels, that threaten
to bathe their feet
In the blood of nobility, trampling the heart and the
head; let the Bastille devour
These rebellious seditious; seal them up, O Anointed, in
everlasting chains.’
- He sat down, a damp cold pervaded the nobles, and
monsters of worlds unknown
Swam round them, watching to be delivered; when
Aumont, whose chaos-born soul
- 160 Eternally wandering, a comet and swift-falling fire, pale
entered the chamber;
Before the red Council he stood, like a man that returns
from hollow graves.
- ‘Awe-surrounded, alone through the army a fear and a
withering blight blown by the north,

159. *Aumont*] The Duke of Aumont, later a commander of the National Guard in Paris, and in charge of the troops leading Louis from Versailles to Paris on 5 October – which B. probably saw as a pro-revolutionary act, contradicting Aumont’s earlier membership of the Second Estate of nobility.

- The Abbé de Sieyès from the Nation's Assembly. O
 princes and generals of France,
 Unquestioned, unhindered—awe-struck are the soldiers; a
 dark shadowy man in the form
 165 Of King Henry the Fourth walks before him in fires, the
 captains like men bound in chains
 Stood still as he passed, he is come to the Louvre, O
 King, with a message to thee;
 The strong soldiers tremble, the horses their manes bow,
 and the guards of thy palace are fled.'
- Up rose awful in his majestic beams Bourbon's strong
 Duke; his proud sword from his thigh
 Drawn, he threw on the earth! the Duke of Bretagne
 and the Earl of Bourgogne
 170 Rose inflamed, to and fro in the chamber, like thunder-
 clouds ready to burst.
- 'What, damp all our fires, O spectre of Henry,' said
 Bourbon; 'and rend the flames
 From the head of our King! Rise, Monarch of France;
 command me, and I will lead
 This army of superstition at large, that the ardour of
 noble souls quenchless
 May yet burn in France, nor our shoulders be ploughed
 with the furrows of poverty.'
- 175 Then Orléans generous as mountains arose, and unfolded
 his robe, and put forth

163. *The Abbé de Sieyès*] A liberal political scientist, who was a priest only by necessity. He took the side of the Third Estate from the beginning, sitting in it as a Parisian deputy, and not, as an abbot, in the First Estate. On 12 June he was the spokesman to the other two houses, carrying a proposal (which was rejected) that the three Estates should meet together. This may be the incident in B.'s mind; Sieyès was not an emissary to the royal council.

165. *King Henry the Fourth*] 'The people's king', the famous late-sixteenth-century king who had a reputation, not for liberalism, but for care for his country, and common sense; it may be for this reason that B. sees his spirit as directing the revolution.

168. *Bourbon's strong Duke*] A great name, but it is not clear who B. meant.

169. *the Duke of Bretagne and the Earl of Bourgogne*] Fictitious Lords of Brittany and Burgundy.

175. *Orléans*] A distant cousin of the king, and head of the house of Orléans, the junior branch of the royal family. He gained the reputation of being a democrat, renounced his title early in favour of the name *Philippe Egalité*, but could not escape execution in the Terror of 1793. His democracy was largely adopted for self-advantage and self-advertisement.

His benevolent hand, looking on the Archbishop, who
 changed as pale as lead;
 Would have risen but could not, his voice issued harsh
 grating; instead of words harsh hissings
 Shook the chamber; he ceased abashed. Then Orléans
 spoke, all was silent,
 He breathed on them, and said, 'O princes of fire, whose
 flames are for growth not consuming,
 180 Fear not dreams, fear not visions, nor be you dismayed
 with sorrows which flee at the morning;
 Can the fires of nobility ever be quenched, or the stars
 by a stormy night?
 Is the body diseased when the members are healthful?
 Can the man be bound in sorrow
 Whose every function is filled with its fiery desire? Can
 the soul whose brain and heart
 Cast their rivers in equal tides through the great
 Paradise, languish because the feet
 185 Hands, head, bosom, and parts of love, follow their
 high-breathing joy?
 And can nobles be bound when the people are free, or
 God weep when his children are happy?
 Have you never seen Fayette's forehead, or Mirabeau's
 eyes, or the shoulders of Target,
 Or Bailly the strong foot of France, or Clermont the
 terrible voice, and your robes

177. Cp. a similar effect in *Paradise Lost* x. 517–9.

183–5. B. stresses the belief that the soul acts through the body, and is not separated from it. Cp. *Marriage*, pl.4 ii 23 (p. 111 above): 'Man has no body distinct from his Soul, for that called Body is a portion of Soul discerned by the five senses, the chief inlets of Soul in this age'.

184. *their rivers*] i.e. of brain and heart; an image of the systems of nerves and blood-vessels.

187. Each person in the next lines represents a part of the 'body' of France – eyes, shoulders, feet, etc.

Mirabeau] The famous revolutionary leader, eldest son of a marquis, but soon, with Sieyès and Bailly, one of the champions of the National Assembly. On 23 June he led the Assembly's defiance of the king's orders.

Target] A lawyer and member of the Assembly, occasionally its President, but not an important figure.

188. *Bailly*] A middle-aged scholar, President of the National Assembly.

Clermont] Count of Clermont-Tonnerre, a representative of Paris for the Second Estate, who left that house to join the Third Estate in forming the National Assembly, taking others with him.

- Still retain their own crimson? Mine never yet faded, for
fire delights in its form.
- 190 But go, merciless man, enter into the infinite labyrinth of
another's brain
Ere thou measure the circle that he shall run. Go, thou
cold recluse, into the fires
Of another's high flaming rich bosom, and return
unconsumed, and write laws.
If thou canst not do this, doubt thy theories, learn to
consider all men as thy equals,
Thy brethren, and not as thy foot or thy hand, unless
thou first fearest to hurt them.'
- 195 The Monarch stood up, the strong Duke his sword to its
golden scabbard returned,
The nobles sat round like clouds on the mountains,
when the storm is passing away:
'Let the nation's ambassador come among nobles, like
incense of the valley.'
- Aumont went out and stood in the hollow porch, his
ivory wand in his hand;
A cold orb of disdain revolved round him, and covered
his soul with snows eternal.
- 200 Great Henry's soul shuddered, a whirlwind and fire tore
furious from his angry bosom;
He indignant departed on horses of heaven. Then the
Abbé de Sieyès raised his feet
On the steps of the Louvre, like a voice of God following
a storm, the Abbé followed
The pale fires of Aumont into the chamber, as a father
that bows to his son;
Whose rich fields inheriting spread their old glory, so the
voice of the people bowed
- 205 Before the ancient seat of the kingdom and mountains to
be renewed.
'Hear, O heavens of France, the voice of the people,
arising from valley and hill,
O'erclouded with power. Hear the voice of valleys, the
voice of meek cities,

196. B. has little sense of protocol; the nobles would not dare to sit when the king stood.

- Mourning oppressed on village and field, till the village
and field is a waste.
For the husbandman weeps at blights of the fife, and
blasting of trumpets consume
210 The souls of mild France; the pale mother nourishes her
child to the deadly slaughter.
When the heavens were sealed with a stone, and the
terrible sun closed in an orb, and the moon
Rent from the nations, and each star appointed for
watchers of night,
The millions of spirits immortal were bound in the ruins
of sulphur heaven
To wander enslaved; black, depressed in dark ignorance,
kept in awe with the whip,
215 To worship terrors, bred from the blood of revenge and
breath of desire,
In bestial forms, or more terrible men, till the dawn of
our peaceful morning,
Till dawn, till morning, till the breaking of clouds, and
swelling of winds, and the universal voice,
Till man raise his darkened limbs out of the cares of
night, his eyes and his heart
Expand. Where is space? Where, O sun, is thy dwelling?
where thy tent, O faint slumberous Moon?
220 Then the valleys of France shall cry to the soldier,
"Throw down thy sword and musket,
And run and embrace the meek peasant." Her nobles
shall hear and shall weep, and put off
The red robe of terror, the crown of oppression, the
shoes of contempt, and unbuckle
The girdle of war from the desolate earth; then the priest
in his thunderous cloud
Shall weep, bending to earth embracing the valleys, and
putting his hand to the plough,
225 Shall say, "No more I curse thee; but now I will bless
thee: no more in deadly black
Devour thy labour, nor lift up a cloud in thy heavens,
O laborious plough,

209. *blights of the fife*] Cp. *Visions* 125. B.'s complaint: the French peasantry did not especially complain of losses through military demands; their chief anxieties arose from taxation.

214. B.'s concern over slavery is also shown in similar terms in *Visions* 21-3.

216. *bestial*] B., as usual, spells it 'beastial'.

- That the wild raging millions, that wander in forests, and
 howl in law-blasted wastes,
 Strength maddened with slavery, honesty bound in the
 dens of superstition,
 May sing in the village, and shout in the harvest, and
 woo in pleasant gardens
- 230 Their once savage loves, now beaming with knowledge,
 with gentle awe adorned;
 And the saw, and the hammer, the chisel, the pencil, the
 pen, and the instruments
 Of heavenly song sound in the wilds once forbidden, to
 teach the laborious ploughman
 And shepherd delivered from clouds of war, from
 pestilence, from night-fear, from murder,
 From falling, from stifling, from hunger, from cold, from
 slander, discontent and sloth,
- 235 That walk in beasts and birds of night, driven back by
 the sandy desert
 Like pestilent fogs round cities of men: and the happy
 earth sing in its course,
 The mild peaceable nations be opened to heaven, and
 men walk with their fathers in bliss.”
 Then hear the first voice of the morning: “Depart, O
 clouds of night, and no more
 Return; be withdrawn, cloudy war, troops of warriors
 depart, nor around our peaceable city
- 240 Breathe fires, but ten miles from Paris, let all be peace,
 nor a soldier be seen!”’
- He ended; the wind of contention arose and the clouds
 cast their shadows, the princes
 Like the mountains of France, whose aged trees utter an
 awful voice, and their branches
 Are shattered, till gradual a murmur is heard descending
 into the valley,
 Like a voice in the vineyards of Burgundy, when grapes
 are shaken on grass;
- 245 Like the low voice of the labouring man, instead of the
 shout of joy;
 And the palace appeared like a cloud driven abroad;
 blood ran down the ancient pillars,

227. B.’s subject is now not merely France, but the savages of the world.

240. This demand was made by Mirabeau, not Sieyès, on 8 July (see 239–67).

- Through the cloud a deep thunder, the Duke of
 Burgundy, delivers the King's command:
 'Seest thou yonder dark castle, that moated around,
 keeps this city of Paris in awe.
 Go command yonder tower, saying, "Bastille depart, and
 take thy shadowy course.
 250 Overstep the dark river, thou terrible tower, and get thee
 up into the country ten miles.
 And thou black southern prison, move along the dusky
 road to Versailles; there
 Frown on the gardens," and if it obey and depart, then
 the King will disband
 This war-breathing army; but if it refuse, let the Nation's
 Assembly thence learn
 That this army of terrors, that prison of horrors, are the
 bands of the murmuring kingdom.'
- 255 Like the morning star arising above the black waves,
 when a shipwrecked soul sighs for morning,
 Through the ranks, silent, walked the Ambassador back
 to the Nation's Assembly, and told
 The unwelcome message. Silent they heard; then a
 thunder rolled round loud and louder;
 Like pillars of ancient halls, and ruins of times remote
 they sat.
 Like a voice from the dim pillars Mirabeau rose; the
 thunders subsided away;
- 260 A rushing of wings around him was heard as he
 brightened, and cried out aloud,
 'Where is the General of the Nation?' The walls
 re-echoed: 'Where is the General of the Nation?'—
 Sudden as the bullet wrapped in his fire, when brazen
 cannons rage in the field,
 Fayette sprung from his seat saying, 'Ready!'; then
 bowing like clouds, man toward man, the Assembly
 Like a council of ardours seated in clouds, bending over
 the cities of men,
- 265 And over the armies of strife, where their children are
 marshalled together to battle;

249. This passage is of course heavy with dramatic irony, since the Bastille was sacked three weeks after this supposed council.

251. *thou black southern prison*] Perhaps *La Force*, a little way to the south of the Bastille; but more probably *L'Abbaye*, in St Germain des Prés, south of the river (but west of the Bastille). L'Abbaye was stormed by a mob on 29 June, who released eleven soldiers imprisoned there.

They murmuring divide, while the wind sleeps beneath,
 and the numbers are counted in silence,
 While they vote the removal of war, and the pestilence
 weighs his red wings in the sky.

So Fayette stood silent among the Assembly, and the
 votes were given and the numbers numbered;
 And the vote was that Fayette should order the army to
 remove ten miles from Paris.

- 270 The aged sun rises appalled from dark mountains, and
 gleams a dusky beam
 On Fayette, but on the whole army a shadow; for a
 cloud on the eastern hills
 Hovered, and stretched across the city and across the
 army, and across the Louvre.
 Like a flame of fire he stood before dark ranks, and
 before expecting captains
 On pestilent vapours around him flow frequent spectres
 of religious men weeping
 275 In winds driven out of the abbeys, their naked souls
 shiver in keen open air,
 Driven out by the fiery cloud of Voltaire, and
 thunderous rocks of Rousseau,
 They dash like foam against the ridges of the army,
 uttering a faint feeble cry.
 Gleams of fire streak the heavens, and of sulphur the
 earth, from Fayette as he lifted his hand;
 But silent he stood, till all the officers rush round him
 like waves
 280 Round the shore of France, in day of the British flag,
 when heavy cannons
 Affright the coasts, and the peasant looks over the sea
 and wipes a tear.
 Over his head the soul of Voltaire shone fiery, and over
 the army Rousseau his white cloud

267–9. The motion could be no more than a request to the king, who was in fact asked by the Assembly to remove the troops stationed between Versailles and Paris. He did not, although the troops were ineffective and unused when the Bastille fell a few days later. They were not under the command of Lafayette, who on 15 July (the day the troops were removed) became Commandant General de la Milice Parisienne (the National Guard) which was superseding the army in the task of restoring order.

276. i.e. superstition is driven out by the force of reason as displayed in Voltaire and Rousseau. B. later attacked them as advocates of Deism (*Jerusalem* pl.52).

- Unfolded, on souls of war-living terrors silent listening
toward Fayette,
His voice loud inspired by liberty, and by spirits of the
dead, thus thundered:
- 285 'The Nation's Assembly command that the Army remove
ten miles from Paris;
Nor a soldier be seen in road or in field, till the Nation
command return.'
- Rushing along iron ranks glittering the officers each to
his station
Depart, and the stern captain strokes his proud steed,
and in front of his solid ranks
Waits the sound of trumpet; captains of foot stand each
by his cloudy drum;
- 290 Then the drum beats, and the steely ranks move, and
trumpets rejoice in the sky.
Dark cavalry like clouds fraught with thunder ascend on
the hills, and bright infantry, rank
Behind rank, to the soul-shaking drum and shrill fife
along the roads glitter like fire.
- The noise of trampling, the wind of trumpets, smote the
palace walls with a blast.
Pale and cold sat the King in midst of his peers, and his
noble heart sunk, and his pulses
- 295 Suspended their motion, a darkness crept over his
eyelids, and chill cold sweat
Sat round his brows faded in faint death, his peers pale
like mountains of the dead,
Covered with dews of night, groaning, shaking forests
and floods. The cold newt
And snake, and damp toad, on the kingly foot crawl, or
croak on the awful knee,
Shedding their slime, in folds of the robe the crowned
adder builds and hisses
- 300 From stony brows; shaken the forests of France, sick the
kings of the nations,
And the bottoms of the world were opened, and the
graves of arch-angels unsealed;

301. *the bottoms of the world were opened*] A curious image, but used again, in *Marriage* iv.124ff, and a number of times in the long epics, to indicate a catastrophe falling on the powers of evil. It seems to be derived from a picture of a flat world, with heaven above, and a complementary abyss beneath.

The enormous dead lift up their pale fires and look over
 the rocky cliffs.
 A faint heat from their fires revived the cold Louvre; the
 frozen blood reflowed.
 Awful up rose the King, him the peers followed, they
 saw the courts of the palace
 305 Forsaken, and Paris without a soldier, silent, for the noise
 was gone up
 And followed the army, and the Senate in peace sat
 beneath morning's beam.

End of the First Book.

10 A Divine Image

Date 1790–91. This poem is an early ‘Song of Experience’, which was replaced by ‘The Human Abstract’ (p. 222 below) in *Experience* (both poems are ‘contrary’ to ‘The Divine Image’ of *Innocence*, p. 74. The design shows a blacksmith hammering at a wall round the sun – a subject redrawn in *Jerusalem* pl.73.

Facsimiles: CGW 269; IB 389.

Cruelty has a human heart,
 And jealousy a human face—
 Terror, the human form divine,
 And secrecy, the human dress.
 5 The human dress is forged iron,
 The human form, a fiery forge.
 The human face, a furnace sealed,
 The human heart, its hungry gorge.

II Poems from the Notebook, c. 1791–2

For many years B. used a notebook, which had apparently belonged to his brother Robert (who died in 1787), both as a sketch-book and as a handbook for drafts of lyric poems. (This notebook used to be called ‘the Rossetti MS’, because D. G. Rossetti once owned it.) At first, in the early 1790s, starting from the back, B. used it for fair copies, ready for transcribing, and the first poems in the series which

302. *enormous*] Dreadful, monstrous.

follows are of this sort, with few corrections in the MS. But, as the textual notes show, the later poems are much corrected and sometimes preserve the whole process of composition. The collection shows B. continuing to experiment with rhythms and stanza-forms and variants on the ballad stanza. The first poems seem to reflect the same social indignation as *Visions* (c. 1791-92), rather than the revolutionary excitement of *The French Revolution* (c. 1790-91). The fragments on 'Fayette' and the French Queen are the only poems certainly datable: they belong to the time between the news of Lafayette's imprisonment, 25 October 1792, and the King's execution in January 1793. The series may have been begun at any time after 1789, but on these grounds seems to run from 1791 to late 1792. Most of the *Songs of Experience* derive from the Notebook; but there are also many poems in it which B. did not engrave. The poems are printed in the order in which they appear in the Notebook, since this is the most probable date order we have, and in the form which, as far as can be ascertained, was B.'s latest intention at the time. For these poems B. turned the Notebook upside down; he used the other end for sketches for the emblem book *The Gates of Paradise*, which was engraved in 1793. This early sequence of poems is marked by its orderliness on the page. In later years he came to fill in all the gaps, gradually, and in no particular order.

The themes which were exercising B. at this period were social – freedom from jealousy, freedom of love and affection, and freedom from want. These themes are aired in the poems which were appearing at the same time as these lyrics – *Visions* and *America*. From time to time it has been conjectured that some of the lyrics arise from personal experiences. It may be so; but the 'I' of a lyric is often no more than a literary convention, and external evidence is required to prove such interpretations. In B.'s case there is no such evidence, and it is necessary, as with Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, to resort to the circular process of reconstructing the supposed events from the poems themselves.

There is a facsimile of the Notebook, ed. David V. Erdman (Oxford 1973).

I

A flower was offered to me,
Such a flower as May never bore;
But I said, 'I've a pretty rose-tree,'
And I passed the sweet flower o'er.

¶ 11. i. This appears as 'My Pretty Rose-Tree' in *Experience* (p. 217).

- 5 Then I went to my pretty rose-tree,
 To tend her by day and by night;
 But my rose turned away with jealousy,
 And her thorns were my only delight.

II

- [Never pain to tell thy love,
 Love that never told can be;
 For the gentle wind does move
 Silently, invisibly.]
- 5 I told my love, I told my love,
 I told her all my heart;
 Trembling, cold, in ghastly fears—
 Ah, she doth depart!
- 10 Soon as she was gone from me,
 A traveller came by
 Silently, invisibly—
 Oh was no deny.

III

- ‘Love seeketh not itself to please,
 Nor for itself hath any care,
 But for another gives its ease
 And builds a Heaven in Hell’s despair.’
- 5 So sung a little clod of clay,
 Trodden with the cattle’s feet;
 But a pebble of the brook
 Warbled out these metres meet:
- 10 ‘Love seeketh only self to please,
 To bind another to its delight,
 Joys in another’s loss of ease,
 And builds a Hell in Heaven’s despite.’

i. 6. *To . . . night*] In the silent of the night *1st rdg*.

ii 7. *turned . . . jealousy*] *1st rdg* was turned from me; *2nd rdg* was filled with Jealousy.

iii 1-4. Del. in MS; but essential to the poem. In ‘Earth’s Answer’ (pp. 160 and 216) lines del. were restored in engraving.

iv 1. *pain*] *1st rdg* del. seek.

v 12. *Oh . . . deny*] *1st rdg* del. He took her with a sigh (*a reading preferred by many editors, although the cancellation is clear*).

vi. This is ‘The Clod and the Pebble’ in *Experience* (p. 218). Cp. the clod of clay in *Thel* iii (p. 104).

IV

I laid me down upon a bank
 Where love lay sleeping;
 I heard among the rushes dank
 Weeping, weeping.

- 5 Then I went to the heath and the wild,
 To the thistles and thorns of the waste,
 And they told me how they were beguiled,
 Driven out and compelled to be chaste.

V

I went to the garden of love,
 And I saw what I never had seen:
 A chapel was built in the midst,
 Where I used to play on the green.

- 5 And the gates of this chapel were shut,
 And *Thou shalt not* writ over the door;
 So I turned to the garden of love
 That so many sweet flowers bore,
 And I saw it was filled with graves,
 10 And tomb-stones where flowers should be—
 And priests in black gounds were walking their rounds,
 And binding with briars my joys and desires.

VI

I saw a chapel all of gold
 That none did dare to enter in;
 And many weeping stood without,
 Weeping, mourning, worshipping.

- 5 I saw a serpent rise between
 The white pillars of the door;

iv. Cp. *Marriage* ('Argument'), p. 109 above, where the just are driven out into the wild, and their own place is taken by the hypocrite.

v. This is a draft of 'The Garden of Love' in *Experience*, p. 218.

v II. *gounds*] A Cockney pronunciation, giving an internal rhyme; B. dropped it in the engraved version.

vi. The imagery is now plainly sexual. The previous poem makes it clear that the 'chapel of gold' is the temple of innocent love, defiled by repression. The sight of love perverted into violence and ugliness revolts the poet. This is also a poem on false religion.

- And he forced and forced and forced—
Down the golden hinges tore;
- 10 And along the pavement sweet,
Set with pearls and rubies bright,
All his slimy length he drew,
Till upon the altar white
- Vomiting his poison out,
On the bread and on the wine.
- 15 So I turned into a sty
And laid me down among the swine.

VII

- I asked a thief to steal me a peach;
He turned up his eyes.
I asked a lithe lady to lie her down,
'Holy and meek!' she cries.
- 5 As soon as I went
An angel came;
He winked at the thief
And smiled at the dame—
- And without one word said
- 10 Had a peach from the tree,
And still as a maid
Enjoyed the lady.

VIII

I heard an angel singing,
When the day was springing,

vi 8. *Down . . . tore*] 1st *rdg del.* Till he broke the pearly door.

vii. A fair copy exists, dated *Lambeth 1796*, which has the text given above and is identical to the *NB* final reading.

vii 1. *to steal*] 1st *rdg* if he'd steal.

vii 9. *said*] 1st *rdg del.* spoke.

vii 11. *And still as a maid*] This may mean 'she continued to act as demure as a maid'. 1st *rdg* And 'twixt earnest and game; 2nd *rdg* 'game' become 'joke' (to rhyme with spoke, 9).

vii 12. 1st *rdg* He enjoyed the dame.

viii. Cp. 'The Divine Image' in *Innocence* (p. 74) and an earlier attempt at a contrary poem to it, 'A Divine Image' (p. 149). B.'s third attempt, 'The Human Image' (p. 164 below), was finally engraved in *Experience* (p. 222). The angel in this poem is one of the deluded creatures referred to in *Marriage*.

- ‘Mercy, Pity, Peace,
Is the world’s release.’
- 5 Thus he sung all day
Over the new-mown hay,
Till the sun went down
And haycocks looked brown.
- 10 I heard a devil curse
Over the heath and the furze,
‘Mercy could be no more
If there was nobody poor.
- 15 ‘And pity no more could be
If all were as happy as we.’
At his curse the sun went down,
And the heavens gave a frown.
- 20 Down poured the heavy rain
Over the new-reaped grain;
And misery’s increase
Is Mercy Pity, Peace.

IX A CRADLE SONG

Sleep, sleep, beauty bright,
Dreaming o’er the joys of night;
Sleep, sleep; in thy sleep
Little sorrows sit and weep.

viii 15. *At his curse*] 1st *rdg del.* Thus he sang & . . .

viii 19-20. These lines were much corrected. 1st *rdg*:

And Mercy & Pity & Peace descended
The farmers were ruined & harvest was ended.

2nd *rdg*:

And Mercy Pity & Peace
Joyed at their increase
With Poverty’s increase
Are

This extension was rejected; three further corrections produced the present reading.

ix. A ‘contrary’ to ‘A Cradle Song’ in *Innocence* (p. 61); in *Experience*, ‘Infant Sorrow’ was used instead (pp. 156 and 219 below).

ix 1-4. The first st. much altered, the second couplet written first.

ix 4. 1st *rdg* ‘Thou wilt every secret keep’, amended twice, then *del.*

- 5 Sweet babe, in thy face
 Soft desires I can trace,
 Secret joys and secret smiles,
 Little pretty infant wiles.

 As thy softest limbs I feel,
 10 Smiles as of the morning steal
 O'er thy cheek and o'er thy breast,
 Where thy little heart does rest.

 Oh, the cunning wiles that creep
 In thy little heart asleep!
 15 When thy little heart does wake,
 Then the dreadful lightnings break

 From thy cheek and from thy eye,
 O'er the youthful harvests nigh.
 Infant wiles and infant smiles
 20 Heaven and earth of peace beguiles.

X CHRISTIAN FORBEARANCE

- I was angry with my friend;
 I told my wrath, my wrath did end.
 I was angry with my foe;
 I told it not, my wrath did grow.

 5 And I watered it in fears,
 Night and morning with my tears;
 And I sunned it with smiles,
 And with soft deceitful wiles.

 And it grew both day and night
 10 Till it bore an apple bright—
 And my foe beheld it shine,
 And he knew that it was mine,

 And into my garden stole,
 When the night had veiled the pole.
 15 In the morning glad I see
 My foe outstretched beneath the tree.

ix 5-8. This st. written fourth, later numbered second. An earlier del. attempt at 2nd st. began 'Yet a little while the moon / Silent. . . .'

ix 8. *1st rdg del.* Such as burning youth beguiles.

ix 17. *1st rdg del.* O the cunning wiles that creep.

ix 19 *Infant*] *1st rdg* Female (both times).

x. This appears in *Experience* (p. 219) as 'A Poison Tree'. See note there.

XI

- I feared the fury of my wind
 Would blight all blossoms fair and true.
 And my sun it shined and shined,
 And my wind it never blew;
- 5 But a blossom fair or true
 Was not found on any tree;
 For all blossoms grew and grew
 Fruitless, false, though fair to see.

XII

- Why should I care for the men of Thames,
 Or the cheating waves of chartered streams,
 Or shrink at the little blasts of fear
 That the hireling blows into my ear?
- 5 Though born on the cheating banks of Thames,
 Though his waters bathed my infant limbs,
 The Ohio shall wash his stains from me;
 I was born a slave, but I go to be free.

XIII INFANT SORROW

My mother groaned, my father wept—
 Into the dangerous world I leapt,
 Helpless, naked, piping loud,
 Like a fiend hid in a cloud.

xi. A poem in praise of life-giving energy as against sterile prudence.

xi 1. *fury*] 1st *rdg del.* roughness.

xii. An emigrant's song.

xii 7. On *NB* p. 113 (rev.): 1st *rdg del.* I spurned his waters away from me. Did B. toy with the idea of emigration? The Ohio became an attractive emigrant region in the 1790s; its opportunities were highly praised in *A Topographical Description . . .* (1792) by G. Imlay, later Mary Wollstonecraft's lover (Bogen, *N&Q* 15: 19-20). Coleridge and Southey planned their 'pantisocracy' in 1793-4.

xiii. *Experience* gives the same title to a poem made up of the first two sts only (p. 219). The text above is that reached after much alteration from the fair copy, which was as follows (sts 1-2 were unaltered, and the last st. is the same as 29-32 on p. 158; these are not reproduced):

- 10 And I grew day after day
 Till upon the ground I stray
 And I grew night after night
 Seeking only for delight

- 5 Struggling in my father's hands,
Striving against my swaddling bands,
Bound and weary, I thought best
To sulk upon my mother's breast.
- 10 When I saw that rage was vain
And to sulk would nothing gain,
Turning many a trick and wile
I began to soothe and smile.
- 15 And I soothed day after day
Till upon the ground I stray;
And I smiled night after night,
Seeking only for delight.
- 20 And I saw before me shine
Clusters of the wandering vine,
And many a lovely flower and tree
Stretched their blossoms out to me.

-
- 15 [But upon the nettly ground
No delight was to be found] *del.*
And I saw before me shine
Clusters of the wandering vine
And beyond a myrtle tree
Stretched its blossoms out to me
- 20 But a priest with holy look
In his hand a holy book
Pronounced curses on his head
Who the fruit or blossoms shed
- 25 I beheld the Priest by night
He embraced my myrtle bright
I beheld the priest by day
Where beneath my vine he lay
- 30 Like a serpent in the night
He embraced my myrtle bright
Like a serpent in the day
Underneath my vine he lay

B.'s first alteration was to make *priest* and *serpent* plural; then he changed *priests* to *father*, and began to make the ensuing pronouns singular again. Thus, as the text stands, *he* and *his* in 23-9 read *they* and *their*, and *a serpent* reads *serpents*: had B. finished his adjustments, all would have been singular. At some point he also added the present third st. The continuing process involves 'In a Myrtle Shade' (p. 158) and 'To my Myrtle' (p. 159). All three together are an early attempt at a cyclic poem (cf. 'A Mental Traveller' p. 604 below; see *Erdman* pp. 797-99, 852.

- My father then with holy look,
 In his hands a holy book,
 Pronounced curses on my head
 And bound me in a myrtle shade.
- 25 Like to holy men by day
 Underneath the vines he lay;
 [Like a serpent in the night
 He embraced my blossoms bright.]
- 30 So I smote him and his gore
 Stained the roots my myrtle bore;
 But the time of youth is fled
 And grey hairs are on my head.

XIV IN A MYRTLE SHADE

- Why should I be bound to thee,
 O my lovely myrtle tree?
 Love, free love, cannot be bound
 To any tree that grows on ground.
- 5 O how sick and weary I
 Underneath my myrtle lie,
 Like to dung upon the ground,
 Underneath my myrtle bound.
- 10 Oft my myrtle sighed in vain
 To behold my heavy chain;
 Oft my father saw us sigh,
 And laughed at our simplicity.
- 15 So I smote him, and his gore
 Stained the roots my myrtle bore,
 But the time of youth is fled
 And grey hairs are on my head.

xiii 27-8. Written above, then numbered to follow, 25-6. Then del. but not replaced.

xiv. On the next NB p. 111 (rev.), after xix. Written in the order of sts 2-1-3-4.

St. 2 (probably written first) originally began:

To a lovely mirtle bound
 Blossoms showing all around

but these lines were del. The 'title' may be a catchphrase from xiii 24, and this poem an alternative continuation from that point.

xiv. 2. *myrtle* was traditionally associated with marriage; a bride carried a spray of it at her wedding.

xiv 11. *my father saw*] 1st *rdg del.* the priest beheld (see note on xiii).

XV TO MY MYRTLE

To a lovely myrtle bound,
 Blossoms showering all around,
 Oh, how sick and weary I
 Underneath my myrtle lie!
 5 Why should I be bound to thee,
 O my lovely myrtle tree?

XVI

Silent, silent night,
 Quench the holy light
 Of thy torches bright;

 For, possessed of day,
 5 Thousand spirits stray
 That sweet joys betray.

xv. Developed along with xiv. Altogether, B. wrote the following.

O how sick & weary I
 Underneath my mirtle lie
 5 Why should I be bound to thee
 6 O my lovely mirtle tree
 Love free love cannot be bound
 To any tree that grows on ground
 1 To a lovely mirtle bound
 2 Blossoms showing all around
 Like to dung upon the ground
 Underneath my mirtle bound
 3 O how sick and weary I
 4 Underneath my mirtle lie.

Of these, the first two were erased before the ink was dry; the unused couplets were del., and the lines numbered to make the poem given above. Cp. the condensation of lii.

xvi. Perhaps intended as a 'contrary' to 'Night' in *Innocence* (p. 72). xvii. On p. 101 (rev.) of the *NB*, B. made a memo:

O Lapwing &c
 An answer to the Parson
 on 1 Plate Experiment
 Riches
 If you trap &c

No known engraved plate contains these poems; no poem is entitled 'Experiment', but Erdman suggests 'Thou hast a lap full of seed', the first poem on the next page of the *MS*.

- Why should joys be sweet,
 Used with deceit,
 Nor with sorrows meet?
- 10 But an honest joy
 Does itself destroy
 For a harlot coy.

XVII

O lapwing, thou flyest around the heath,
 Nor seest the net that is spread beneath.
 Why dost thou not fly among the cornfields?
 They cannot spread nets where a harvest yields.

XVIII [EXPERIMENT]

- Thou hast a lap full of seed
 And this is a fine country;
 Why dost thou not cast thy seed
 And live in it merrily?
- 5 Shall I cast it on the sand
 And turn it into fruitful land?
 For on no other ground
 Can I sow my seed,
 Without tearing up
- 10 Some stinking weed.

XIX EARTH'S ANSWER

- Earth raised up her head
 From the darkness dread and drear.
 Her light fled
 (Stony dread!)
- 5 And her locks covered with grey despair.
- 'Prisoned on watery shore,
 Starry jealousy does keep my den;
 Cold and hoar,

xviii. See note above.

xviii 5. *Shall I*] 1st *rdg del.* Oft I've.

xix. An 'answer' to the 'Introduction' of *Experience* (q.v. pp. 215-16).

xix 3. *light fled*] 1st *rdg del.* eyes fled; 2nd *rdg del.* orbs dead.

- Weeping o'er,
 10 I hear the Father of the ancient men.
 'Does spring hide its joy
 When buds and blossoms grow?
 Does the sower
 Sow by night,
 15 Or the ploughman in darkness plough?
 'Break this heavy chain
 That does freeze my bones around.
 Selfish, vain,
 Eternal bane,
 20 That free love with bondage bound.'

XX LONDON

- I wander through each dirty street
 Near where the dirty Thames does flow,
 And mark in every face I meet
 Marks of weakness, marks of woe.
 5 In every cry of every man,
 In every infant's cry of fear,
 In every voice, in every ban,
 The mind-forged manacles I hear—
 How the chimney-sweeper's cry
 10 Every blackening church appals,
 And the hapless soldier's sigh
 Runs in blood down palace walls;

xix 10. *1st rdg.* I hear the Father of the ancient men; *2nd rdg.* . . . the ancient father of men; in *Experience* the original *rdg.* is adopted.

xix 11. Before this, a st. del. (but eventually engraved in *Experience*, q.v.).

xix 13-14. *sower* / *Sow by night*] *1st rdg.* sower sow / His seed by night.

xix 17. *freeze*] *1st rdg.* del. close.

xix 19-20. *1st rdg.*: Thou my bane

Hast my love with bondage bound.

xx 1, 2. *dirty*] In *Experience* (p. 220) reads 'chartered'.

xx 3. *mark*] *1st rdg.* del. sec.

xx 6. *infant's . . . fear*] *1st rdg.* del. voice of every child.

xx 8. *mind-forged manacles*] *1st rdg.* del. german-forged links (Hanoverian?).

xx 9. *How*] *1st rdg.* del. But most (altered to transfer the climax to st. 4).

xx 10. *1st rdg.* del. Blackens o'er the churches' walls.

- But most through midnight streets I hear
 How the youthful harlot's curse
 15 Blasts the new-born infant's tear,
 And smites with plagues the marriage hearse.

XXI TO NOBODADDY

- Why art thou silent and invisible,
 Father of jealousy?
 Why dost thou hide thyself in clouds
 From every searching eye?
 5 Why darkness and obscurity
 In all thy words and laws,
 That none dare eat the fruit but from
 The wily serpent's jaws?
 Or is it because secrecy
 10 Gains females' loud applause?

XXII

The modest rose puts forth a thorn,
 The humble sheep a threatening horn;
 While the lily white shall in love delight,
 Nor a thorn, nor a threat, stain her beauty bright.

xx 13-16. The poem originally ended at 12 (see 9n); the remaining st. was squeezed in the space left by the next poem. This st. underwent much revision, but the main theme was the same throughout.

xxi. Between this and the previous poem are written sts 2 and 3 of xxvii, and the added verses of xx.

xxi. *Nobodaddy*] Doubtless 'Nobody's Daddy' – a name used again in lii and the 'Klopstock' poem (p. 482). He largely resembles Urizen, who is also 'Father of Jealousy' (*Visions* 114, 187), whom B. was developing at this time. The title was squeezed in later.

xxi 2. *Father*] 1st rdg del. Man.

xxi 9-10. An afterthought, crowded in as one line. The sentiment suggests a date (for the addition) of 1794 – the period of *Europe* – or later; but this may be begging the question.

xxii. Draft for 'The Lily' of *Experience* (p. 220).

xxii 1. Various alterations; the most important are that the adjective to *rose* is successively *envious* and *lustful* before *modest*.

xxii 2. *humble*] 1st rdg del. coward.

xxii 3. After this line, two del. lines.

And the lion increase freedom & peace
 The priest loves war & the soldier peace.

The first of these seems to be the original end of the poem, with internal rhymes in 3 and 4. The changes alter the sense of the poem considerably.

XXIII

When the voices of children are heard on the green,
 And whisperings are in the dale,
 The days of youth rise fresh in my mind—
 My face turns green and pale.

- 5 'Then come home, my children, the sun is gone down
 And the dews of night arise;
 Your spring and your day are wasted in play,
 And your winter and night in disguise.'

XXIV

Are not the joys of morning sweeter
 Than the joys of night,
 And are the vigorous joys of youth
 Ashamed of the light?

- 5 Let age and sickness silent rob
 The vineyards in the night,
 But those who burn with vigorous youth
 Pluck fruits before the light.

XXV THE TIGER

Tiger, tiger, burning bright
 In the forests of the night,
 What immortal hand and eye
 Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?

- 5 Burnt in distant deeps or skies
 The cruel fire of thine eyes?
 Could heart descend or wings aspire—
 What the hand dare seize the fire?

- And what shoulder, and what art
 10 Could twist the sinews of thy heart?
 And when thy heart began to beat,
 What dread hand—and what dread feet?

xxiii. This is 'Nurse's Song' of *Experience* (p. 221).

xxiii 3. *days*] *1st rdg del.* desires.

xxv. This text is the *NB* fair copy, which stands opposite a much-revised draft. For final text, see *Experience* (p. 221); for details of the revisions, see p. 177. (St. 2 is an addition to the fair copy.)

When the stars threw down their spears
 And watered Heaven with their tears,
 15 Did he smile his work to see?
 Did he who made the lamb make thee?

Tiger, tiger, burning bright
 In the forests of the night,
 What immortal hand and eye
 20 Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?

XXVI THE HUMAN IMAGE

Pity would be no more
 If we did not make somebody poor;
 And Mercy no more could be,
 If all were as happy as we.

5 And mutual fear brings Peace,
 Till the selfish Loves increase.
 Then Cruelty knits a snare
 And spreads his baits with care.

He sits down with holy fears
 10 And waters the ground with tears;
 Then humility takes its root
 Underneath his foot.

Soon spreads the dismal shade
 Of Mystery over his head;
 15 And the caterpillar and fly
 Feed on the Mystery.

And it bears the fruit of deceit,
 Ruddy and sweet to eat,

xxvi. Draft for 'The Human Abstract' of *Experience* (p. 222): cp. also viii above and 'A Divine Image' (p. 149). All are 'contrary' to 'The Divine Image' in *Innocence* (p. 74). Above this draft are the following del. lines which seem to be continued in this poem (the title was inserted later):

How came pride in Man
 From Mary it began
 How contempt & scorn

 What a world is Man
 His Earth . . .

xxvi 1. *Pity*] 1st rdg del. Mercy.

xxvi 2. 1st rdg del. If there was nobody poor.

xxvi 8. *baits*] 1st rdg del. nets.

- 20 And the raven his nest has made
In its thickest shade.
- The Gods of the Earth and Sea
Sought through nature to find this tree.
But their search was all in vain—
There grows one in the human brain.
- 25 They said this mystery never shall cease:
The priest promotes war and the soldier peace.
- There souls of men are bought and sold,
And milk-fed infancy for gold,
And youth to slaughter-houses led,
30 And beauty for a bit of bread.

XXVII

- Love to faults is always blind,
Always is to joy inclined,
Lawless, winged and unconfined,
And breaks all chains from every mind.
- 5 Deceit to secrecy confined,
Lawful, cautious and refined,
To every thing but interest blind—
And forges fetters for the mind.

XXVIII THE WILD FLOWER'S SONG

As I wandered the forest,
The green leaves among,
I heard a wild flower
Singing a song:

xxvi 24. *There grows one*] 1st *rdg del.* Till they sought.

xxvi 25-6. Derived from the draft of xxii; the st. was unfinished.

xxvi 27-30 seem to belong to this poem, though now separated from it by part of xxvii.

xxvii. These two sts were written on opposite pages; the title was added after composition and then del.: 'How to know Love from Deceit'.

xxvii 6. 1st *rdg del.* Modest prudish and confind.

xxvii 8. 1st *rdg del.* And chains and fetters every mind.

xxviii. The first st. is written here; sts 2-3 are on p. 109 of the *NB*, between xx and xxi.

xxviii 3. *flower*] 1st *rdg del.* thistle.

- 5 'I slept in the earth,
 In the silent night,
 I murmured my fears
 And I felt delight.
- 10 'In the morning I went
 As rosy as morn
 To seek for new joy,
 But I met with scorn.'

XXIX THE SICK ROSE

- O Rose, thou art sick;
 The invisible worm
 That flies in the night,
 In the howling storm,
- 5 Hath found out thy bed
 Of crimson joy,
 And her dark secret love
 Does thy life destroy.

XXX SOFT SNOW

I walked abroad in a snowy day;
 I asked the soft snow with me to play.
 She played and she melted in all her prime—
 And the winter called it a dreadful crime.

XXXI

- 'Nought loves another as itself,
 Nor venerates another so,
 Nor is it possible to thought
 A greater than itself to know.
- 5 'And, father, how can I love you
 Or any of my brothers more?

xxviii 5. *slept*] 1st *rdg del.* was fo[u]nd. *earth*] 1st *rdg del.* dark.

xxix. Draft of the *Experience* poem (p. 223).

xxix 7. *And her dark*] 1st *rdg del.* O dark; 2nd *rdg.* And his dark; 3rd *rdg.* And her dark.

xxix 8. *Does thy*] 1st *rdg del.* Doth.

xxx 4. 1st *rdg del.* Ah that sweet love should be thought a crime.

xxxi. Draft of 'A Little Boy Lost' in *Experience* (p. 223).

I love you like the little bird
 That picks up crumbs around the door.⁷

The priest sat by and heard the child;
 10 In trembling zeal he seized his hair;
 He led him by the little coat,
 And all admired his priestly care.

And standing on the altar high:
 'Lo, what a fiend is here!' said he,
 15 'One who sets reason up for judge
 Of our most holy mystery.'

The weeping child could not be heard;
 The weeping parents wept in vain—
 They stripped him to his little shirt
 20 And bound him in an iron chain,

And burned him in a holy place,
 Where many had been burned before.
 The weeping parents wept in vain—
 Are such things done on Albion's shore?

XXXII MERLIN'S PROPHECY

The harvest shall flourish in wintry weather,
 When two virginities meet together.
 The king and the priest must be tied in a tether
 Before two virgins can meet together.

xxxii 10. Followed by two del. lines:

The mother followed weeping loud
 'O that I such a fiend should bear.'

xxxii 19-20. 1st *rdg del.*:

They bound his little ivory limbs
 In a cruel iron chain

xxxii 21. *place*] 1st *rdg del.* fire. *holy place*] The biblical name for the sanctuary in the Temple.

xxxii 24. *Are such things*] 1st *rdg.* Such things are.

xxxii. 'Merlin's Prophecy', in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, is a series of such cryptic sayings. The Fool, in *King Lear* III ii, rounds off his jingle with 'This prophecy Merlin shall make . . .' – using the tradition B. was to adapt to his own ends. B. equates 'virginity' with 'purity', but not in the conventional manner, saying that law and custom destroy the purity of natural love (cp. 'A Little Girl Lost' in *Experience* (p. 228)).

XXXIII DAY

The sun arises in the east,
 Clothed in robes of blood and gold;
 Swords and spears and wrath increased,
 All around his bosom rolled—
 Crowned with warlike fires and raging desires.

XXXIV THE FAIRY

‘Come hither, my sparrows,
 My little arrows—
 If a tear or a smile
 Will a man beguile;
 5 If an amorous delay
 Clouds a sunshiny day;
 If the step of a foot
 Smites the heart to its root—
 ’Tis the marriage ring
 10 Makes each fairy a king.’
 So a fairy sung.
 From the leaves I sprung;
 He leaped from the spray
 To flee away,
 15 But in my hat caught,
 He soon shall be taught;
 Let him laugh, let him cry,
 He’s my butterfly—
 For I’ve pulled out the sting
 20 Of the marriage ring.

xxxiii 1. *sun*] 1st *rdg* *del.* day.

xxxiii 4. *bosom*] 1st *rdg* *del.* ankles.

xxxiv. *The Fairy*] An earlier *del.* title was ‘The Marriage Ring’.

xxxiv 18-20. There were two previous readings:

1st <i>rdg.</i>	He’s my butterfly And a marriage ring Is a foolish thing.
2nd <i>rdg.</i>	He’s my butterfly And I’ve pulled out the sting And a marriage ring Is a child’s plaything.

The fairy speaks the first stanza. Fairies in B. are usually mischievous, even spiteful; this one thrives on the ‘feminine wiles’ (3-5) of love and marriage. But B. catches the fairy. He is master of love; feminine arts have no terrors for him, and he can enjoy love in his own way.

XXXV

The sword sung on the barren heath,
 The sickle in the fruitful field;
 The sword he sung a song of death
 But could not make the sickle yield.

XXXVI

Abstinence sows sand all over
 The ruddy limbs and flaming hair;
 But Desire Gratified
 Plants fruits of life and beauty there.

XXXVII

In a wife I would desire
 What in whores is always found—
 The lineaments of Gratified Desire.

XXXVIII

If you trap the moment before it's ripe,
 The tears of repentance you'll certainly wipe;
 But if once you let the ripe moment go,
 You can never wipe off the tears of woe.

XXXIX ETERNITY

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 sunrise.

XL THE LITTLE VAGABOND

Dear mother, dear mother, the church is cold,
 But the alehouse is healthy and pleasant and warm;

xxxviii 1. *trap*] 1st *rdg* *del.* catch.

xxxix. See xvii note. This verse is followed in the MS by the note: 'The Kid' / 'Thou little kid didst play, &c': but no poem beginning like this has been found.

xl. Draft of 'The Little Vagabond' in *Experience* (p. 224). The title first read 'A Pretty Vagabond'.

Besides I can tell where I am used well;
The poor parsons with wind like a blown bladder swell.

- 5 But if at the church they would give us some ale,
And a pleasant fire our souls to regale,
We'd sing and we'd pray all the livelong day,
Nor ever once wish from the church to stray.

- Then the parson might preach and drink and sing,
10 And we'd be as happy as birds in the spring;
And modest dame Lurch, who is always at church,
Would not have bandy children nor fasting nor birch.

- Then God, like a father, rejoicing to see
His children as pleasant and happy as he,
15 Would have no more quarrel with the Devil or the barrel,
But kiss him and give him both drink and apparel.

XLI THE CHIMNEY-SWEEPER

A little black thing among the snow,
Crying 'weep, 'weep, in notes of woe!
'Where are thy father and mother, say?'
'They are both gone up to the church to pray.

- 5 'Because I was happy upon the heath
And smiled among the winter's snow,
They clothed me in the clothes of death
And taught me to sing the notes of woe.

- 'And because I am happy, and dance and sing
10 They think they have done me no injury—
And are gone to praise God and his priest and king,
Who make up a heaven of our misery.'

XLII LACEDEMONIAN INSTRUCTION

Come hither, my boy, tell me what thou seest there?
'A fool tangled in a religious snare'.

xl 4. *1st rdg del.* Such usage in heaven makes all go to hell.

xl 16. *1st rdg del.* But shake hands and kiss him and there'd be no more hell.

xli. Draft of 'The Chimney-Sweeper' in *Experience* (p. 225), contrary of 'The Chimney Sweeper' in *Innocence* (p. 73). The draft is on NB pp. 106, 103 (rev.).

xli 6. *winter's snow*] *1st rdg del.* winter wind.

xli 12. *1st rdg del.* Who wrap themselves up in our misery.

xlii. This reads like one of Plutarch's *Moralia*, versified; but an original has not been traced.

XLIII RICHES

The countless gold of a merry heart,
 The rubies and pearls of a loving eye,
 The indolent never can bring to the mart
 Nor the secret hoard up in his treasury.

XLIV AN ANSWER TO THE PARSON

Why of the sheep do you not learn peace?
 'Because I don't want you to shear my fleece'.

XLV HOLY THURSDAY

Is this a holy thing to see
 In a rich and fruitful land—
 Babes reduced to misery,
 Fed with cold and usurous hand?
 5 Is that trembling cry a song?
 Can it be a song of joy,
 And so great a number poor?
 'Tis a land of poverty!
 And their sun does never shine,
 10 And their fields are bleak and bare,
 And their ways are filled with thorns.
 'Tis eternal winter there!
 For where-e'er the sun does shine,
 And where-e'er the rain does fall,
 15 Babe can never hunger there,
 Nor poverty the mind appal.

XLVI THE ANGEL

I dreamt a dream—what can it mean?
 And that I was a maiden queen,

xliii. See note on xvii.

xliii 4. *secret*] 1st *rdg del.* cunning.

xliv. See note on xvii. The verse alludes to tithes, the dues collected by the parson of the established church from his parishioners. B., in common with many other radicals, especially those of nonconformist origin, regarded tithes as 'fleecing' the poor.

xlv. A draft of 'Holy Thursday' in *Experience* (p. 225, and contrary to 'Holy Thursday' of *Innocence* (pp. 52 and 65).

xlvi. Draft of 'The Angel' in *Experience* (p. 226), and 'contrary' to 'A Dream' in *Innocence* (p. 69). Lines 15-16 are taken from xiv.

- Guarded by an angel mild.
Witless woe was ne'er beguiled!
- 5 And I wept both night and day,
And he wiped my tears away;
And I wept both day and night
And hid from him my heart's delight.
- 10 So he took his wings and fled.
Then the morn blushed rosy red;
I dried my tears and armed my fears
With ten thousand shields and spears.
- 15 Soon my angel came again;
I was armed, he came in vain.
For the time of youth was fled,
And grey hairs were on my head.

XLVII

- Little fly,
Thy summer play
My thoughtless hand
Hath brushed away.
- 5 Am not I
A fly like thee?
Or art not thou
A man like me?
- 10 For I dance
And drink and sing;

xlvi. Draft of 'The Fly', in *Experience* xix (p. 227).

xlvi 1-4. A simpler version, in a short-line rhythm, of the original 1st st., now del.:

Woe alas! my guilty hand
Brushed across thy summer joy
All thy gilded painted pride
Shattered fled . . .

xlvi 3. *thoughtless*] 1st *rdg* del. guilty.

xlvi 5. Before this st., a st. del.:

The cut worm
Forgives the plough
And dies in peace
And so do thou.

The first two lines of this st. are a 'Proverb of Hell' (p. 114).

Till some blind hand
 Shall brush my wing.

 If thought is life
 And strength and breath,
 15 And the want
 Of thought is death,

 Then am I
 A happy fly,
 If I live,
 20 Or if I die.

XLVIII MOTTO TO THE SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND OF EXPERIENCE

The good are attracted by men's perceptions,
 And think not for themselves—
 Till experience teaches them to catch
 And to cage the fairies and elves.

 5 And then the knave begins to snarl,
 And the hypocrite to howl—
 And all his good friends show their private ends,
 And the eagle is known from the owl.

XLIX

Her whole life is an epigram, smack smooth and nobly
 penned,
 Plaited quite neat to catch applause, with a sliding noose
 at the end.

xlvi 13-16. This st. was written last, and numbered to go in here. Line 13 originally read *Thought is life*: the change is significant.

xlvi 15. *And*] 1st rdg del. But.

xlvi. Not in fact used in *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*.

xlvi 1. *good*] The satiric 'good' of *Marriage*, who are 'attracted' (as by Newtonian gravity) to mortal perceptions, and are easily trapped by experience into revealing their true natures.

xlvi 4. *fairies*] Mischievous creatures: cp. xxxiv.

xlix. If this is a response to Wordsworth's phrase 'a perfect woman, nobly planned' ('She was a phantom of delight'), it cannot be dated before 1807. But its position in *NB* suggests that it belongs here.

xlix 1. *smack smooth*] Perfectly smooth, shaved level with the surface. For this and previous *n*, see Erdman and Fowler, *TLS* 24 Feb. and 3 Mar. 1978.

L

An old maid early, ere I knew
 Aught but the love that on me grew;
 And now I'm covered o'er and o'er
 And wish that I had been a whore.

- 5 Oh, I cannot, cannot find
 The undaunted courage of a Virgin Mind,
 For early I in love was crossed
 Before my flower of love was lost.

LI SEVERAL QUESTIONS ANSWERED

He who binds to himself a joy
 Doth the winged life destroy;
 But he who kisses the joy as it flies
 Lives in eternity's sunrise.

- 5 The look of love alarms
 Because 'tis filled with fire;
 But the look of soft deceit
 Shall win the lover's hire.
-

- Soft deceit and idleness—
 10 These are beauty's sweetest dress.
-

What is it men in women do require?—
 The lineaments of Gratified Desire.
 What is it women do in men require?—
 The lineaments of Gratified Desire.

An ancient proverb

- 15 Remove away that blackening church,
 Remove away that marriage hearse,

l. The two sts. were written in reverse order, but numbered 2-1.

li. These sts. were drafted on previous pages, and assembled, *NB* p. 99, in the order 4, 2, 3, 1, 5. The first, drafted on p. 105, is there entitled 'Eternity'.

lii 10. *These . . . dress*] The 1st rdg, altered on p. 103, was:

Which are beauty's sweetest dress?
 Soft deceit and idleness.

Remove away that —— of blood—
You'll quite remove the ancient curse.

LII

'Let the brothels of Paris be opened,
With many an alluring dance,
To awake the physicians through the city,'
Said the beautiful Queen of France.

5 Then old Nobodaddy aloft
Farted and belched and coughed,
And said, 'I love hanging and drawing and quartering
Every bit as well as war and slaughtering'.

Then he swore a great and solemn oath:
10 'To kill the people I am loth;
But if they rebel they must go to hell:
They shall have a priest and a passing bell'.

The King awoke on his couch of gold,
As soon as he heard these tidings told:
15 'Arise and come, both fife and drum,
And the [*famine*] shall eat both crust and crumb'.

The Queen of France just touched this globe,
And the pestilence darted from her robe;
But our good queen quite grows to the ground,
20 And a great many suckers grow all around.

li 17. *that —— of blood*] In the draft on NB p. 107: 1st *rdg* that place of blood;
2nd *rdg* that man of blood. On p. 99 only a long dash. Cp. xx 12.

lii, liii. These two poems were made out of a long series of sts., heavily corrected,
on similar themes. For details of the process of composition, see *Erdman*
pp. 861-63. Deleted lines and sts. are given below.

lii 3. *physicians*] 1st *rdg* *del.* pestilence.

lii 8. After this line another quatrain, written as three lines and *del.* immediately:

Damn praying and singing
Unless they will bring in
The blood of ten thousand by fighting or swinging.

lii 16. *famine*] *Del.* but not replaced.

lii 18. Followed by a *del.* couplet:

But the bloodthirsty people across the water
Will not submit to the gibbet and halter.

lii 20. *And . . . around*] This line replaces: 'There is just such a tree at Java found'.

LIII

Who will exchange his own fireside
 For the stone of another's door?
 Who will exchange his wheaten loaf
 For the links of a dungeon floor?

- 5 Fayette beheld the King and Queen
 In curses and iron bound;
 But mute Fayette wept tear for tear,
 And guarded them around.

liii. Stanzas composed and del., not re-used (see note on p. 175).

- (a) Fayette, Fayette, thou'rt bought and sold
 For well I see thy tears
 Of pity are exchanged for those
 Of selfish slavish fears.
- (b) Fayette beside King Louis stood
 He saw him sign his hand
 And soon he saw the famine rage
 About the fruitful land
 Fayette beheld the Queen to smile
 And wink her lovely eye
 And soon he saw the pestilence
 From street to street to fly.
- (c) Fayette beside his banner stood
 His captains false around
 Thou'rt bought and sold . . .
- (d) Who will exchange his own heart's blood
 For the drops of a harlot's eye . . .
- (e) Will the mother exchange her newborn babe
 For the dog at the wintry door?
 Yet thou dost exchange thy pitying tears
 For the links of a dungeon floor.
- (f) Fayette, Fayette, thou'rt bought and sold
 And sold is thy happy morrow
 Thou gavest the tears of pity away
 In exchange for the tears of sorrow.

liii 2. *stone*] 1st *rdg* steps.

liii 4. *dungeon floor*] Lafayette, being unable to maintain order and constitutionalism in the face of revolutionary violence in Paris in July and August 1792, fled abroad, but was arrested by the Austrians and imprisoned (until 1797). To French patriots he was a fallen idol, his flight an admission of treachery. It was, rather, 'a tame conclusion; but the only possible one for a man who so steadfastly refused to move with the times' (J. M. Thomson). It was good nature, rather than treachery, which got him into trouble. See also p. 137.

liii 6. *curses*] 1st *rdg* tears.

- 10 Oh, who would smile on the wintry seas,
 And pity the stormy roar?
 Or who will exchange his newborn child
 For the dog at the wintry door?

APPENDIX

Revisions of *The Tiger* (see pp. 163 and 221)

There are two states of the draft in the *NB*; the first on the lower righthand side of p. 109 (reversed); the second opposite it on the righthand side of p. 108 (reversed). St. 5 of the first draft is on the lefthand side of p. 108 rev., between the two drafts; st. 2 of the second draft is above it. The final state of the second draft is printed here on p. 163. The following shows the earliest state of the first draft, with alterations to it in footnotes:

- 1 Tyger Tyger burning bright
 In the forests of the night
 What immortal hand or eye
 Could frame thy fearful symmetry
- 5 2 In what distant deeps or skies
 Burnt the fire of thine eyes
 On what wings dare he aspire
 What the hand dare sieze the fire
- 3 3 And what shoulder & what art
 Could twist the sinews of thy heart
 And when thy heart began to beat
 What dread hand & what dread feet
- 10

(At this point several false starts were made on the next st., thus:)

- Could fetch it from the furnace deep
 And in thy horrid ribs dare steep
- (*thy* altered to *the*)
- In the well of sanguine woe
- In what clay & in what mould
 Were thy eyes of fury rold
- (All these del.)

4. *Could*] *Del.*: Dare written in the margin, and also del.

5. *In what*] *Del.*, but deleted line erased: 2nd rdg del. Burnt in.

6. *Burnt the*] *Del.*: The Cruel substituted in margin.

- 13 4 What the hammer what the chain
 In what furnace was thy brain
 15 What the anvil what *the arm arm grasp clasp* dread grasp
 Could its deadly terrors *clasp grasp* clasp

 6 Tyger Tyger burning bright
 In thee forests of the night
 What immortal hand & eye
 20 Dare form thy fearful symmetry
 5 3 And *is*
 did he laugh
 dare he *smile* laugh his work to see
 22 What the *shoulder* ankle what the knee
 4 *Did* Dare he who made the lamb make thee
 1 When the stars threw down their spears
 25 2 And waterd heaven with their tears

13. *What . . . what*] *Del.*: Where . . . where *substituted*.

15. The italicized words were written one after another as shown, and *del.* in turn; 'dread grasp' was finally written above the line.

16. *Could*] *Del.* 'Dare' written in margin, not also *del.* as in line 4.
clasp] italicized words *del.*

18. *thee*] *Sic*; doubtless a slip of quick copying.

20. *form*] *del.* frame *substituted*.

21-25. This st. written separately (see note at head); numbered with the rest of the sts. to show its place; the couplets numbered to indicate a different order.

21. The alterations were made along and above the line. Italicized words were *del.*

22. This line entirely *del.*, before the composition of the next line.

The second draft was then written out as a fair copy (see no. xxv, p. 163), except for the displacement of the second st. as described above:

- Tyger Tyger burning bright
 In the forests of the night
 What Immortal hand & eye
 Dare frame thy fearful symmetry

 5 Burnt in distant deeps or skies
 The cruel fire of thine eyes
 Could heart descend or wings aspire
 What the hand dare sieze the fire

 And what shoulder & what art
 10 Could twist the sinews of thy heart
 And when thy heart began to beat
 What dread hand & what dread feet

When the stars threw down their spears
And waterd heaven with their tears

This is the version engraved in *Experience* (p. 221), with the addition of punctuation, and the following changes:

3. & became *or*.

4. *Dare* became *Could*.

5. *Burnt in distant* became *In what distant* (as 1st draft).

6. *The cruel* became *Burnt the* (as 1st draft).

15 Did he smile his work to see
Did he who made the lamb make thee

Tyger Tyger burning bright
In the forests of the night
What immortal hand & eye

20 Dare frame thy fearful symmetry

12 & *what*] So in all drafts and the engraved poem; but in one late copy of *Experience* altered to *formd thy* in ink; and in the version printed in 1806 by B. H. Malkin in *A Father's Memoirs of his Child* (see p. xviii), it is given as *forged thy*, very likely on B.'s authority. After this st., the st. beginning *What the hammer* . . . from the first draft was included in the engraved poem, incorporating the alterations of *Could* to *Dare*.

12 Visions of the Daughters of Albion

Date. As on the titlepage, 1793; there seems no reason to question this as the year of production. B. had moved to Lambeth in late 1791; it is not named on the titlepage, and the poem may perhaps have been conceived in 1792, when he was too busy actually to produce the work. The slavery issue (21) was alive in 1791–92; B. was making illustrations of slavery for Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative, of a five years' Expedition*; and for Mary Wollstonecraft, whose *Vindication of the Rights of Women* was published late in 1792. This is certainly the right atmosphere for the ideas of *Visions* to develop. *The Poem.* For centuries, authors, both in verse and prose, had given their characters, especially heroines, invented names. B. could find, in James Macpherson's *Ossian* (1760–63), the story of *Oi-thona*, 'the virgin of the waves'. She married the great hero Gaul, who was called away. As the *Argument* says: 'Oi-thona was left alone at Dunlathmon, the seat of the family. Dunrommath, Lord of Uthal, supposed to be one of the Orkneys, taking advantage of the absence of her friends, came, and carried off, by force, Oi-thona, who had

formerly rejected his love, into Tromathon, a desert island, where he concealed her in a cave.' So far the parallel with Oothoon is clear, but Macpherson's story continues quite differently. Gaul, coming to Tromathon to take his revenge, 'found Oi-thona disconsolate, and resolved not to survive the loss of her honour'; in the ensuing battle she disguised herself as a warrior and was killed. B. was interested in the situation, not in the outcome in battle. True love would have no place for jealousy, and no outcome in war. He asks, by implication, 'Why should Oi-thona trouble about her so-called honour?', and he has imagined her taking a more daring attitude – and the trouble such an attitude would lead to. B. had met Mary Wollstonecraft, when *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* appeared in December 1792, and may be responding to her enthusiasm for the emancipation of women.

She, however, was looking for social and intellectual freedom for women. B.'s eye looks towards sexual freedom and free love for women, a fantasy he cherished through life (see *America* 199, *Jerusalem* 69.14–18), but his agenda is wider than that. The oppression of Oothoon, 'soft soul of America' (3) – the land of freedom (and slavery) – is bound up with the campaign of the early 1790s against both the slave trade – which culminated in a motion in the Commons (which proved ineffective at the time) on 23 April 1792, calling for the abolition of the trade – and the nearer cruelties in the exploitation of child labour (20–4, 31). All these ideas have coalesced in B.'s mind to produce a characteristic synthesis of distinct themes.

Visions falls into three clear parts, where (echoing Spenser): 'The daughters of Albion hear her woes, and echo back her sighs' (43, 113 and 218). The structure echoes *Job*. Only the first part is narrative; the second is made up of three speeches, one from each of the characters, and the third is one long effusion from Oothoon, the protagonist.

The narrative section begins, like *Thel*, with a maiden who wanders uncertainly; but unlike *Thel*, Oothoon dares: she accepts the love of the flower which wants to be picked by her so that she may enjoy it. As she puts it between her breasts, its love enters her heart and she flies fearlessly to Theotormon, her lover. Like the flower, she has dared to give herself in love. But her joy is turned to disaster. Bromion, a storm-and-sea figure, rapes her and gloats about it to Theotormon. Worse still, Theotormon now rejects her as defiled like Bromion, and ties them up, back to back in a cave, perhaps to drown, lost to sex, love or life. Oothoon has flown 'over Theotormon's reign' because he is her accepted lover, as his jealousy implies. For her part, although Bromion's attack causes her

‘woe’ (17) at first, most of her speech in the rest of the poem is given to justifying the innocence of free and promiscuous love. Theotormon’s jealousy and oppression form a greater evil than Bromion’s violence. Thus the first section, and the narrative, ends.

The middle section is a disputation, each character speaking in turn. Oothoon tries to inspire Theotormon with the vision of delight she saw in the flower; he, full of doubt and fear, does not accept her vision; and the blunt and brutish Bromion says, in effect, ‘Who cares?’ The third section is all Oothoon’s (and B.’s) – a long outburst against hypocrisy in marriage and restraint in love. Finally (216) we are recalled to the pathetic, unmoving trio in the cave by the seashore.

The eye sees more than the heart knows.

THE ARGUMENT

I loved Theotormon,
And I was not ashamed;
I trembled in my virgin fears,
And I hid in Leutha’s vale.

I plucked Leutha’s flower,
And I rose up from the vale;
But the terrible thunders tore
My virgin mantle in twain.

[*Design*]

Pl.1

VISIONS

Enslaved, the daughters of Albion weep—a trembling
lamentation

Upon their mountains, in their valleys sighs toward
America.

For the soft soul of America, Oothoon, wandered in woe

¶ 12. *Titlepage.* The legend ‘The eye . . . knows’ is inscribed at the foot, under the figure of Oothoon running over the waves of a stormy sea (see 14–15).

Argument. Design: Illustrates lines 11–12 of the poem. Oothoon, kneeling, her hands on her breasts, kisses the spirit that leaps from the flower.

1. *the daughters of Albion*] Englishwomen, imaginatively seen.

3. *soft soul of America, Oothoon*] She is the spirit of freedom. Slavery exists in different forms in Britain and in America (where the light of freedom had risen).

Along the vales of Leutha, seeking flowers to comfort her;
 5 And thus she spoke to the bright marigold of Leutha's vale:

'Art thou a flower? Art thou a nymph? I see thee
 now a flower,
 Now a nymph! I dare not pluck thee from thy dewy bed.'

The golden nymph replied: 'Pluck thou my flower,
 Oothoon the mild.
 Another flower shall spring, because the soul of
 sweet delight
 10 Can never pass away.' She ceased and closed her
 golden shrine.

Then Oothoon plucked the flower, saying, 'I pluck thee
 from thy bed,
 Sweet flower, and put thee here to glow between my breasts,
 And thus I turn my face to where my whole soul seeks.'

Over the waves she went in winged exulting swift delight,
 15 And over Theotormon's reign took her impetuous course.

Bromion rent her with his thunders; on his stormy bed
 Lay the faint maid, and soon her woes appalled his
 thunders hoarse.

Bromion spoke: 'Behold this harlot here on Bromion's bed,
 And let the jealous dolphins sport around the lovely maid!
 20 Thy soft American plains are mine, and mine thy north
 and south.

4. *Leutha*] This name appears in *Europe* 170, *Song of Los* 28, *Book of Los* 2, *Jerusalem* pl.83.82, and *Milton* pl.11.28ff. (q.v. for note on Leutha in the later poems). If, as fragment *d* of *America* (p. 214) seems to imply, the vale of Leutha is an unreal land of dreams, Oothoon is 'living in a dream-world', but the vision she has there sends her 'exulting' into reality. Yet note that B. treats 'Leutha's vale' and 'Theotormon's reign' as if they belonged to the same world.

5. *marigold*] In folksong often linked with young love.

9-10. *the soul . . . pass away*] *Marriage* pl.9, 'Proverb' 53, and *America* 72 have 'can never be defiled'.

11. The plucking of a flower, usually a rose, is traditionally symbolic of the attainment of sexual love (see *Argument*, design).

13. *thus I turn my face*] As the marigold (for B., prob. the same as 'sunflower') is said to turn its face to the sun; cp. 'Ah, Sunflower' in *Songs of Experience*.

15. *Theotormon's reign*] The sea (see 19, 26-7, 216-7).

16. *Bromion*] A storm figure who, like the classical winds, has his caves.

19. *jealous dolphins*] In a well-known myth, Galatea, having enjoyed Acis, is rescued (unlike Oothoon) by dolphins from rape by Polyphemus in his caves (Baine, *BQ* 14: 206).

Stamped with my signet are the swarthy children of the
 sun;
 They are obedient, they resist not, they obey the
 scourge;
 Their daughters worship terrors and obey the violent.

[*Design*]

Pl.2 Now thou maist marry Bromion's harlot and protect the
 child

25 Of Bromion's rage that Oothoon shall put forth in nine
 moons time.'

Then storms rent Theotormon's limbs; he rolled his
 waves around
 And folded his black jealous waters round the adulterate
 pair.

Bound back to back in Bromion's caves, terror and
 meekness dwell.

At entrance Theotormon sits, wearing the threshold hard
 30 With secret tears; beneath him sound like waves on a
 desert shore

The voice of slaves beneath the sun, and children bought
 with money,

That shiver in religious caves beneath the burning fires
 Of lust that belch incessant from the summits of the
 earth.

Oothoon weeps not, she cannot weep, her tears are
 locked up,

35 But she can howl incessant, writhing her soft snowy
 limbs

21. *Stamped . . . signet*] An allusion to the branding of slaves.

Pl.1. *Design*: The three figures of the poem; Oothoon and Bromion exhausted after the rape, Theotormon dejected.

26. *storms . . . limbs*] Bromion's winds drive Theotormon's sea into a storm.

28. *back to back*] Imprisoned together, but unable to see or embrace. The design at the end of the poem illustrates 28-30.

30. *secret tears*] In B.'s mind oppression, possessiveness, jealousy, secretiveness, hypocrisy and deceit were all bound up together. He often treats tears as hypocritical (cp. 'Infant Sorrow' and 'The Human Abstract' in *Experience*, and *Urizen* 333). Note also Oi-thona's words, 'I sit in my tears in the cave! Nor do I sit alone, O Gaul! the dark chief of Cuthal is there' (Macpherson's *Ossian*: *Oi-thona*).

30-3. Theotormon is like those 'religious' people whose repressed lust issues in oppression, figured here as volcanic, e.g. in the worse cruelties of slavery.

And calling Theotormon's eagles to prey upon her flesh:
 'I call with holy voice kings of the sounding air,
 Rend away this defiled bosom that I may reflect
 The image of Theotormon on my pure transparent breast.'

[*Design*]

- 40 The eagles at her call descend and rend their bleeding
 prey.
 Theotormon severely smiles; her soul reflects the smile,
 As the clear spring muddied with feet of beasts grows
 pure & smiles.
- The daughters of Albion hear her woes, and echo back her sighs.*
- 'Why does my Theotormon sit weeping upon the
 threshold,
 45 And Oothoon hovers by his side, persuading him in vain?
 I cry, "Arise, O Theotormon, for the village dog
 Barks at the breaking day, the nightingale has done
 lamenting,
 The lark does rustle in the ripe corn, and the eagle
 returns
 From nightly prey and lifts his golden beak to the pure
 east,
 50 Shaking the dust from his immortal pinions to awake
 The sun that sleeps too long. Arise, my Theotormon,
 I am pure!
 Because the night is gone that closed me in its deadly
 black."
 They told me that the night and day were all that I
 could see;
 They told me that I had five senses to enclose me up,

38. *Rend . . . bosom*] Her physical 'defilement' by Bromion is nothing against her untouched inner love for Theotormon. B. asserts that adultery and innocence need not be contradictory. The illustration (pl.3) recalls the Promethean source of the image – an eagle hovers over Oothoon to tear her with its beak.

Design. A slave tries to lift himself from the ground; a tree leans away from him, his pickaxe lying beside it.

43. i.e., Oothoon's legendary sorrows echo in the hearts of Englishwomen.

51. *I am pure*] The heart of Oothoon's declaration. But Theotormon has not similarly learnt to dare to be free.

54–7. *five senses to enclose me up . . .*] Cp. *Urizen* 210–269; *Song of Los (Africa)* 35. In *Urizen* B. develops the image fully as part of the narrative of the Fall, and the creation of the restricted world of mortal life.

- 55 And they enclosed my infinite brain into a narrow circle
 And sunk my heart into the abyss, a red round globe
 hot-burning,
 Till all from life I was obliterated and erased.
 Instead of morn arises a bright shadow, like an eye
 In the eastern cloud, instead of night a sickly charnel-
 house,
 60 That Theotormon hears me not. To him the night and
 morn
 Are both alike—a night of sighs, a morning of fresh
 tears,
 Pl.3 And none but Bromion can hear my lamentations.
 ‘With what sense is it that the chicken shuns the
 ravenous hawk?
 With what sense does the tame pigeon measure out the
 expanse?
 65 With what sense does the bee form cells? Have not the
 mouse and frog
 Eyes and ears and sense of touch? Yet are their
 habitations
 And their pursuits as different as their forms and as their
 joys.
 Ask the wild ass why he refuses burdens and the meek
 camel
 Why he loves man. Is it because of eye, ear, mouth or skin,
 70 Or breathing nostrils? No: for these the wolf and tiger
 have.
 Ask the blind worm the secrets of the grave, and why
 her spires
 Love to curl round the bones of death; and ask the
 ravenous snake
 Where she gets poison, and the winged eagle why he
 loves the sun.
 And then tell me the thoughts of man that have been
 hid of old.

58. *a bright shadow*] The earthbound eye of man sees only the physical appearance of the sun, and does not experience the full spiritual joy of dawn.

63ff. At this period B. was fond of passages of rhetorical questions; note especially the endings of *Thel* and *Tiriel*. Here Oothoon dwells on the importance of insight, as given in different ways to individual creatures, and as against general laws of science, which make all things seem alike. Thus she emphasizes the right of all individuals to go their own way and fulfil their own potentialities and impulses.

- 75 '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, and the soul
 preyed on by woe,
 The new-washed lamb tinged with the village smoke, and
 the bright swan
- 80 By the red earth of our immortal river. I bathe my
 wings,
 And I am white and pure to hover round Theotormon's
 breast.'
- Then Theotormon broke his silence, and he answered:
 'Tell me what is the night or day to one o'erflowed with
 woe?
 Tell me what is a thought, and of what substance it is
 made?
- 85 Tell me what is a joy and in what gardens do joys grow.
 And in what rivers swim the sorrows, and upon what
 mountains

[*Design*]

Pl.4

[*Design*]

- Wave shadows of discontent, and in what houses dwell
 the wretched
 Drunken with woe, forgotten and shut up from cold
 despair?
- 'Tell me where dwell the thoughts forgotten till thou call
 them forth,
- 90 Tell me where dwell the joys of old, and where the
 ancient loves.

77. i.e., 'How can adultery with Bromion defile me? Love is in the inner being, not in the body only'. The reverse of this is expressed in 132ff, where 'proper' sexual union in marriage is abhorred when it is loveless.

78-81. *Sweetest the fruit* . . .] The perfect being is that which most attracts, and most clearly shows, the envious attacks of destructive forces. Cp. 'The Sick Rose' in *Experience*.

Design: Oothoon stretched backwards on a cloud; an eagle hovers over her, striking at her heart with its beak.

Pl.4 *Design*: Theotormon, dejected, on the seashore; Oothoon, swept up by a wave but shackled at her ankle, hangs over him, supplicating.

80. *red earth*] See *Marriage* 'Argument' 13, and *Milton* 19:10.

82-97. Theotormon's response is to ask for facts, for the 'substance' of things which by their nature are intangible.

And when will they renew again and the night of
 oblivion past—
 That I might traverse times and spaces far remote and
 bring
 Comforts into a present sorrow and a night of pain.
 Where goest thou, O thought? To what remote land is
 thy flight?
 95 If thou returnest to the present moment of affliction
 Wilt thou bring comforts on thy wings, and dew's and
 honey and balm,
 Or poison from the desert wilds, from the eyes of the
 envier?'

Then Bromion said, and shook the cavern with his
 lamentation:
 'Thou knowest that the ancient trees seen by thine eyes
 have fruit,
 100 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?
 105 Ah, are there other wars beside the wars of sword and
 fire?
 And are there other sorrows besides 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—
 110 To bind the phantoms of existence from eternal life?'

Then Oothoon waited silent all the day, and all the
 night,
 Pl.5 But when the morn arose, her lamentation renewed.
The daughters of Albion hear her woes, and echo back her sighs.

98–110. Bromion is more certain than Theotormon, at least in knowing that, if anything does lie beyond the material world, he cannot lay his hands on it. He will not meddle there, but will stay with what he knows. Discovery, by travel or by microscope, was part of the texture of the age.

- ‘O Urizen, Creator of men, mistaken demon of heaven
 115 Thy joys are tears, thy labour vain, to form men to thine
 image.
 How can one joy absorb another? Are not different joys
 Holy, eternal, infinite? And each joy is a love.
- ‘Does not the great mouth laugh at a gift, and the
 narrow eyelids mock
 At the labour that is above payment? And wilt thou take
 the ape
 120 For thy counsellor, or the dog for a schoolmaster to thy
 children?
 Does he who contemns poverty, and he who turns with
 abhorrence
 From usury, feel the same passion—or are they moved
 alike?
 How can the giver of gifts experience the delights of the
 merchant,
 How the industrious citizen the pains of the husbandman?
 125 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?

114. *Urizen*] The earliest reference to Urizen, with the possible exception of *America* cancelled pl.b.5 (p. 212).

118. *the great mouth . . . the narrow eyelids*] Both treat giving with scorn.

119–20. Echoed in *The Four Zoas* ii 599–600:

I have chosen the serpent for a councillor & the dog
 For a schoolmaster to my children.

121. *he who contemns poverty*] i.e. he who despises the poor man for his poverty – not the reformer or genuine philanthropist who values the man and hates the poverty. The emotions of the two sorts of men are of entirely different kinds.

125–6. *Who buys . . . wastes*] Gamekeepers, who preserve game birds and vermin such as foxes, to be hunted by rich men, and so keep what could be good farmland as wild country; or the recruiting sergeant, who denudes the land of labour and causes tracts of it to lie untilled. Cp. ‘The sword sung on the barren heath’ (p. 169). Or the ‘drumming on the heath’ may refer to military displays or tattoos.

128. *The parson* took tithes, the legally-enforced church tax. B. is ironical.

128–33. An excellent example of one of B.’s trains of thought. Beginning with country evils, he includes the unjustifiable custom of tithing. This leads him to attack the parson further, for taking in the people with vague abstract pious hopes.

- What are his nets and gins and traps, and how does he
surround him
- 130 With cold floods of abstraction and with forests of
solitude,
To build him castles and high spires, where kings and
priests may dwell,
Till she who burns with youth and knows no fixed lot,
is bound
In spells of law to one she loathes. And must she drag
the chain
Of life in weary lust? Must chilling murderous thoughts
obscure
- 135 The clear heaven of her eternal spring, to bear the wintry
rage
Of a harsh terror, driven to madness, bound to hold a
rod
Over her shrinking shoulders all the day, and all the night
To turn the wheel of false desire, and longings that wake
her womb
To the abhorred birth of cherubs in the human form,
- 140 That live a pestilence and die a meteor and are no
more—
Till the child dwell with one he hates, and do the deed
he loathes,
And the impure scourge force his seed into its unripe
birth
Ere yet his eyelids can behold the arrows of the day?

[*Design*]

- ‘Does the whale worship at thy footsteps as the hungry
dog,
- 145 Or does he scent the mountain prey, because his nostrils
wide
Draw in the ocean? Does his eye discern the flying cloud
As the raven’s eye, or does he measure the expanse like
the vulture?

The religion and law of oppression are based on such deception. This brings Oothoon back to her subject, for one of the results of this oppression is the rigid code of marriage which causes so much misery. The thought of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft (see headnote) is clearly visible in this sequence, which also shows how B. can be carried away by intensity of feeling and vividness of imagery.

Design: A woman, covered by a sheet, buries her head in her pillow.

- Does the still spider view the cliffs where eagles hide
 their young?
 Or does the fly rejoice, because the harvest is brought in?
 150 Does not the eagle scorn the earth and despise the
 treasures beneath?
 But the mole knoweth what is there, and the worm shall
 tell it thee.
 Does not the worm erect a pillar in the mouldering
 churchyard
 Pl.6 And a place of eternity in the jaws of the hungry grave?
 Over his porch these words are written: "Take thy bliss,
 O Man!
 155 And sweet shall be thy taste and sweet thy infant joys
 renew."
 'Infancy, fearless, lustful, happy, nestling for delight
 In laps of pleasure! Innocence, honest, open, seeking
 The vigorous joys of morning light, open to virgin bliss!
 Who taught thee modesty, subtle modesty, child of night
 and sleep?
 160 When thou awakest, wilt thou dissemble all thy secret
 joys—
 Or wert thou not awake when all this mystery was
 disclosed?
 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, and sell it in the
 night,
 165 In silence, even without a whisper, and in seeming sleep.
 Religious dreams and holy vespers light thy smoky fires—

152-3. *the worm*] The worm builds where everything decays, and it creates out of decay, rather than destroying.

156-8. *nestling for delight* . . .] B. will not distinguish between the sensual delights of the infant at the breast and those of the adult. Both arise from the innocence of nature.

158. *virgin bliss*] Cp. 162, 163, 170, 173, and also *A Song of Liberty* (Chorus) and *America* 68-70. Virginity is *innocence*, not abstinence. It is found in the free, child-like enjoyment of one's nature; and where this enjoyment is, it is irrelevant whether or not the person is 'virgin' (in the physical and thus earthly sense). The real 'whore', who degrades humanity, is the 'respectable' person who teaches the innocent to fear and despise this innocence of 'virgin bliss', the true and natural destiny of all creatures.

159. *modesty, child* . . .] i.e. modesty is the child of night, etc.

Once were thy fires lighted by the eyes of honest morn.
 And does my Theotormon seek this hypocrite modesty,
 This knowing, artful, secret, fearful, cautious, trembling
 hypocrite?

170 Then is Oothoon a whore indeed, and all the virgin joys
 Of life are harlots, and Theotormon is a sick man's
 dream,
 And Oothoon is the crafty slave of selfish holiness.

'But Oothoon is not so, a virgin filled with virgin fancies,
 Open to joy and to delight wherever beauty appears.

175 If in the morning sun I find it, there my eyes are fixed

[*Design*]

Pl.7 [*Design*]

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

'The moment of desire! The moment of desire! The virgin
 That pines for man shall awaken her womb to enormous
 joys

180 In the secret shadows of her chamber. The youth, shut
 up from

The lustful joy, shall forget to generate and create an
 amorous image

In the shadows 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?

185 Is it because acts are not lovely that thou seekest solitude,
 Where the horrible darkness is impressed with reflections
 of desire?

170. *a whore indeed!*] i.e. if she adopts the attitude of 160ff as virtuous, and accepts Theotormon on these grounds – the grounds he asks for.

Design: A man (Theotormon), half-sitting, waves a scourge; a woman (Oothoon) springs away from him, not in fear but in misery.

Pl.7. *Design:* Four huddled figures, gowned; two with their heads hidden, one looking sadly upwards, one almost hidden beside them.

185. But of course 'acts *are* lovely', and Theotormon should *not* turn away.

- 'Father of Jealousy, be thou accursed from the earth!
 Why hast thou taught my Theotormon this accursed
 thing,
 Till beauty fades from off my shoulders, darkened and
 cast out,
 190 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,
 195 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;
 200 I'll lie beside thee on a bank and 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.
 205 'Does the sun walk in glorious raiment on the secret floor
 Pl.8 Where the cold miser spreads his gold? Or does the
 bright cloud drop
 On his stone threshold? Does his eye behold the beam
 that brings
 Expansion to the eye of pity? Or will he bind himself

187. *Father of Jealousy*] Urizen.

189–90. This is an image B. returns to again and again. Cp. *Ahania* 174–6, and Enion in *The Four Zoas* i 150, ii 593, etc. Oi-thona also, like Lucrece, mourned her fate and went to her death.

195. The jealous man cannot enjoy the woman he possesses; she becomes in his eyes the creature he does not want her to be.

205–8. The jealous man – and the miser is another example – cannot experience magnanimity. Cp. 118ff.

Beside the ox to thy hard furrow? Does not that mild
 beam blot
 210 The bat, the owl, the glowing tiger, and the king of
 night?
 The sea-fowl takes the wintry blast for a covering to her
 limbs,
 And the wild snake the pestilence to adorn him with
 gems and gold—
 And trees and birds and beasts and men behold their
 eternal joy.
 Arise, you little glancing wings, and sing your infant joy!
 215 Arise and drink your bliss! For everything that lives is
 holy.

Thus every morning wails Oothoon. But Theotormon sits
 Upon the margined ocean, conversing with shadows dire.
The daughters of Albion hear her woes, and echo back her sighs.

The End

[*Design*]

[*Full-page Design*]

13 America

A Prophecy

Date. On the titlepage, Lambeth 1793, where B. lived from late 1790. B. might have been anxious to begin the ‘Bible of Hell’, promised in *Marriage*, in 1790, with *America* as its first ‘Prophecy’. As Viscomi argues in *BIB*, he was very busy with commercial work in 1791–2, and had inadequate spare time to make his illuminated books until 1793. When the poem was conceived, planned and

209. *thy*] Urizen’s – he makes the task heavier than it should be.

210. *bat, owl, tiger*] All are night creatures, and the ‘mild beam’ of magnanimity, of the life-giving sun, blots them out.

king of night is obscure.

Design: Three figures sit on the seashore; one with head down, the others (one with an arm round another’s shoulder) look up at a herald-like figure in a flaming cloud. Perhaps the daughters of Albion.

Full-page Design: Oothoon and Bromion bound in a cave mouth, the sea at their feet. Bromion stares out in horror. Theotormon beside them, his head buried wretchedly in his arm. In some copies this is a frontispiece.

composed, ready for the printing process, is hard to say. Although verse and design must in the end have been etched together, it is not impossible that the verse was written in any spare time he had. The mood of *America* seems to reflect the hopeful years (for radicals) of 1789–91, when the spirit of revolution and liberation seemed poised to sweep from America to France against all opposition. The cancelled plates of *America* (pp. 212–14 below) refer more openly to the downfall of Parliament and King, the rulers of Albion, than the final version. The massacres of September 1792, and their aftermath of the Terror, the execution of Louis XVI, and the declaration of war in Jan. 1793, could together produce the afterthought to the *Preludium* (see *Prel. Design*), regretted before printing. But even when, later in 1793–4, a fearful London government's repressive activities could make praise of the traditional enemy in her new guise dangerously unpatriotic, radicalism was still active, vocal and unsuppressed. (G. A. Williams, *The Search for Beulah Land*, ch. 3, contains an excellent sketch of such radical activity outside London.) B. did not discard his vision; *America* and *Europe* were ready and listed in B.'s *Prospectus* of 10 Oct. 1793.

The Poem. *America* and *Europe* are B.'s two *Prophecies*. The term has been extended loosely to all his longer poems mistakenly. B. uses the word in its biblical sense: a spiritual interpretation of contemporary events. With the *Books of Urizen*, *Abania* and *Los*, and *The Song of Los*, the two *Prophecies* seem to make up his 'Bible of Hell' promised in *Marriage*. *Urizen* is to the Biblical 'Books of Moses' what *America* and *Europe* are to the 'Books of the Prophets'. B.'s idea of prophecy is summarized in the words he gives to Isaiah (*Marriage*, pl.12): 'my senses discovered the infinite in everything' (and see *Song of Los* headn. (p. 246)).

America is a new kind of narrative, as we can see at once on the page. Previous illuminated books, such as *Marriage* and *Visions*, have block designs separate from the text, but in *America* and *Europe*, the text and designs are interwoven, the text being written across the face of a design filling the page. In this way, more than in any other of his books, narrative and design comment on each other. Perhaps it became impossible, except occasionally, to maintain this complexity, in later, longer works but in the two *Prophecies* the effect is dramatic. The text too takes us further than before. *The French Revolution* follows actual events closely, enwrapping them in imaginative detail. *America* also covers the struggle between London and the Colonies, but few of its events or participants are historical, or even human. The historical figures soon become junior partners in a greater struggle of spiritual forces, Orc against Albion's Angel and his master Urizen.

In the *Preludium*, we meet chain-bound Orc and the mysterious Shadowy Female, named for the first time. (Their unnamed figures appear in *A Song of Liberty*.) In different ways, they reappear throughout the narrative poems. Here they hail the onset of revolution in America. This is not simple allegory, which distinguishes certain specific characteristics of the subject, such as Despair, Perseverance, or Corruption, and then personifies them as distinct actors. B. takes his clue from the teachings of Swedenborg, in which earthly events were merely 'correspondent' to parallel spiritual events in the immortal worlds above. This reverberated strongly with B., who therefore seeks to depict the spiritual and moral struggles of that immortal world, whose interactions are mirrored on earth. But, beyond Swedenborg, B., prophet of the Imagination, sensed the complexity of humanity. He saw that an insistence on Reason, for example, can produce an irrational, even bigoted demand for control in the name of Reason, and so his image of Urizen grows from *America* to *The Book of Urizen* and beyond. As he worked on the books from *America* to *Jerusalem*, his myth grew, not always consistently, the new not always matching the old; but always expanding (and complicating) its insights.

In *America*, therefore, the figures of his immortal world – Orc, Urizen, the Shadowy Female, and the rest – are far more complex than the simplified dissections of allegory, and cannot be easily given earthly counterparts. Orc's seizure of the delighted 'Female' does not directly reflect the American Declaration of Independence. Rather the opposite: the mortal figures of Washington and his companions reflect just one aspect of Orc, the great and irresistible force in Eternity now making itself felt on Earth, vaster than any earthly equivalent.

In the narrative of the *Prophecy*, the immortal forces find their mortal expression in Washington's defiance, but soon we return to the spiritual struggle, first (in epic manner) in wordy defiance and then in battle. Albion's Angel, the tutelary spirit of Albion (i.e., Britain), threatens Washington and his friends (14–18), but Orc, the spirit of freedom, rises out of the Atlantic to take their part (19–52). They exchange challenges (52–75), then Albion's Angel calls up his minions, the guardian angels of the thirteen colonies, but they support Orc (76–129). War follows in the heavens, casting its shadows on the earth beneath and affecting the colonial governors (142), the British army (147), Washington and his friends (158) and the New England citizens (170–3). Albion's Angel attacks with pestilences; Orc repels them with fire, driving the plagues back over Albion itself. A higher figure intervenes – Urizen, the aged tyrant-god of snow and storm. He freezes the entire action (204–17); but the poem ends with a promise (218) that Orc's fires will in the end melt Urizen's frost.

Frontispiece

Pl.1

PRELUDIUM

The shadowy daughter of Urthona stood before red Orc,
When fourteen suns had faintly journeyed o'er his dark
abode.

His food she brought in iron baskets, his drink in cups
of iron.

Crowned with a helmet and dark hair the nameless
female stood—

5 A quiver with its burning stores, a bow like that of night,
When pestilence is shot from heaven (no other arms she
need),

Invulnerable though naked, save where clouds roll round
her loins

Their awful folds in the dark air. Silent she stood as night;
For never from her iron tongue could voice or sound
arise,

10 But dumb till that dread day when Orc assayed his fierce
embrace.

¶ 13. *Frontispiece*. A breached wall, before which a manacled winged figure sits, head bowed. A woman with two children watches him unhappily.

Pl.1. *Design*: Top L, Orc, chained, under a tree; two horrified figures, male and female, look at him. Roots go down L of text to a dejected figure bottom L. The rebel Orc, chained to a tree, is an image used constantly from here on.

1. *daughter of Urthona*] Cp. *Song of Liberty* 1 and *Europe (Prel.)* 1. She is here a shadowy figure, the virgin daughter of the grim Urthona who imprisons Orc (the sympathetic gaoler's daughter is well known in folktale). In the *Song* and *Europe* she becomes a mother-spirit; in all these poems she is passive rather than active, but usually the vehicle of world-shaking, glorious events. See 17n.

Orc] The first use of the name, although the nameless youth of *A Song of Liberty* is recognizably the same. He is a vigorous youth; his home is fire and he resembles Prometheus, punished endlessly for the freedom of his spirit, yet undefeated. He is often seen as a serpent; as in 15, and (*Prophecy*) 54–5. The name has variously been associated with: Latin *Orcus*, home of the dead; Greek *ὄρχις*, testicles; the forest of *Orcun* near the mountain of fire in *New System* (1774) by Jacob Bryant (1715–1804) and *Paradise Lost* xi 835, where *orcs* are whales (cp. 34).

2. *fourteen suns*] The traditional age of arrival at puberty and independent life; several years later this is the sense given in the rewriting of this legend (*Four Zoas* v 79). Fourteen years elapsed between the publication of Rousseau's *Social Contract* (1762) and the Declaration of Independence (1776).

8. *Silent . . . night*] In *Paradise Lost* ii 670, Death is seen: 'black it stood as night'.

- ‘Dark virgin’, said the hairy youth, ‘thy father stern
 abhorred
 Rivets my tenfold chains while still on high my spirit soars.
 Sometimes an eagle screaming in the sky, sometimes a lion
 Stalking upon the mountains, and sometimes a whale I
 lash
- 15 The raging fathomless abyss; anon a serpent folding
 Around the pillars of Urthona, and round thy dark dark
 limbs,
 On the Canadian wilds I fold. Feeble my spirit folds.
 For chained beneath I rend these caverns; when thou
 bringest food
 I howl my joy, and my red eyes seek to behold thy face—
- 20 In vain! these clouds roll to and fro, and hide thee from
 my sight.’
- Pl.2 Silent as despairing love, and strong as jealousy,
 The hairy shoulders rend the links, free are the wrists of
 fire;
 Round the terrific loins he seized the panting struggling
 womb.
 It joyed. She put aside her clouds and smiled her
 first-born smile,
- 25 As when a black cloud shows its lightnings to the silent
 deep.
- Soon as she saw the terrible boy, then burst the virgin cry:
 ‘I know thee, I have found thee, and I will not let thee
 go.
 Thou art the image of God who dwells in darkness of
 Africa,
 And thou art fallen to give me life in regions of dark
 death.
- 30 On my American plains I feel the struggling afflictions
 Endured by roots that writhe their arms in to the nether
 deep;

11. *thy father stern, abhorred*] Urthona, a shadowy but grim figure; cp. *Song of Liberty* 16, *Europe* 10 (neither specific). He is always an earthspirit, and in the early books is ominous, being allied to the evil skygod Urizen. In *Four Zoas* B. turns him into an entirely different figure, though he is still a stern earth-spirit.

13–15. *eagle, lion, whale, serpent*] Creatures both free and potentially dangerous; of air, earth, water and (in B.) fire respectively.

17. *Canadian wilds*] Cp. 32–4; the maiden is associated with America, soon to be awakened to freedom and joy, besides being a figure of universal significance.

- I see a serpent in Canada, who courts me to his love;
 In Mexico an eagle, and a lion in Peru;
 I see a whale in the South-Sea, drinking my soul away.
 35 Oh, what limb-rending pains I feel! Thy fire and my frost
 Mingle in howling pains, in furrows by thy lightnings
 rent;
 This is eternal death, and this the torment long foretold.'

[*Design*]

Pl.3

A PROPHECY

The Guardian Prince of Albion burns in his nightly tent;
 Sullen fires across the Atlantic glow to America's shore,
 Piercing the souls of warlike men, who rise in silent
 night.
 Washington, Franklin, Paine and Warren, Gates, Hancock
 and Greene

Design: Beneath the text Orc climbs out of rock. The sun rises behind his head; a vine shoots up the L margin. The following four lines are inscribed across the rock; they were excluded from all copies except the earliest and the two latest, presumably representing a moment or period of disillusionment – perhaps Britain's taking sides against revolutionary France in 1792–93 – which B. did not wish to recall:

- 38 The stern bard ceas'd, asham'd of his own song: enrag'd he swung
 His harp aloft sounding, then dashed its shining frame against
 A ruin'd pillar in glittering fragments: silent he turned away,
 41 And wander'd down the vales of Kent in sick & drear lamentings.

See *IB* 140 and, for a bibliographical discussion, G. E. Bentley in *SiR* VI: 1, 46. *Prophecy*: Pl.3. *Design*: Ornamented with running figures: the A curls into stalks of wheat. Between 5 and 6 a figure with a flaming torch; flames around the lower text. Because of the interweaving of design and text, the designs cannot be noted at any one place in the text.

1. *Guardian Prince of Albion*] Albion's Angel, or tutelary spirit, the evil angel, instrument of warlike oppression (he is in a tent). Cp. *Song of Los (Africa)* 52, where B. brings the narrative of world history up to this point.

4. *Washington*, etc.] Benjamin *Franklin* (1706–90) was the famous American 'man of parts', who tried to reconcile homeland and colonial differences, but when that became impossible, played a valuable part for the colonies in administration and diplomacy. Thomas *Paine* (1737–1809), born in England, famous pamphleteer and political writer; he produced the antimonarchic works *Common Sense* in 1776 and *The Rights of Man* in 1792. Joseph *Warren* (1741–75) was a leader killed at Bunker Hill. Horatio *Gates* (1728–1806), born in England, commanded the army which defeated Burgoyne at Saratoga, but was himself defeated in 1780 by Cornwallis. John *Hancock* (1737–93) was a merchant of Boston, a member of the first Congress. Nathaniel *Greene* (1742–86) was one of the best generals of the war.

- 5 Meet on the coast glowing with blood from Albion's
fiery Prince.

Washington spoke: 'Friends of America, look over the
Atlantic sea;

A bended bow is lifted in heaven, and a heavy iron chain
Descends link by link from Albion's cliffs across the sea
to bind

Brothers and sons of America, till our faces pale and
yellow,

- 10 Heads depressed, voices weak, eyes downcast, hands
work-bruised,

Feet bleeding on the sultry sands, and the furrows of the
whip

Descend to generations that in future times forget.'

The strong voice ceased; for a terrible blast swept over
the heaving sea.

The eastern cloud rent; on his cliffs stood Albion's
wrathful Prince,

- 15 A dragon form clashing his scales! At midnight he arose,
And flamed red meteors round the land of Albion
beneath.

His voice, his locks, his awful shoulders, and his glowing
eyes

[*Design*]

- Pl.4 Appear to the Americans upon the cloudy night.

Solemn heave the Atlantic waves between the gloomy
nations,

- 20 Swelling, belching from its deeps red clouds and raging
fires.

5. *glowing with blood*] Reflecting and feeling the threatening blood-red light from Albion.

8-11. These lines reflect B.'s concern for slavery, as well as for political oppression. The *sultry sands* also suggest the slavery of the Israelites under Pharaoh.

13. Albion's angel, hearing their defiance, stands up to threaten the Americans.

14. *wrathful*] The early, cancelled plate (see headnote) reads 'fiery'. But Orc is 'fiery', and so the attribute is inappropriate.

Pl.4. *Design*: Text 19-28 on a bank of clouds. Above 19 a dragon follows an aged figure who dives, sceptre in hand, through lightning towards the waves at the foot. Beneath, a man, woman and child cower under a fallen tree R. A wide space between 28 and 29.

18-19. The design, which divides the text, makes the scene-change clear. Attention shifts to mid-Atlantic, where Orc rises from the waves.

- Albion is sick; America faints. Enraged the zenith grew.
 As human blood shooting its veins all round the orb'd
 heaven
 Red rose the clouds from the Atlantic in vast wheels of
 blood,
 And in the red clouds rose a Wonder o'er the Atlantic
 sea—
- 25 Intense, naked, a Human fire, fierce glowing as the wedge
 Of iron heated in the furnace. His terrible limbs were fire,
 With myriads of cloudy terrors, banners dark and towers
 Surrounded; heat but not light went through the murky
 atmosphere.
 The King of England looking westward trembles at the
 vision.
- Pl.5 Albion's Angel stood beside the Stone of Night, and saw
 31 The terror like a comet, or more like the planet red
 That once enclosed the terrible wandering comets in its
 sphere.
 Then, Mars, thou wast our centre, and the planets three
 flew round
 Thy crimson disc; so ere the sun was rent from thy red
 sphere.
- 35 The Spectre glowed, his horrid length staining the
 temple long
 With beams of blood, and thus a voice came forth and
 shook the temple:

25–28. *a Human fire*] Cp. *Paradise Lost* i 62–3: ‘... as one great furnace flames/
 No light; but rather darkness visible’.

29. *The King of England*] This is the only reference to George III himself in the
 final text of *America* (but see pl.b, p. 212); like Washington and his colleagues,
 he is out of his depth in this conflict.

Pl.5. *Design* (Plate 4): Text encircled a ‘judgment’ sequence: one figure carries
 scales, one casts a prisoner down, one (R) carries a great sword. Bottom L, the
 condemned figure falls; centre, a serpent spirals round him.

30. *the Stone of Night*] Cp. *Europe* 102; B. envisages a kind of pulpit, a place of
 false authority.

34. *so ere the sun . . .*] i.e. ‘so it was ere . . .’ A fragment of myth not developed
 elsewhere by B. This ends the extended simile of 31–4.

35. *staining the temple long*] The temple has not been mentioned so far, except
 by implication in the ‘Stone of Night’ 30. B. has in mind such so-called druid
 temples of vast stones as Stonehenge and Avebury (q.v. *Europe* 72n), whose influence
 for oppression and obscurity overspreads Albion. *Spectre* is the favourite ‘Gothic’
 word for an apparition, and is a term yet undeveloped by B. See also the ‘Chapel
 of Gold’ poem, p. 152.

36. *a voice*] Orc’s.

- Pl.6 ‘The morning comes, the night decays, the watchmen
 leave their stations;
 The grave is burst, the spices shed, the linen wrapped up;
 The bones of death, the covering clay, the sinews shrunk
 and dried
 40 Reviving shake, inspiring move, breathing, awakening,
 Spring like redeemed captives when their bonds and bars
 are burst.
 Let the slave grinding at the mill run out into the field;
 Let him look up into the heavens and laugh in the
 bright air;
 Let the enchained soul shut up in darkness and in
 sighing,
 45 Whose face has never seen a smile in thirty weary years,
 Rise and look out—his chains are loose, his dungeon
 doors are open.
 And let his wife and children return from the oppressor’s
 scourge—
 They look behind at every step and believe it is a dream,
 Singing, “The sun has left his blackness, and has found a
 fresher morning,
 50 And the fair moon rejoices in the clear and cloudless night;
 For Empire is no more, and now the lion and wolf shall
 cease.”’

Pl.6. *Design*: Above the text, the ‘resurrection’ figure (as in *Marriage*, pl.21), seated on a mound amid bones; he has awoken and looks upwards. Beneath the text, a knapweed, and lowly animal life – a frog, and a lizard catching a fly.

37–8. Note the resurrection allusions (including the design) to Christ leaving the tomb, the scattering of the spices which covered his body, the discovery by the disciples of the linen clothes carefully wrapped up and laid aside, and the departure of the guard to report.

39–40. *The bones of death . . .*] Cp. *Ezekiel* xxxvii 1–10, esp. vv. 7–8: ‘There was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above: but there was no breath in them.’ B.’s bodies breathe and awake.

42. *the slave grinding at the mill*] Cp. *Judges* xvi 21, where Samson is bound and made to ‘grind at the prison house’: *Matthew* xxiv 41: ‘two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be taken and the other left’: and *Samson Agonistes* 41: ‘Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves’.

mill] Here, as generally in B., a biblical word, implying slavery such as Samson’s, grinding corn, rather than the mills of the Industrial Revolution, which B. scarcely knew.

51. Verse 20 of *A Song of Liberty*.

- Pl.7 In thunders ends the voice. Then Albion's Angel
 wrathful burnt
 Beside the Stone of Night; and, like the Eternal Lion's
 howl
 In famine and war, replied: 'Art thou not Orc, who
 serpent-formed
 55 Stands at the gate of Enitharmon to devour her children?
 Blasphemous demon, Antichrist, hater of dignities,
 Lover of wild rebellion and transgressor of God's Law,
 Why dost thou come to Angels' eyes in this terrific form?'
 Pl.8 The terror answered: 'I am Orc, wreathed round the
 accursed tree.
 60 The times are ended, shadows pass, the morning 'gins to
 break.
 The fiery joy, that Urizen perverted to ten commands
 What night he led the starry hosts through the wide
 wilderness—

Pl.7. *Design*: A delicate tree L hangs over the text, its branches ending in catkins or similar flowers. Birds of paradise sit in the branches. Below, a ram and two children, asleep by a stream; the light of sunrise behind.

54. *Orc, serpent-formed*] The Angel denounces Orc as poisonous and constricted, but the image is two-sided, for the serpent may represent the admirable virility of the anti-tyrannical Satan, and the beauty of the serpent itself.

55. *Stands at the gate . . . children*] Cp. *Revelation* xii 1–4, 'And there appeared a great wonder in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars: And she being with child cried, travelling in birth . . . And behold a great red dragon . . . stood before the woman . . . for to devour her child as soon as it was born.' B. reverses the moral status of the woman and the dragon, who is Satan. Note the anatomical sense of *gate*.

57. *transgressor of God's Law*] To Orc, and B., a virtue.

Pl.8. *Design*: Above the text: Urizen in his clouds, the sea beneath.

59. *wreathed round the accursed tree*] The tree of the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden: in *Paradise Lost* Satan, disguised as the serpent, tells Eve that he had tasted the fruit and, to get at it (ix 589) 'About the mossy trunk I wound me soon'. In a Norse myth which B. certainly knew later in life and may have known in 1793, the mighty ash Yggdrasil supports the world, and a dragon gnaws one of its roots; but it is not 'accursed'.

60. *times*] A word commonly used in biblical apocalyptic literature when the writer is not willing to foretell exact dates. B. takes over the usage, though he often uses the word as if it meant a specific period.

61–3. Echoed in *A Song of Liberty* 18, 20, *Chorus*. The image of Moses leading the chosen people under the Law through the wilderness was very powerful to B. In *Urizen* 513–16 Fuzon, this time hostile to Urizen, leads Urizen's children out of Egypt; in *Jerusalem* Exodus imagery is much used.

- That stony law I stamp to dust, and scatter religion
abroad
To the four winds as a torn book, and none shall gather
the leaves;
65 But they shall rot on desert sands and consume in
bottomless deeps
To make the deserts blossom and the deeps shrink to
their fountains,
And to renew the fiery joy and burst the stony roof;
That pale religious lechery, seeking virginity,
May find it in a harlot, and in coarse-clad honesty
70 The undefiled, though ravished in her cradle night and
morn.
For every thing that lives is holy, life delights in life,
Because the soul of sweet delight can never be defiled.
Fires enwrap the earthly globe, yet man is not consumed;
Amidst the lustful fires he walks; his feet become like
brass,
75 His knees and thighs like silver and his breast and head
like gold.'
- Pl.9 'Sound, sound, my loud war-trumpets and alarm my
Thirteen Angels!
Loud howls the eternal wolf; the eternal lion lashes his
tail.
America is darkened, and my punishing demons terrified
Crouch howling before their caverns deep like skins dried
in the wind.

66. *the deserts . . . the deeps*] The first echoes the well-known *Isaiah* xxxv 1: 'the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose'. The second perhaps alludes to *Revelation* xxi 1: 'and there was no more sea', but also to B.'s normal dislike of the sea, which to him was a fearsome, devouring element.

68–71. These lines repeat ideas also found in *Visions* 163–4, 215, and *Song of Liberty* (*Chorus*); and cp. *Marriage* pl.3, p. 105.

72. Cp. *Visions* 9–10 and *Marriage* Proverb 53 (p. 115).

74–5. From two incidents in *Daniel*: (a) Daniel's escape in Nebuchadnezzar's furnace (iii 25–7); in the Bible this is God's deliverance from the destructive flames, but here Orc is at home in the fierceness of the 'lustful' element: (b) *Daniel* ii 32–3; Daniel recalls the king's dream to him, reminding him that he dreamt of an image, whose 'head was of fine gold, his breast and arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay'. There is no clay in Orc's substance.

Pl.9. *Design*: Little room for design: beneath, ears of wheat sweep over the body of a child.

76ff. Albion's Angel does not address Orc again, but calls on his delegates in America to rouse themselves on his behalf.

- 80 They cannot smite the wheat, nor quench the fatness of
the earth;
They cannot smite with sorrows, nor subdue the plough
and spade;
They cannot wall the city, nor moat round the castle of
princes;
They cannot bring the stubbed oak to overgrow the hills.
For terrible men stand on the shores, and in their robes
I see
- 85 Children take shelter from the lightnings; there stands
Washington
And Paine and Warren, with their foreheads reared
toward the east.
But clouds obscure my aged sight. A vision from afar!
Sound, sound, my loud war-trumpets and alarm my
Thirteen Angels.
Ah, vision from afar! Ah, rebel form that rent the ancient
- 90 Heavens, Eternal Viper self-renewed, rolling in clouds!
I see thee in thick clouds and darkness on America's
shore,
Writhing in pangs of abhorred birth. Red flames the
crest rebellious
And eyes of death. The harlot womb oft opened in vain
Heaves in enormous circles; now the times are returned
upon thee,
- 95 Devourer of thy parent, now thy unutterable torment
renews.
Sound, sound, my loud war-trumpet and alarm my
Thirteen Angels!
Ah, terrible birth! A young one bursting! Where is the
weeping mouth?
And where the mother's milk? Instead those ever-hissing
jaws

80-3. *They cannot smite . . .*] The Angel's work is destruction, and his minions cannot carry it out.

82-3. *wall . . . moat . . . stubbed oak*] All these represent either war or domination, or both. The *oak* was sacred to the druids, who worshipped in oak groves; to B. the druids were the aboriginal oppressive priests (cp. *Europe* 72n). From the oak warships were made.

90. *Viper self-renewed*] The snake renews itself when it sloughs its skin. B. again (as in 31-4) hints at a myth which he does not develop.

97-8. *the weeping mouth . . . the mother's milk*] Orc (19-28) was born from a womb of clouds and flame, not a 'human' mother. *Thy mother* (100) is usually Enitharmon (see 55n, *Europe* 'Prel.'). Orc is seen, now as a youth, now as a serpent.

- And parched lips drop with fresh gore. Now roll thou in
the clouds!
- 100 Thy mother lays her length outstretched upon the shore
beneath.
Sound, sound, my loud war-trumpets and alarm my
Thirteen Angels!
Loud howls the eternal Wolf; the eternal Lion lashes his
tail.'
- Pl.10 Thus wept the angel voice, and as he wept the terrible
blasts
Of trumpets blew a loud alarm across the Atlantic deep.
- 105 No trumpets answer, no reply of clarions or of fifes.
Silent the Colonies remain and refuse the loud alarm.
On those vast shady hills between America and Albion's
shore,
Now barred out by the Atlantic sea, called Atlantean hills,
Because from their bright summits you may pass to the
golden world,
- 110 An ancient palace, archetype of mighty emperies,
Rears its immortal pinnacles, built in the forest of God
By Ariston, the king of beauty, for his stolen bride.
Here on their magic seats the Thirteen Angels sat
perturbed,
For clouds from the Atlantic hover o'er the solemn roof.

Pl.10. *Design*: Orc amidst his flames, which rise round text and between lines 106–7.

108. *Atlantean hills*] Atlantis was said to have been drowned by the Atlantic; to B. the fabled land is always a beautiful land, and the sea, particularly the Atlantic, an evil, destructive element (cp. 66*n* and 174). There was a Neo-Platonic idea that Atlantis was one of the highest points on earth; B. echoes this in 109.

110. *emperies*] A 'poetic word' evoking the richness of ancient empires and not, for once, their inhumanity.

112. *Ariston*] A shadowy figure. Ariston, King of Sparta, obtained by deceit as his third wife the beautiful wife of a friend Herodotus (*History*, ii 61ff). Plato, in the *Critias*, says that Poseidon, lord of Atlantis, stole a mortal bride. B. also knew of Thomas Johnes who in 1785, with his secretly-married wife, Jane, began to build Hafod, a Gothic mansion in a forest near Aberystwyth. B. does not develop Ariston or his palace; but see the *Vala* fragment *k*, p. 481, and *Jerusalem* 41.3.

113. *the Thirteen Angels*] The guardian spirits of the thirteen colonies, counterparts of Albion's Angel. From now on they, rather than Washington and his companions, are the symbols of the colonies in revolt.

Pl.11. *Design*: The plate is designed as a starry night scene, with the text in two blocks upon it; three lines at the top and the rest in the middle, leaving a wide margin L. Clouds and stars surround the text; a male figure (Boston's Angel?) rides on a flying swan between 118 and 119; at the foot, three children ride on a snake.

- Pl.11 Fiery the Angels rose, and as they rose deep thunder
 rolled
 116 Around their shores, indignant burning with the fires of
 Orc;
 And Boston's Angel cried aloud as they flew through the
 dark night.
 He cried: 'Why trembles honesty, and like a murderer
 Why seeks he refuge from the frowns of his immortal
 station?
 120 Must the generous tremble and leave his joy to the idle,
 to the pestilence,
 That mock him? Who commanded this? What God?
 What angel?
 To keep the generous from experience, till the ungenerous
 Are unrestrained performers of the energies of nature;
 Till pity is become a trade, and generosity a science
 125 That men get rich by, and the sandy desert is given to
 the strong.
 What God is he, writes laws of peace and clothes him in
 the tempest?
 What pitying Angel lusts for tears, and fans himself with
 sighs?
 What crawling villain preaches abstinence and wraps
 himself
 In fat of lambs? No more I follow, no more obedience
 pay!'
- Pl.12 So cried he, rending off his robe and throwing down his
 sceptre
 131 In sight of Albion's Guardian; and all the Thirteen Angels
 Rent off their robes to the hungry wind and threw their
 golden sceptres
 Down on the land of America. Indignant they descended
 Headlong from out their heavenly heights, descending
 swift as fires
 135 Over the land. Naked and flaming are their lineaments
 seen
 In the deep gloom. By Washington and Paine and
 Warren they stood,

117. *Boston's Angel*] A town in the forefront of the revolution.

128. The moral propaganda of the Anglican establishment was increasing.

Pl.12 *Design*: Around the text, one of B.'s favourite designs, Death's stone door: an old man on crutches enters it, and an ancient tree grows above it and overhangs the text. Cp. *Jerusalem*, pl.1, p. 658, and Plate 1.

- And the flame folded roaring fierce within the pitchy
 night
 Before the demon red, who burnt towards America,
 In black smoke, thunders and loud winds, rejoicing in its
 terror,
 140 Breaking in smoky wreaths from the wild deep, and
 gathering thick
 In flames as of a furnace on the land from north to south.
- Pl.13 What time the thirteen Governors that England sent
 convene
 In Bernard's house, the flames covered the land. They
 rouse, they cry,
 Shaking their mental chains they rush in fury to the sea
 145 To quench their anguish; at the feet of Washington
 down fallen,
 They grovel on the sand and writhing lie, while all
 The British soldiers through the thirteen states sent up a
 howl
 Of anguish, threw their swords and muskets to the earth
 and ran
 From their encampments and dark castles, seeking where
 to hide
 150 From the grim flames and from the visions of Orc; in
 sight
 Of Albion's Angel, who enraged his secret clouds opened
 From north to south, and burnt outstretched on wings
 of wrath, covering
 The eastern sky, spreading his awful wings across the
 heavens;

138. *the demon red*] Orc; the flames (as commonly in B.) revitalize the land. B. often uses *towards* to signify a gesture of recognition – e.g. *Visions* 2.

Pl.13 *Design*: The sea; above, the shore, and an eagle descending on a female body. Roots and weed L reach down to the seashore, where fish come to a male body.

143. *Bernard's house*] Sir Francis Bernard (1712–79) was Governor of Massachusetts Bay 1760–1771. This meeting seems to be B.'s invention.

144. *Shaking their mental chains*] They shake their chains (chains of the mind, and seen in the mind – but all the more real for that) but, in spite of their anguish, do not throw them off.

147. *The British soldiers*] An imaginative vision. B. does not mean that the Loyalist troops panicked at the outset of the war. He invents the incident to illustrate Orc's power and the inevitable defeat of the army.

- Beneath him rolled his numerous hosts—all Albion's
 Angels camped
 155 Darkened the Atlantic mountains, and their trumpets
 shook the valleys,
 Armed with diseases of the earth to cast upon the abyss,
 Their numbers forty millions, mustering in the eastern sky.
- Pl.14 In the flames stood and viewed the armies drawn out in
 the sky
 Washington, Franklin, Paine and Warren, Allen, Gates
 and Lee,
 160 And heard the voice of Albion's Angel give the
 thunderous command.
 His plagues, obedient to his voice, flew forth out of their
 clouds,
 Falling upon America, as a storm to cut them off,
 As a blight cuts the tender corn when it begins to appear.
 Dark is the heaven above, and cold and hard the earth
 beneath;
 165 And as a plague-wind filled with insects cuts off man and
 beast,
 And as a sea o'erwhelms a land in the day of an
 earthquake,
 Fury, rage, madness, in a wind swept through America,
 And the red flames of Orc that folded roaring fierce
 around
 The angry shores, and the fierce rushing of the
 inhabitants together.
- 170 The citizens of New York close their books and lock
 their chests;
 The mariners of Boston drop their anchors and unlade;

Pl.14. *Design*: Between 166 and 167 an ancient tree, roots down margin and branches up it: a branch overhangs a figure who sits with a serpent and teaches a youth. Beneath the text, a fire-breathing serpent.

160–73. B. alludes to *Paradise Lost* vi 834–9: 'Full soon / Among them he arrived, in his right hand / Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent / Before him, such as in their souls infix'd / Plagues. They, astonished, all resistance lost, / All courage; down their idle weapons dropped . . .'

Thus Albion's Angel, emissary of a tyrant king, takes the place of Milton's Messiah, emissary of Jehovah. Both are armed with plagues, which overwhelm their defiant opponents: but while in Milton Satan's forces are routed, in B. Orc retaliates effectively.

- The scribe of Pennsylvania casts his pen upon the earth;
The builder of Virginia throws his hammer down in fear.
- Then had America been lost, o'erwhelmed by the
Atlantic,
- 175 And earth had lost another portion of the infinite.
But all rush together in the night, in wrath and raging
fire;
The red fires raged, the plagues recoiled, then rolled they
back with fury
- Pl.15 On Albion's angels; then the pestilence began in streaks
of red
Across the limbs of Albion's Guardian, the spotted
plague smote Bristol's
- 180 And the leprosy London's Spirit, sickening all their bands.
The millions sent up a howl of anguish and threw off
their hammered mail,
And cast their swords and spears to earth, and stood a
naked multitude.
Albion's Guardian writhed in torment on the eastern sky.
Pale, quivering toward the brain his glimmering eyes,
teeth chattering,
- 185 Howling and shuddering, his legs quivering, convulsed
each muscle and sinew,
Sickening lay London's Guardian and the ancient mitred
York,
Their heads on snowy hills, their ensigns sickening in the
sky.
The plagues creep on the burning winds, driven by
flames of Orc,
And by the fierce Americans rushing together in the night,
- 190 Driven o'er the Guardians of Ireland and Scotland and
Wales.
They, spotted with plagues, forsook the frontiers, and
their banners seared

175. *another portion*] Besides Atlantis (108*n*).

Pl.15. *Design*: Below and in margin, figures representing vitality and life: figures encircled with flames; a bunch of grapes; a flower reaching upwards from the ground.

179. *Bristol*] One of Britain's major cities, important in American trade (incl. the slave trade).

181. *The millions*] In contrast to the thirteen governors (142) the masses throw off the armour given them to serve Albion's Angel in. B. expresses his hope that 'the millions' will respond to the new vision.

- With fires of hell deform their ancient heavens with
 shame and woe.
 Hid in his caves the Bard of Albion felt the enormous
 plagues,
 And a cowl of flesh grew o'er his head and scales on his
 back and ribs;
 195 And rough with black scales all his angels fright their
 ancient heavens.
 The doors of marriage are open, and the priests in
 rustling scales
 Rush into reptile coverts, hiding from the fires of Orc
 That play around the golden roofs in wreaths of fierce
 desire,
 Leaving the females naked and glowing with the lusts of
 youth.
- 200 For the female spirits of the dead, pining in bonds of
 religion,
 Run from their fetters reddening, and in long drawn
 arches sitting
 They feel the nerves of youth renew, and desires of
 ancient times
 Over their pale limbs as a vine when the tender grape
 appears.
- Pl.16 Over the hills, the vales, the cities, rage the red flames
 fierce;

193. *the Bard of Albion*] An obscure reference, probably not intended to reflect any particular person. The poet laureate 1757–85 was William Whitehead; after him, Thomas Warton until 1790, and then until 1813 Henry James Pye, an indifferent poet who got the post by Pitt's influence. This passage may be wishful thinking; or B.'s opinion of laureate verse.

196–203. *The doors of marriage are open*] The revolution brings social as well as political freedom; B. could never separate different manifestations of the same principle. Marriage is here seen as a restriction on human freedom by priestly oppressors.

201. *in long drawn arches sitting*] An image of church-bound women.

203. *a vine . . . appears*] Cp. *Song of Songs* ii 13: 'The vines with the tender grape give forth a good smell'.

Pl.16. *Design*: Above, a gowned, suppliant female figure, with tiny human figures on it. Twisted trees behind. Beneath, the word FINIS woven into a twisted mass of thorns, flowers, and a serpent.

- 205 The heavens melted from north to south; and Urizen,
 who sat
 Above all heavens in thunders wrapped, emerged his
 leprous head
 From out his holy shrine, his tears in deluge piteous
 Falling into the deep sublime. Flagged with grey-browed
 snows
 And thunderous visages, his jealous wings waved over the
 deep;
- 210 Weeping in dismal howling woe he dark descended,
 howling
 Around the smitten bands, clothed in tears and
 trembling, shuddering cold.
 His stored snows he poured forth, and his icy magazines
 He opened on the deep, and on the Atlantic sea, white,
 shivering.
 Leprous his limbs, all over white, and hoary was his
 visage,
- 215 Weeping in dismal howlings before the stern Americans,
 Hiding the Demon red with clouds and cold mists from
 the earth—
 Till angels and weak men twelve years should govern o'er
 the strong,
 And then their end should come, when France received
 the Demon's light.
- Stiff shudderings shook the heavenly thrones. France,
 Spain and Italy
- 220 In terror viewed the bands of Albion and the ancient
 guardians
 Fainting upon the elements, smitten with their own
 plagues.
 They slow advance to shut the five gates of their
 law-built heaven,

205. *Urizen*] His first appearance in action in B.'s poetry (cp. the allusion in *Visions* 114). His servant, Albion's Angel, has failed, and he must act for himself.

208–9. Cp. *A Song of Liberty* 9.

217. *twelve years*] A difficult period to calculate. The years from the American victory at Yorktown (1781) to the end of the rule of 'weak men' with Louis XVI's execution in Jan. 1793 are probably meant.

222. *the five gates*] The gates of the five senses, which limit man's appreciation of infinity. This revolution is an Armageddon – a new vision and a new life will follow.

- Filled with blasting fancies and with mildews of despair,
 With fierce disease and lust unable to stem the fires of
 Orc;
 225 But the five gates were consumed, and their bolts and
 hinges melted,
 And the fierce flames burnt round the heavens and round
 the abodes of men.

Finis

223. *blasting* . . . *mildews*] In *Deuteronomy* xxviii, among the curses which will befall the nation of Israel if they are disobedient; verses 21–2: ‘The Lord shall make the pestilence cleave unto thee . . . The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation, and with an extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and with mildew; and they shall pursue thee until thou perish.’

Cancelled Plates

These present imaginative history (as in *French Rev.*) rather than the ‘prophecy’ of the final *America*. Of the three plates, *a* is almost identical with pl.3 of the *Prophecy*, but (i) the names in 4 are arranged differently; (ii) 14 has *fiery* instead of *wrathful*; (iii) 16 has *fierce* instead of *red*. There are also one or two minor differences in punctuation. But *a* runs on to *b*, which is quite different from pl.4. There is a further fragment, *d*, found in two copies of a collection of designs; it has been printed from the bottom half of a plate of the same width and style of lettering as *America*, but the text has been covered by pigment. It may fit after the end of *c*, perhaps. The last line might be the end of a poem, the awakening from a dream or vision.

The alterations in *c* have generally changed words with approving connotations to others connoting gloom and evil. They are written on the page in pencil and are all incorporated here in a modernized text. Its narrative, in style reminiscent of *French Rev.*, might be fitted in after pl.*b*, or 8, or (preferred by scholars), pl.10.

b

- Reveal the dragon through the human, coursing swift as fire
 To the close hall of counsel, where his angel form renews.
- In a sweet vale sheltered with cedars, that eternal stretch
 Their unmoved branches, stood the hall built when the moon shot forth—
 5 In that dread night when Urizen called the stars round his feet,
 Then burst the centre from its orb and found a place beneath,
 And earth, conglobed, in narrow room rolled round its sulphur sun.
- To this deep valley situated by the flowing Thames,
 Where George the Third holds council, & his Lords and Commons meet,
 10 Shut out from mortal sight the Angel came. The vale was dark
 With clouds of smoke from the Atlantic, that in volumes rolled
 Between the mountains; dismal visions mope around the house.

On chairs of iron, canopied with mystic ornaments
 Of life by magic power condensed, infernal forms art-bound,
 15 The council sat; all rose before the aged apparition.
 His snowy beard that streams like lambent flames down his wide breast
 Wetting with tears, & his white garments cast a wintry light.

Then as armed clouds arise terrific round the northern drum,
 The world is silent at the flapping of the folding banners.
 20 So still terrors rent the house: as when the solemn globe
 Launched to the unknown shore, while Sotha held the northern helm,
 Till to that void it came & fell; so the dark house was rent,
 The valley moved beneath; its shining pillars split in twain,
 And its roofs crack across down-falling on th' angelic seats.

c

Then Albion's Angel rose resolved to the cave of armoury:
 His shield, that bound twelve demons & their cities in its orb
 He took down from its trembling pillar; from its cavern deep
 His helm was brought by London's Guardian, & his thirsty spear
 5 By the wise spirit of London's river. Silent stood the King breathing
 damp mists,
 And on his aged limbs they clasped the armour of terrible gold.
 Infinite London's awful spires cast a dreadful cold
 Even on rational things beneath, and from the palace walls
 Around Saint James's chill & heavy, even to the city gate.
 10 On the vast stone whose name is Truth he stood, his cloudy shield
 Smote with his sceptre: the scale-bound orb loud howled; th'ancient
 pillar
 Trembling sunk, an earthquake rolled along the massy pile.

In glittering armour, swift as winds, intelligent as clouds,
 Four winged heralds mount the furious blasts and blow their trumps;
 15 Gold, silver, brass & iron clangours clamouring rend the shores.
 Like white clouds rising from the deeps, his fifty-two armies
 From the four cliffs of Albion rise, mustering around the Prince;
 Angels of cities and of parishes and villages and families,
 In armour as the nerves of wisdom, each his station holds.

20 In opposition dire a warlike cloud the myriads stood
 In the red air before the Demon – *seen even by mortal men,*
Who call it fancy, & shut the gates of sense & in their chambers
Sleep like the dead. But like a constellation risen and blazing
 Over the rugged ocean, so the angels of Albion hung,
 25 A frowning shadow, like an aged king in arms of gold,
 Who wept over a den, in which his only son outstretched
 By rebels' hands was slain; his white beard waved in the wild wind.

On mountains & cliffs of snow the awful apparition hovered;
 And like the voices of religious dead, heard in the mountains,
 30 When holy zeal scents the sweet valleys of ripe virgin bliss,
 Such was the hollow voice that o'er America lamented.

- Pl. c 1. *Then . . . rose*] Del.; but the replacing words are now cut away.
 c 2-3. Marked 6 and 7, but the four lines to be inserted above them are now cut away. So also words to be added after 5.
 c 5. *damp mists*] 1st rdg del. with flames: 2nd rdg del. hoar frosts.
 c 6. *aged*] 1st rdg del. shining.
 c 7. *cold*] 1st rdg del. gleam.
 c 9. *chill and heavy*] 1st rdg del. glow the fires: ? 2nd rdg del. till by the freeze (Erdman): Bentley reads 'freeze chill & heavy' as the amended text.
 c 11. *ancient*] 1st rdg del. eternal.
 c 13. *clouds*] 1st rdg del. flames.
 c 15. *clangours*] 1st rdg del. ardours.
 c 17. *mustering*] 1st rdg del. glowing.
 c 19. *holds*] 1st rdg del. fires.
 c 21-3. The italicized matter was del. and not replaced.
 c 25. *A frowning . . . king*] 1st rdg. Over the frowning shadow, like a King.
 c 31. *America*] 1st rdg del. the red Demon.

Fragment d

As when a dream of Thiralatha flies the midnight hour,
 In vain the dreamer grasps the joyful images; they fly
 Seen in obscured traces in the Vale of Leutha. So
 The British Colonies beneath the woeful princes fade.
 And so the princes fade from earth, scarce seen by souls of men:
 But, though obscured, this is the form of the angelic land.

14 Songs of Experience

Date. On the combined titlepage of *Songs of Innocence and Of Experience*, 1794. In the prospectus of 10 Oct. 1793, *Innocence* and *Experience* are both listed, but separately, each priced at five shillings. B. continued to issue *Innocence* separately for many years (it was a relatively popular book), but he never issued *Experience* on its own.

The *Songs of Experience* are unusual in B. in that we possess a corrected MS or fair copies of almost all the poems in his Notebook (included pp. 149ff even where identical), where they are mixed with many more poems and fragments of the same date which were not used in this collection. Many of these do not parallel *Innocence* at all, and B. included some of these independent poems in *Experience*. Of the poems which make up *Experience*, only the 'Introduction', 'Ah, Sunflower', 'A Little Girl Lost' and 'To Tirzah' (a very much later poem) are not found in the NB. The order printed here is that of the MS, except that 'Earth's Answer', which follows 'Infant Sorrow' in the MS, is in its inevitable place following the 'Introduction', to which it is a sequel (though the 'Introduction' was probably written later – which would explain some of its obscurities).

The *Songs of Experience* is B.'s greatest poetic work. *Innocence* developed from a pastoral convention in contemporary children's verse, which B. at first sight seems to have accepted in approach as well as in form, although Coleridge, for one, recognized the debt to Swedenborg in a letter to C. A. Tulk (12 Feb. 1818). There are also hints in *Innocence* of B.'s radical ideas, as in 'The School Boy' and 'The Voice of the Ancient Bard', now removed to *Experience*. The *Songs of Experience* set the adult experience of life against the innocent inexperience of children – and against the less innocent indoctrination coming from their elders. To underline this, B. produced a series of 'contrary' poems, each echoing, and reflecting on, a poem in *Innocence*, and these form the backbone of *Experience*. B. again shows his variability; there is no formula in the parallels. The second 'Nurse's Song' makes the bitterest of equations by its very similarity to its contrary in *Innocence*, whereas the poems about the 'Little Boy Lost' are connected only by their title and, ironically, by their concepts of God.

The themes of *Experience* are treated with brilliant conciseness (achieved by hard work, as the MSs show), often expressed by the startling elision of images, as in 'London', or by understatement, as in the bitterness of 'A Poison Tree' and 'Nurse's Song'. The range of verse forms is varied, perhaps smaller (if one wishes to count) than in *Innocence*, but only because B. has discovered how to use his favourites. The line tends to be controlled by stresses rather than by syllable count, giving the verse its powerful drive. *Experience* is unsurpassed for its concentrated force.

SONGS of INNOCENCE and of EXPERIENCE

Showing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul

[*Frontispiece*]

I INTRODUCTION

Hear the voice of the Bard,
Who present, past, and future sees—

Frontispiece. The shepherd of the frontispiece to *Innocence* has caught the winged child and set him firmly on his head, holding the child's arms so that he cannot fly away.

i r. This bard (i.e. B.) has heard B.'s oppressive tyrant-father-god, who produces a 'Holy Word' to bully mankind.

Whose ears have heard
 The Holy Word
 5 That walked among the ancient trees,
 Calling the lapsed soul
 And weeping in the evening dew—
 That might control
 The starry pole
 10 And fallen, fallen light renew.
 O Earth, O Earth, return!
 Arise from out the dewy grass!
 Night is worn,
 And the morn
 15 Rises from the slumb'rous mass.
 Turn away no more.
 Why wilt thou turn away?
 The starry floor,
 The watery shore
 20 Is given thee till the break of day.

II EARTH'S ANSWER

Earth raised up her head
 From the darkness dread and drear.
 Her light fled
 (Stony dread!)
 5 And her locks covered with grey despair.
 'Prisoned on watery shore,
 Starry jealousy does keep my den;

i 5. *walked*] As Adam and Eve 'heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day' (*Genesis* iii 8).

i. 6. *lapsed soul*] *lapsed* in two syllables; the soul that has 'fallen into sin', that has fallen away from the joy of Heaven. The Creator thinks the Fall is due to 'sin'; it is actually due to his own insistence on the restricted visions and values of a law-governed creation.

i 8. *That might control*] i.e. 'the Holy Word, that walked . . .' and 'that might control . . .'

i 18–20. The joys offered are illusory. Blessing is not to be found 'on the starry floor' and 'the watery shore' – the lands of night. The images are similar to those of *Europe*, where Los and Enitharmon rejoice and feast in a night which is only apparently endless.

ii. Cp. *Visions* 114–17; and draft (p. 160).

Cold and hoar,
 Weeping o'er,
 10 I hear the father of the ancient men.

 'Selfish father of men!
 Cruel jealous selfish fear!
 Can delight
 Chained in night
 15 The virgins of youth and morning bear?

 'Does spring hide its joy
 When buds and blossoms grow?
 Does the sower
 Sow by night,
 20 Or the ploughman in darkness plough?

 'Break this heavy chain
 That does freeze my bones around.
 Selfish, vain,
 Eternal bane—
 25 That free love with bondage bound.'

III MY PRETTY ROSE-TREE

A flower was offered to me,
 Such a flower as May never bore;
 But I said, 'I've a pretty rose-tree,'
 And I passed the sweet flower o'er.

 5 Then I went to my pretty rose-tree,
 To tend her by day and by night;
 But my rose turned away with jealousy,
 And her thorns were my only delight.

ii 13–15. i.e. 'can innocent, free, youthful beings know delight when they are chained in night?' The subject of the sentence is *virgins*.

iii. It has been suggested that the poem is autobiographical, and concerns the behaviour of Catherine, B.'s wife, when he refused another woman's advances; but there is no direct evidence for this beyond the poem itself. The suggestion is plausible, but it is always possible that this is an impersonal lyric's 'I'. The allegory, however, explains itself.

iii. *Design*: Beneath the text two figures, a woman sleeping under a tree, the man opposite her bowed in dejection. This poem is engraved on the same plate as 'Ah, Sunflower' (p. 228) and 'The Lily' (p. 220).

IV THE CLOD AND THE PEBBLE

'Love seeketh not itself to please,
Nor for itself hath any care,
But for another gives its ease
And builds a Heaven in Hell's despair.'

5 So sang a little clod of clay,
 Trodden with the cattle's feet;
 But a pebble of the brook
 Warbled out these metres meet:

 'Love seeketh only self to please,
10 To bind another to its delight,
 Joys in another's loss of ease,
 And builds a Hell in Heaven's despite.'

V THE GARDEN OF LOVE

I went to the Garden of Love,
And saw what I never had seen:
A chapel was built in the midst,
Where I used to play on the green.

5 And the gates of this chapel were shut,
 And *Thou shalt not* writ over the door;
 So I turned to the Garden of Love,
 That so many sweet flowers bore,

 And I saw it was filled with graves,
10 And tomb-stones where flowers should be—
 And priests in black gowns were walking their rounds,
 And binding with briars my joys and desires.

iv. *Design*: Above the text, cattle and sheep drinking at a brook; beneath it, a duck, and two frogs on the edge of the water.

See draft, p. 151.

v. See draft, p. 152, and the 'Chapel of Gold' poem which follows it in the *NB*. The chapel is built by the priests, who wish to contain the true joys of life, and to keep the key in their own power. Above the text, a priest in monk's robes, with shaven head, kneels with his prayer-book, and young people kneel behind him.

v 6. Cp. *Europe* 134. The reference is to *Deuteronomy* vi 8–9: 'And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart . . . And thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates'.

v 11. *gowns*] Pronounced *gounds* in 18th-century Cockney (see p. 152).

v 12. *binding*] Binding graves with briars (perhaps to deter grave-robbers?) was an actual practice in graveyards till the 19th c. (Adlard, *BQ* 4: 147).

VI A POISON TREE

I was angry with my friend;
 I told my wrath, my wrath did end.
 I was angry with my foe;
 I told it not, my wrath did grow.
 5 And I watered it in fears,
 Night and morning with my tears;
 And I sunned it with smiles,
 And with soft deceitful wiles.
 And it grew both day and night
 10 Till it bore an apple bright—
 And my foe beheld it shine.
 And he knew that it was mine,
 And into my garden stole,
 When the night had veiled the pole.
 15 In the morning glad I see
 My foe outstretched beneath the tree.

VII INFANT SORROW

My mother groaned, my father wept—
 Into the dangerous world I leapt,
 Helpless, naked, piping loud,
 Like a fiend hid in a cloud.
 5 Struggling in my father's hands,
 Striving against my swaddling bands,

vi. In the *NB* draft (p. 155), the poem is entitled 'Christian Forbearance'.

Spavens, in *Memoirs of a Seafaring Life* (1796), refers (from hearsay) to 'the tree [*in Java*] called . . . bohan-upas, which I suppose is the most poisonous plant in the world, as it entirely destroys the vegetation; its gum will affect steel, and the Malays . . . have their warlike instruments touched with it, so that round it . . . the slightest touch will affect the blood and cause almost instant death. . . . The effluvia arising from this tree impregnates the air so as to kill birds flying near it. . . .' See also *Vala* vii 31n.

Design: Beneath the text, an outstretched, supine figure under a bare, rugged tree. In later writings, B. expresses a sense of horror about trees, especially – as the designs suggest – leafless trees, developing the Tree of Mystery in *Vala* and *Jerusalem*. He may have felt a sentient power and latent life in what is to most people an almost inanimate object.

vi 9. *And it grew*] Cp. *Ahania* 102, 109: *Four Zoas* vii 31ff: *Jerusalem* pl.28.15.

vii. The contrary poem to 'Infant Joy', in *Innocence* (p. 60); see draft on p. 156.

vii. *Design:* Beneath the text, a mother leans forward to take hold of her child who is reaching upwards and away from her out of his cradle.

Bound and weary, I thought best
To sulk upon my mother's breast.

VIII LONDON

I wander through each chartered street
Near where the chartered Thames does flow,
And mark in every face I meet
Marks of weakness, marks of woe.

5 In every cry of every man,
In every infant's cry of fear,
In every voice, in every ban,
The mind-forged manacles I hear—

10 How the chimney-sweeper's cry
Every blackening church appalls,
And the hapless soldier's sigh
Runs in blood down palace walls;

But most through midnight streets I hear
How the youthful harlot's curse

15 Blasts the new-born infant's tear
And blights with plagues the marriage hearse.

IX THE LILY

The modest rose puts forth a thorn,
The humble sheep a threatening horn,

vii 7. The child prefers his mother's soft rule to his father's sternness – and so the woman's power is greater.

viii. See draft on p. 161, and Plate 1.

viii. *Designs*: Above the poem, a child leads an old blind man, who leans on sticks, along a drab street. Beside sts 2 and 3, a child warms himself by a wood fire.

viii 1. *chartered*] Like all ancient cities, London is proud of its charters, through which it holds certain liberties and privileges – and which once represented its source of freedom. But these charters have not granted liberty or privilege to most of the city's people. There may also be a hint of the meaning of *charter* as a form of *hire* (recorded by the *OED* only from 1806, but likely to have been in use earlier).

viii. 7. *ban*] A public prohibition; here primarily 'an angry swear-word' (*OED*, *ban* III 6).

viii. 8. *mind-forged*] The phrase 'german-forged', suggesting the strength of skilled workmanship (see draft, p. 161), is replaced by this, emphasizing that the fetters are not inevitable, but created in the twisted minds both of the oppressor and of the sufferer who accepts the chains. Perhaps originally an allusion to the German tyranny of the Hanoverian dynasty, or the German mercenaries they employed.

ix. The rose is a traditional symbol of love, the lily of purity. B. says that true purity does not repulse or torment lovers. See no. iii *n* (*Design*).

While the lily white shall in love delight,
Nor a thorn nor a threat stain her beauty bright.

X NURSE'S SONG

When the voices of children are heard on the green,
And whisperings are in the dale,
The days of my youth rise fresh in my mind,
My face turns green and pale.
5 Then come home, my children, the sun is gone down
And the dews of night arise;
Your spring and your day are wasted in play,
And your winter and night in disguise.

XI THE TIGER

Tiger, tiger, burning bright
In the forests of the night,
What immortal hand or eye
Could frame thy fearful symmetry?
5 In what distant deeps or skies
Burnt the fire of thine eyes?
On what wings dare he aspire?
What the hand dare seize the fire?
And what shoulder and what art
10 Could twist the sinews of thy heart?
And when thy heart began to beat,
What dread hand? And what dread feet?
What the hammer? What the chain?
In what furnace was thy brain?

x. See draft, p. 163, and the contrary in *Innocence*, p. 64.

x. *Design*: A doorway framed in grape-clustered vines: a woman combs a youth's hair; behind, a girl sits reading (Plates 2 and 3).

xi. See draft, p. 163, and details of composition in the appendix (p. 177). This is the contrary poem to 'The Lamb' in *Innocence* (p. 70).

xi. 5. *deeps or skies*] The spaces of primal, unformed creation – in *Genesis* i 2 'darkness was upon the face of the deep' over which the Spirit moved; and soon the deep was divided into heaven above and deep beneath.

xi 12. Originally, the sentence continued: 'Could fetch it from the furnace deep' (p. 177), but this was cancelled, and the line remains in the air. In one copy B. altered this line to 'What dread hand formed thy dread feet?' In a printed version it appears, very likely with B.'s approval, as '... forged thy ...' But, though the anomaly may have bothered B., he did not change the plate. See p. 179n.

- 15 What the anvil? What dread grasp
 Dare its deadly terrors clasp?
 When the stars threw down their spears
 And watered Heaven with their tears,
 Did he smile his work to see?
 20 Did he who made the Lamb make thee?
 Tiger, tiger, burning bright
 In the forests of the night,
 What immortal hand or eye
 Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?

XII THE HUMAN ABSTRACT

- Pity would be no more,
 If we did not make somebody poor;
 And Mercy no more could be,
 If all were as happy as we;
 5 And mutual fear brings peace,
 Till the selfish loves increase.
 Then Cruelty knits a snare
 And spreads his baits with care.
 He sits down with holy fears
 10 And waters the ground with tears;
 Then Humility takes its root
 Underneath his foot.

xi 17–20. A famous stanza which has produced many interpretations. The stars have been said to throw down their spears in fear, or rebellion, or allegiance. *Four Zoas* v 224, 'The stars threw down their spears and fled naked away' shows that when B. recalled the phrase some years later it implied to him an act of horror and rejection by the starry spirits. Much ink has been spilt in answering the question in 20 – surely a futile activity, since the question is clearly rhetorical. B. is not asking for an answer, but in question form presenting the paradox, that lamb and tiger visibly exist in the same creation.

xi 20. *Lamb*] B. often capitalized words; but as NB has 'lamb' here, the change seems to be a deliberate allusion to 'the Lamb of God'.

xii. Cp. draft, p. 164: in NB entitled 'The Human Image'. Contrary of 'The Divine Image' in *Innocence* (p. 74): *Human* here means *mortal*, a creature of the material world; an *abstraction* is an unreality, the opposite of the definiteness of an image, which can take a divine form. Cp. also 'A Divine Image' (p. 149).

xii 7–20. Cp. *Abania* 102ff, and 'A Poison Tree' (p. 219); also *Vala* vii 31n. This is the first published appearance of the Tree of Mystery which grows monstrously and inescapably, and overwhelms its unwitting creator. Here the image runs away with B.'s imagination and distracts his pursuit of the poem, as set out in st. 1.

Soon spreads the dismal shade
 Of Mystery over his head;
 15 And the caterpillar and fly
 Feed on the Mystery;

 And it bears the fruit of Deceit,
 Ruddy and sweet to eat,
 And the raven his nest has made
 20 In its thickest shade.

 The gods of the earth and sea
 Sought through nature to find this tree.
 But their search was all in vain—
 There grows one in the human brain.

XIII THE SICK ROSE

O rose, thou art sick:
 The invisible worm
 That flies in the night,
 In the howling storm,

 5 Has found out thy bed
 Of crimson joy;
 And his dark secret love
 Does thy life destroy.

XIV A LITTLE BOY LOST

'Nought loves another as itself
 Nor venerates another so,
 Nor is it possible to thought
 A greater than itself to know.

xii. *Design*: At the foot of the text, an aged man struggles with a net that has caught him under a tree.

xiii. Contrary of 'The Blossom', in *Innocence* (p. 70). The design shows a rose, fully blown yet closed, drooping over, round and beneath the text; a caterpillar eats one of its leaves, and a spirit tries to escape from its closed blossom. The stem is very thorny. Cp. 'The Garden of Love' (p. 218), and draft, p. 166.

xiv. Contrary of the pair 'The Little Boy Lost' and 'Found' in *Innocence*, p. 71. Cp. also 'On Another's Sorrow', p. 66: and Watts's lines 'On Obedience to Parents': 'Have ye not heard what dreadful plagues / Are threatened by the Lord, / To him that breaks his father's law / Or mocks his mother's word? / What heavy guilt upon him lies, / How cursed is his name! / The ravens shall pick out his eyes, / And eagles eat the same.'

- 5 ‘And, father, how can I love you
 Or any of my brothers more?
 I love you like the little bird
 That picks up crumbs around the door.’

 The priest sat by and heard the child;
 10 In trembling zeal he seized his hair;
 He led him by his little coat,
 And all admired the priestly care.

 And standing on the altar high,
 ‘Lo what a fiend is here!’ said he.
 15 ‘One who sets reason up for judge
 Of our most holy mystery.’

 The weeping child could not be heard;
 The weeping parents wept in vain—
 They stripped him to his little shirt
 20 And bound him in an iron chain,

 And burned him in a holy place,
 Where many had been burned before.
 The weeping parents wept in vain—
 Are such things done on Albion’s shore?

XV THE LITTLE VAGABOND

- Dear mother, dear mother, the church is cold;
 But the ale-house is healthy and pleasant and warm.
 Besides I can tell where I am used well;
 Such usage in Heaven will never do well.

 5 But if at the church they would give us some ale,
 And a pleasant fire, our souls to regale,
 We’d sing and we’d pray, all the livelong day,
 Nor ever once wish from the church to stray.

xiv 15. *reason*] B. is often said to be the enemy of reason; it would be better to say, ‘of rationalism’. Here ‘reason’ means, roughly, ‘common sense’.

xiv 24. No, not literally; imaginatively, yes, in all the cruelties and enslavement perpetrated on children’s minds and bodies in the discipline and labour which destroy their real life.

xiv. *Design*: At the foot, a group of kneeling figures, bowed, before flames which may come from a sacrificial fire.

xv. *Design*: Above the poem, among trees, an aged man with radiant head embraces a young man: underneath, a group of people, probably a family, sit round a fire in a field. The upper scene may illustrate the Prodigal (vagabond) Son.

- Then the parson might preach and drink and sing,
 10 And we'd be as happy as birds in the spring;
 And modest dame Lurch, who is always at church,
 Would not have bandy children nor fasting nor birch.
 And God, like a father rejoicing to see
 His children as pleasant and happy as he,
 15 Would have no more quarrel with the Devil or the barrel,
 But kiss him and give him both drink and apparel.

XVI THE CHIMNEY-SWEEPER

- A little black thing among the snow
 Crying 'weep, 'weep, in notes of woe!
 Where are thy father and mother, say?
 'They are both gone up to the church to pray.
 5 'Because I was happy upon the heath
 And smiled among the winter's snow,
 They clothed me in the clothes of death
 And taught me to sing the notes of woe.
 'And because I am happy and dance and sing,
 10 They think they have done me no injury—
 And are gone to praise God and his priest and king,
 Who make up a Heaven of our misery.'

XVII HOLY THURSDAY

Is this a holy thing to see
 In a rich and fruitful land—
 Babes reduced to misery,
 Fed with cold and usurous hand?

xvi. *Design*: Illustrates 1.

xvi. Contrary of 'The Chimney Sweeper' in *Innocence* (p. 73): see draft on p. 170.

xvi. 2. 'weep, 'weep] i.e. *sweep!*, the cry of the children sent out on the chance of getting work (see p. 74); also a pathetic pun.

xvi 5. *Because*] The poem originally began here. It implies that adults are not merely careless – they do not like to see natural, youthful joy.

xvi 9. 'Because I am occasionally seen enjoying myself . . .' There was a traditional May Day dance of sweeps and milkmaids in London.

xvii. Cp. the contrary poem in *Innocence* (p. 65), and the draft on p. 171.

xvii *Designs*: Above, a clothed woman, under a tree, against a lakeland background, looks down at the body of a child. On the right of the text, children clinging to their mother, all weeping; in the bottom left corner, the body of another child. Abandoned babies of destitute or single mothers were tragically common.

xvii 4. i.e. fed impersonally, in an orphans' institution by people calculating the cost of delinquency, etc.

- 5 Is that trembling cry a song?
 Can it be a song of joy—
 And so many children poor?
 It is a land of poverty!

 10 And their sun does never shine,
 And their fields are bleak and bare,
 And their ways are filled with thorns;
 It is eternal winter there!

 For where'er the sun does shine,
 And where'er the rain does fall,
 15 Babe can never hunger there,
 Nor poverty the mind appal.

XVIII THE ANGEL

- I dreamt a dream—what can it mean?
 And that I was a maiden queen,
 Guarded by an angel mild—
 Witless woe was ne'er beguiled!

 5 And I wept both night and day,
 And he wiped my tears away,
 And I wept both day and night
 And hid from him my heart's delight.

 So he took his wings and fled.
 10 Then the morn blushed rosy red;
 I dried my tears and armed my fears
 With ten thousand shields and spears.

 Soon my angel came again;
 I was armed, he came in vain.

xviii. Cp. the contrary, 'A Dream', in *Innocence* (p. 69), and the draft on p. 171. A poem on the theme of perverse virginity. The 'maiden queen' accepts the angel's affections (st. 2) but cannot let him see that she reciprocates them. Therefore he leaves (st. 3); she prepares to receive him – not openly, but in a duel of love: but (st. 4) it is too late – she is too old (she has put herself beyond love).

xviii. *Design*: Above, a reclining woman, gowned, pushes away a cupid standing behind and reaching towards her: a serpent coils above her.

xviii 4. An obscure line. She is full of woe (st. 2); she was not 'beguiled', taken in, by his love – she did not surrender.

xviii 5. Weeping is commonly hypocritical in B.

xviii 12. *ten thousand* tricks of coquetry – fending off and challenging.

15 For the time of youth was fled,
 And grey hairs were on my head.

XIX THE FLY

 Little fly,
 Thy summer's play
 My thoughtless hand
 Has brushed away.

5 Am not I
 A fly like thee?
 Or art not thou
 A man like me?

10 For I dance
 And drink and sing,
 Till some blind hand
 Shall brush my wing.

15 If thought is life
 And strength and breath,
 And the want
 Of thought is death;

20 Then am I
 A happy fly,
 If I live,
 Or if I die.

xviii 16. Cp. 'An old maid early' in the *NB*, p. 174

xix. Cp. draft, p. 172. This poem is written in the short lines, common in nursery rhymes, of such *Innocence* poems as 'The Blossom' and 'Spring'. It is followed in the *NB* by the 'Motto to the Songs of Innocence and of Experience' (p. 173), which also deals with the theme of perception.

xix. *Design*: Under the text, a mother (or nursemaid) teaches a child to walk, holding both its hands; an older child in the background plays with shuttlecock and racket.

xix 3. *thoughtless*] i.e. 'unreflecting' as well as careless.

xix. 13-20. The fourth st., as the *NB* shows, is a later insertion. The 'If . . . Then' sequence gives a logical appearance that is misleading, since the third st. was originally intended to read straight on to the fifth. Now the last two sts may be approximately paraphrased: 'If the essence of human nature and life is reflection and consideration, I will have none of it: I am content to live the simple, instinctive life of the fly'. Gray's *Ode to Spring*, later illustrated by B., has a similar message.

XX AH, SUNFLOWER

- Ah, sunflower, weary of time,
 Who countest the steps of the sun,
 Seeking after that sweet golden clime
 Where the traveller's journey is done;
 5 Where the youth pined away with desire
 And the pale virgin shrouded in snow
 Arise from their graves and aspire
 Where my sunflower wishes to go.

XXI A LITTLE GIRL LOST

- Children of the future age,
 Reading this indignant page,
 Know that in a former time
 Love, sweet love, was thought a crime.*
 5 In the Age of Gold,
 Free from winter's cold,
 Youth and maiden bright
 To the holy light,
 Naked in the sunny beams delight.
 10 Once a youthful pair,
 Filled with softest care,
 Met in garden bright,
 Where the holy light
 Had just removed the curtains of the night.

xx. Clytie (Ovid: *Met.* iv) was in love with Hyperion who, however, loved Leucothoe and visited her in disguise. Clytie, in her jealousy, betrayed Leucothoe, whose angry father had her killed. Clytie's jealousy was repaid by Hyperion's scorn, and, still a virgin, she pined away and dwindled into a sunflower, whose face is said always to be turned to the sun in its journey across the sky. See no. iii *n* (*design*) and *Visions* 5*n*, 13*n*.

xx 6. *shrouded in snow*] Her desires frozen.

xxi. One of the four poems not in the *NB* (see headnote). The contrary poem to 'The Little Girl Lost' (which, however, with its companion 'Found' poem, was later transferred to *Experience*). The earlier poem, unlike this, was not openly and simply concerned with love, except by implication and in its illustration. Coleridge (*Letters*, ed. Earl L. Griggs, iv 837) among other comments on *Innocence* and *Experience*, wished the poem had been omitted, 'from the too probable want of [innocence] in many readers'. Its theme is a simplified version of the theme of *Visions*.

xxi 5-16. Note the stress on the open day – not the secret night – as their time for making love.

- 15 There in rising day
 On the grass they play;
 Parents were afar,
 Strangers came not near,
 And the maiden soon forgot her fear.
- 20 Tired with kisses sweet,
 They agree to meet
 When the silent sleep
 Waves o'er heaven's deep,
 And the weary tired wanderers weep.
- 25 To her father white
 Came the maiden bright,
 But his loving look,
 Like the Holy Book,
 All her tender limbs with terror shook.
- 30 'Ona, pale and weak,
 To thy father speak.
 Oh, the trembling fear,
 Oh, the dismal care,
 That shakes the blossoms of my hoary hair.'

XXII TO TIRZAH

15 Europe

A Prophecy

Date. B. was 36 in 1794, the titlepage date, which no evidence contradicts. The narrative of lines 60–150 follows close upon *America*, and uses (65ff) an incident from one of *America*'s earlier states, serving only to remind us that B. must have had *Europe* in view as he worked on *America*.

The Poem. The book itself contains a strange contradiction. The poem carries an ironic contrast between the decadent luxury of an idle queen and the empire collapsing beneath her, a contrast which the author

xxi 28. His love is 'moral' – he looks loving because the book tells him to 'love and forgive' – not in true sympathy with her joy.

xxii *To Tirzah*. This poem is found in later copies of *Experience*, but is printed here in its chronological place (p. 618) near *Milton* and *Jerusalem*.

relishes. The designs display, not judgement on the decadent rich, but the evils that befall the innocent: robbery, blight, famine, arrogant despotism. The poem leads us towards revolution, but the designs do not show much hope. It is as if B. conceived the poem in the spirit of *America*, but came to design it in the spirit of 1794, when the reign of injustice seemed interminable.

In the *Preludium*, the Shadowy Female laments the passing of the excited hopes of her mating with Orc (*America, Prel.*), for their children have been marked as Enitharmon's playthings. B.'s pantheon begins to take uncertain shape; it is hard to know if it were devised complete at the outset. In *America*, the Female was daughter of the dark Urthona, and Orc her fiery prisoner. Now Enitharmon appears, her mother and presumably Urthona's consort, but Los, another new figure, seems to hold this position. In *Urizen*, Los is firmly identified as 'the Eternal Prophet', Enitharmon is his Eve, and Orc their child. The pantheon changes from poem to poem, but the Shadowy Female appears throughout, always enigmatic, resembling the 'prima materia' of the alchemists – matter in chaos, the world, mother of stars and all nature. For B. she is profoundly significant: dark, moist, cloudy, female, prolific, and her presence always portentous.

In *Europe*, B. encloses one poem within another. The outer part, 1–54 and 151–209 of the *Prophecy*, describes Enitharmon's night of pleasure in the heavens, and its violent ending. The inner, 60–150, describes her dream (55–9 being a link). In the *Prophecy* itself, Enitharmon takes centre stage. She is a reflection, surely, of the radical's familiar image of the reviled Marie Antoinette as a corrupt, luxury-loving queen, who, like Enitharmon, did not see the dangers ahead. (B., when his *Prospectus* advertising, among other works, *Europe*, appeared on the 10th October, could not have known that she would be executed on the 16th.) Ultimately, her power is more subtle and more fearful than *Urizen's* who, in *America*, rules as tyrant, by force and death, but, in *Europe*, is almost an interlude. Enitharmon here is Blake's first representation of a more universal figure, one he resents and perhaps fears, the dazzling female, rich in beauty and spirit, who seeks to dominate and bind man by the 'soft delusions' of seduction.

The male figures, Los and Orc, have little part to play in *Europe*. Los is primarily Enitharmon's consort; his central importance in *Urizen* and afterwards, is well in the future. Los is not fully realized in *Europe*; he is primarily Enitharmon's consort. Orc, *America's* spirit of freedom, the 'fiery youth', struggles with his bonds until the last moment, when he becomes himself again. *Europe* is Enitharmon's poem.

Enitharmon's night of pleasure begins about the time of the birth of Christ, here associated with the emergence of Orc (1-4). Enitharmon, regardless, calls her children around her to enjoy themselves. In the middle she falls asleep, and dreams. On awakening she ignores the ominous dream and carries on as before: but the dream has lasted 1800 years; the night ends and, as dawn breaks, Orc breaks free (as in *America*) to spread his rebel spirit over Europe: Los rises in support as the poem ends.

Enitharmon should have taken note of her ominous dream. In it the narrative of *America* continues with the collapse of the council chamber on the head of Albion's Angel, as in *A Song of Liberty* (rescued from an earlier version of *America* (see p. 213). Albion's Angel, having failed in America; now tries to re-establish himself in Albion, leading his followers (72) to the 'serpent temple' – an imaginative vision of the corrupt corridors of power in Albion, religious and secular. The oppressive laws of his master Urizen are everywhere (102-115, 131-7), but Orc's fires consume them. Enitharmon wakes and tries, oblivious, to continue her 'night of joy', but it is too late; Orc's flames are burning the rotten structure down (138-9). In despair Albion's Angel tries to bring on the destruction of his lawless enemies by blowing the Last Trumpet; but he and his angels, not them, are judged, and they fall 'as leaves of autumn'.

Visually, *Europe* is the most elaborate and powerful of the Lambeth books. In the designs, which dominate most of the plates, peace and hope are rare. The themes are robbers and tyrants, blight and prison. The two full-plate designs of Famine and Plague are placed where they can best affect the reader. The total effect is not, as in *America*, of the coming overthrow of tyranny, but of its continuing powers, and of looming war.

Pls.i, ii [Frontispiece and Titlepage]

Pl.iii 'Five windows light the caverned man: through one he
breathes the air;
Through one, hears music of the spheres; through one
the eternal vine

¶ 15. *Frontispiece*. The famous 'Ancient of Days' design: an aged figure kneels in a sphere, reaching down with dividers in his left hand (to circumscribe the world). The *titlepage* is dominated by a coiling serpent.

Prefatory Poem. Found in only two late copies. It is not clear whether B. intended to use this as a preface to *Europe* or not.

1. *Five windows*] The five senses.

2. *the eternal vine*] Beyond the window – i.e. outside the material world – and the tongue (in tasting, and perhaps in speaking also) can reach out and taste its immortal fruit.

- Flourishes, that he may receive the grapes; through one,
 can look
 And see small portions of the eternal world that ever
 groweth;
 5 Through one, himself pass out what time he please—
 but he will not;
 For stolen joys are sweet, and bread eaten in secret
 pleasant.⁶
- So sang a fairy mocking as he sat on a streaked tulip,
 Thinking none saw him; when he ceased I started from
 the trees
 And caught him in my hat as boys knock down a
 butterfly.
- 10 'How know you this,' said I, 'small sir? Where did you
 learn this song?'
 Seeing himself in my possession, thus he answered me:
 'My master, I am yours; command me, for I must obey.'
 'Then tell me what is the material world, and is it dead?'
 He laughing answered: 'I will write a book on leaves of
 flowers,
- 15 If you will feed me on love-thoughts, and give me now
 and then
 A cup of sparkling poetic fancies. So when I am tipsy,
 I'll sing to you to this soft lute and show you all alive
 The world, when every particle of dust breathes forth its
 joy.'
 I took him home in my warm bosom. As we went along
- 20 Wild flowers I gathered, and he showed me each eternal
 flower;
 He laughed aloud to see them whimper because they
 were plucked.
 They hovered round me like a cloud of incense. When I
 came
 Into my parlour and sat down, and took my pen to
 write,
 My fairy sat upon the table, and dictated EUROPE.

6. *For stolen joys . . . pleasant*] Cp. *Proverbs* ix 17: 'Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant.' Man refuses eternal pleasures for stolen, secret, earthly substitutes. The fairy does not approve. Cp. also *Visions*, esp. 178–86. 19–22. *each eternal flower*] Cp. *Visions* 6–20: in both passages the flower can be seen as a mere plant, or as a living spirit. But Oothoon's flower is glad to be picked, while these 'whimper'; yet their scent is like a cloud of spirits.

Pl.I

[*Design*]

PRELUDIUM

The nameless shadowy female rose from out of the breast
 of Orc,
 Her snaky hair brandishing in the winds of Enitharmon;
 And thus her voice arose:

‘O mother Enitharmon, wilt thou bring forth other sons
 5 To cause my name to vanish, that my place may not be
 found?

For I am faint with travail,
 Like the dark cloud disburdened in the day of dismal
 thunder.

‘My roots are brandished in the heavens, my fruits in
 earth beneath
 Surge, foam, and labour into life, first born and first
 consumed,

10 Consumed and consuming!

Then why shouldst thou, accursed mother, bring me
 into life?

Pl.I. ‘Preludium’. *Design*: Above the text, a traveller walks round a path among rocks, unsuspecting, while a villain lies in wait, knife in hand. Other figures of dread surround the text. As with *America*, the plates of *Europe* are too complex to note the designs in specific places.

p 1. *from out . . . Orc*] i.e. from Orc’s embrace: since the ‘Preludium’ of *America* she has become worn out by child-bearing. The new age then foretold has not been born, since Enitharmon takes the children into her corrupting care.

p 4. *other sons* besides Orc, to beget children on her, equally hopelessly (see *1n*, and 24–6).

p 6. *travail*] B. has *travel*, but the meaning is clearly ‘child-bearing’. The *OED* records the spelling ‘travel’ in this sense for the eighteenth century; the two words shared the two spellings for centuries, diverging from the general sense ‘work’.

p 8. *brandished in the heavens . . . beneath*] The image is similar but not identical to that of *Marriage* pl.17–18 – trees whose branches flourish in the sky above the earth, put out roots in the same way, but inverted, to flourish downwards in the abyss or in the earth. The idea of an inverted existence beneath the earth in the spreading roots of the Tree of Mystery in the abyss is fully developed (several years later) in *Four Zoas* vii. Cp. also the idea of inversion in the *Prophecy*, 97–101 below.

p 9. *first born and first consumed*] See *1n*. In *America* (Prel.) there was a vision of hope in the union of the Female and Orc. But the children who should have realized that hope are stolen by Enitharmon as soon as they are born.

- 'I wrap my turban of thick clouds around my labouring
 head,
 And fold the sheety waters as a mantle round my limbs.
 Yet the red sun and moon
 15 And all the overflowing stars rain down prolific pains.
- Pl.2 'Unwilling I look up to heaven, unwilling count the stars.
 Sitting in fathomless abyss of my immortal shrine,
 I seize their burning power
 And bring forth howling terrors, all-devouring fiery
 kings—
- 20 'Devouring and devoured, roaming on dark and desolate
 mountains
 In forests of eternal death, shrieking in hollow trees.
 Ah, mother Enitharmon,
 Stamp not with solid form this vigorous progeny of fires!
- 25 'I bring forth from my teeming bosom myriads of flames,
 And thou dost stamp them with a signet; then they roam
 abroad
 And leave me void as death.
 Ah, I am drowned in shady woe, and visionary joy.
- 'And who shall bind the infinite with an eternal band,
 To compass it with swaddling bands? And who shall
 cherish it
- 30 With milk and honey?
 I see it smile and I roll inward and my voice is past.'
- She ceased, and rolled her shady clouds
 Into the secret place.

[*Design*]

p 12–13. i.e. 'I hide myself away in clouds and deep waters'.

p 14–19. 'The heavenly bodies make me bring forth children against my will.'
Prolific In the sense of 'causing abundant production', not the casual sense of
 'many'.

p 23–5. *Stamp not . . . thou dost stamp . . .*] Cp. *Visions* 21, which refers to the practice of branding slaves. B. may be taking this further, and thinking also of the practice of marking sheep and cattle before turning them loose on common land – they are not the less enslaved for being free to 'roam abroad'.

p 28. *who shall bind the infinite?*] B. wrote these five words beside a rough sketch in the NB (p. 96) of the 'Ancient of Days' design which is the frontispiece of *Europe*. The Female at last is reassured; Enitharmon cannot hope to destroy utterly the infinity of life in Orc's children, nor bind and swaddle every one of them so that all are at her mercy.

p *Design*: Beneath and to the R of the text, an aerial scene in which one figure chokes two others, while a fourth escapes over a cloud.

Pl.3

A PROPHECY

- The deep of winter came,
 What time the secret child
 Descended through the orient gates of the eternal day.
 War ceased, and all the troops like shadows fled to their
 abodes.
- 5 Then Enitharmon saw her sons and daughters rise around.
 Like pearly clouds they meet together in the crystal house,
 And Los, possessor of the moon, joyed in the peaceful
 night,
 Thus speaking, while his numerous sons shook their
 bright fiery wings:
- ‘Again the night is come
- 10 That strong Urthona takes his rest,
 And Urizen unloosed from chains
 Glows like a meteor in the distant north.
 Stretch forth your hands and strike the elemental strings!
 Awake the thunders of the deep,
- Pl.4 The shrill winds wake!
- 16 Till all the sons of Urizen look out and envy Los:
 Seize all the spirits of life and bind

Pl.3 *Prophecy*] For the meaning of the word ‘Prophecy’, see *America*, headnote, p. 193. The title is ornamented with various flying figures, esp. a winged woman, gowned, flying in a dejected attitude. An aged man huddles in a sphere.

1–4. The opening deliberately recalls Christmas: in ‘the deep of winter’; the child born from heaven secretly upon earth; the traditional association of the season with peace. Cp. esp. Milton’s *Nativity Ode*, 29–31, 61–3: ‘It was the winter wild, / While the Heaven-born Child / All meanly wrapt in the rude manger lies . . . / But peaceful was the night / Wherein the Prince of Light / His reign of peace upon the earth began. . . .’ Milton also spends several sts. (xix–xxv) describing the discomfiture of the heathen gods, which B. summarizes in 4. B. is not concerned with the Nativity of Christ, but with the onset of a night of leisure and corrupted joys for Enitharmon and her companions. The ‘1800 years’ of 56, however, bring us down from the time of Christ to the events of the middle section of the poem, c. 1794. B. here looks to Orc rather than Christ for salvation, but likens them in their appearance on earth, and depicts Enitharmon as living in a fool’s paradise for 1800 years between ‘the secret child’s’ birth and the catastrophe of the end of the poem.

9–28. Los speaks; the sons of Urizen may speak 17–23. It is clear that Enitharmon speaks lines 24–28. B. makes definite divisions in the plate at 8/9, 23/24; pl.3 ends at 14. B. has no inverted commas. The scene shows Los and Enitharmon at peace; while Los enjoys peace, though aware of Urizen, Enitharmon revels in dominion (27–35). She begins to speak, unaware of the envy of Urizen’s sons (17–23), as later she is unaware that her dream (55–150) is a vision of reality. Like Marie Antoinette, she does not wish to know the realities outside her world.

- Their warbling joys to our loud strings.
 Bind all the nourishing sweets of earth
 20 To give us bliss, that we may drink the sparkling wine of
 Los;
 And let us laugh at war,
 Despising toil and care,
 Because the days and nights of joy in lucky hours renew.'
- 'Arise, O Orc, from thy deep den,
 25 First-born of Enitharmon, rise!
 And we will crown thy head with garlands of the ruddy
 vine;
 For now thou art bound;
 And I may see thee in the hour of bliss, my eldest born.'
 The horrent demon rose, surrounded with red stars of fire,
 30 Whirling about in furious circles round the immortal
 fiend.
 Then Enitharmon down descended into his red light,
 And thus her voice rose to her children—the distant
 heavens reply:
- Pl.5 'Now comes the night of Enitharmon's joy!
 Who shall I call? Who shall I send?
 35 That Woman, lovely Woman, may have dominion?
 Arise, O Rintrah, thee I call, and Palamabron, thee.
 Go, tell the human race that woman's love is Sin,
 That an eternal life awaits the worms of sixty winters
 In an allegorical abode where existence hath never come.

24. *Orc*] Orc is bound and in Enitharmon's power. For the nature and relationships of Los and Enitharmon to Orc, see headnote.

29. *the horrent demon*] Orc.

Pl.4. *Design*: Beneath smaller figures (two embracing in a dance, three exhausted), a woman holds a cloth over a prone youth who lies with head buried but radiant.

Pl.5. *Design*: Most of the plate (above the text) is a scaly, crowned male figure with a sword, attended by two female angels. See Plate 5.

34. *Who shall . . . send?*] From *Isaiah* vi 8 (the vision of God in the temple, who asks:) 'Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?' B. brings the phrase in line with the grammar of normal speech.

36. *Rintrah . . . Palamabron*] Sons of Los and Enitharmon (see pp. 247–8). In *Marriage (Argument)* I 'Rintrah roars', thus assuming his usual aspect of wrath (cp. 44). Their character in *Europe* is still not developed; nor is it until *Milton*, perhaps ten years later, and by that time Los, Enitharmon and Orc have changed out of recognition. The two should therefore be understood as the following lines depict them rather than by reference elsewhere.

39. *allegorical*] To B. the word usually implies false propaganda.

- 40 Forbid all joy, and from her childhood shall the little
female
Spread nets in every secret path.
‘My weary eyelids draw towards the evening; my bliss is
yet but new.
- Pl.6 [Full-page design: FAMINE]
- Pl.7 ‘Arise, O Rintrah, eldest born, second to none but Orc.
O lion Rintrah, raise thy fury from thy forests black;
45 Bring Palamabron, horned priest, skipping upon the
mountains;
And silent Elynittria, the silver-bowed queen.
Rintrah, where hast thou hid thy bride?
Weeps she in desert shades?
Alas, my Rintrah, bring the lovely jealous Ocalythron.
- 50 ‘Arise, my son, bring all thy brethren, O thou king of
fire.
Prince of the sun, I see thee with thy innumerable race
Thick as the summer stars,
But each ramping his golden mane shakes,
And thine eyes rejoice because of strength, O Rintrah,
furious king!’
- Pl.8
- 55 Enitharmon slept
Eighteen hundred years. Man was a dream—
The night of nature and their harps unstrung.

Pl.6. *Full-page design*: This represents death by famine: two female figures in front of a stone fireplace on which a large cauldron boils; the body of a child before them on the hearth. (The positions of this and pl.7 vary in different copies.)

45. *skipping . . . mountains*] Out of context, from *Song of Songs* ii 8 ‘The voice of my beloved! behold, he cometh, leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills’.

54. *rejoice because of strength*] Not a biblical quotation, though it sounds like one. B., soaked in the A.V. as he was, has caught its idiom exactly, even to its occasional awkwardness of phrase.

Pl.7. *Design*: Beneath the text, an aged male figure, (a Druid?), holds out his hands in horror at something off L, while a young, gowned woman, kneeling, clasps his knees.

Pl.8. *Design*: Above the text, but springing from beneath and R, stalks of blighted barley, with two racing figures, male and female, scattering the blight among the ears. (Cp. *Exodus* ix 31: ‘The flax and the barley was smitten; for the barley was in the ear . . .’)

She slept in middle of her nightly song,
Eighteen hundred years, a female dream.

- 60 Shadows of men in fleeting bands upon the winds
Divide the heavens of Europe,
Till Albion's Angel, smitten with his own plagues,
fled with his bands.
The cloud bears hard on Albion's shore
Filled with immortal demons of futurity.
- 65 In council gather the smitten Angels of Albion.
The cloud bears hard upon the council house, down rushing
On the heads of Albion's Angels.

- One hour they lay buried beneath the ruins of that hall;
But as the stars rise from the salt lake they arise in pain,
70 In troubled mists o'erclouded by the terrors of struggling
times.

Pl.9 In thoughts perturbed, they rose from the bright ruins,
silent following
The fiery king, who sought his ancient temple
serpent-formed

59. *Eighteen hundred years*] Cp. 1–4n. Enitharmon falls asleep and dreams; her dream (60–150) is the story of B.'s world of the 1790s. Her reality is in the heavens, and our world is a dream to her. B. passes over the intervening 1800 years since the birth of Christ (and Orc) as 'fleeting bands upon the winds'.

62. *Albion's Angel*] This brings us to the situation in *America 177*; but the outcome is different, perhaps deriving from the earlier narrative of *America* (q.v. headnote and cancelled pl.b). There, Urizen intervenes to save Albion's Angel; here, and in the cancelled plates of *America*, the effect of the disaster to British arms (defeat in the American colonies) is the collapse of Parliament – conceived by B. metaphorically.

69. *the salt lake*] The Dead Sea.

Pl.9. *Design*: A serpent, with flaming head and tongue, spirals up the L margin.

72. *the fiery king*] Albion's Angel or guardian spirit. He goes to seek inspiration from the ancient religion of Albion.

temple serpent-formed] The pioneering archaeologist, William Stukeley (1687–1765) having mapped the great stone circle surrounding the village of Avebury in Wiltshire, and neighbouring stones, saw in the complex a serpent design of ritual purpose (see *Jerusalem* pl.100n). Considerable interest in 'ancient' times developed during the 18th century in the wake of his work, but knowledge was sparse and inaccurate, and conjecture was often popularly taken for fact. Stukeley and others argued that (supposed) serpent-worship in Britain was related, even senior, to ancient Eastern religions, where the serpent symbol was also found. He was also responsible for the widespread and mistaken interpretations of Stonehenge as a Druid temple and place of sacrifice. See *Milton* pl.6.20n.

- That stretches out its shady length along the island white.
Round him rolled his clouds of war; silent the Angel
went,
- 75 Along the infinite shores of Thames to golden Verulam.
There stand the venerable porches that high-towering rear
Their oak-surrounded pillars, formed of massy stones,
uncut
With tool, stones precious—such eternal in the heavens,
Of colours twelve, few known on earth, give light in the
opaque,
- 80 Placed in the order of the stars. When the five senses
whelmed
In deluge o'er the earth-born man, then turned the
fluxile eyes
Into two stationary orbs, concentrating all things;
The ever-varying spiral ascents to the heavens of heavens
Were bended downward, and the nostrils' golden gates
shut,
- 85 Turned outward, barred and petrified against the infinite.
Thought changed the infinite to a serpent, that which
pitieth
To a devouring flame, and man fled from its face and hid
In forests of night. Then all the eternal forests were
divided
Into earths, rolling in circles of space, that like an ocean
rushed
- 90 And overwhelmed all except this finite wall of flesh.
Then was the serpent temple formed, image of infinite
Shut up in finite revolutions, and man became an angel,
Heaven a mighty circle turning, God a tyrant crowned.

73. *island white*] 'Albion' is derived from Latin *albus* 'white'.

75. *Verulam*] An important Roman town, and an early Christian centre (c. 300 A.D.), near modern St Alban's. Sir Francis Bacon, whose philosophy B. especially detested, became Lord Verulam. The site is N. of London; B. has thus transferred the 'serpent temple' nearer home.

77. *oak-surrounded*] Showing druid influence.

78. *eternal in the heavens*] Quoted, out of context, from 2 *Corinthians* v 1.

79. *colours twelve*] In *Revelation* xxi 10–21, the new Jerusalem is adorned with twelve different kinds of jewel.

80–5. A brief note of the restrictive 'creation' of eyes, ears and nose, described in full in *Urizen* 218–38, and developed throughout B.'s poems.

86. *Thought*] To B. 'thought' usually means 'anxious thought' or 'calculation'. Here it changes the true infinite into an endless, constricting coil.

91–2. *image of infinite*] The endless loop of the sign ∞ , ironic in itself, resembles Stukeley's serpent temple at Avebury.

- Now arrived the ancient Guardian at the southern
 porch
 95 That, planted thick with trees of blackest leaf, and in a vale
 Obscure, enclosed the Stone of Night. Oblique it stood,
 o'erhung
 With purple flowers and berries red, image of that sweet
 south,
 Once open to the heavens and elevated on the human
 neck,
 Now overgrown with hair and covered with a stony roof.
 100 Downward 'tis sunk, beneath the attractive north that
 round the feet,
 A raging whirlpool, draws the dizzy enquirer to his grave.
- Pl.10 Albion's Angel rose upon the Stone of Night.
 He saw Urizen on the Atlantic;
 And his brazen Book
 105 That kings and priests had copied on earth
 Expanded from north to south.
- Pl.11 [Full-page design: PLAGUE]
- Pl.12 And the clouds and fires pale rolled round in the night
 of Enitharmon

96. *the Stone of Night*] The pulpit-stone, where the voice of authority speaks.

97. *purple flowers and berries red*] B. clearly intends deadly nightshade, though he describes the commoner and less poisonous woody nightshade, which has red berries. Deadly nightshade berries are a purple so dark as to be nearly black and, like the rest of the plant, truly poisonous.

97–101. *sweet south . . . attractive north*] There are many interpretations, e.g. by Neo-Platonists and Swedenborg, of the relative significances of north and south. B.'s sense here is plain, and his own. The true order is reversed; the human mind, that once was open to the eternal sun in infinity, is now enclosed in a bony skull, drawn northwards by magnetic attraction, so that, in a topsy-turvy world, the grim north is 'up' and 'the sweet south' is 'down'. We think we are upright, but (like the Female in *Preludium* 8) we are upside-down in the abyss of death.

Pl.10. *Design*: The text is at the foot of the pl., most of which is taken up by the design. A figure (not unlike George III) in ecclesiastical robes, wearing a triple-crowned mitre in allusion to the Pope, and with batlike wings extended, sits reading from a book, above two angelic female figures, with eagle wings, who throw their sceptres down before him, keeping their eyes downcast.

Pl.11. *Full-page design*: Plague. A bellman, black and silent, stalks past a door inscribed 'LORD HAVE MERCY ON US'. In front, a man bends anxiously over a seated woman; another woman throws up her hands and falls. Cp. pl.5*n*.

Pl.12. *Design*: A spider's web hangs from the right margin; it would cover the lower half of the pl., but the text obscures it, so that only its upper half is seen

- Round Albion's cliffs and London's walls (still
 Enitharmon slept);
 Rolling volumes of grey mist involve churches, palaces,
 towers,
 110 For Urizen unclasped his Book, feeding his soul with pity.
 The youth of England hid in gloom curse the pained
 heavens, compelled
 Into the deadly night to see the form of Albion's Angel.
 Their parents brought them forth and aged ignorance
 preaches canting
 On a vast rock, perceived by those senses that are closed
 from thought—
 115 Bleak, dark, abrupt it stands and overshadows London
 city.
 They saw his bony feet on the rock, the flesh consumed
 in flames;
 They saw the serpent temple lifted above, shadowing the
 island white;
 They heard the voice of Albion's Angel howling in
 flames of Orc,
 Seeking the trump of the last doom.
- 120 Above the rest the howl was heard from Westminster,
 louder and louder.
 The Guardian of the secret codes forsook his ancient
 mansion,
 Driven out by the flames of Orc; his furred robes and
 false locks

between 126–7. Flies and other insects are on it, also two spiders; one is descending on a thread to a figure bottom right, beside dock leaves which dwarf him; he is cocooned in the spider's threads.

109. *churches, palaces, towers*] Places where rulers live. The *grey mist* is a mental fog.

110. *Urizen . . . Book*] Cp. design on pl.10, and *Urizen* 86–8: the book contains his Law.

114. i.e. 'perceived by the imaginative use of the senses which have shut out mere earthly vision' (as in dreams).

121–6. *The Guardian of the secret codes*] Cp. *America* 193–5, where a similar plague attacks the Bard of Albion. On 15 June 1792, Lord Thurlow was dismissed as Lord Chancellor, and B. may well refer to him: see *PAE* 218. The king dismissed Thurlow on the advice of his Tory prime minister, Pitt – Orc's flames are everywhere. *The Wilderness* was an area of St James's Park (*PAE* 512). Or does B. refer to the burning of Lord Chancellor Mansfield's house in 1780, which he witnessed?

- Adhered and grew one with his flesh, and nerves and
veins shot through them.
With dismal torment sick, hanging upon the wind,
he fled
- 125 Grovelling along Great George Street through the
Park gate. All the soldiers
Fled from his sight; he dragged his torments to the
wilderness.
- Thus was the howl through Europe.
For Orc rejoiced to hear the howling shadows;
But Palamabron shot his lightnings trenching down his
wide back,
- 130 And Rintrah hung with all his legions in the nether deep.
Enitharmon laughed in her sleep to see (Oh, woman's
triumph!)
Every house a den, every man bound; the shadows are
filled
With spectres, and the windows wove over with curses of
iron.
Over the doors *Thou shalt not*, and over the chimneys
Fear is written.
- 135 With bands of iron round their necks fastened into the
walls
The citizens, in leaden gyves the inhabitants of suburbs
Walk heavy; soft and bent are the bones of villagers.
Between the clouds of Urizen the flames of Orc roll
heavy
Around the limbs of Albion's Guardian, his flesh
consuming.
- 140 Howlings and hissings, shrieks and groans, and voices of
despair
Arise around him in the cloudy

125. i.e. going away from Parliament.

131. *Enitharmon laughed*] She fails to see what is happening to Albion's Angel (138-42).

134. *Over the doors . . . written*] Cp. the reminders of the Law in *Deuteronomy* vi 8-9, xi 18-20: '[Ye shall] lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand, that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. . . . And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt write them upon the door posts of thine house, and upon thy gates . . . ' Cp. also 'The Garden of Love' (*Experience*) 6 (p. 218).

- Heavens of Albion. Furious
 Pl.13 The red-limbed Angel seized, in horror and torment,
 The trump of the last doom; but he could not blow the
 iron tube!
 145 Thrice he assayed presumptuous to awake the dead to
 Judgement.
 A mighty spirit leaped from the land of Albion
 Named Newton; he seized the trump and blowed the
 enormous blast.
 Yellow as leaves of autumn, the myriads of angelic hosts
 Fell through the wintry skies seeking their graves,
 150 Rattling their hollow bones in howling and lamentation.
-
- Then Enitharmon woke, nor knew that she had slept,
 And eighteen hundred years were fled
 As if they had not been.
 She called her sons and daughters
 155 To the sports of night
 Within her crystal house,
 And thus her song proceeds:
 'Arise, Ethinthus, though the earth-worm call—
 Let him call in vain,
 160 Till the night of holy shadows
 And human solitude is past.
- Pl.14 'Ethinthus, queen of waters, how thou shinest in the sky!

Pl.13. *Design*: Below the text, a man chained in a massive stone dungeon lifts his fettered hands in horror as his gaoler goes out up the steps – perhaps for ever.

147. *Newton*] Chosen as the Angel's aide-de-camp because he was one of the great rationalists hated by B., though his many admirers often saw Newton as heralding a new and enlightened age. The effect of the Trumpet is not, as expected, to destroy Orc, but to overthrow the angels (148–50).

149. *Fell . . . graves*] Whereas at the Day of Judgment, the spirits of the dead are said to rise from their graves, here the evil angels fall and seek their graves. The dissolving image is an apt dream-ending. Cp. Milton's *Nativity Ode* 232–4: 'The flocking shadows pale / Troop to th'infernal jail,/ Each fettered ghost slips to his several grave . . .'

158. *Ethinthus*] Only a name, though also used in *Four Zoas* viii 352, and *Jerusalem* pl.12.26. B. uses the name only when he needs many of them.

Pl.14. *Design*: Caterpillars, various insects, and serpents creep on and around plants with entwining tendrils, in the line-end spaces on the right, between 175–6, and at the foot.

162. *Ethinthus . . . how thou shinest in the sky!*] Cp. Macpherson's *Ossian*, *Cath-Loda* ii: 'U-thorno, that rises in waters! on whose side are the meteors of the night!'.

- My daughter, how do I rejoice! For thy children flock
around
Like the gay fishes on the wave, when the cold moon
drinks the dew.
- 165 Ethinthus, thou art sweet as comforts to my fainting soul,
For now thy waters warble round the feet of
Enitharmon.
- ‘Manathu-Vorcyon, I behold thee flaming in my halls.
Light of thy mother’s soul, I see thy lovely eagles round;
Thy golden wings are my delight and thy flames of soft
delusion.
- 170 ‘Where is my luring bird of Eden, Leutha, silent love?
Leutha, the many-coloured bow delights upon thy
wings—
Soft soul of flowers, Leutha!
Sweet smiling pestilence, I see thy blushing light;
Thy daughters many-changing
- 175 Revolve like sweet perfumes ascending, O Leutha,
silken queen.
- ‘Where is the youthful Antamon, prince of the pearly dew?
O Antamon, why wilt thou leave thy mother Enitharmon?
Alone I see thee, crystal form,
Floating upon the bosomed air
- 180 With lineaments of gratified desire.
- My Antamon, the seven churches of Leutha seek thy love.
‘I hear the soft Oothoon in Enitharmon’s tents.
Why wilt thou give up woman’s secrecy, my melancholy
child?
Between two moments bliss is ripe.

167. *Manathu-Vorcyon*] See 158*n*; this name also occurs in *Four Zoas* viii 352.

169. *soft delusion*] Enitharmon’s favourite feminine weapon with which she achieves her ‘woman’s triumph’ (131) of binding and controlling mankind.

170. *Leutha*] Cp. *Visions* 4*n*. Here she is clearly characterized as beautiful and treacherous.

176. *Antamon*] Another shadowy figure; see also *Song of Los (Africa)* 28 (q.v. i.28*n*) *Four Zoas* viii 346, *Milton* 28.13–18 and *Jerusalem* 83.28. His character in *Milton* is quite different from that in *Europe*.

180. *With lineaments . . . desire*] A phrase B. liked, whatever it might mean; cp. NB (1793) nos. xxxvii and li, pp. 169, 174 above.

181. *the seven churches*] Seven churches are addressed in *Revelation* i–iii: B. probably intended no fully-developed idea in this expression.

182–6. An allusion to *Visions*.

184. *moments*] See *Milton* 28.59*n*.

- 185 O Theotormon, robbed of joy, I see thy salt tears flow
Down the steps of my crystal house.

'Sotha and Thiralatha, secret dwellers of dreamful caves,
Arise and please the horrent fiend with your melodious
songs.
Still all your thunders golden-hoofed and bind your
horses black.
- 190 Orc, smile upon my children.
Smile, son of my afflictions;
Arise, O Orc, and give our mountains joy of thy red
light.'
- She ceased, for all were forth at sport beneath the
solemn moon,
Waking the stars of Urizen with their immortal songs—
- 195 That nature felt through all her pores the enormous
revelry,
Till morning oped the eastern gate;
Then every one fled to his station, and Enitharmon wept.
- But terrible Orc, when he beheld the morning in the
east,
- Pl.15 Shot from the heights of Enitharmon,
200 And in the vineyards of red France appeared the light of
his fury.
The sun glowed fiery red!
The furious terrors flew around
On golden chariots raging, with red wheels dropping
with blood;
The lions lash their wrathful tails;
- 205 The tigers couch upon the prey and suck the ruddy tide;
And Enitharmon groans and cries in anguish and dismay.

187. *Sotha and Thiralatha*] Mentioned in the cancelled plates to *America*, b. 21 and d. 1: but still shadowy sons of Los. See also p. 248, 30.

Sotha] May be derived from *Sothis*, a name for Sirius, the dog star.

190. *Orc, smile . . .*] Enitharmon asks the bound Orc to smile, although she herself is the cause of his 'afflictions'.

193. *for all . . . sport*] Mended on the pl. from 'and all went forth to sport'.

196. *gate*] 1st rdg. . . gate, and the angel trumpet blew. This (and 193n, 199n) is the text of the early version. In an intermediate stage, this line is altered by this deletion, but 193 is unchanged.

199. *heights of Enitharmon*] 1st rdg. heights of Enitharmon, before the Trumpet blew. See 196n.

200. *red France*] Orc's appearance in Europe was foretold in *America* 218.

Then Los arose; his head he reared in snaky thunders
 clad,
 And with a cry that shook all nature to the utmost pole
 Called all his sons to the strife of blood.

Finis—[*Design*]

16 The Song of Los

AFRICA : ASIA

Date. The two parts of the poem appear distinct, but the printing was done all at once, in 1795, in a new development of B.'s technique, involving complex colour-printing, which creates a rich and powerful effect. Nevertheless, although *Urizen* is dated 1794, the nature of this text and its relationship to the *Prophecies* places it between *Europe* and *Urizen*.

The Poem. *Africa*, the first part of *The Song of Los*, is a 'prequel' to the central *Prophecies*, *America* and *Europe*; its last line is the first of *America*, and the poem a summary of the events from the beginning of time which, in the spiritual world, led up to the explosion of Orc in *America*. *Asia* concludes the series with a song of triumph as the ancient monarchies are finally overthrown, as foreshadowed in *A Song of Liberty* and *America*, and the new age longed for by Oothoon and Orc begins. However, the designs that surround the text are far from triumphant. On the frontispiece, a figure bows beneath a diseased sun, at an altar covered by the tables of the Law. Two gruesome plates contain decapitated bodies, reflecting the horrors of the Terror in France; At the head of *Africa* is a venomous serpent; at its end, two figures flee from unseen terrors. *Asia* is headed by a couple trapped in a cave of tree-roots. Even though Los, the subject of the final plate, suggests, visually, hope of progress, he seems tired by his labours. *The Song of Los* may sing of the triumph of fiery freedom, but it does not *look* like that.

Pls. I–2

[*Frontispiece and Titlepage*]

Europe: Design. A young man carrying and leading two children upstairs through flames.

¶ 16. Pl. 1. *Frontispiece.* A priest bows at an altar before a diseased sun.

Pl. 2. *Titlepage.* Beneath the title, a reclining beheaded figure, with hand resting on a skull.

Pl.3

I AFRICA

*I will sing you a song of Los, the eternal prophet;
 He sung it to four harps at the tables of Eternity
 In heart-formed Africa.
 Urizen faded; Ariston shuddered.
 5 And thus the song began:*

Adam stood in the garden of Eden
 And Noah on the mountains of Ararat;
 They saw Urizen give his laws to the nations
 By the hands of the children of Los.

10 Adam shuddered; Noah faded. Black grew the sunny
 African,
 When Rintrah gave abstract philosophy to Brahma in the
 east.

*(Night spoke to the cloud:
 'Lo, these human-formed spirits in smiling hypocrisy war
 Against one another; so let them war on, slaves to the
 eternal elements'.)*

15 Noah shrunk beneath the waters;

i 1. *Los, the eternal prophet*] He is scarcely mentioned again, and the poem is only hung on his name. Los becomes a 'prophet' in *Urizen*, after first appearing as Enitharmon's consort in *Europe*.

i 2. *tables*] i.e. Los is a minstrel or bard, singing to a company at dinner.

four harps] The four continents of B.'s *prophecies* – *America*, *Europe* and the two contained in this *Song*.

i 3. *heart-formed A* traditional description of the shape of Africa.

i 4. *Ariston*] A very shadowy figure; *America* 112 ascribes beauty to him (see *n* and *Four Zoas* appendix, p. 481).

i 6–9. The Law has ruled man since the Creation; in *Urizen* adherence to Law among the immortals causes mortal creation. The *children of Los* are the mythical names mentioned in the succeeding lines – Rintrah, Palamabron, etc. – who are named as 'law-givers'; misapplying Los's poetic gift – they have corrupted his prophecy into Urizenic Law.

i 10. *shuddered . . . faded*] The resemblance to 4 is probably a coincidence of verbal memory.

i 11. *abstract philosophy to Brahma*] B. may seem unfair to Brahma; when he appears (in the Vedic myth) as a god, he has no philosophical significance. He was a somewhat Urizenic figure in that he was held to be the eldest of living things, from half of whose divided body the world eventually came. In later thought, Brahma is indeed abstract, the all-pervading deity; but far from being rationally philosophical, the concept is now mystical. But Sir William Jones (1746–94), in *Asiatick Researches* (1794), attributed 'a technical system of logic' to Brahma (*Raine* i 351, 425).

i 15–17. B. inverts the Bible's traditions.

- Abram fled in fires from Chaldea;
 Moses beheld upon Mount Sinai forms of dark delusion.
 To Trismegistus Palamabron gave an abstract law,
 To Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato.
- 20 Times rolled on o'er all the sons of Har; time after time
 Orc on Mount Atlas howled, chained down with the
 Chain of Jealousy.
 Then Oothoon hovered over Judah and Jerusalem,
 And Jesus heard her voice (a man of sorrows); he received
 A Gospel from wretched Theotormon.
- 25 The human race began to wither, for the healthy built
 Secluded places, fearing the joys of love,
 And the diseased only propagated.
 So Antamon called up Leutha from her valleys of delight,
 And to Mahomet a loose Bible gave.
- 30 But in the north to Odin Sotha gave a Code of War,
 Because of Diralada, thinking to reclaim his joy.

i 18. *Trismegistus*] The mythical source of alchemical wisdom; mentioned by Plato, and supposed to be either a form of the Egyptian god Thoth or else a divine man; 'thrice great' as priest, philosopher and king. See *Jerusalem* pl.91.34*n*, for his 'Table' that was as unduly revered as a holy book.

i 19. *Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato*] B. links the mystical, the down-to-earth enquirer, and his more legalistic disciple together and implies that all thinkers of the classical world were Aristotelian in outlook and method. Of the three, only Plato can be accused of wishing to find such 'an abstract Law'.

i 20. *sons of Har*] Apparently, 'mortal men'. This seems to be an attempt to draw B.'s Tiriel myth into the larger myth of the Lambeth books; but apart from the reference in 36, little is made of it.

i 21. *Orc on Mount Atlas*] As in the design on pl.1 of *America*, and the text of the *Preludium* there, Orc is a Promethean figure, chained on the mountains (though Prometheus was chained on the Caucasus). For the Chain of Jealousy, see *Urizen* 378-95.

i 22-4. *Oothoon . . . Theotormon*] A reference to *Visions*. Jesus, like Theotormon, is resigned to sorrow and will not accept Oothoon's gospel of release from law. (B.'s view of Jesus was to change in later works.)

i 28. *Antamon and Leutha*] Also linked, and also shadowy, in *Europe* 176-7: for Leutha, see *Visions* 4.

i 29. *a loose Bible*] The Koran; the name has been supposed to mean 'a collection of loose sheets'.

i 30. *Odin . . . Sotha*] *Odin*, the Germanic high god, lord of the dead, whose servants assembled in Valhalla. He was not strictly a god of war, but was commonly supposed to be so. B. could read Norse mythology in P. H. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (1770). *Sotha* 'held the northern helm' in *America* pl.b.21 (p. 213).

i 31. *Diralada*] Perhaps another form of *Thiralatha*, also linked with Sotha in *Europe* 187 (cp. also *America* pl.d).

- Pl.4 These were the churches, hospitals, castles, palaces,
Like nets and gins and traps to catch the joys of Eternity,
And all the rest a desert;
35 Till like a dream Eternity was obliterated and erased.
Since that dread day when Har and Heva fled,
Because their brethren and sisters lived in war and lust;
And as they fled they shrunk
Into two narrow doleful forms,
40 Creeping in reptile flesh upon
The bosom of the ground,
And all the vast of Nature shrunk
Before their shrunken eyes.
Thus the terrible race of Los and Enitharmon gave
45 Laws & religions to the sons of Har, binding them more
And more to earth; closing and restraining,
Till a philosophy of Five Senses was complete.
Urizen wept and gave it into the hands of Newton and
Locke.
Clouds roll heavy upon the Alps round Rousseau and
Voltaire,
50 And on the mountains of Lebanon round the deceased Gods
Of Asia, and on the deserts of Africa round the fallen angels.
The Guardian Prince of Albion burns in his nightly tent.

[Design]

i 32. *These*] i.e. 'these laws' built the churches, etc.

hospitals] Places of 'charity', for the poor or the destitute or aged; their inmates were often despised and exploited, notably at Bedlam Hospital for the insane.

i 36-43. *Har and Heva*] See 20*n*. In *Tiriel* no explanation is given of the senility of Har and Heva; here B. invents one. Their flight resembles the flight of Lot from Sodom (*Genesis* xix); but B. changes the story to a flight not from wickedness, but from energetic life which they can only see as 'war and lust'. Refusing life they degenerate to mortal form.

i 48. *Newton and Locke*] To B. Newton was the leading rationalist cosmographer, Locke the rationalist philosopher, and both therefore anathema. Urizen's weeping, as so often in B., is hypocritical, as he is the father of the evil he pretends to lament.

i 49. *Rousseau and Voltaire*] Both lived for a long time in or near Geneva, of which Rousseau was a native. Here they seem to be associated with Law and Reason, as they are in B.'s later writings; in *French Revolution* 276 they are pro-revolutionary spirits.

i 52. The line repeats *America* 1. B. has brought his narrative from the Creation down to the first *Prophecy*; the story is continued in the two *Prophecies* and *Asia*. *Design*: At the foot of the page, two escaping figures (Har and Heva?) clinging together, run from something off left.

Pl.5 [Full-page illustration]

Pl.6 II ASIA

- The kings of Asia heard
 The howl rise up from Europe,
 And each ran out from his web,
 From his ancient woven den;
 5 For the darkness of Asia was startled
 At the thick-flaming, thought-creating fires of Orc.
 And the kings of Asia stood
 And cried in bitterness of soul:
 ‘Shall not the king call for famine from the heath,
 10 Nor the priest for pestilence from the fen?
 To restrain, to dismay, to thin
 The inhabitants of mountain and plain—
 In the day of full-feeding prosperity
 And the night of delicious songs.
 15 ‘Shall not the counsellor throw his curb
 Of poverty on the laborious
 To fix the price of labour,
 To invent allegoric riches?
 ‘And the privy admonishers of men
 20 Call for fires in the city,
 For heaps of smoking ruins,
 In the night of prosperity and wantonness?

Pl.5. *Full-page illustration*. A reclining king and queen on flowers (known as ‘King and Queen of the Fairies’).

Pl.6. ii. *Asia*.

ii 1. *The kings of Asia*] The tyrannical monarchies traditional in Asia.

ii 2. *The howl*] The howl of Albion’s Angel, attacked by the flames of Orc (*Europe* 118). Orc’s influence is spreading over Asia, having begun in the west in America.

ii 3–4. *web . . . den*] In B., symbols of obscurantism and oppression.

ii 13–14. *prosperity . . . delicious songs*] Decadent luxury, to those who enjoy it.

ii 18. *allegoric riches*] Riches declared to exist by the rulers, but not seen by those who labour.

ii 19. *And the privy admonishers . . .*] The *Shall not?* of 9 and 15 is assumed here.

ii 20. *fires in the city*] B. had seen the Gordon riots of 1780, when the mob ran loose in London, and caused more destruction than at any other event between the Great Fire of 1666 and the Blitz of 1940–41. B. will also have remembered the burning of Joseph Priestley’s house in Birmingham, supposedly at the instigation of ‘privy admonishers’, in July 1791.

ii 20–2. *fires . . . wantonness*] So (in another context) in *Milton* pl.5.40–1 (a late addition to Milton, over ten years later than *Song of Los*).

- 'To turn man from his path,
 To restrain the child from the womb,
 Pl.7 To cut off the bread from the city,
 26 That the remnant may learn to obey;

 'That the pride of the heart may fail;
 That the lust of the eyes may be quenched;
 That the delicate ear in its infancy
 30 May be dulled, and the nostrils closed up—
 To teach mortal worms the path
 That leads from the gates of the grave.'

 Urizen heard them cry,
 And his shuddering waving wings
 35 Went enormous above the red flames,
 Drawing clouds of despair through the heavens
 Of Europe as he went;
 And his books of brass, iron and gold
 Melted over the land as he flew,
 40 Heavy-waving, howling, weeping.

 And he stood over Judæa,
 And stayed in his ancient place,
 And stretched his clouds over Jerusalem.

 For Adam, a mouldering skeleton,
 45 Lay bleached on the Garden of Eden;
 And Noah as white as snow
 On the mountains of Ararat.

 Then the thunders of Urizen bellowed aloud
 From his woven darkness above.

 50 Orc, raging in European darkness,
 Arose like a pillar of fire above the Alps,

ii 29–30. *That the delicate ear . . . May be dulled*] 'So that those, living a life of brutal hardship, may be prevented from seeing visions of immortality.'

ii 33–40. *Urizen heard*] As he heard Albion's Angel's cry in *America* 205, and in *Europe* 103ff. Always on the retreat, he now tries to entrench himself in the East.

ii 41–9. *he stood over Judæa*] B. ties the end of the sequence *Africa–America–Europe–Asia* to its beginning (cp. 44–7 and *Africa* 6–10). The religion of Mosaic Law was always a stronghold of Urizenic power, and he returns to it, when his political power is overthrown.

ii 49. *woven darkness*] The darkness of Urizen's web of religion (cp. *Urizen* 457ff). The image is of an inescapable, self-guided net.

ii 51–2. *pillar of fire . . . serpent*] From *Exodus* xiii 21–2, 'And the Lord went before them . . . by night in a pillar of fire': and *Numbers* xxi 6–8, 'And the Lord sent

Like a serpent of fiery flame.
 The sullen earth
 Shrunk.

- 55 Forth from the dead dust rattling, bones to bones
 Join; shaking, convulsed, the shivering clay breathes,
 And all flesh naked stands: fathers and friends;
 Mothers and infants; kings and warriors:
 The grave shrieks with delight and shakes
 60 Her hollow womb, and clasps the solid stem;
 Her bosom swells with wild desire,
 And milk and blood and glandous wine
 In rivers rush and shout and dance
 On mountain, dale and plain.

The Song of Los is Ended.

Urizen Wept.

Pl.8

[*Full-page design*]

17 The First Book of Urizen

Date. 1794, the titlepage date, is the actual date of engraving. In one copy the heading ‘Chap: ii’ is deleted and ‘iii’ becomes ‘ii’, yet the two headings ‘Chap: iv’ remain. The text printed here is a version without deletions. Ten plates are entirely pictorial, in various

fiery serpents among the people’: and Moses, to save their lives, was directed by the Lord to make ‘a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live’. Thus Orc, in his typical characteristics of fire and serpent-form, recalls the deliverance of God; but Orc is not a law-giver, and he leads to freedom, not law.

ii 55. *bones to bones*] An allusion to the resurrection of the dry bones in the vision of *Ezekiel* xxxvii: cp. *America* 39–40*n*, and contrast the fall of the angels in *Europe* 148–50.

ii 59. *The grave shrieks with delight*] The grave becomes a womb, and takes delight in giving up the dead in a new birth, having rediscovered the joys of fertility (‘clasps the solid stem’).

ii 62. *glandous*] A word unknown to the *OED*. B. knew of the triple anatomical categories of blood, milk and tear vessels (Kreiter, *SiR* 4:110). Or perhaps the ‘glandous wine’ is lymph (*Urizen* 291) or, more likely, seed (*Milton* 19.55–60).

ii *Urizen wept*] See *Africa* 48 and *Song of Liberty* 6, ‘And weep’; B. imitates the shortest sentence in the Bible, *John* xi 35: ‘Jesus wept’.

Pl.8. *Full-page design*: Los leans on his hammer and looks down, satisfied, at the sun.

sequences; they are noted in what is now the usual order. This is not altogether satisfactory, as it was based on the British Museum copy, which lacks two plates, so that these have to be included arbitrarily. Yet since B. himself never fixed any order, no editor should pretend to be final in the matter.

The Poem. For his 'Bible of Hell', promised in *Marriage* iv 282, B. had by 1793 created two *Prophecies*. In *The Book of Urizen* he parodies *Genesis* and *Paradise Lost*, in Bible-like chapters and verses, and, in allusions too frequent to list, the origins of Law, with a new Creation and Fall, the growth of the primeval family, with brief sketches of their lives and deaths until they arrive in, and leave, Egypt. But the sense of destiny in *Genesis*, and the optimism of the two *Prophecies* are both gone. *America's* spectacle of tyranny defeated is replaced by a much darker vision of a world imbued with the tyranny of Law from its very creation. Visually, the book is dominated by the crushing, falling motifs of its many images of old age, torture, and the Book of Law.

Urizen is a turning point in B.'s work, as *Marriage*, whose prophecies remain unfulfilled, is not. Adam has not returned to Paradise (*Marriage* pl.3), the song of Liberty has not been sung. In France, the revolution has been debauched by blood, and has fallen into the hands of committees; at home, Government is ever more repressive. The balance of Orc and Urizen has changed. Most of all, B.'s mood too has changed. Urizen, still shown as the tyrannical author of the earth's darkness, has become a tragic tyrant, architect of his own downfall. In *Vala*, his decline is fully developed, on the way to insignificance in *Jerusalem*, while Los fights on.

B., as always, expresses his feelings visually. Driven to search for an understanding of the forces and very nature of Tyranny and Law, he creates images which have lifelong power for him: the Chain of Jealousy, the Tree of Mystery, the Web or Net or Veil of false Religion. In the poems after *Urizen* other themes, originating in *Urizen*, gradually come to dominate, and the unity and division of the soul becomes central. But in *Urizen* Los's task seems impossible, and the despotism endless.

For his Creation, B. draws particularly on the German mystic Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), a writer more widely known then than now. The earthly soul seen as spirit in a material prison was a Neo-Platonic commonplace, but B. takes certain ideas from Boehme in particular: (a) creation as part of the Fall; (b) caused by introspection in an eternal being; (c) a Fall in two stages, the second Adam's division into male and female (314*n*). B., as always, reshaped these concepts: (a) his Eternity is peopled by a free society of Immortals with infinite faculties; (b) the creation *is* Urizen himself, expelled from

Eternity for his law-giving (Jehovah's tyranny blended with the fate of Lucifer); (c) B. has *two* major powers, Urizen and Los; (d) above all, B.'s religious and mystical sources lack his constant social and moral fury. Boehme says much of introspection, but nothing of tyranny and social or personal unhappiness. *Genesis* presents Creation as God's benevolent and generous act; later evils are humanity's own fault. The Creation in *Urizen* cannot be the act of a benevolent being; sin lies, not in disobedience, but in the despotic command itself. At the beginning of his myth, B. traces this despotism to Urizen's primeval selfishness and self-withdrawal (6-7, 50-7, 75-84), which is expanded to show that from this self-centred separation of souls spring all other evils, including Los's jealousy.

Urizen, afraid of the freedom of Eternity, seeks to control the immortals by despotic laws. As they draw back from him in anger (88-104), an ocean divides them, leaving him on an island isolated from Eternity, where he heaps up around himself a dark, arid world (112-130). There, in seven ages, his form hardens into the fixed form of man (165-254). The immortals set Los to watch him in his chaotic state, and to save what he can, but, wearily, Los forgets the infinite life (268-69), and he too becomes self-centred. A series of divisive changes follows (ch. v), as his being fragments into male (Los) and female (Enitharmon); the child Orc is born, but jealousy binds him in its Chain (chs vi-vii), and the Fall is complete. The remaining events occur in the separated world of Urizen who, in ch. vii, wakes and, exploring the dark world he has made, his 'dens', sees the appearance of the four elements (his 'Sons'), various creatures, and then humans, all constricted under his Net of Religion. Most men cower in their cities, others go to Egypt and then, following the god-like fire-element, Fuzon, leave it, in a tired Exodus which closes the poem.

Pl.1

[*Titlepage*]

Pl.2

PRELUDIUM TO THE [FIRST]
BOOK OF URIZEN

*Of the primeval Priest's assumed power,
When Eternals spurned back his religion,*

¶ 17. *Titlepage*] Urizen as Jehovah, reading a book in front of the Tables of Law. Pls.1, 2: 'First' in the title deleted in 'copy A' and one other.

Pl.2. *Design*. A woman, gowned to ankles and wrists, her hair in a bun (marks of propriety and orderliness) leads a naked infant as they float through the air.

*And gave him a place in the north,
Obscure, shadowy, void, solitary.
Eternals, I hear your call gladly.
Dictate swift-winged words, and fear not
To unfold your dark visions of torment.*

Pl.3

CHAPTER I

1. Lo, a shadow of horror is risen
In Eternity. Unknown, unprolific,
Self-closed, all-repelling. What demon
Hath formed this abominable void,
5 This soul-shuddering vacuum? Some said,
'It is Urizen'. But unknown, abstracted,
Brooding secret, the dark power hid.
2. Times on times he divided and measured
Space by space in his ninefold darkness,
10 Unseen, unknown. Changes appeared
In his desolate mountains, rifted furious
By the black winds of perturbation.
3. For he strove in battles dire,
In unseen conflictions with shapes,
15 Bred from his forsaken wilderness,
Of beast, bird, fish, serpent and element,
Combustion, blast, vapour and cloud.
4. Dark revolving in silent activity,
Unseen in tormenting passions,
20 An activity unknown and horrible,
A self-contemplating shadow,
In enormous labours occupied.

Pl.3. *Design.* Above the text, an Immortal exulting in the flames of life.

Chapter i. Urizen's self-separation.

1-7. *Unknown, unprolific, Self-closed, all-repelling, abstracted, Brooding, secret, dark, vacuum, void,* indicate the kind of evil in Urizen, especially in contrast with infinite life (36-9). Boehme saw the 'Eternal Will' bringing an 'Eternal Nature' – a creation before Creation – into being through introspection. But whereas in Boehme the Eternal Will is the sole existent Being, expanding in love, Urizen's act is separation, a crime against love.

8. *divided and measured*] The act of a restrictive mind, a contradiction of infinity.
9. *ninefold*] A Neo-Platonic use (see *Four Zoas* i 169n) adopted by B., indicating incompleteness (ten being a 'complete' number).

5. But Eternals beheld his vast forests.
 Age on ages he lay, closed, unknown,
 25 Brooding, shut in the deep; all avoid
 The petrific abominable chaos.
6. His cold horrors silent, dark Urizen
 Prepared; his ten thousands of thunders
 Ranged in gloomed array stretch out across
 30 The dread world, and the rolling of wheels
 As of swelling seas sound in his clouds,
 In his hills of stored snows, in his mountains
 Of hail and ice; voices of terror
 Are heard, like thunders of autumn,
 35 When the cloud blazes over the harvests.

CHAPTER II

1. Earth was not, nor globes of attraction.
 The will of the Immortal expanded
 Or contracted his all-flexible senses.
 Death was not, but eternal life sprung.
- 40 2. The sound of a trumpet! The heavens
 Awoke and vast clouds of blood rolled
 Round the dim rocks of Urizen, so named
 That solitary one in immensity.
- Pl.4 3. Shrill the trumpet, and myriads of Eternity
 Muster around the bleak deserts,
 46 Now filled with clouds, darkness and waters
 That rolled perplexed, labouring, and uttered

23. *forests*] Places of oppressive darkness, gloom, and inhuman 'vegetative' life.

28. *Prepared*] Cp. Satan's preparations in *Paradise Lost* vi 507-23, of primordial cannon which (522-3): 'Secret they finished, and in order set / With silent circumspection, unespied' - and contemporary mobilizations.

Chapter ii. The Law-giving.

36. *globes of attraction*] The phrase combines two related notions: (*a*) B.'s dislike of enclosure and restriction, and (*b*) Newton's system, which asserted that such order, control and gravity governed the universe.

40. *trumpet*] Cp. *Exodus* xix 16: on Sinai, on the day when the law was given to Moses, 'there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud'; and the Israelites, like the 'myriads of Eternity' (44) were gathered round.

44. Deleted in 'copy A'.

Pl.4. Only found in three of the seven copies. *Design.* A nude man crouches under a heavy, dark rainfall.

- Words articulate, bursting in thunders
That rolled on the tops of his mountains:
- 50 4. 'From the depths of dark solitude; from
The eternal abode in my holiness,
Hidden, set apart in my stern counsels
Reserved for the days of futurity,
I have sought for a joy without pain,
55 For a solid without fluctuation.
Why will you die, O Eternals?
Why live in unquenchable burnings?
5. 'First, I fought with the fire, consumed
Inwards, into a deep world within—
60 A void immense, wild, dark and deep,
Where nothing was, Nature's wide womb.
And self-balanced stretched o'er the void
I alone, even I, the winds merciless
Bound. But condensing, in torrents
65 They fall and fall; strong I repelled
The vast waves and arose on the waters,
A wide world of solid obstruction.
6. 'Here alone I, in books formed of metals,
Have written the secrets of wisdom,
70 The secrets of dark contemplation
By fightings and conflicts dire
With terrible monsters Sin-bred,
Which the bosoms of all inhabit—
Seven deadly Sins of the soul.
- 75 7. 'Lo, I unfold my darkness and on
This rock place with strong hand the book
Of eternal brass, written in my solitude.

52. *set apart*] In *Exodus* xix 9 God says to Moses, 'I come unto thee in a thick cloud': and the people are kept away from God on threat of death, except for Moses, who is set apart to speak to God. Urizen takes the part both of God the Law-giver and Moses the Law-speaker.

55. *a solid without fluctuation* (also *Book of Los* 58), like Newton's atoms of infinite hardness.

57. *unquenchable burnings*] As in *Marriage* ii 55–57, the fiery excitement of a life of continual impulse and desire gratified and renewed looks like Hell to Urizen and those like him.

58. *I fought with the fire*] Instead of living with and in it – the fire of life.

65–6. Illustrated in pl.12.

68. *books formed of metals*] The materials are rigid and unyielding. Urizen's books also appear in *Europe* 104, *Ahania* 111–22, and *Four Zoas* vi and vii.

8. 'Laws of peace, of love, of unity,
Of pity, compassion, forgiveness.
80 Let each choose one habitation,
His ancient infinite mansion,
One command, one joy, one desire,
One curse, one weight, one measure,
One King, one God, one Law.'

CHAPTER III

- 85 1. The voice ended; they saw his pale visage
Emerge from the darkness, his hand
On the Rock of Eternity unclasping
The book of brass. Rage seized the strong,
90 2. Rage, fury, intense indignation—
In cataracts of fire, blood and gall,
In whirlwinds of sulphurous smoke
And enormous forms of energy;
All the seven deadly sins of the soul
Pl.5 In living creations appeared
95 In the flames of eternal fury.
3. Sundering, darkening, thundering,
Rent away with a terrible crash,
Eternity rolled wide apart,
Wide asunder rolling
100 Mountainous, all around
Departing, departing, departing—
Leaving ruinous fragments of life,

82-4. *One command* . . .] Cp. *Marriage* pl.24: 'One Law for the Lion and Ox is Oppression'.

Chapter iii. Urizen casts himself out of Eternity.

85-8 are illustrated at the top of pl.5.

93. *seven deadly sins*] See 74; these powers, which Urizen fears, are indeed terrible, 'enormous', and now when roused cause great ruin. It does not follow that, in their place in the infinite joy of life, they are necessarily 'sins' at all. Urizen has created Sin.

93-5. Deleted in 'copy A'.

Pl.5. *Design.* See 85*n*, and Plate 7.

96. *Sundering*] This is the great catastrophe; in Infinite life there is no division, only variety in unity. Hereafter, complete unity is impossible. All the Eternals can do is to limit the disaster. Separation is becoming the great tragedy in B.'s sight.

- Hanging, frowning cliffs, and all between
An ocean of voidness unfathomable.
- 105 4. The roaring fires ran o'er the heavens
In whirlwinds and cataracts of blood,
And o'er the dark deserts of Urizen;
Fires pour through the void on all sides
On Urizen's self-begotten armies.
- 110 5. But no light from the fires: all was darkness
In the flames of eternal fury.
6. In fierce anguish and quenchless flames,
To the deserts and rocks he ran raging
To hide, but he could not; combining
115 He dug mountains and hills in vast strength;
He piled them in incessant labour,
In howlings and pangs and fierce madness—
Long periods in burning fires labouring,
Till hoary, and age-broke, and aged,
120 In despair and the shadows of death.
7. And a roof, vast, petrific, around
On all sides he framed, like a womb;
Where thousands of rivers in veins
Of blood pour down the mountains to cool
125 The eternal fires beating without
From Eternals; and like a black globe
Viewed by sons of Eternity, standing
On the shore of the infinite ocean,

109. *On Urizen's self-begotten armies*] This line erased in 'copy A'; in all copies *he* in 113–16 and 122 has been *they* ('the armies'). These changes limit the evil to one figure, Urizen alone: but most of pl.6 is covered by a design of *three* figures, encircled by snakes and falling into flames: with the word 'combining' (114) the plural was too deeply rooted for B. to eradicate it thus, even by eliminating two figures from the design.

113–14. *raging / To hide*] Cp. *Revelation* vi 15–16: 'And the kings of the earth, and the great men . . . hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains; and said . . . Fall on us and hide us . . .'

114. *combining*] Urizen has 'begotten' armies – i.e. many spirits have been formed out of his single personality. Now, to produce the 'vast strength' required, they recombine in him.

119. *age-broke, and aged*] Age does not exist in eternity.

122. *like a womb*] An image of constriction; the child must escape from the womb in order to live.

128. *the infinite ocean*] The separating 'ocean of voidness' (104).

- 130 Like a human heart struggling and beating,
 The vast world of Urizen appeared.
8. And Los round the dark globe of Urizen
 Kept watch for Eternals, to confine
 The obscure separation alone;
 For Eternity stood wide apart,
 Pl.6 As the stars are apart from the earth.
- 136 9. Los wept, howling around the dark demon,
 And cursing his lot; for in anguish
 Urizen was rent from his side,
 And a fathomless void for his feet
 140 And intense fires for his dwelling.
10. But Urizen laid in a stony sleep
 Unorganized, rent from Eternity.
11. The Eternals said: 'What is this? Death?
 Urizen is a clod of clay.'
- Pl.7 12. Los howled in a dismal stupor,
 146 Groaning, gnashing, groaning,
 Till the wrenching apart was healed.
13. But the wrenching of Urizen healed not.
 Cold, featureless, flesh or clay,
 150 Rifted with direful changes,
 He lay in a dreamless night,
14. Till Los roused his fires, affrighted
 At the formless unmeasurable death.

131. *Los*, in *Urizen*, is the blacksmith, forging restraints for the fallen spirit, and the 'Eternal prophet', able to identify the disease.

Pl.6. *Design*. See 109*n*.

138. *rent from his side*] B. conceived of the eternal existence as permitting the mingling of the 'spiritual bodies' of the Eternals, and Urizen was literally a part of Los's life.

142 summarizes Urizen's state. B., as an artist, stresses the need for meaningful, 'organized' form: the 'unorganized' being has no ability to act, create or associate. Los, the creative watchman, limits the disaster by creating an organic form for Urizen – a fallen, restricted form, but better than non-existence.

Pl.7. 145. *Los howled*] The design that fills most of this plate shows Los, against a background of flames, wrapping his arms round his head in agony.

147–8. Los expects a temporary separation, until Urizen recovers his sanity: but Urizen cannot cure himself without Los's creative aid.

Pl.8 CHAPTER IV [a]

- 155 1. Los, smitten with astonishment,
Frightened at the hurtling bones
2. And at the surging, sulphureous
Perturbed Immortal, mad-raging
3. In whirlwinds and pitch and nitre
Round the furious limbs of Los.
- 160 4. And Los formed nets and gins
And threw the nets round about.
5. He watched in shuddering fear
The dark changes and bound every change
With rivets of iron and brass.
- 165 6. And these were the changes of Urizen.

Pl.9 [Full-page illustration]

Pl.10 CHAPTER IV [b]

1. Ages on ages rolled over him.
In stony sleep ages rolled over him,
Like a dark waste stretching, changeable,
By earthquakes riven, belching sullen fires.
- 170 On ages rolled ages in ghastly
Sick torment, around him in whirlwinds
Of darkness. The eternal prophet howled,
Beating still on his rivets of iron,
Pouring solder of iron, dividing
- 175 The horrible night into watches.

Chapter iv [a–b]. The creation of Urizen's organic form. (B. heads and numbers two chs iv: the [a] and [b] are not his. See headnote.)

Pl.8. *Design*. A crouched skeleton (beneath the text).

155. *Frightened*] i.e. 'took fright'.

163. *bound every change*] Urizen changes, Proteus-like, before Los. This meaningless transformation would never end, but Los takes every new form as it appears and gives it permanence. This is B.'s rewriting of the creation of the animal world in *Genesis* i 20–5.

Pl.9. *Full-page illustration*. Urizen, eyes shut, tries to climb through crushing rocks.

Pl.10. *Design*. A figure struggles among crushing rocks.

174. *solder*] Here and elsewhere B. spells it *sodor*.

175. *watches*] As, in *Genesis* i, time was divided into days.

2. And Urizen (so his eternal name)
 His prolific delight obscured more and more
 In dark secrecy, hiding in surging
 Sulphureous fluid his fantasies.
 180 The Eternal Prophet heaved the dark bellows,
 And turned restless the tongs, and the hammer
 Incessant beat, forging chains new and new,
 Numbering with links hours, days and years.
3. The eternal mind, bounded, began to roll
 185 Eddies of wrath ceaseless round and round,
 And the sulphureous foam surging thick
 Settled, a lake, bright and shining clear,
 White as the snow on the mountains cold.
4. Forgetfulness, dumbness, necessity,
 190 In chains of the mind locked up,
 Like fetters of ice shrinking together,
 Disorganized, rent from Eternity.
 Los beat on his fetters of iron,
 And heated his furnaces and poured
 195 Iron solder and solder of brass.
5. Restless turned the Immortal, enchained,
 Heaving dolorous, anguished, unbearable,
 Till a roof, shaggy wild, enclosed
 In an orb his fountain of thought.
- 200 6. In a horrible dreamful slumber,
 Like the linked infernal chain,
 A vast spine writhed in torment
 Upon the winds, shooting pained
 Ribs, like a bending cavern,
 205 And bones of solidness froze
 Over all his nerves of joy.

177. *prolific*] 'creative': cp. 2.

180. *the Eternal Prophet*] Cp. 131*n*.

184–262. These lines, metrically adapted, recur in *Four Zoas* iv 208–45, 279–82 (pp. 356–7, 359 below).

184. *The eternal mind*] The mind of Urizen.

189–92. Urizen has forgotten Eternity; he is divided from his kind and can no longer speak to them; he is bound by the chains of cause and effect.

198. *a roof, shaggy wild*] The head with its hair: cp. *Europe* 99.

200. *slumber*] Kreiter (*SiR* iv: 110–18) gives John Hunter's work (see p. 44*n*) as a source for the embryonic growth of Urizen's mortal frame; and for the globe of blood, William Harvey.

- And a first Age passed over,
And a state of dismal woe.
- Pl.II 7. From the caverns of his jointed spine,
210 Down sunk with fright a red
Round globe hot-burning, deep,
Deep down into the abyss—
Panting, conglobing, trembling,
Shooting out ten thousand branches
215 Around his solid bones.
And a second Age passed over,
And a state of dismal woe.
8. In harrowing fear rolling round,
His nervous brain shot branches
220 Round the branches of his heart
On high into two little orbs;
And fixed in two little caves
Hiding carefully from the wind,
His eyes beheld the deep.
225 And a third Age passed over,
And a state of dismal woe.
9. The pangs of hope began,
In heavy pain, striving, struggling.
Two ears in close volutions
230 From beneath his orbs of vision
Shot spiring out and petrified
As they grew. And a Fourth age passed,
And a state of dismal woe.
10. In ghastly torment sick,
235 Hanging upon the wind
- Pl.I2 [Full-page illustration]

207–8. *And a first Age . . . woe*] Cp. ‘And the evening and the morning were the first day’ (*Genesis* i 5). The tradition of the seven Ages of the world was long established.

Pl.II. Beneath the text, Los sinks back, weary, beside the form of Urizen who (shown as a bowed skeleton on pl.8) here is ‘skin-and-bone’ but begins to have fleshy form.

209–17. *a red / Round globe*] The heart, then the blood vessels.

229. *close volutions*] The spirals of the inner ear.

Pl.I2. *Full-page illustration*. Illustrates 65–6; Urizen floats in the deep.

- Pl.13 Two nostrils bent down to the deep.
 And a fifth Age passed over,
 And a state of dismal woe.
11. In ghastly torment sick,
 240 Within his ribs bloated round
 A craving hungry cavern.
 Thence arose his channelled throat,
 And like a red flame a tongue
 Of thirst and of hunger appeared.
- 245 And a Sixth age passed over,
 And a state of dismal woe.
12. Enraged and stifled with torment,
 He threw his right arm to the north,
 His left arm to the south,
 250 Shooting out in anguish deep;
 And his feet stamped the nether abyss
 In trembling and howling and dismay.
 And a seventh Age passed over,
 And a state of dismal woe.

CHAPTER V

- 255 1. In terrors Los shrunk from his task.
 His great hammer fell from his hand;
 His fires beheld and sickening
 Hid their strong limbs in smoke.
 For with noises ruinous loud,
 260 With hurtlings and clashings and groans
 The Immortal endured his chains,
 Though bound in a deadly sleep.
2. All the myriads of Eternity,
 All the wisdom and joy of life,
 265 Roll like a sea around him,
 Except what his little orbs
 Of sight by degrees unfold.

Pl.13. *Design.* In the middle of the page, a figure thrusts apart the clouds of a starry night sky.

Chapter v. Los's fall and division.

255. In *Genesis* 'God saw that it was good': here Los sees his work with horror.

257. *His fires beheld* . . .] The fires are personified.

261. *The Immortal*] i.e. Urizen, as elsewhere.

3. And now his eternal life
Like a dream was obliterated.
- 270 4. Shuddering, the Eternal Prophet smote
With a stroke, from his north to south region.
The bellows and hammer are silent now;
A nerveless silence his prophetic voice
Seized; a cold solitude and dark void
- 275 The Eternal Prophet and Urizen closed.
5. Ages on ages rolled over them.
Cut off from life and light, frozen
Into horrible forms of deformity,
Los suffered his fires to decay.
- 280 Then he looked back with an anxious desire,
But the space undivided by existence
Struck horror into his soul.
6. Los wept, obscured with mourning;
His bosom earthquaked with sighs;
- 285 He saw Urizen, deadlly black,
In his chains bound, and Pity began,
7. In anguish dividing and dividing—
For pity divides the soul;
In pangs, eternity on eternity,
- 290 Life in cataracts poured down his cliffs.
The void shrunk the lymph into nerves,
Wandering wide on the bosom of night,
And left a round globe of blood
Trembling upon the void.

268–9. *his eternal life . . . obliterated*] One of B.'s favourite phrases, also in *Visions* 57, *Song of Los (Africa)* 35.

270–82. The fall of Los: he is first confounded by the sight of what he has had to do, and remains motionless for 'ages on ages'. He 'looks back' with regret. This period, unfilled by creative activity, becomes an impassable void between Los and the eternal world. The 'Eternal Prophet' (180, 275) must henceforth prophesy of eternity from outside. The passage may also suggest the mental fate of an inspired man who fails to respond to his inspiration. Cp. also 314*n*.

283. *Los wept*] The tears are false; see below.

286. *Pity began*] Cp. 'The Human Abstract' (p. 222): 'Pity would be no more / If we did not make somebody poor'. Pity is a distraction; the soul is divided between it and the action a 'pitiable' state demands. This is seen as Los's division into active male deluded by tearful female.

288. Repeated in *Milton* pl.8.19, with the addition 'and man unmans'.

- Pl.14 [Full-page illustration]
- Pl.15 Thus the Eternal Prophet was divided
 296 Before the death-image of Urizen.
 For in changeable clouds and darkness,
 In a winterly night beneath,
 The abyss of Los stretched immense,
 300 And now seen, now obscured to the eyes
 Of Eternals, the visions remote
 Of the dark separation appeared.
 As glasses discover worlds
 In the endless abyss of space,
 305 So the expanding eyes of Immortals
 Beheld the dark visions of Los,
 And the globe of life-blood trembling.

Pls.16, 17 [Two full-page illustrations]

- Pl.18 8. The globe of life-blood trembled,
 Branching out into roots—
 310 Fibrous, writhing upon the winds,
 Fibres of blood, milk and tears,
 In pangs, eternity on eternity.
 At length in tears and cries embodied,
 A female form trembling and pale
 315 Waves before his deathly face.

Pl.14. *Full-page illustration.* A male figure (Los) dives downwards, pushing through clouds.

Pl.15. *Design.* See 300*n*.

299. *The abyss of Los*] The space between Urizen and the land of the Eternals (132–3). 300–7. Though the Eternals' vision is infinite, they must stretch their faculties to the extreme to see Urizen, drifting further and further away. The design on this page shows them looking out of the clouds at a watery globe: one reaches down and trails his fingers in it; another is causing waves with his beard.

Pl.16. *Full-page illustration.* Los falling, crouched, through flames.

Pl.17. *Full-page illustration* of lines 290–4, 306–7.

Pl.18. *Design.* Los with his hammer, among flames.

308. The images of embryonic development probably derive in outline from Erasmus Darwin's *The Oeconomy of Vegetation* (1791), partly engraved by B. He may also have seen specimens in the museum of the famous surgeon, John Hunter.

314. *A female form*] Illustrated by pl.17. The last part of the Fall; Los is now locked in the restricted world, and divided. In Boehme, Adam fell in the same two stages. Before division Adam, like Los, was a being without sex, male and female in one whole. But instead of producing new creations out of the two principles within him, Adam desired to externalize what should have been his inner nature – he fell in love with himself. In his sleep, the female was separated from him. Now he, like Los, was in 'Generation', a world where the divided pair could only reproduce an endless succession of repeated self-images (337*n*).

9. All Eternity shuddered at sight
Of the first female now separate,
Pale as a cloud of snow,
Waving before the face of Los.
- 320 10. Wonder, awe, fear, astonishment,
Petrify the eternal myriads
At the first female form now separate;
Pl.19 They called her *Pity*, and fled:
11. 'Spread a tent, with strong curtains around them.
325 Let cords and stakes bind in the void
That Eternals may no more behold them.'
12. They began to weave curtains of darkness,
They erected large pillars round the void,
With golden hooks fastened in the pillars.
330 With infinite labour the Eternals
A woof wove, and called it *Science*.

CHAPTER VI

1. But Los saw the female and pitied.
He embraced her, she wept, she refused.
In perverse and cruel delight
335 She fled from his arms, yet he followed.
2. Eternity shuddered when they saw
Man begetting his likeness
On his own divided image.
3. A time passed over; the Eternals
340 Began to erect the tent,
When Enitharmon, sick,
Felt a worm within her womb.

Pl.19. *Design*. See 333*n*.

327. Cp. *Exodus* xxvi 31, where God gives instructions for the hangings of the Tabernacle, with hooks for the veil.

331. *Science*] i.e. learning and knowledge; that derived through our restricted senses is a barrier, rather than a window, to true understanding.

Chapter vi. The world of generation begins with the birth of Orc.

333–5. Enitharmon's perverse flirtation, illustrated on this plate by a bowed Los before a self-averting Enitharmon, is common in B. at this period: cp. *NB* lyrics, pp. 150ff above: contrast Oothoon, *Visions* 173–7, 191–204.

337. *begetting his likeness*] After the fall there is no *new* creation; only repetition. In eternity, love is a complete blending of loving persons: but this is the self-love of Los for himself in Enitharmon – not love, but in-turned desire.

4. Yet helpless it lay, like a worm
In the trembling womb,
345 To be moulded into existence.
5. All day the worm lay on her bosom;
All night within her womb
The worm lay, till it grew to a serpent
With dolorous hissings and poisons
350 Round Enitharmon's loins folding.
6. Coiled within Enitharmon's womb
The serpent grew, casting its scales;
With sharp pangs the hissings began
To change to a grating cry.
355 Many sorrows and dismal throes,
Many forms of fish, bird and beast,
Brought forth an infant form
Where was a worm before.
7. The Eternals their tent finished,
360 Alarmed with these gloomy visions,
When Enitharmon groaning
Produced a man-child to the light.
8. A shriek ran through Eternity,
And a paralytic stroke,
365 At the birth of the Human shadow.
9. Delving earth in his resistless way,
Howling, the child with fierce flames
Issued from Enitharmon.
10. The Eternals closed the tent.
370 They beat down the stakes; the cords
Pl.20 Stretched for a work of Eternity;
No more Los beheld Eternity.
11. In his hands he seized the infant,
He bathed him in springs of sorrow,
375 He gave him to Enitharmon.

365. *the Human shadow*] Formed entirely in the fallen world, and unable to partake of infinity. It is a 'shadow' of true, infinite humanity, but shows that the fallen world is self-perpetuating.

366. *Delving earth*] Forcing his way through Enitharmon's body. *resistless*] 'irresistible'.

Pl.20. *Design*. A babe (Orc?) falling amid flames (cp. *Book of Los* 86-8).

371. *a work of Eternity*] A piece of eternal work – not necessarily to last for eternity, though potentially so.

CHAPTER VII

1. They named the child Orc; he grew,
Fed with milk of Enitharmon.
2. Los awoke her. O sorrow and pain!
A tightening girdle grew
380 Around his bosom. In sobbings
He burst the girdle in twain;
But still another girdle
Oppressed his bosom. In sobbings
Again he burst it. Again
385 Another girdle succeeds.
The girdle was formed by day;
By night was burst in twain.
3. These falling down on the rock
Into an iron chain
390 In each other link by link locked.
4. They took Orc to the top of a mountain—
Oh, how Enitharmon wept!
They chained his young limbs to the rock
With the Chain of Jealousy
395 Beneath Urizen's deathful shadow.
5. The dead heard the voice of the child,
And began to awake from sleep.
All things heard the voice of the child,
And began to awake to life.
- 400 6. And Urizen, craving with hunger,
Stung with the odours of nature,
Explored his dens around.

Chapter vii. The chain of jealousy: 'Life' awakes on earth.

379. *A tightening girdle*] Jealousy inevitably follows the division of the soul into more than two entities. Ignoring it strengthens it into an unbreakable chain, which is used to bind its innocent object – Orc.

393. *They chained his young limbs*] An allusion to the near-sacrifice of Isaac (*Genesis* xxii)? Orc is always represented as bound. In *America* (*Prel.*), there is no mention of jealousy, which here gives the image a new purpose. It is developed in *Four Zoas* v–vii, but (except *Milton* pl.20.61 and casual refs.) is then dropped.
396. *The dead*] Ironically, those prepared for 'birth' in the fallen world. Such life as they have is derived from the vitality of Orc. The concept of fossils as ancient life, which might be inferred from this, had not been established in 1794.

402. *Explored his dens*] A parody of scientific enquiry; Urizen explores with a dim lamp, illustrated at the foot of pl.23. The works of Urizen's science are much developed in *Four Zoas* ii, and this exploration in *Four Zoas* vi.

7. He formed a line and a plummet
 To divide the abyss beneath;
 405 He formed a dividing rule;

8. He formed scales to weigh;
 He formed massy weights;
 He formed a brazen quadrant;
 He formed golden compasses
 410 And began to explore the abyss,
 And he planted a garden of fruits.

9. But Los encircled Enitharmon
 With fires of prophecy
 From the sight of Urizen and Orc.

415 10. And she bore an enormous race.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Urizen explored his dens—
 Mountain, moor and wilderness,
 With a globe of fire lighting his journey,
 A fearful journey, annoyed
 420 By cruel enormities, forms

Pls.21, 22 [Two full-page illustrations]

Pl.23 Of life on his forsaken mountains.

2. And his world teemed vast enormities
 Frightening, faithless, fawning
 Portions of life, similitudes
 425 Of a foot, or a hand, or a head,
 Or a heart, or an eye, they swam—mischievous
 Dread terrors, delighting in blood.

413. *fires of prophecy*] Is it strange to see B. connecting prophecy with jealousy?

415. *enormous* means 'horrific'.

Chapter viii. Urizen, like a scientist, explores the physical world.

Pl.21. *Full-page illustration* of 376–90.

Pl.22. *Full-page illustration* of 189–90: Urizen fettered.

Pl.23. *Design.* See 402*n.*

424. *Portions of life, similitudes*] The common Platonic notion of this world as a poor imitation of an ideal heaven; especially when seen unimaginatively, with Urizen's eyes.

3. Most Urizen sickened to see
 His eternal creations appear,
 430 Sons and daughters of sorrow on mountains,
 Weeping, wailing. First Thiriël appeared,
 Astonished at his own existence,
 Like a man from a cloud born. And Utha,
 From the waters emerging, laments.
 435 Grodna rent the deep earth howling—
 Amazed, his heavens immense cracks
 Like the ground parched with heat. Then Fuzon
 Flamed out, first begotten, last born.
 All his eternal sons in like manner;
 440 His daughters from green herbs and cattle,
 From monsters, and worms of the pit.

4. He in darkness closed viewed all his race,
 And his soul sickened. He cursed
 Both sons and daughters; for he saw
 445 That no flesh nor spirit could keep
 His iron laws one moment.

5. For he saw that life lived upon death.

Pl.24 [Full-page illustration]

Pl.25 The ox in the slaughter-house moans,
 The dog at the wintry door,
 450 And he wept, and he called it Pity,
 And his tears flowed down on the winds.

6. Cold he wandered on high, over their cities,
 In weeping and pain and woe.
 And wherever he wandered in sorrows

429–30. *His eternal creations . . . sorrow*] What in eternity had been true creation was here no more than a wretched self-copy. The four figures that follow are not men, but the four elements: Grodna from Earth; Thiriël–Air; Fuzon–Fire; Utha–Water: their birth is illustrated on pl.24.

444–6. *he saw . . . one moment*] Urizen's tragedy, since he had proclaimed his laws as the ideal of life. His laws are inevitably followed by his curse. Cp. Paul's criticism of the law (*Galatians* iii 10–11): 'For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things . . . in the book of the law . . . But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident . . .'

Pl.24. *Full-page illustration* of 429–38.

Pl.25. *Design*. A mass of writhing figures, human and serpentine, in the sea.

449. *The dog at the wintry door*] Illustrated on pl.26.

- 455 Upon the aged heavens,
 A cold shadow followed behind him,
 Like a spider's web, moist, cold, and dim,
 Drawing out from his sorrowing soul,
 The dungeon-like heaven dividing
 460 Wherever the footsteps of Urizen
 Walked over the cities in sorrow;
7. Till a web dark and cold throughout all
 The tormented element stretched
 From the sorrows of Urizen's soul.
 465 (And the web is a female in embryo.)
 None could break the web—no wings of fire,
8. So twisted the cords, and so knotted
 The meshes, twisted like to the human brain.
9. And all called it *The Net of Religion*.

CHAPTER IX

- 470 1. Then the inhabitants of those cities
 Felt their nerves change into marrow,
 And hardening bones began
 In swift diseases and torments,
 In throbbings and shootings and grindings
 475 Through all the coasts—till weakened
 The senses inward rushed, shrinking
 Beneath the dark net of infection;
2. Till the shrunken eyes, clouded over,
 Discerned not the woven hypocrisy;
 480 But the streaky slime in their heavens
 Brought together by narrowing perceptions
 Appeared transparent air; for their eyes
 Grew small like the eyes of a man,

465. *a female in embryo*] An odd phrase; the probable meaning is that the web is like a pregnant female, enclosing a life in its 'womb'. This line was deleted in 'copy A'.

469. *Net of Religion*] B. objects, not to religious inspiration, but to ecclesiastical control of men's beliefs and lives. The Net is developed in *Four Zoas* vi 24ff. *Chapter ix*. Mankind appears.

470. *those cities*] The cities of Egypt (452, 490). See also 505*n*.

479. *the woven hypocrisy*] The Web of Religion is more than a mere temporary human scheme; it is an error in the universe's foundations.

- 485 And in reptile forms shrinking together
Of seven feet stature they remained.
3. Six days they shrunk up from existence,
And on the seventh day they rested;
And they blessed the seventh day, in sick hope—
And forgot their eternal life.
- 490 4. And their thirty cities divided
In form of a human heart.
No more could they rise at will
In the infinite void, but bound down
To earth by their narrowing perceptions
- Pls.26, 27 [Two full-page illustrations]
- Pl.28 They lived a period of years,
496 Then left a noisome body
To the jaws of devouring darkness.
5. And their children wept, and built
Tombs in the desolate places,
500 And formed laws of prudence, and called them
The eternal laws of God.
6. And the thirty cities remained,
Surrounded by salt floods, now called
Africa (its name was then Egypt).
- 505 7. The remaining sons of Urizen
Beheld their brethren shrink together

484. *reptile forms*] Crawling upon the face of the earth.

485. *seven feet stature*] Cp. *Genesis* vi 4, 'There were giants in the earth in those days'. That the original inhabitants of Britain were giants was an old tradition, much developed by B. in *Jerusalem*.

486. *Six days they shrunk up*] A parody of the six days of expanding creation in *Genesis*.

490-1. The cities become Africa (*Song of Los* i 3 - 'heart-formed Africa').

492. *No more could they rise*] In eternity, Urizen's creations (see 36-9 and 429*n*) would have had infinite faculties. Now they, with him, are bound in the fallen world.

Pl.26. *Full-page illustration* of 449.

Pl.27. *Full-page illustration*. Urizen rushing away.

Pl.28. *Design*. Illustrates 454-8.

500. *laws of prudence*] Laws formed for caution's sake, to escape the risks of imaginative living in a fallen world. It is safer to be legal.

505. *The remaining sons*, in contrast with the inhabitants of the cities. These 'sons' retained some desire for life and preferred the desert to 'the fleshpots of Egypt'. Fuzon is B.'s Moses as leader, as Urizen in ch. i was Moses as law-bearer.

Beneath the net of Urizen.
 Persuasion was in vain;
 For the ears of the inhabitants
 510 Were withered, and deafened, and cold,
 And their eyes could not discern
 Their brethren of other cities.

8. So Fuzon called all together
 The remaining children of Urizen,
 515 And they left the pendulous earth:
 They called it Egypt, and left it.

9. And the salt ocean rolled englobed.

The End of the first book of Urizen

[*Design*]

18 The Book of Ahania

Date. Lambeth 1795, as on the titlepage. *Ahania* and *The Book of Los* are conventionally engraved, which may suggest hurried completion to make way for B.'s work on the designs for Young's *Night Thoughts*, on which he was certainly working by June 1796. Or was he experimenting with an easier method of illuminated printing? Only one copy is known; its few designs are colour-printed. Like *Urizen* and *The Book of Los*, *Ahania* is presented in 'biblical' form, with chapters and verses (though in metre).

The Poem. *Ahania* has a broken-backed narrative, but is valuable for the beautiful lament of Ahania with which it ends, besides such material as the growth of the Tree of Mystery. As narrative, it demonstrates the petering-out of the *Urizen* myth (later reshaped in *Vala*). The poem is a sequel to *Urizen* and describes Fuzon's revolt, which divides Urizen's soul; and Urizen's retaliation, which destroys Fuzon. The narrative falls into two pieces, ch. iv introducing yet another theme. (a) The poem begins with Fuzon (like Orc a rebel, but a selfish son of Urizen) as protagonist; but when Fuzon becomes 'a pale living corpse on the Tree' (131) there is little more

513. *Fuzon* is the fire-element or god (438): the Israelites in the Exodus worshipped a fire-Jehovah in the pillar of fire and smoke (*Exodus* xiii 21-2): and Boehme also emphasized the virtues of this forceful element even under the Fall.

517. A Blakean summary of chaos.

Design. Urizen crouches, left foot foremost, enmeshed in his Net.

to tell. (*b*) B. branches out, in ch. iv, in another direction entirely, reintroducing Los for the first time in *Ahania*, and showing him again at his formative work, as in *Urizen*; but this too leads to a dead end. (*c*) Urizen, in Fuzon's revolt, was struck by a fiery beam which divided his soul into male and female; his female portion, Ahania, is driven apart from him, 'a faint shadow wandering / In chaos' (38-9), and is forgotten while B. deals with the other matter. But in ch. v she reappears, and this chapter is devoted to her lament for the joys of their lost life together. Ultimately she is the chief imaginative creation of the poem, and it is named after her, not Fuzon.

Pl.1 [Titlepage]

Pl.2 CHAPTER I

- 1: Fuzon, on a chariot iron-winged,
On spiked flames rose; his hot visage
Flamed furious; sparkles his hair and beard
Shot down his wide bosom and shoulders.
- 5 On clouds of smoke rages his chariot,
And his right hand burns red in its cloud,
Moulding into a vast globe his wrath,
As the thunder-stone is moulded,
Son of Urizen's silent burnings.
- 10 2: 'Shall we worship this demon of smoke,'
Said Fuzon, 'this abstract non-entity,
This cloudy God seated on waters,
Now seen, now obscured—King of sorrow?'
- 15 3: So he spoke in a fiery flame,
On Urizen frowning indignant,
The globe of wrath shaking on high.
Roaring with fury he threw

¶ 18. Pl.1. *Titlepage*. The design shows a flying female figure.

1. *Fuzon*] Cp. *Urizen* 437, 513: the rebellious son of Urizen who, Moses-like, leads the other free sons away from their father's influence. Note the likeness of Fuzon to the Orc of *America* and *Europe* (but not of *Urizen*, where Orc is only a child). Fuzon has been equated by Erdman with Robespierre, who hunted down the enemies of the French Revolution with a violence which recoiled on himself.

3-4. *sparkles his hair . . . shoulders*] The syntax is confusing: 'his hair and beard shot sparkles down . . .'

8-9. Fuzon, a child of Urizen, creates weapons of violence after the manner of his father.

- The howling globe; burning it flew,
Lengthening into a hungry beam. Swiftly
- 20 4: Opposed to the exulting flamed beam
The broad disc of Urizen upheaved
Across the void many a mile.
- 5: It was forged in mills where the winter
Beats incessant; ten winters the disc
- 25 Unremitting endured the cold hammer.
- 6: But the strong arm that sent it remembered
The sounding beam; laughing it tore through
That beaten mass, keeping its direction,
The cold loins of Urizen dividing.
- 30 7: Dire shrieked his invisible lust.
Deep groaned Urizen, stretching his awful hand
Ahania (so name his parted soul)
He seized on his mountains of jealousy.
He groaned, anguished, and called her Sin,
- 35 Kissing her and weeping over her,
Then hid her in darkness, in silence,
Jealous though she was invisible.
- 8: She fell down, a faint shadow wandering
In chaos and circling dark Urizen—
- 40 As the moon anguished circles the earth—
Hopeless, abhorred, a death-shadow,
Unseen, unbodied, unknown,
The mother of Pestilence.

19. *Lengthening into a hungry beam*] The missile was created as a *globe*, a form which, as *Urizen* amply shows, B. hated as representing the self-contained and inward-turning mind. B. now wants the missile to be arrow-like, sharp and piercing; so in flight the globe turns into a fiery beam with phallic implications (27*b*–30). Did B. know that a heated cannon-ball can stretch in flight?

23–9. Once more cold, winter and death are defeated by light, heat and youth.
30–7. Fuzon's blow induces lust in Urizen. Ahania, therefore, who before was a part of his personality united to him in love, is externalized as an *object* of his lust: and further, his lust and her separation make him jealous of her. Thus lust, sex, sin and jealousy in Urizen appear simultaneously. The image of separation of the feminine principle of the soul through the soul's undue introspection is found in Boehme as one of the processes of creation. Cp. also Milton's creation of Sin from Satan's *head* (*Paradise Lost* ii 746ff.).

32. *Ahania*] In B.'s later terminology, she is Urizen's 'emanation', the feminine part of his immortal united personality, divided and separated from him. No longer enriched by her presence, he is impoverished by her separateness.

38ff. Ahania now begins an existence apart from Urizen, longing for him but unable to find him, as she laments in ch. v.

- 9: But the fiery beam of Fuzon
 45 Was a pillar of fire to Egypt,
 Five hundred years wandering on earth:
 Till Los seized it and beat in a mass
 With the body of the sun.

Pl.3

CHAPTER II

- 1: But the forehead of Urizen gathering,
 50 And his eyes pale with anguish, his lips
 Blue and changing, in tears and bitter
 Contrition he prepared his bow,

 2: Formed of ribs, that in his dark solitude
 When obscured in his forests fell monsters
 55 Arose. For his dire contemplations
 Rushed down like floods from his mountains
 In torrents of mud settling thick
 With eggs of unnatural production
 Forthwith hatching—some howled on his hills,
 60 Some in vales, some aloft flew in air.

 3: Of these an enormous dread serpent,
 Scaled and poisonous horned,
 Approached Urizen even to his knees,
 As he sat on his dark rooted oak.

 65 4: With his horns he pushed furious.
 Great the conflict and great the jealousy
 In cold poisons, but Urizen smote him.

 5: First he poisoned the rocks with his blood,
 Then polished his ribs, and his sinews
 70 Dried, laid them apart till winter;
 Then a bow black prepared. On this bow,

45. *a pillar of fire*] As Israel wandered for forty years, so here Egypt had wandered for 500 before the creation of the sun, led by a pillar of fire which became the sun. The biblical reference is *Exodus* xiii 22, and *Numbers* xiv 14: cp. *Song of Los (Asia)* 51n, *Urizen* 513n.

47–8. *Los seized it*] This disposes of the pillar of fire, and also connects to the narrative of *The Book of Los* 145ff. Line 47 means ‘beat *it* into a mass . . .’

52. *Contrition*] Urizen’s remorse is inevitably hypocritical – a virtue easily assumed in a morally meaningless form. See *Urizen* 286n, p. 265.

53–5. The syntax is irregular; B. has a point only after ‘monsters’. It is tempting to make sense by regarding ‘fell’ as a verb, and 54 as a parenthesis, but the resultant construction is unfamiliar in B. Perhaps something is missing.

64. *oak*] Sacred to the druids, and thus the tree of Urizenic false religion.

- A poisoned rock placed in silence,
He uttered these words to the bow:
- 6: 'O bow of the clouds of secrecy,
75 O nerve of that lust-formed monster,
Send this rock swift, invisible, through
The black clouds, on the bosom of Fuzon.'
- 7: So saying, in torment of his wounds,
He bent the enormous ribs slowly,
80 A circle of darkness; then fixed
The sinew in its rest, then the rock,
(Poisonous source) placed with art, lifting difficult
Its weighty bulk. Silent the rock lay.
- 8: While Fuzon, his tigers unloosing,
85 Thought Urizen slain by his wrath.
'I am God,' said he, 'eldest of things!'
- 9: Sudden sings the rock, swift and invisible
On Fuzon flew, entered his bosom.
His beautiful visage, his tresses
90 That gave light to the mornings of Heaven
Were smitten with darkness, deformed
And outstretched on the edge of the forest.
- 10: But the rock fell upon the earth,
Mount Sinai, in Arabia.

CHAPTER III

- 95 1: The globe shook; and Urizen, seated
On black clouds, his sore wound anointed.

78–83. Compare the youthful fire of Fuzon's attack with the misery, pain and labour of Urizen's retaliation.

84–6. *his tigers unloosing*] Tigers are commonly associated in B. with wrath (as in 37). Fuzon's assumption of godhead (86) is a sure sign of his corruption.

90. *That gave light . . . Heaven*] A reminiscence of the image, rather than the words, of *Isaiah* xiv 12: 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!'

94. *Mount Sinai*] Where the abhorred Law was given. See *Galatians* iv 24–6: 'Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage . . . Mount Sinai in Arabia . . . answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.' Thus Paul also uses the phrase in a symbol of the bondage of Mosaic law, in contrast with the freedom of heaven.

95. *The globe shook*] A rhetorical device, indicating that more fearful events are still to come. The *globe* is the world, not Fuzon's globe of 7ff.

- The ointment flowed down the void
Mixed with blood; here the snake gets her poison.
- 2: With difficulty and great pain Urizen
100 Lifted on high the dead corse;
On his shoulders he bore it to where
A tree hung over the immensity.
- 3: For when Urizen shrunk away
From Eternals, he sat on a rock
105 Barren, a rock which himself
From redounding fancies had petrified.
Many tears fell on the rock,
Many sparks of vegetation;
Soon shot the pained root
110 Of mystery under his heel.
It grew a thick tree; he wrote
In silence his book of iron,
Till the horrid plant bending its boughs
Grew to roots when it felt the earth
115 And again sprung to many a tree.
- 4: Amazed started Urizen, when
He beheld himself compassed round
And high roofed over with trees.
He arose; but the stems stood so thick
120 He with difficulty and great pain
Brought his books, all but the book
Pl.4 Of iron, from the dismal shade.

102. *A tree*] This is the first appearance in the narrative poems of the Tree of Mystery: cp. 'A Human Abstract' and 'A Poison Tree' in *Experience*; also *Four Zoas* iv 265-7 and *Jerusalem* 66.48. Its characteristics are its obscurity, its poisonous nature, and its self-generation in a labyrinth of roots (note the Miltonic source quoted at *Four Zoas* vii 31, where the idea is further developed). The Tree also appears in *Jerusalem* pl.28.13-19, much altered in detail but recognizably the same image, which expresses B.'s horror of the mindless grasp of compulsive religious error that creeps around men's minds. In this context it also resembles the cross of Christ (129); and Fuzon in 128-29 resembles Prometheus.

109-10. Cp. 'The Human Abstract', p. 222.

112. *his book of iron*] Cp. *Europe* 104, *Urizen* 77-88, *Four Zoas* vii 109ff. In these the book is always brass; it has been suggested that the book of brass contains moral law, and the book of iron the laws of oppression: but B. did not distinguish between forms of tyranny, whether moral, political or religious, and the distinction is not explicit and very improbable.

116-22 recur in *Four Zoas* vii 36-9 (adapted to the septenary metre). There is an unexpected likeness between Urizen and Robinson Crusoe, who grew a grove round his dwelling to keep away possible enemies, and then found it a great labour to carry stores in and out.

5: The tree still grows over the void,
 Enrooting itself all around,
 125 An endless labyrinth of woe:

6: The corse of his first begotten
 On the accursed Tree of Mystery—
 On the topmost stem of this tree
 Urizen nailed Fuzon's corse.

CHAPTER IV

130 1: Forth flew the arrows of pestilence
 Round the pale living corse on the tree;

2: For in Urizen's slumbers of abstraction
 In the infinite ages of Eternity,
 When his nerves of joy melted and flowed,
 135 A white lake on the dark blue air,
 In perturbed pain and dismal torment
 Now stretching out, now swift conglobing.

3: Effluvia vapoured above
 In noxious clouds. These hovered thick
 140 Over the disorganized Immortal,
 Till petrific pain scurfed o'er the lakes
 As the bones of man, solid and dark.

4: The clouds of disease hovered wide
 Around the Immortal in torment,
 145 Perching around the hurtling bones,
 Disease on disease, shape on shape,
 Winged, screaming in blood and torment.

5: The Eternal Prophet beat on his anvils,
 Enraged in the desolate darkness;
 150 He forged nets of iron around
 And Los threw them around the bones.

6: The shapes, screaming, fluttered vain;
 Some combined into muscles and glands,

130. *arrows of pestilence*] Fuzon also becomes a source of pestilence, which began with the separation of Ahania from Urizen (43). The origin of the arrows is not very clearly explained; see 143-7.

131. *living*] The first indication that Fuzon is not dead; at 100 B. says he is.

135. As earlier in *Urizen* 187.

140. *the disorganized Immortal*] Urizen – a phrase reminiscent of *Urizen*.

141. *scurfed*] Formed into a scum on the surface.

- Some organs for craving and lust;
 155 Most remained on the tormented void,
 Urizen's army of horrors.
- 7: Round the pale living corpse on the Tree
 Forty years flew the arrows of pestilence.
- 8: Wailing and terror and woe
 160 Ran through all his dismal world;
 Forty years all his sons and daughters
 Felt their skulls harden; then Asia
 Arose in the pendulous deep.
- 9: They reptilize upon the Earth.
- 165 10: Fuzon groaned on the Tree.

CHAPTER V

- 1: The lamenting voice of Ahania,
 Weeping upon the void
 And round the Tree of Fuzon.
 Distant in solitary night
- 170 Her voice was heard, but no form
 Had she: but her tears from clouds
 Eternal fell round the Tree,
- 2: And the voice cried: 'Ah, Urizen, love,
 Flower of morning, I weep on the verge

161-2. *Forty years . . . skulls harden*] Cp. 158, 'Forty years'. Perhaps a verbal reminiscence of *Psalm* xcvi 8, 10: 'Harden not your heart, as in . . . the wilderness', and 'Forty years long was I grieved . . .' But the *Psalm* is God's admonition to the Israelites, referring to the forty years which they spent wandering as a punishment for their lack of faith.

163. *Asia*] Africa arose in *Urizen* 490-504.

164. *reptilize*] i.e. become crawling, earth-tied creatures who cannot spread wings in infinity. Lines 164-5, written as two distinct and numbered verses, are a rhetorical device to enhance the awe and fearfulness of the situation.

Chapter v. All movement in the action has ceased, and the chapter is given up to Ahania's lament.

170-71. *no form / Had she*] A creature cannot exist without form, which it needs to make it a living, active organism. When it loses form, it becomes chaotic and is in danger of annihilation. B. hated fixity, but believed in form; i.e. the living form of living creatures. Ahania is a part of Urizen's soul; cast out from him, she can have no true existence.

174-5. *I weep on the verge / Of non-entity*] Cp. *Visions* 189-90: 'Till beauty fades from off my shoulders, darkened and cast out, / A solitary shadow wailing on the margin of non-entity'. A re-use of an image characteristic of B.

- 175 Of non-entity. How wide the abyss
Between Ahania and thee!
- 3: 'I lie on the verge of the deep.
I see thy dark clouds ascend,
I see thy black forests and floods,
180 A horrible waste to my eyes.
- 4: 'Weeping I walk over rocks,
Over dens and through valleys of death.
Why didst thou despise Ahania,
To cast me from thy bright presence
185 Into the world of loneliness?
- 5: 'I cannot touch his hand,
Nor weep on his knees, nor hear
His voice and bow, nor see his eyes
And joy, nor hear his footsteps and
190 My heart leap at the lovely sound.
I cannot kiss the place
Whereon his bright feet have trod,
Pl.5 But I wander on the rocks
With hard necessity.
- 195 6: 'Where is my golden palace,
Where my ivory bed,
Where the joy of my morning hour?
Where the sons of Eternity, singing
- 7: 'To awake bright Urizen, my King?
200 To arise to the mountain sport,
To the bliss of eternal valleys;
- 8: 'To awake my King in the morn
To embrace Ahania's joy
On the breadth of his open bosom—
205 From my soft cloud of dew to fall
In showers of life on his harvests?
- 9: 'When he gave my happy soul
To the sons of eternal joy;

188. *His voice and bow*] In B. bows are often said to 'sound' or 'sing'.
194–231. These lines are an echo of Oothoon's lament for free and open loving
in *Visions*, esp. 173–7, 198–204.

- When he took the daughters of life
 210 Into my chambers of love;
 10: 'When I found babes of bliss on my beds,
 And bosoms of milk in my chambers
 Filled with eternal seed.
 Oh, eternal births sung round Ahania
 215 In interchange sweet of their joys!
 11: 'Swelled with ripeness and fat with fatness,
 Bursting on winds my odours,
 My ripe figs and rich pomegranates
 In infant joy at thy feet,
 220 O Urizen, sported and sang:
 12: 'Then thou with thy lap full of seed,
 With thy hand full of generous fire,
 Walked forth from the clouds of morning
 On the virgins of springing joy,
 225 On the human soul to cast
 The seed of eternal science.
 13: 'The sweat poured down thy temples;
 To Ahania returned in evening
 The moisture awoke to birth
 230 My mother's joys, sleeping in bliss.
 14: 'But now, alone over rocks, mountains,
 Cast out from thy lovely bosom.
 Cruel jealousy! selfish fear!
 Self-destroying, how can delight
 235 Renew in these chains of darkness,

211–5. These images are difficult to visualize; they give a general impression of a profusion of delight, particularly in love and birth.

217–19. *my odours*, / *My ripe figs* . . . / *In infant joy*] An example of B.'s belief in the essential unity of creation.

221. *lap full of seed*] Urizen's dual character – as a builder when fallen, but a farmer in eternity – is fully developed in *Four Zoas*. This line is the first indication of his 'eternal' nature; in *Urizen* it is not hinted at. The 'lap full of seed' distributed 'generously' to the 'virgins of springing joy' also has a more direct meaning.

226. *science*] Knowledge, understanding, of any profound kind.

233–5. Cp. 'Earth's Answer' in *Experience* (p. 217), where a Urizenic figure is also addressed: 'Selfish father of men! / Cruel jealous selfish fear! / Can delight / Chained in night / The virgins of youth and morning bear?'

Where bones of beasts are strown
 On the bleak and snowy mountains,
 Where bones from the birth are buried
 Before they see the light?’

Finis

[*Design*]

19 The Book of Los

Date. Engraved titlepage *Lambeth 1795* (see *Ahania* headnote). It is not possible to say which of the two poems is earlier. The closeness of the opening of *Ahania* to the end of *Urizen*, in contrast with the inconsistencies between *The Book of Los* and *Urizen*, suggest the order (commonly accepted) followed in this edition. The poem, also preserved in a unique copy, was printed, like *Ahania*, by conventional etching.

Theme. After 26 lines which function as a ‘Preludium’, though not so named, and printed as integral to the poem, another Creation narrative begins. Los is found watching Urizen’s shadow; but soon his indignation – an error prophets are prone to – gets the better of him. He is angry, chained as he is, at the freedom of the flames of eternal life around him. Like a man in the midst of a heath fire, he stamps out the flames under his feet until he has made a clear, unburning space for himself. But he has driven eternity away, and, as in a nightmare, the fires (dark fires without light) freeze into solid rock, which imprisons him until his impatience bursts it. Then, lost in error, he falls in an indefinite void until in his flailing efforts he begins to acquire a shape. Head, lungs and nerves spread out formlessly like a polypus in the void, which then turns into an ocean. He has come through fire, earth, air and water. His struggles again change the elements; the fluid around him divides into solid and gas, and light appears.

We are then recalled to Los’s first task, for now he sees Urizen – or rather his spine, the only shaped part of him. Los begins his blacksmith’s labours, and creates a brilliant globe which is yet an illusion. To it he binds Urizen’s spine as if it were a heart, and an illusory pseudo-human form begins to develop round the spine and the sun-heart. At this point the poem ends: a strange poem, unsatisfactory in its lack of completeness, yet compelling in its dreamlike logic, in spite of its gruesome titlepage.

Pl.5. *Design.* A heap of beheaded corpses (fruit of the guillotine?).

Pls.1-2

[*Frontispiece and Titlepage*]

Pl.3

CHAPTER I

- 1: *Eno, aged mother,*
Who the chariot of Leutha guides,
Since the day of thunders in old time
- 2: *Sitting beneath the eternal oak,*
 5 *Trembled and shook the steadfast earth,*
And thus her speech broke forth:
- 3: *O times remote,*
When love and joy were adoration,
And none impure were deemed—
 10 *Not eyeless Covet,*
Nor thin-lipped Envy,
Nor bristled Wrath,
Nor curled Wantonness.
- 4: *'But Covet was poured full;*
 15 *Envy fed with fat of lambs;*
Wrath with lions' gore;
Wantonness lulled to sleep
With the virgin's lute,
Or sated with her love.
- 20 5: *'Till Covet broke his locks and bars,*
And slept with open doors;
Envy sung at the rich man's feast;

¶ 19. Pl.1. Eno crouched against a stone, with a background of rocks.

Pl.2. *Titlepage*: A headless torso.

Pl.3. The first twenty-six lines are engraved in a smaller script than the rest.

1. *Eno, aged mother*] Only a name; also mentioned in a cancelled draft of the first line of *The Four Zoas*; also in *Four Zoas* i 158-67 as 'a daughter of Beulah' who took care of lost souls.

2. *the chariot of Leutha*] See *Visions* 4n. Leutha does not here appear to be the devious and insidious female of *Europe* 170-5, though she is scarcely characterized in this allusion.

4. *Sitting beneath the eternal oak*] Usually a sign of evil influence; though not, it seems, here. The *eternal* oak may be conceived as distinct from the pernicious trees of the druids; Eno speaks as a prophetic female bard.

9-26. Lines 9-13 in particular are paradoxical. The idea is that the appetites now known as Covet, Envy, etc., in the Golden Age had their desires satisfied. By implication, it was only when these desires were in themselves 'deemed impure' that they were repressed and broke out in excess: until then (as in 20-6) they were joyfully fulfilled.

- Wrath was followed up and down*
By a little ewe lamb,
 25 *And Wantonness on his own true love*
Begot a giant race’.
- 6: Raging furious, the flames of desire
 Ran through heaven and earth, living flames,
 Intelligent, organized, armed
 30 With destruction and plagues. In the midst
 The Eternal Prophet, bound in a chain,
 Compelled to watch Urizen’s shadow,
- 7: Raged with curses and sparkles of fury.
 Round the flames roll, as Los hurls his chains,
 35 Mounting up from his fury, condensed,
 Rolling round and round, mounting on high
 Into vacuum, into non-entity,
 Where nothing was. Dashed wide apart
 His feet stamp the eternal fierce-raging
 40 Rivers of wide flame; they roll round
 And round on all sides making their way
 Into darkness and shadowy obscurity.
- 8: Wide apart stood the fires. Los remained
 In the void between fire and fire.
 45 In trembling and horror they beheld him;
 They stood wide apart, driven by his hands
 And his feet, which the nether abyss
 Stamped in fury and hot indignation.
- 9: But no light from the fires. All was
 Pl.4 Darkness round Los. Heat was not; for bound up
 51 Into fiery spheres from his fury
 The gigantic flames trembled and hid.

27. *the flames of desire*] The scene is that of *Urizen 110*: Urizen has been cast out of heaven, and Los is set to watch him. But there Los is not said to be chained, though he is in exile.

34–44. Los stamps on the flames, driving the rivers of flame apart so that he stands alone in the midst of fire.

47. i.e. ‘his feet stamped the nether abyss’.

49. *no light from the fires*] So in similar passages, *America* 28 and *Urizen 110*.

50. *Darkness*] Los has driven away the fierceness of the flames; but he cannot partake of their vitality, now he is separate from them. Hence the effect seen in 53ff. Los’s impatience is now first seen; in *Urizen* his enthusiasm wanes (255): but prophetic impatience is a feature of Los, especially in *Milton* and *Jerusalem*.

- 10: Coldness, darkness, obstruction, a solid
 Without fluctuation, hard as adamant,
 55 Black as marble of Egypt, impenetrable,
 Bound in the fierce raging Immortal.
 And the separated fires froze in,
 A vast solid without fluctuation,
 Bound in his expanding clear senses.

CHAPTER II

- 60 1: The Immortal stood frozen amidst
 The vast rock of Eternity—times
 And times, a night of vast durance:
 Impatient, stifled, stiffened, hardened;
 2: Till impatience no longer could bear
 65 The hard bondage: rent, rent, the vast solid
 With a crash from immense to immense
 3: Cracked across into numberless fragments.
 The prophetic wrath, struggling for vent,
 Hurls apart, stamping furious to dust
 70 And crumbling with bursting sobs, heaves
 The black marble on high into fragments
 4: Hurlled apart on all sides, as a falling
 Rock. The innumerable fragments away
 Fell asunder, and horrible vacuum
 75 Beneath him and on all sides round.
 5: Falling, falling! Los fell and fell,
 Sunk precipitant, heavy, down, down,
 Times on times, night on night, day on day
 (Truth has bounds, Error none), falling, falling,
 80 Years on years, and ages on ages.
 Still he fell through the void, still a void

79. *Error*] Los's 'prophetic wrath' (68, see 50*n*) does not keep him from error, since he has repulsed the 'living, intelligent flames of desire' (27–30). The importance to B. of human vitality and human form is repeatedly made clear; here the image shows that, not only is error boundless in a loose sense, it is of the essence of error that it is abstract, shapeless, without the boundaries which would give it some meaning, if only a negative one.

81. *Still he fell*] Cp. the fall of Mulciber, *Paradise Lost* i 740–4: 'and how he fell / From Heaven they fabled . . . / from morn / To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve, / A summer's day . . .' and of Satan, ii 932–4: 'All unawares, / Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb-down he drops / Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour / Down had been falling . . .'

- Found for falling day and night without end.
 For though day or night was not, their spaces
 Were measured by his incessant whirls
 85 In the horrid vacuity bottomless.
- 6: The Immortal, revolving, indignant,
 First in wrath threw his limbs, like the babe
 New-born into our world. Wrath subsided,
 And contemplative thoughts first arose;
 90 Then aloft his head reared in the abyss,
 And his downward-borne fall changed oblique,
- 7: Many ages of groans, till there grew
 Branchy forms, organizing the Human
 Into finite inflexible organs,
- 95 8: Till in process from falling he bore
 Sidelong on the purple air, wafting
 The weak breeze in efforts o'erwearied.
- 9: Incessant the falling mind laboured,
 Organizing itself, till the vacuum
 100 Became element, pliant to rise,
 Or to fall, or to swim, or to fly;
 With ease searching the dire vacuity.

CHAPTER III

- 1: The lungs heave incessant, dull and heavy;
 For as yet were all other parts formless,
 105 Shivering, clinging around like a cloud,
 Dim and glutinous as the white polypus
 Driven by waves and englobed on the tide.

88–9. *Wrath subsided . . . arose*] Los's error has been leading him (like Satan; see 81*n*) into endless chaos; now he begins to take a form which organizes his fallen being into a body, which has its uses in that he can achieve some control of error. 93–4. *organizing the Human / Into finite inflexible organs*] This summarizes the Fall; the Human form is infinitely variable – though not chaotic.

99–100. *Organizing itself*] Note the *self*-centredness of this; Los has lost contact with all others. *the vacuum Became element*] Los does not fall into the sea; his mind forms the sea around him.

106. *polypus*] A loathsome, formless, poisonous creature, an image of Error which B. found satisfying: cp. *Four Zoas* vii 614, *Jerusalem* pl.66.48. A jellyfish is a free-floating polypus; the 'Portuguese man-o'-war' has a 'float' that pulsates rather like *lungs* (103). For associations with cancer and the ramifications of 'intricate pipes' (118) see *Four Zoas* iv 265*n* and *Jerusalem* pl.66.48*n*.

- 2: And the unformed part craved repose.
Sleep began; the lungs heave on the wave,
110 Weary, overweighed, sinking beneath
In a stifling black fluid: he woke,
- 3: He arose on the waters, but soon
Heavy falling, his organs like roots
Shooting out from the seed, shot beneath,
115 And a vast world of waters around him
In furious torrents began.
- 4: Then he sunk, and around his spent lungs
Began intricate pipes that drew in
The spawn of the waters. Outbranching,
Pl.5 An immense fibrous form, stretching out,
121 Through the bottoms of immensity raging.
- 5: He rose on the floods; then he smote
The wild deep with his terrible wrath,
Separating the heavy and thin.
- 125 6: Down the heavy sunk, cleaving around
To the fragments of solid; up rose
The thin, flowing round the fierce fires
That glowed furious in the expanse.

CHAPTER IV

- 1: Then light first began; from the fires
130 Beams, conducted by fluid so pure,
Flowed around the immense. Los beheld
Forthwith, writhing upon the dark void,
The backbone of Urizen appear,

122. *He rose on the floods*] Cp. *Genesis* i 2: 'And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.' B. begins a parallel account of the Creation. The division of air and solid, and the appearance of light from the firmament (129) reveal, not a world, but Urizen, whom Los was to guard: and the Creation parallel ends. Note that Los, not the law-giver Urizen, is here the Creator (cp. *Urizen* chs viii–ix).

129–31. Cp. *Paradise Lost* vii 263–5: '... and God made / The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure, / Transparent, elemental air ...'

133. *The backbone of Urizen*] Cp. *Urizen* 196ff; the two poems are not consistent. In *Urizen* Los has already been working at his anvil for some time, and has created the spine which he here discovers.

- Hurling upon the wind
 135 Like a serpent, like an iron chain
 Whirling about in the deep.
- 2: Upfolding his fibres together
 To a form of impregnable strength,
 Los, astonished and terrified, built
 140 Furnaces; he formed an anvil,
 A hammer of adamant. Then began
 The binding of Urizen day and night.
- 3: Circling round the dark demon, with howlings,
 Dismay and sharp blightings, the Prophet
 145 Of Eternity beat on his iron links.
- 4: And first from those infinite fires
 The light that flowed down on the winds
 He seized—beating incessant, condensing
 The subtle particles in an orb.
- 150 5: Roaring, indignant, the bright sparks
 Endured the vast hammer; but unwearied
 Los beat on the anvil, till glorious
 An immense orb of fire he framed.
- 6: Oft he quenched it beneath in the deeps,
 155 Then surveyed the all-bright mass. Again
 Seizing fires from the terrific orbs
 He heated the round globe, then beat,
 While, roaring, his furnaces endured
 The chained orb in their infinite wombs.
- 160 7: Nine ages completed their circles,
 When Los heated the glowing mass, casting
 It down into the deeps; the deeps fled
 Away in redounding smoke. The sun

145. *his*] Urizen's.

148–64. *orb*] This passage is somewhat confused through the ambiguity of *orb*. Los is a blacksmith, hammering a globe into shape; heating it first in his fire, hammering it, quenching it in his water-trough, and turning it over as he holds it in his tongs to look at it. Confusingly, both the fire and the globe which is being made are called *orbs*: in 156 at least the *orbs* are the fire, not the creation. Note the word *condensing* here (148); the word always implies corruption through the constriction of free forms.

- Stood self-balanced. And Los smiled with joy.
 165 He the vast spine of Urizen seized
 And bound down to the glowing illusion.
- 8: But no light, for the deep fled away
 On all sides, and left an unformed
 Dark vacuity. Here Urizen lay
 170 In fierce torments on his glowing bed,
- 9: Till his brain in a rock, and his heart
 In a fleshy slough formed four rivers,
 Obscuring the immense orb of fire
 Flowing down into night—till a form
 175 Was completed, a Human illusion,
 In darkness and deep clouds involved.

The End of the Book of Los

[*Design*]

20 Verses written with illustrations to Gray's *Poems*

These poems were inscribed in B.'s volume of water-colour illustrations to Gray's *Poems* which were given to Mrs Flaxman *c.* 1797. The first is on the Contents page; the second, which seems to refer to Flaxman's help with B.'s career, is at the end, bordered by a design showing one floating figure (Flaxman) pointing and leading another (Blake) heavenwards.

Around the springs of Gray my wild root weaves:
 Traveller, repose, and dream among my leaves.

★

163–4. *The sun / Stood self-balanced*] As in *Genesis* i, light appears first, and the sun several stages later. The *self-balancing* (cp. 99n) is from *Paradise Lost* vii 242: 'And Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung'. Here the sun, instead of giving light to the earth, is made into Urizen's heart.

166. *And bound down to*] *bound* is paired with *seized*, and does not strictly require the grammatical object *it*.

171–6. The globe (as in *Urizen* 209–15) is Urizen's heart; but Urizen becomes our world, with the four rivers of Paradise (*Genesis* ii 10) at its centre – all in an illusory imitation of Humanity (which is not finite, fixed, dark nor asleep). The 'rivers', besides, are blood vessels.

The *Design* illustrates lines 161–3.

TO MRS. ANN FLAXMAN

A little flower grew in a lonely vale;
 Its form was lovely but its colours pale:
 One standing in the porches of the sun,
 When his meridian glories were begun,
 5 Leaped from the steps of fire, and on the grass
 Alighted where this little flower was.
 With hands divine he moved the gentle sod
 And took the flower up in its native clod;
 Then planting it upon a mountain's brow—
 10 'Tis your own fault if you don't flourish now.'

21 Verses written *c.* 1798–1802

among the marginalia to Reynolds's *Discourses*

A copy of Reynolds's *Discourses* (1798), heavily annotated by B., is in the British Museum. B.'s earliest comments are in pencil; these he later expanded and amended in ink. It is thus possible to distinguish two main stages of annotation. The verses below are from the early stage, written probably when B. read the book when he first got it and in any case before 1802 when he refers to the *Discourses* in a letter to Butts (22 Nov. 1802), in a manner which shows he has read them. The *Discourses* were delivered separately to the students of the Royal Academy by Sir Joshua Reynolds as President from 1769 to 1790. The first complete collection was edited by Malone in 1797; B.'s is the 2nd edn. of 1798. For later poems from the marginalia, see p. 636 below.

I ADVICE OF THE POPES WHO SUCCEEDED
THE AGE OF RAPHAEL

Degrade first the arts if you'd mankind degrade,
 Hire idiots to paint with cold light and hot shade;
 Give high price for the worst, leave the best in disgrace,
 And with labours of ignorance fill every place.

¶ 21. i. Written on the titlepage, under the remark: 'This man was hired to depress art'. The title was added probably *c.* 1808–10.

II

When France got free, Europe 'twixt fools and knaves
Were savage first to France, and after, slaves.

III

When Sir Joshua Reynolds died
All nature was degraded;
The King dropped a tear into the Queen's eye
And all his pictures faded.

22 *Vala, or The Four Zoas*

Text and Date. In 1795, B. was engaged to illustrate a grand edition of Edward Young's popular *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts* (1742–45), which clearly inspired the form of *Vala's* nine 'Nights'. The opening pages of *Vala* (either title is commonly used) are written on unused sheets left over from his engraving work for this edition, and the rest largely on proof sheets from it. The MS is illustrated with sketches; where these refer directly to the poem, a brief description is given in the notes. Each Night ends in a full-page drawing (see vii 659–60*n* and ix 852*n*): the reader should study the facsimiles.

The titlepage date, 1797, probably indicates the year of beginning the poem; in its first form it probably dates from 1797–1800, but B. worked on the poem for many years. How long is much disputed (see esp. *Erdman* and *Bentley*), but the consensus is that most of what we have dates between 1797 and 1803, with alterations at least until 1807, perhaps to 1810. The phrases in Greek on page 3 must date after 1802; he mentioned his studies of Greek and Hebrew in a letter of Jan. 1803. The latest additions to *Vala*, including the change of title to *The Four Zoas* (see page 1*n*), and the addition of the name 'Jerusalem' to the text, reflect the poem *Jerusalem*, which Blake was writing 1804–11 and later, from which, for example, the lines ix 98ff seem to be borrowed. Yet Hand, the spiritual form of Robert

21. ii. A comment on the reference by Malone (Reynolds's editor) to 'the FEROCIOUS and ENSLAVED republic of France!', quoting Pope on those who 'thought that all but SAVAGES were slaves'. Cp. also Pope's Epistle *To Augustus*, 263–4: 'We conquer'd France, but felt our captive's charms; / Her Arts victorious triumph'd o'er our Arms' (from Horace, *Ep.* II i 156–7).

Hunt, who angered B. in 1808 (see p. xxi, 656), is not introduced into *Vala*.

The text exists in one MS of 73 sheets and in the British Library, and a few fragments. It has many deletions and additions, major and minor, which complicate the textual problem, and make a single definitive text impossible. This edition attempts only to present a readable version of *Vala* from what B. left. The problems can be seen in the two facsimiles: ed. G. E. Bentley, in full size with detailed transcription, 1963; and, ed. C. T. Magno and D. V. Erdman, 1987, with commentary on the designs, and some colour reproductions. In the present edition, lines are numbered by Nights; the page numbers of the MS are given thus [20].

The Poem. The important fact is not the historical dating, even in these turbulent years, but that B. began *Vala* when he was 39 and did not leave it until his 50s. Busy years in anyone's life; in B.'s they were a switchback ride, thrice hopes were raised and, with increasing force, disappointed. The magnificent *Night Thoughts* venture failed when he was 39; the removal to Felpham as he approached 43 turned sour; he hoped on his return to London, aged almost 47, to make his name, but his works were scorned or ignored, and after 1810, when, aged about 53, he wrote his fierce *Descriptive Catalogue* and the *Last Judgement* commentary, he subsided into obscurity for years.

For many of these years, he also worked on the manuscript of *Vala*, 139 pages covered with drawings, text, amendments, additions, cancellations and removals, reflecting uncounted changes of mind. Keynes, Margoliouth, Bentley, Erdman, and others have unravelled many strands and layers, but much is lost for ever. The book must be read as what it is: a document to Blake's search for a true expression of his insights, themselves changing as he expressed them. It is like watching a river to see what it contains: quantities of lines we may wish to see discarded, but much within it that is golden – pages at a time, or dazzling fragments.

B. began with a core of material from *The Book of Urizen*, adapted to fit its new place. In Nights ii–vi, Urizen builds his ordered world, a more dazzling place than he made in *Urizen*, but once again finds it to be a desert of darkness. Other *Urizen* material is included, developed out of recognition; and B. goes on, adding entirely new material which carries him far away from *Urizen* into other universes.

The 'Bible of Hell' scheme of 1790 was already losing its impetus in *Urizen*. B. can use its material in *Vala*, but this poem is built on a very different foundation, as the titlepage shows: *Vala, or the Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man*. An early draft (fragments

a & *b*, p. 475, calls it *The Book of Vala*. This giant, the Universal Man, now replaces the society of free Eternals who ejected Urizen. He is himself the universe of the poem as well as its subject. B. borrowed the concept of one Universal Man from various sources, including Swedenborg and Jewish mysticism (see *Jerusalem* pl.27) but, as usual, tailored it to suit himself. The elements of the Man's personality – his reason, his passion, etc. – are seen in human form in four figures, later called the Four Zoas. Two, Urizen and Urthona, are familiar names; Luvah and Tharmas are added, to make four figures, echoing the old traditions of the Humours and the Elements. They too are complex (see chart below); Orc must find a place, and becomes a form of Luvah, while Los is a form of Urthona (i 9–12). Each has his Emanation, his feminine aspect. The Man falls sick in a conflict amongst the Zoas. This may be read as an allegory of the conflict of the forces of passion, reason, insight and compassion within the soul, but traditional allegory requires a more consistent system than B. will admit.

Nevertheless, much of the poem concerns the dispute between Urizen, Prince of Light, and Luvah, Prince of Love, with his Emanation, Vala, and Orc, but the key word on the titlepage is that new name: *Vala*. She is the cause of the conflict. Several versions are given of the origins of the Man's sickness, but at the centre of all is a plot to seize power over the Man while he sleeps, variously involving Urizen and Luvah, but always instigated or exploited by the seductive Vala herself. She then abandons Luvah when Urizen attacks him, always determined to expand her own power. B. has reduced Urizen's role as the lord and source of evil, whose need for order now comes not, as in *The Book of Urizen*, from arrogance, but from a fear of the abyss which opens before him as a result of the plot (ii 229–31). Inevitably his empire, as in *Urizen*, falls into ruin leading to a war of the spirits: and ultimately he feels 'the female death, a dull and numbing stupor' (viii 404), as Vala triumphs. Only when the Man, in Night ix, pulls himself together, and orders his elements back to their places, can he and they return to innocence and health.

In all his works, B. detested despotism, and raged at oppression. *Vala* displays a less popular feature, his fear of the Female Will. Here, the chaos that Urizen fears when he builds his law-bound palace turns out to have its origins in the seductive Vala's ambitions, and culminates in her temporary triumph. However, in *The Four Zoas*, now renamed, all must take blame for the universal chaos. To heal the rift between Los and Enitharmon, now a foremost theme, Los has to admit that it was his fault, not hers. B. has to some extent redeemed himself before laying the manuscript aside.

One feature of the poem may be puzzling: the occasional allusion to 'Luvah's robes of blood', first appearing in insertions at ii 105-6 and 309-11. These are part of B.'s fundamental rewriting of his *Vala* myth to give it the evangelical tone of his later work after 1800. B. was always a religious man; his attacks on religion in the Lambeth books express only the Nonconformist's hostility to any system of priests and bishops, but in his 40s his outlook became much more strongly evangelical. *Jerusalem* especially is founded on this, and he has tried to adapt *Vala* to his new insights. Now, 'the Man' becomes, as in *Jerusalem*, 'Albion', and the whole conflict within him falls under divine care. Inserted passages on the watchers of Beulah and the Council of God remind us of this, as do several significant passages added, then deleted (see pp. 474ff); but with Luvah's robes of blood he goes further. In the early poem, the passionate Luvah is persecuted by Urizen and abandoned by the ruthless Vala, but now his sufferings are taken over by Christ, so that in Night viii the forces of evil discover that they have taken on an indestructible adversary. Since Orc is also a form of Luvah, the chains that bind him to the tree of Jealousy are brought into the same orbit, with some difficulty, since B. has also rewritten the relationships of Orc, Urizen, and the Shadowy Female (in vii identified with Vala). All this is part of a determined attempt to give the poem a new direction but, however profoundly important this message was to him, it broke the back of the narrative of *Vala*. Perhaps the realization of this brought about the final abandonment of the poem.

Meanwhile, as the titlepage changes to *The Four Zoas*, another theme is declared in the opening lines as the poet's subject: Los's 'fall into Division & his Resurrection to Unity'. This too was brought from *Urizen*, but is now expanded out of recognition into another picture to paint, a parallel plot. In *Urizen*, his aim was to show origins; here, division and reunion. In *Urizen*, Los already existed; here, he and Enitharmon are born as squabbling twins, and in Night ii, by sleight of hand, squabbling lovers, who later appear as spirit and Emanation. They are always quarrelsome, but the crisis comes in vii, when Los fears he has lost her for ever. In a passage which Freud might have admired, Los learns that he must accept his Spectre if he is to recover Enitharmon. Reunited, they at last find creative work they can do together, and Los, for the first time in *Vala*, becomes the Eternal Prophet. If there is a personal origin of this new legend, there is no *solid* evidence for it.

The following chart lists the chief characteristics of the Zoas: one assuming any feature from another disturbs the order of nature.

	URTHONA/LOS	LUVAH/ORC	URIZEN	THARMAS
<i>Emanation</i>	Enitharmon	Vala	Ahania	Enion
<i>nature</i>	imaginative, wrathful	passionate, desiring	rational, controlling	compassionate
<i>occupation</i>	blacksmith,	wine-grower,	farmer,	shepherd,
<i>and status</i>	eternal prophet	Prince of love	Prince of light	mariner
<i>element</i>	earth	fire	air	water
<i>Place in the</i>	heart,	loins,	brain,	bowels,
<i>body & head</i>	ear	nose	eyes	tongue
<i>compass</i>				
<i>point</i>	north	east	south	west

The First Night

The First Night is the most confused part of the poem, the most altered, and the least finished. Its text contains, in part, some of the earliest and some of the latest writing in the poem. Textual alterations were never completed, and our present text marks, not B.'s 'final' intentions, but merely the latest stage he reached. It is printed here from a late stage of the text, with editorial rearrangements discussed below. Even as it stands, it has some kind of narrative order and purpose. B. opens with a 'correct' epic opening (1-12), and moves at once (*in medias res*, as we later realize), into the story of Urthona's fall into disunity, with a jealous quarrel between Tharmas and his Emanation, Enion (17-141). They break apart into an unhealable disunity, and she traps Tharmas in a sort of cocoon, but his 'Spectre' – his dark self – comes upon her, and from their savage mating Los and Enitharmon are born. After they have used and rejected their mother Enion (142-82); she wanders, a lost and faded being, 'on the verge of Non-Entity', sought in vain by Tharmas, until the end of viii; two passages (84-98, 158-67) declare Divine concern for all this spiritual disintegration.

We are now taken to the 'Council of God' (207-10), where the origins of these troubles are narrated by messengers. It had all begun in an abortive conspiracy between Urizen and Luvah, the two of the 'Four' not so far involved, to seize control of Man. The conspiracy had soon broken up in a quarrel, with the effect that the very being of the horrified Urthona disintegrated into fragments – which became Los and Enitharmon – who took refuge respectively with Enion and Tharmas, who then began the quarrel with which the poem opens. Urizen, whose hostility to Luvah is one of the consistent features of *Vala*, then causes Luvah's ruin. Luvah's anger falls, not on Urizen, but on himself and the Man, whose being is thus entirely shattered (257), ready to be dominated, in Night ii, by the one remaining Zoa, the cold, tyrannical Urizen.

The purpose of the 'Council of God' passage is threefold. First: in B.'s original poem there had been no scheme of four Zoas, and there was then nothing to prevent Enion from being the mother of Los and Enitharmon. But now Tharmas and Los are 'brothers', members of the 'Four'. How then can one (Los) be the child of another (Tharmas)? The new version has arranged that the fleeing fragments of Urthona are 'incorporated' into Enion, ready to be born as her children. B. has also effected the identification of Urthona and Los, who in earlier poems were different persons. Second: B. has provided a standard narrative of the Man's first fall; there are many versions later in the poem, but this one is told by credible witnesses. Third, and most important: B. has introduced the theme he now sees as essential – that the Divine Mercy is in control, whatever disasters the Man might bring on himself.

All the 'Council of God' passage is added in extra pages, and it is difficult to know where the Second Night begins. There is a full heading on page 23, but B. has deleted the word *First* and left the erasure blank. After our i 182 on page 9, there is a marginal insertion *Night the Second*, and a new introductory line; neither is deleted. Unfortunately the First Night is marked to end later (twice, at the foot of both pages 18 and 21, the latter superseding the former; the lines i 274–88 on page 22, the back of 21, are a still later addition in pencil). Our present arrangement seems to make most sense: there is no way of knowing what B. would have decided.

[1]

(first title)

VALA

or

The Death and Judgement
of the Ancient Man
a DREAM of Nine Nights

by William Blake 1797

(opposite: second title in pencil)

¶ 22.i. Night i poses the severest textual problems in the whole of B.'s verse. The first ten pages of text (pp. 3–12) have been written on, largely erased, and a later text – itself with many alterations – then superimposed. Only the most significant alterations are noted here. B. cancelled a number of lengthy passages, which are given in an appendix on pp. 475–9 below.

THE FOUR ZOAS

The Torments of Love & Jealousy in
The Death and Judgement
of Albion the Ancient Man

by William Blake 1797

[2] Rest before Labour

[3] *Οτι ουκ εστιν ημιν η παλη προς αιμα και σαρκα, αλλα
προς τας αρχας, προς τας εξουσιαις, προς τους
κοσμοκρατορας του σκοτους του αιωνος τουτου, προς
τα πνευματικα της πονηριας εν τοις επουρανιοις.*
Εφες: vi κεφ. 12 ver.

NIGHT THE FIRST

*The song of the aged mother which shook the heavens with wrath,
Hearing the march of long resounding strong heroic verse,
Marshallled in order for the day of intellectual battle.*

Four mighty ones are in every man: John xvii 21-3
a perfect Unity

5 Cannot exist, but from the Universal
Brotherhood of Eden,

p. 2. The only words in this page, which has a sketch of a reclining male figure. See *design*, p. 475.

p. 3. *Superscription*] The Greek text of *Ephesians* vi 12: 'For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places'. That is, the evil in the world will be traced in this poem to the corruption of Man's spiritual powers. B. writes the Greek as shown, without accents or breathings.

i 1-3. Syntax and heavy inking mark these lines as a subtitle of the lengthy eighteenth-century kind. They are the result of much emendation and abbreviation, as the appendix shows (p. 475ff).

i 4-6. See headnote, p. 293 above, and *Jerusalem* pl.98.28ff. These lines are most important for an understanding of the persons of the poem and their interrelations.

John xvii 21-3 reads: 'That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou has sent me. And the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one; and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me.' To B. the opening words, and the whole sense, of this passage have a visionary meaning far wider – and more literal – than 'that they may all agree with one another'.

i 5. *John* i 14 reads: 'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth'.

The Universal Man, to whom be glory ever more. Amen.	John i 14 καὶ. ἐσκηνώσεν. ἐν ἡμῖν

What are the natures of those living creatures the Heavenly
Father only
Knoweth; no individual knoweth nor can know in all Eternity.

- Los was the fourth immortal starry one, & in the earth
 10 Of a bright universe empery attended day & night,
 Days & nights of revolving joy. Urthona was his name
 [4] In Eden; in the auricular nerves of human life
 Which is the earth of Eden, he his Emanations propagated,
 Fairies of Albion, afterwards gods of the heathen. Daughter
 of Beulah, sing
 15 His fall into division & his resurrection to unity.
 Begin with Tharmas, parent power, darkening in the west:

‘Lost! Lost! Lost are my Emanations. Enion, O Enion!

i 6. The Greek is quoted from the above passage – ‘and dwelt among us’.

i 8. *no individual knoweth nor*] replacing *Individual Man knoweth not*. Note the cancellation of the word *Man*: ‘individuals’ are not necessarily members of the earthly human race.

i 9–13. *Urthona, Los*] The poem opens with a glimpse of Los, or Urthona, in his unfallen state of joy. In Eden (the eternal paradise) his domain is the earth, the basis of life itself (fire, air and water belong to the other Zoas). He is the prophet and poet, and propagates his poetry, his ‘emanations’ (which have the living human form), in the living *auricular nerves* of the ear of the ‘eternal man’, as a gardener propagates plants and flowers, which then grow.

i 14. *afterwards*] Because the fairies of old legend are imaginative truth; but the imagination was lost, and the legends corrupted into systems of gods and goddesses. Cp. *Marriage* iv 14n, p. 117.

Albion] B.’s later name for the Eternal Man.

i 15. *His fall*] Los’s fall, in the first place; the beginning of the story, as told later in this Night, of how Urthona divided into two beings, Los and Enitharmon, born into a corrupted world through Tharmas and Enion. But the fall was also Albion’s, and in the Ninth Night Albion (with all his constituent elements, the Zoas) is resurrected and reunited. Between this line and the next, the following two lines are inserted, but seem to be del. by light strokes: ‘His fall into the generation of decay & death, & his / Regeneration by the resurrection from the dead.’

i 16. *Tharmas*] See p. 297 above. Tharmas’s characteristics of compassion and pity fit him to be ‘parent’ of Los in the fallen world.

i 17. *Enion*] Tharmas’s counterpart, wife or emanation – terms all used in the course of the poem; but the third was B.’s final choice.

i 17. *EMANATION*] B. could find this term in various 18th-c. works on ancient, mystical and Neo-Platonist thought, referring to a spiritual exhalation from the being, esp. from the Divine Essence, but he gave it a special meaning. From the first he saw the Emanation as a person, not an abstraction; she appears here first as the feminine counterpart of the Zoas, and almost always female. There is no

We are become a victim to the living, we hide in secret.
I have hidden Jerusalem in silent contrition. O, pity me.

- 20 I will build thee a labyrinth also; O, pity me. O Enion,
Why hast thou taken sweet Jerusalem from my inmost soul?
Let her lay secret in the soft recess of darkness & silence.
It is not love I bear to [Enitharmon], it is pity.
She hath taken refuge in my bosom, & I cannot cast her out.
- 25 'The men have received their death wounds & their
emanations are fled
To me for refuge, & I cannot turn them out for pity's sake,'

sex in Eternity, but the Emanation is an idealization of the specifically feminine virtues, the 'wifely' parts of the personality, as B. sees them. She is gentle, tender and caring; but she is weak and, as here, her anxiety may lead her to jealousy and bitterness. Thus she requires protection and guidance. But though B.'s Emanations are strongly individualized, they are (as in his sources) essentially a *part* of the total personality, exhaled for a while, but always belonging to it. Only when the Emanation is *lost*, unable to return, is there tragedy; this is an important situation in all the long epics. Thirdly, in *Jerusalem* (esp. pl.54.1-3) there is a trend towards using the word, in a less personal way, of creations of the mind or the imagination; when these are lost, the personality is unable to reach out to others, and becomes enclosed in itself. In *Jerusalem* this concept coexists with the earlier, more personal use of the word, which is normal in *Four Zoas* and *Milton*.

The term *spectre* (*Jerusalem* pl.6.1n) is found in the same sources as *Emanation*, and one is not usually differentiated from the other. But B.'s Emanation is not merely a feminine equivalent of the male spectre. The Emanation is a real part of the eternal being; the spectre is only a shade. But when a mythical figure loses his Emanation, and the spectre also breaks from him, he may dwindle almost to nothing, with the two fragments, male and female, seeming to usurp his entire personality. (E.g. Tharmas in Night i, and Los and Enitharmon in Night vii. In both cases, monstrous children are the consequence.)
i 19. *Jerusalem*] A confusing alteration, here, 21 and 62. Lines 19-20, 1st rdg, were:

I have hidden thee Enion in Jealous Despair. O Pity Me
I will build thee a Labyrinth where we may remain for ever alone.

Cp. also 21n, 23n, 62n. The idea is simply that Enion is jealous of another female figure – Enitharmon or Jerusalem; but Tharmas has only provided refuge out of pity. Lines 235-38 show that this is true: pity and compassion are Tharmas's essential nature, but Enion's jealousy is not assuaged and disaster follows. In 23, and the story of 235ff, the other female is Enitharmon: it is difficult to see why B. brought in Jerusalem, the emanation of the Man (Albion) himself.

i 20. *labyrinth*] A sign of evil, not primarily because of its classical associations, but through B.'s characteristic hatred of anything secret, hidden and tortuous.

i 21. *sweet Jerusalem*] 1st rdg. Enitharmon.

i 22. *lay*] Commonly used in B.'s time where we would expect 'lie'.

i 23. *Enitharmon*] B. has not altered this to *Jerusalem*, as in 19; perhaps an oversight, perhaps not.

i 26. *pity*] Tharmas's particular characteristic.

- Enion said. 'Thy fear has made me tremble, thy terrors have surrounded me,
All love is lost; terror succeeds & hatred instead of love,
And stern demands of right & duty instead of liberty.
- 30 'Once thou wast to me the loveliest son of heaven—but now
Why are thou terrible? And yet I love thee in thy terror till
I am almost extinct, & soon shall be a shadow in oblivion
Unless some way can be found that I may look upon thee &
live.
Hide me some shadowy semblance, secret whispering in my ear
- 35 In secret of soft wings, in mazes of delusive beauty.
I have looked into the secret soul of him I loved
And in the dark recesses found sin, & cannot return.'
- Trembling & pale sat Tharmas, weeping in his clouds:
- 'Why wilt thou examine every little fibre of my soul,
40 Spreading them out before the sun like stalks of flax to dry?
The infant joy is beautiful, but its anatomy
Horrible, ghast, & deadly. Nought shalt thou find in it
But death, despair, & everlasting brooding melancholy.
- 'Thou wilt go mad with horror if thou dost examine thus
- 45 Every moment of my secret hours. Yea, I know
That I have sinned & that my Emanations are become harlots.
I am already distracted at their deeds, & if I look
Upon them more, despair will bring self-murder on my soul.
O Enion! thou art thyself a root growing in hell,
- 50 Though thus heavenly beautiful, to draw me to destruction.
- 'Sometimes I think thou art a flower expanding,
Sometimes I think thou art fruit breaking from its bud
In dreadful dolour & pain, & I am like an atom,
A nothing left in darkness! Yet I am an identity.
- 55 I wish & feel & weep & groan. Ah, terrible! terrible!'
- [5] (In Eden females sleep the winter in soft silken veils,
Woven by their own hands to hide them in the darksome grave.
But males immortal live, renewed by female deaths. In soft
Delight they die, & they revive in spring with music & songs.)
- 60 Enion said, 'Farewell, I die, I hide from thy searching eyes.'

i 27–30. So in *Jerusalem* pl.22.1, and 10–12, where the passage is adapted to another context.

Thy fear] i.e. 'my fear for thee': she fears she may lose him.

i 34. *Hide me some shadowy semblance*] Perhaps 'in' or 'as' is missing after 'me'.

i 39–43. So in *Jerusalem* pl.22.20–4. See 27*n*.

i 53. *an atom*] The concept of the atom (in 1800 still a philosophical rather than a scientific concept) was, in B.'s view, the product of a misguided mind, analysing instead of imagining.

- So saying, from her bosom weaving soft in sinewy threads
 A tabernacle for Jerusalem, she sat among the rocks,
 Singing her lamentation. Tharmas groaned among his clouds
 Weeping, then bending from his clouds he stooped his
 innocent head,
- 65 And stretching out his holy hand in the vast deep sublime,
 Turned round the circle of destiny with tears & bitter sighs,
 And said, 'Return, O wanderer, when the day of clouds is o'er.'
- So saying, he sunk down into the sea, a pale white corse.
 In torment he sunk down & flowed among her filmy woof,
- 70 His spectre issuing from his feet in flames of fire
 In gnawing pain, drawn out by her loved fingers. Every nerve
 She counted, every vein & lacteal, threading them among
 Her woof of terror. Terrified & drinking tears of woe,
 Shuddering she wove—nine days & nights sleepless; her food
 was tears.
- 75 Wondering she saw her woof begin to animate, & not
 As garments woven subservient to her hands but having a will
 Of its own, perverse & wayward. Enion loved & wept.
- Nine days she laboured at her work, & nine dark sleepless nights;
 But on the tenth trembling morn, the Circle of Destiny complete,
- 80 Round rolled the sea englobing, in a watery globe
 self-balanced,
 A frowning continent appeared, where Enion in the deserts
 Terrified in her own creation, viewing her woven shadow
 Sat in a dread intoxication of repentance & contrition.

i 62. *for Jerusalem*] 1st *rdg del.* of delight: 2nd *rdg del.* for Enitharmon.

i 63–8. The illustration at the foot of the page shows Tharmas, brooding, on the surface of the sea.

i 65. *holy*] B.'s irony.

i 66. The *circle of destiny* is mentioned only in this passage. It is the fallen material world, where the main action will take place. The failure of Tharmas and Enion has trapped them in an everturning cycle of life and death. A similar cycle is described in 'The Mental Traveller' (p. 604).

i 70. *spectre*] A corrupt, unreal form; see iv 63n.

i 72. *lacteal*] Vessels similar to veins, which carry lymph.

i 76. *garments*] See 56–9.

i 80. *self-balanced*] *Paradise Lost* vii 242: 'Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung'. Cp. also *Book of Los* 163–4.

i 82. *Terrified*] Not, like God in *Genesis* i, pleased.

her woven shadow] Tharmas in his 'cocoon'.

i 83. *dread*] Replaces 'sweet'. *repentance & contrition*] 1st *rdg* false woven bliss, *del. for* self woven sorrow, *itself del.* The apparent contradiction is solved when one realizes that one can relish sorrow, and indulge in repentance. After this line the following was inserted, then deleted:

'He spurnd Enion with his foot he sprang aloft in Clouds
 Alighting [*down from*] in his drunken joy in a far distant Grove'

- There is from Great Eternity a mild & pleasant rest
 85 Named *Beulah*, a soft moony universe, feminine, lovely,
 Pure, mild & gentle, given in mercy to those who sleep
 Eternally, created by the Lamb of God around
 On all sides, within & without the Universal Man.
 The daughters of Beulah follow sleepers in all their dreams
 90 Creating spaces lest they fall into eternal death.
 The Circle of Destiny complete, they gave to it a space
 And named the space *Ulro*, & brooded over it in care & love.
 They said: 'The Spectre is in every man insane and most
 Deformed. Through the three heavens descending in fury &
 fire
 95 We meet it with our songs & loving blandishments, & give
 To it a form of vegetation. But this spectre of Tharmas
 Is eternal death! What shall we do? O God, pity & help!'
 So spoke they, & closed the Gate of the Tongue in
 trembling fear.
 'What have I done?' said Enion, 'Accursed wretch! What deed!
 100 Is this a deed of love? I know what I have done. I know
 Too late now to repent. Love is changed to deadly hate;
 A life is blotted out, and I alone remain possessed with fears!
 I see the shadow of the dead within my soul wandering

i 84. B. looks up from his narrative of the world of Tharmas to show that even in the worst disasters the divine care is operating. Such passages are late additions; the sense of hope they bring was not in the poem in its first state.

i 84–90. *Beulah*] See *Milton* pl.30.2n.

i 90. SPACES] Cp. *Milton* pls 8.42–4, 10.6–7 and *Jerusalem* 85.1–9. Such spaces limit and contain the soul, but do so in order to prevent its complete disintegration – a temporary but inevitable expedient which must be accompanied by more positive redemptive measures.

i 92. *Ulro*] The sense is unusual; normally *Ulro* is the place of chaos and non-entity, beyond the hope that is implied here.

i 93–4. *The Spectre . . . Deformed*] So in vii 300 and *Jerusalem* pl.33.4.

i 94. *the three heavens* of female beauty; cp. 275–6, and especially *Milton* pl.5.5–10. Here, B. means that the 'insane spectre' may begin to be tamed through female beauty – if it is used, not deceitfully or as a trap, but as a source of true joy. This means remaining for a while in earthly bounds ('a form of vegetation', 96), but the condition may be the beginning of rebirth.

i 98. *the Gate of the Tongue*] B. explains the image in *Jerusalem* pl.38.24: 'the affectionate touch of the tongue is closed in by deadly teeth'. Cp. *Europe*, prefatory poem and *Milton* pl.2.10n.

i 99. *Accursed wretch*] Since there is no punctuation, it may be that B. did not intend this to be part of the speech.

i 101. *Love . . . hate*] Probably first read: '?Alone ?possessed by deadly fears'.

i 102. *A life*] Perhaps a slip for *All life*.

i 103. *shadow*] Originally *remembrance: soul* was *eyes*.

- In darkness and solitude, forming seas of doubt and rocks of repentance.
- 105 Already are my eyes reverted, all that I behold
 Within my soul has lost its splendour, and a brooding fear
 Shadows me o'er, and drives me outward to a world of woe!
 So wailed she, trembling before her own created phantasm.
- [6] She drew the Spectre forth from Tharmas in her shining loom
 110 Of vegetation. Weeping in wayward infancy & sullen youth,
 Listening to her soft lamentations soon his tongue began
 To lisp out words, & soon in masculine strength augmenting he
 Reared up a form of gold, & stood upon the glittering rock,
 A shadowy human form winged, & in his depths
 115 The dazzlings as of gems shone clear, rapturous in fury,
 Glorying in his own eyes. Exalted in terrific pride,
 The spectre thus spoke: 'Who art thou, diminutive husk & shell?
 If thou hast sinned and art polluted, know that I am pure
 And unpolluted, and will bring to rigid strict account
 120 All thy past deeds. Hear what I tell thee! Mark it well!
 Remember!
 This world is thine in which thou dwellest: that within thy soul,
 That dark and dismal infinite where Thought roams up and down
 Is mine; and there thou goest when with one sting of my tongue
 Envenomed thou rollst inwards to the place whence I emerged!'
- 125 She trembling answered, 'Wherefore was I born, and what
 am I? —
 I thought to weave a covering for my sins from wrath of
 Tharmas:
- [7] I thought Tharmas a sinner and murdered his emanations,
 His secret loves and graces—Ah me, wretched! What have I done?

i 104. *seas . . . repentance*] Originally read: 'seas of trouble and rocks of sorrow'.

i 108. After this, a line: *1st rdg del.* But standing on the rocks, her woven shadows, glowing bright. *2nd rdg del.* Who animating times on times by force of her sweet song.

i 114. *A shadowy human form*] deceptively beautiful, but only a shadow.

i 116. Seventeen deleted lines follow on pp. 6–7: see app. (c), p. 477.

i 118–33. Del. lines: before 118:

Broke from my bonds I scorn my prison I scorn & yet I love
 Art thou not my slave and shalt thou dare
 To smite me with thy tongue Beware lest I sting also thee

after 125:

A sorrow & a fear a living torment & naked victim

after 126 (at the top of p. 7):

Examining the sins of Tharmas I soon found my own
 O slay me not thou art his wrath embodied in deceit

i 121–3. *thine . . . mine*] Originally the other way round, *mine . . . thine*.

For now I find that all those emanations were my children's
souls,
130 And I have murdered them with cruelty above atonement.
Those that remain have fled from my cruelty into the deserts;
And thou the delusive tempter to these deeds sittest before me.
In this thy world—not mine: though dark, I feel my world within.'

Mingling his horrible brightness with her tender limbs; then
high she soared
135 *Shrieking* above the ocean, a bright wonder *that* nature
shuddered at,
Half-woman and half Spectre; all his lovely changing colours
mix
With her fair crystal clearness; in her lips and cheeks his
poisons rose
In blushes like the morning, and his scaly armour softening;
A monster lovely in the heavens or wand'ring on the earth,
[8] Till with fierce pain she brought forth on the rocks her
sorrow & woe:
141 Behold, two little infants wept upon the desolate wind.

The first state weeping they began, & helpless as a wave
Beaten along its sightless way, growing enormous in its
motion to
Its utmost goal, till strength from Enion like richest summer
shining
145 Raised the bright boy & girl, with glories from their heads
out-beaming,
Drawing forth drooping mother's pity, drooping mother's
sorrow.

They sulk upon her breast; her hair became like snow on
mountains
Weaker & weaker, weeping woeful, wearier and wearier,
Faded, & her bright eyes decayed, melted with pity & love.
[9a] And then they wandered far away. She sought for them in vain;
151 In weeping blindness stumbling she followed them, o'er
rocks and mountains

i 132. This line began *Among wild beasts to roam* (continuing 130), but the words were deleted.

after 132:

And art thou Tharmas All thy soft delusive beauty cannot
Tempt me to murder my own soul & wipe my tears & smile

i 135. *Shrieking* was added, then del. *nature*] Beulah del.

i 136. *Spectre*] 1st rdg del. serpent (see pp. 477–8, b 27n, c 4, 8n).

i 141 *two little infants*] Los and Enitharmon.

i 146. Thirteen deleted lines follow: see appendix, p. 478.

Rehumanizing from the spectre in pangs of maternal love.
 Ingrate they wandered, scorning her, drawing her spectrous life,
 Repelling her away & away by a dread repulsive power,
 155 Into non-entity revolving round in dark despair,
 And drawing in the spectrous life in pride and haughty joy.
 Thus Enion gave them all her spectrous life.

Then Eno, a daughter of Beulah, took a Moment of Time
 And drew it out to seven thousand years with much care and
 affliction
 160 And many tears, & in every year made windows into Eden.
 She also took an atom of Space & opened its centre
 Into infinitude, & ornamented it with wondrous art.
 Astonished sat her sisters of Beulah to see her soft affections
 To Enion & her children, & they pondered these things
 wondering;
 165 And they alternate kept watch over the youthful terrors.
 They saw not yet the Hand Divine, for it was not yet revealed,
 But they went on in silent hope & feminine repose.
 But Los & Enitharmon delighted in the moony spaces of Eno.
 Nine Times they lived among the forests, feeding on sweet fruits,
 170 And nine bright spaces wandered, weaving mazes of delight.
 Snaring the wild goats for their milk, they ate the flesh of lambs,
 A male & female, naked & ruddy as the pride of summer.
 Alternate love & hate his breast, hers scorn & jealousy
 In embryo passions. They kissed not nor embraced for
 shame and fear.

i 152. *Rehumanizing*] *Un-* and *re-humanize* are terms occasionally used in *Four Zoas* (e.g. viii 107), but rarely elsewhere. Although odd terms, they define themselves, when one remembers that to B. the true human form was Divine perfection.

i 153–5. Illustrated at foot of the page.

i 158–61. *Jerusalem* pl.48.30–41 seems to be based on these lines. Cp. also *Milton* pl.8.43; and pl.28.44ff, where B. describes the elasticity of time and space. For *moment* see *Milton* pl.28.59n.

i 169. *Nine*] Proclus, a Neo-Platonic commentator on Homer, sees the ten years' wanderings of Odysseus as symbolizing the soul's nine ages of wandering and one of homecoming. The last year makes up the perfect number; one less is imperfection. There is evidence that B. had read this comment, or knew about it; he uses nine and multiples of nine in this way on a number of occasions (e.g. the twenty-seven churches of *Milton* pl.37.35ff).

Times] i.e. Ages. B. uses the word with a specific meaning such as 'century' has. See *America* 60n.

i 171. *ate . . . lambs*] Cp. ii 196–8.

i 174. *for shame and fear*] Here and in the following lines the 'Adam-and-Eve' nature of the pair is suggested, linking with the deleted creation passage after 146 (see appendix).

- 175 His head beamed light & in his vigorous voice was prophecy,
 He could control the times & seasons, & the days & years;
 She could control the spaces, regions, desert, flood & forest,
 But had no power to weave a veil of covering for her sins.
 She drave the females all away from Los,
 180 And Los drave all the males from her away.
 They wandered long, till they sat down upon the margined sea,
 Conversing with the visions of Beulah in dark slumberous bliss.

* * *

- [19(21)] Then those in Great Eternity met in the Council of God
 As one Man: for contracting their exalted senses
 185 They behold multitude, or expanding they behold as one,
 As one Man, all the Universal family, & that One Man
 They call Jesus, the Christ: & they in him & he in them
 Live in perfect harmony, in Eden the land of life,
 Consulting as One Man above the mountain of Snowdon
 sublime.
 190 For messengers from Beulah come, in tears & darkening clouds,
 Saying: 'Shiloh is in ruins, our brother is sick. Albion, he

i 179–80. So with Urizen and Ahania in ii 419–20.

i 183. Originally, lines i 181 and our ii 2 (p. 313) were consecutive in B.'s best copperplate, reading, '... margined sea. / Thy name is ...' Between them, he later wrote *Night the Second* in the margin, emphasizing it with a heavy dividing line. He also added i 182 and our ii 1 to make an ending and beginning respectively. In the MS, on page 23, there is a large title, *Vala / Night the ...* B. variously wrote, and cancelled, Third, and First. No other beginning is marked for the Second Night. This suggests a simple change of mind, were it not for the existence of pages 19–22, written later than page 9; we must decide where to put them. The present arrangement accepts the new title, beginning Night ii at the point of his second choice, and interpolating pages 19–22 where it fills out an otherwise very short Night i. B. had plainly not made his mind up, and all we can do is to present the text and the narrative that he left behind in a practical order. (Sheets 19–20 and 20–21 have been bound in the wrong order. The number in square brackets is the order as bound, and used in earlier editions.)

i 189. *Snowdon*] (Replacing 'Gilead'): a mountain in the land of the prophetic bards, who knew the patriarchal tradition, and transmitted in their art the true religion. Gilead was probably rejected because B. later wanted a place more directly connected with Albion. B. associated Wales, land of the bardic tradition, with Israel; he had met the British-Israelite ideas of the Welsh scholar Owen Pughe, using them to make his own equivalences.

i 191. SHILOH] A great city in northern Israel, second only to Jerusalem, and given Messianic significance in the eyes of many Nonconformists by *Genesis* xlix 10, when Jacob blesses his family: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah ... until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.' Its status is confirmed in *Joshua* xviii 1, when, after the conquest of Canaan, the Israelites gathered in Shiloh, and set up the tabernacle there. Note *holy tent* several times

- Whom thou lovest, is sick; he wanders from his house of
Eternity.
The daughters of Beulah terrified have closed the gate of the
tongue,
Luvah & Urizen contend in war around the holy tent.'
- 195 So spoke the ambassadors from Beulah & with solemn
mourning
They were introduced to the divine presence & they kneeled
down
In Conway's Vale, thus recounting the wars of Death eternal:
'The Eternal Man wept in the holy tent. Our brother in
Eternity,
Even Albion, whom thou lovest, wept in pain; his family
200 Slept round on hills & valleys in the regions of his love.
But Urizen awoke, & Luvah woke, & thus conferred:
'"Thou, Luvah," said the Prince of Light, "behold our sons
and daughters
Reposed on beds. Let them sleep on. Do thou alone depart
Into thy wished kingdom where in majesty & power
205 We may erect a throne. Deep in the north I place my lot,
Thou in the south. Listen attentive. In silent of this night
I will enfold the eternal tent in clouds opaque, while thou
Seizing the chariots of the morning, go, outfleeing ride
Afar into the zenith, high bending thy furious course
210 Southward, with half the tents of men enclosed in clouds
Of Tharmas & Urthona. I remaining in porches of the brain
Will lay my sceptre on Jerusalem the emanation,
On all her sons & on thy sons, O Luvah, & on mine,
Till dawn was wont to wake them. Then my trumpet
sounding loud,

in 194–265. Joanna Southcott (see p. 488) claimed that the *Genesis* text referred to her expected child.

In B., Shiloh may contrast two sister-nations (e.g. Britain and France, *Jerusalem* pl.5.29) in conflict, or mark the lost or faithless but still beautiful city; here the city is spiritually 'in ruins'. Cp. also *Jerusalem* pl.63.6n.

i 191. *Albion* is the 'Eternal Man'. Cp. 88.

i 197. *Conway's Vale*] In North Wales, not far from Snowdon. The phrase is an alteration from *Beth Peor* (see 189n, 191n). *Beth Peor* was the place where Moses died; B. thought of the bards and Moses in the same terms here, as great leaders with prophetic powers. See also Gray's *The Bard*.

i 201. One version of the usurpation story. Like the new title (see headnote, p. 297) it does not present Vala as its seductive centre. Other versions, usually with a personal slant, occur at intervals – e.g. ii 14, 213, iii 41, vii 234. When Man sleeps, the elements within him, which he should direct, take advantage of him, but fall into disunity among themselves.

215 Ravished away in night my strong command shall be obeyed.
For I have placed my sentinels in stations: each tenth man
Is bought & sold, & in dim night my word shall be their law.”

[20(22)] ‘Luvah replied: “Dictate to thy equals: am not I
The Prince of all the hosts of men, nor equal know in Heaven?
220 If I arise into the zenith, leaving thee to watch
The Emanation & her sons, the Satan & the Anak,
Sihon and Og, wilt thou not, rebel to my laws, remain
In darkness building thy strong throne, & in my ancient night,
Daring my power, wilt arm my sons against me in the Atlantic,
225 My deep, my night—which thou assuming hast assumed my
crown?
I will remain as well as thou, & here with hands of blood
Smite this dark sleeper in his tent; then try my strength with
thee.”

‘While thus he spoke his fires reddened o’er the holy tent;
Urizen cast deep darkness round him, silent brooding death,
230 Eternal death to Luvah. Raging Luvah poured
The lances of Urizen from chariots; round the holy tent
Discord began, & yells & cries shook the wide firmament.

‘Beside his anvil stood Urthona dark, a mass of iron
Glowed furious on the anvil prepared for spades & coulters. All
235 His sons fled from his side to join the conflict. Pale he heard
The eternal voice. He stood; the sweat chilled on his mighty
limbs.

He dropped his hammer. Dividing from his aching bosom fled
A portion of his life, shrieking upon the wind—she fled
And Tharmas took her in, pitying. Then Enion in jealous fear
240 Murdered her, & hid her in her bosom, embalming her for fear
She should arise again to life. Embalmed in Enion’s bosom
Enitharmon remains a corse—such thing was never known
In Eden, that one died a death never to be revived.

‘Urthona stood in terror, but not long; his spectre fled
245 To Enion, & his body fell. Tharmas beheld him fall
Endlong, a raging serpent rolling round the holy tent.
The sons of war, astonished at the glittering monster, drove
Him far into the world of Tharmas, into a caverned rock.

i 221–2. *the Anak*, / *Sihon and Og*] Enemies of Israel, reputed to be giants: see *Jerusalem* pl.48.63*n*. They are, here, ‘angels’ as yet unfallen.

i 234. *coulter*] Part of a plough: the vertical cutting blade just ahead of the share.

i 238. *A portion*] His Emanation; of course, she does revive.

- 'But Urizen, with darkness overspreading all the armies,
 250 Sent round his heralds, secretly commanding to depart
 Into the north. Sudden with thunder's sound, his multitudes
 Retreat from the fierce conflict, all the sons of Urizen at once
 Mustering together in thick clouds, leaving the rage of Luvah
 To pour its fury on himself, & on the eternal Man.
- 255 'Sudden down fell they all together into an unknown space,
 Deep, horrible, without end. Separated from Beulah far
 beneath,
 The Man's exteriors are become indefinite, opened to pain
 In a fierce hungering void, & none can visit his regions.
- [21(19)] Jerusalem his Emanation is become a ruin;
 260 Her little ones are slain on the top of every street
 And she herself led captive & scattered into the indefinite.
 Gird on thy sword, O thou most mighty in glory & majesty!
 Destroy these oppressors of Jerusalem, & those who ruin
 Shiloh!'
- So spoke the messengers of Beulah. Silently removing,
 265 The Family Divine drew up the Universal tent
 Above high Snowdon, & closed the messengers in clouds
 around
 Till the time of the end. Then they elected seven, called the
 Seven
 Eyes of God, & the Seven Lamps of the Almighty.
 The Seven are one within the other, the seventh is named
 Jesus –

i 249. When Urthona has been overthrown, Urizen betrays Luvah by withdrawing his forces. Luvah is left 'raging in the abyss' – this is not a military campaign envisaged in detail – and his wrath, finding no enemy, recoils on himself and on the Man, leaving Urizen's power undisputed. The allegory is that passion and rationalism have allied to overthrow the prophetic imagination in Man; and then passion, unbalanced, has run wild, giving the rational spirit an excuse to take control of the entire Man who, unable to handle this internal war, gives reason this undue authority (ii 211–16).

i 251. *north*] Belongs to Urthona, but now usurped by Urizen (205).

i 257. For B. the true, eternal human form has a clear, definite, but not rigid, outline. A fall from perfection will be accompanied by a loss of this clear certainty of active, living feature.

i 259. *his*] Albion's (the Man's). When B. began *Four Zoas* the 'Man' had no emanation; his only division was into Urthona, Urizen, etc., with their counterparts. Later the 'Man' became Albion, who has an emanation, Jerusalem. Cp. i 17*n*.

i 267. *seven*] Cp. *Milton* pl.14.42*n*. The Seven are guardians of fallen 'man' on behalf of the Divine Family; but they are in turn proved inadequate though benevolent, except the last, Jesus. Cp. *Revelation* iv 5: 'there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God'.

- 270 The Lamb of God blessed for ever, & he followed the Man,
 Who wandered in mount Ephraim seeking a sepulchre,
 His inward eyes closing from the Divine Vision, & all
 His children wandering outside from his bosom, fleeing away.

[*End of the First Night*]

- [22(20)] The daughters of Beulah beheld the Emanation; they pitied,
 275 They wept, before the inner gates of Enitharmon's bosom,
 And of her fine wrought brain, & of her bowels within her loins.
 Three gates within, glorious & bright, open into Beulah
 From Enitharmon's inward parts; but the bright female terror
 Refused to open the bright gates. She closed and barred
 them fast,
 280 Lest Los should enter into Beulah through her beautiful gates.
 The Emanation stood before the gates of Enitharmon
 Weeping. The daughters of Beulah silent in the porches
 Spread her a couch. Unknown to Enitharmon, here reposed
 Jerusalem, in slumbers soft, lulled into silent rest.
 285 Terrific raged the eternal wheels of intellect; terrific raged
 The living creatures of the wheels in the wars of Eternal Life.
 But perverse rolled the wheels of Urizen & Luvah, back
 reversed,
 Downwards & outwards consuming in the wars of Eternal Death.

Night the Second

Mutual scorn between Los and Enitharmon now grows into a quarrel which lasts until after the birth of Orc in the Fifth Night. First, in a passage of much textual confusion (13), Enitharmon sings a song glorifying the dominance of the female; Los retaliates, and Enitharmon calls in Urizen (50) to establish her ascendancy. Los and Urizen exchange threats, then settle an uneasy peace (83), and all sit down to an unhappy feast. Los and Enitharmon regard each other with mutual scorn, a war song is sung (127ff): and finally, a lament is heard from Enion, driven by Los and Enitharmon, her children, to the verge of Non-Entity. Thus all the Zoas are in conflict with

i 271. *Ephraim*] The holy mountain of the seceded Northern Kingdom (see 191n on Shiloh).

i 274. *the Emanation*] Probably Jerusalem (cp. 259), but possibly Enitharmon.

i 277. *Three gates*] Cp. *Milton* pl.5.5n (p. 512). The gates of Enitharmon's bosom, first closed against Los, burst open in vii 319; cp. also v 177, viii 20-9.

i 285. *the eternal wheels*] Cp. *Ezekiel* i 4-25, where Ezekiel's vision of 'four living creatures' – source of the Zoas – and of dazzling wheels is described. But to B. wheels are often dead, mechanical things.

one another, and the Man sinks down (206–10), unable to keep his illness under control any longer.

At this point there is a hiatus in the MS (for the textual problems, see Night i headnote (p. 297), and a second beginning for the Second Night (MS page 23). The ‘Man’ (renamed ‘Albion’ in a late development) is ill and wearily hands over his power to one of the Zoas, Urizen, thus disturbing the whole balance of his nature. (He sleeps in pain until the Ninth Night, when he wakes and reassumes command over himself. From this point B. develops the myth of *Urizen*, which with added material takes him from the Second to the Seventh Night (see general headnote, p. 294). The major difference is in the place and nature of Urizen. In *Urizen* he is one among many equals in the republic of Eternity, and he commits the treason of arrogating sole power to himself. In *Four Zoas* he is one of the four great spirits who are parts of the eternal Man. Eternity is seen, not simply as a republic, but as ‘one Man’, made up of many living beings who are part of him, the Four Zoas being the four major living principles which, in balance with one another, make up the ‘Man’. Urizen’s creation proceeds in Night ii; it is an attempt to secure his power against his enemies and still more the encroaching abyss (225–31). Yet in the glory of his creation he is unhappy (501–4), enviously regarding Los and Enitharmon, to whose continuing quarrel B. now turns (512–45), and the Night ends with another lament from Enion (596–633), a comment on the nature of life under Urizen, and one of the finest passages in Blake’s epics.

NIGHT THE SECOND

- [9b] But the two youthful wonders wandered in the world of
Tharmas.
‘Thy name is Enitharmon’, said the fierce prophetic boy;
‘While thy mild voice fills all these caverns with sweet
harmony,
O, how our parents sit & mourn in their silent secret bowers!’
[10] But Enitharmon answered with a dropping tear & frowning,
6 Dark as a dewy morning when the crimson light appears:
‘To make us happy let them weary their immortal powers,
While we draw in their sweet delights, while we return them
scorn
On scorn to feed our discontent; for if we grateful prove

ii 1. *the world of Tharmas*] Cp. i 248, where Urthona’s spectre is driven ‘far into the world of Tharmas’ where the children are now wandering.

ii 2. *prophetic boy*] Los.

- 10 They will withhold sweet love, whose food is thorns & bitter roots.
 We hear the warlike clarions, we view the turning spheres,
 Yet thou in indolence reposest, holding me in bonds.
 Hear! I will sing a song of Death! it is a song of Vala.
 The fallen Man takes his repose: Urizen sleeps in the porch.
- 15 Luvah and Vala woke & flew up from the Human heart
 Into the brain; from thence upon the pillow Vala slumbered.
 And Luvah seized the horses of light, & rose into the chariot
 of day.
 Sweet laughter seized me in my sleep; silent & close I laughed,
 For in the visions of Vala I walked with the mighty fallen one,
- 20 I heard his voice among the branches, & among sweet flowers:
 ‘Why is the light of Enitharmon darkened in dewy morn?
 Why is the silence of Enitharmon a terror, & her smile a
 whirlwind?
 Uttering this darkness in my halls, in the pillars of my holy ones,
 Why dost thou weep as Vala & wet thy veil with dewy tears,
- 25 In slumbers of my night-repose, infusing a false morning,
 Driving the female emanations all away from Los?
 I have refused to look upon the universal vision;
 And wilt thou slay with death him who devotes himself to thee—

ii 13–31. *a song of Vala*] This is a usurpation story, but it has arrived at its present form through the drastic revision of an entirely different earlier text which apparently concerned Luvah and Vala, and described how Vala’s misery affected Luvah: it was probably another legend of female dominance of the Man through jealousy and guile. The final version given here tells how Luvah and Vala usurp Urizen’s place in the brain of the Eternal Man. While Luvah takes over Urizen’s horses of light Vala puts dreams into the Eternal Man’s mind, dreams in which Enitharmon has a place (15). The anxious words originally spoken by Luvah to Vala are now spoken by the ‘Man’ to Enitharmon, in whose power he is. In the guise of ‘a song of Vala’ Enitharmon is trying to make Los jealous. He knocks her down (32).

The main verbal alterations are shown in the notes: the textual development, as far as it has been traced, may be found in the facsimiles, *Bentley*, and *Erdman*.

Other legends of the domination of man – both by Vala – are told in iii 41ff and vii 237ff, and there are many occasional references.

ii 14. *fallen*] 1st rdg del. Eternal (so also in 35 and 39).

ii 18–19. These are added lines; 19 written before 18.

ii 21. *Enitharmon darkened in*] 1st rdg del. Vala darkened in her.

ii 22. *Enitharmon a terror*] 1st rdg del. Vala lightning; 2nd rdg del. Enitharmon a cloud.

ii 24. *as Vala*] 1st rdg del. O Vala.

ii 26–9. These lines, which were added piecemeal and revised, are not part of the early ‘song’ referred to in the note on 13.

Once born for the sport & amusement of man, now born to
drink up all his powers?"

[11] 'I heard the sounding sea; I heard the voice weaker and
weaker;

31 The voice came & went like a dream—I awoke in my sweet
bliss.'

Then Los smote her upon the earth. 'Twas long ere she
revived.

He answered, darkening more, with indignation hid in smiles:

'I die not, Enitharmon, though thou singest thy song of death,

35 Nor shalt thou me torment. For I behold the fallen Man
Seeking to comfort Vala; she will not be comforted.

She rises from his throne and seeks the shadows of her garden,
Weeping for Luvah lost, in the bloody beams of your false
morning.

Sickening lies the fallen Man, his head sick, his heart faint.

40 (Mighty achievement of your power! Beware the punishment.)

I see invisible descend into the gardens of Vala

Luvah walking on the winds; I see the invisible knife,

I see the shower of blood; I see the swords & spears of
futurity.

Though in the brain of Man we live, & in his circling nerves,

45 Though this bright world of all our joy is in the Human brain,

Where Urizen & all his hosts hang their immortal lamps,

Thou ne'er shalt leave this cold expanse where watery

Tharmas mourns.'

So spoke Los. Scorn & indignation rose upon Enitharmon.

Then Enitharmon reddening fierce stretched her immortal
hands:

ii 34-47. Here again considerable revision, presumably for the same purpose as in 13-32, has altered the sense to conform with B.'s latest story.

ii 36. In Enitharmon's version the Man has been comforting her, not Vala (21ff): Los says she is distorting the truth but in 40 lays all the blame for the Man's sickness on Enitharmon. This is an error for (as we know) Los's own fallen state, including his belligerence and this very quarrel, is another part of Man's sickness.

ii 40. For nine added but deleted lines, see fragment (e), p. 479.

ii 42-3. i.e. 'I foresee the bloodshed that will come of this'.

ii 44-53. Los claims that the brain (usually given to Urizen, but in the song, 15-17, taken over by Luvah and Vala) belongs to himself and Enitharmon by right: but threatens her with perpetual exile (cp. 1 and n). Los (or Urthona) normally belongs in the heart, Luvah in the loins (despite 15, which is unusual, but a reminder of B.'s inconsistency). Note that this is also an allegory of the nature of our earthly human minds.

50 'Descend, O Urizen, descend with horse & chariots!
Threaten not me, O visionary; thine the punishment!
The Human nature shall no more remain, nor human acts
Form the rebellious spirits of heaven, but war & princedom
and victory & blood.'

[12] Night darkened as she spoke; a shuddering ran from east to west.

55 A groan was heard on high. The warlike clarions ceased. The
spirits
Of Luvah & Vala shuddered in their orb, an orb of blood.
Eternity groaned & was troubled at the image of eternal death.
The wandering Man bowed his faint head, and Urizen
descended.

And the one must have murdered the other if he had not
descended.

60 Indignant muttering low thunders Urizen descended,
Gloomy sounding: 'Now I am God from eternity to eternity.'

Sullen sat Los, plotting revenge. Silent he eyed the Prince
Of Light. Silent the Prince of Light viewed Los. At length a
brooded

Smile broke from Urizen, for Enitharmon brightened more
and more.

65 Sullen he lowered on Enitharmon, but he smiled on Los,
Saying: 'Thou art the lord of Luvah. Into thine hands I give
The Prince of Love, the murderer. His soul is in thine hands.
Pity not Vala, for she pitied not the Eternal Man,
Nor pity thou the cries of Luvah. Lo, these starry hosts,
70 They are thy servants, if thou wilt obey my awful law.'

Los answered furious: 'Art thou one of those who when
most complaisant
Mean mischief most? If you are such, lo! I am also such.
One must be master: try thy arts, I also will try mine.
For I perceive thou hast abundance which I claim as mine.'

75 Urizen startled stood, but not long: soon he cried:
'Obey my voice, young demon! I am God from eternity to
eternity!'

Thus Urizen spoke, collected in himself in awful pride:

ii 59. *the one . . . the other*] Los and Enitharmon.

ii 71. *complaisant*] B. spells it *complacent*: defined by Johnson as 'civil; affable; soft; complaisant'.

- ‘Art thou a visionary of Jesus, the soft delusion of Eternity?
Lo, I am God the terrible destroyer, & not the saviour!
80 Why should the Divine Vision compel the sons of Eden
To forego each his own delight to war against his spectre?
The spectre is the man. The rest is only delusion & fancy.’
- So spoke the Prince of Light, & sat beside the seat of Los.
Upon the sandy shore rested his chariot of fire.
- 85 Ten thousand thousand were his hosts of spirits on the wind,
Ten thousand thousand glittering chariots shining in the sky,
They pour upon the golden shore beside the silent ocean,
Rejoicing in the victory; & the heavens were filled with blood.
- The earth spread forth her table wide, the night a silver cup
90 Filled with the wine of anguish, waited at the golden feast;
But the bright sun was not as yet; he filling all the expanse
Slept as a bird in the blue shell that soon shall burst away.
- Los saw the wound of his blow; he saw, he pitied, he wept.
Los now repented that he had smitten Enitharmon; he felt love
95 Arise in all his veins; he threw his arms around her loins
To heal the wound of his smiting.
- They ate the fleshly bread, they drank the nervous wine,
[13] They listened to the elemental harps & sphery song,
They viewed the dancing hours, quick sporting through the sky
100 With winged radiance, scattering joys through the
ever-changing light.
- But Luvah & Vala standing in the bloody sky
On high remained alone, forsaken in fierce jealousy.
They stood above the heavens forsaken, desolate, suspended
in blood.
- Descend they could not, nor from each other avert their eyes.
105 Eternity appeared above them as One Man enfolded

ii 78. The description of Los as *a visionary of Jesus* is confusing. These lines are a very late pencil addition: by the time B. had written Night viii, this is what Los had become, because Los developed and changed radically as B. worked at the poem. But in this context Los is still a spoilt child, as is Enitharmon.

ii 80–2. The evil error into which Urizen has fallen.

ii 85–6. *Ten thousand thousand*] Urizen’s host descends to take a bloodless victory, which Los and Enitharmon must accept. The spirits, the sea, the reception of honour, are all derived from *Revelation*, iv–v, but the direct allusion is to *Paradise Lost* vi 767–70, where God appears: ‘Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints / He onward came; far off his coming shone; / And twenty thousand (I their number heard) / Chariots of God . . .’

ii 97. *ate*] B. has *eat*.

ii 98. *sphery song*] The music of the spheres.

In Luvah's robes of blood & bearing all his afflictions.
As the sun shines down on the misty earth, such was the vision.

But purple night & crimson morning & golden day
descending
Through the clear changing atmosphere displayed green
fields among

- 110 The varying clouds, like paradises stretched in the expanse,
With towns & villages & temples, tents, sheep-folds & pastures,
Where dwell the children of the elemental worlds in harmony;
Not long in harmony they dwell, their life is drawn away
And wintry woes succeed—successive driven into the void
115 Where Enion craves, successive drawn into the golden feast.

And Los & Enitharmon sat in discontent & scorn.
The nuptial song arose from all the thousand thousand spirits
Over the joyful earth & sea, and ascended into the heavens.
For elemental gods their thunderous organs blew, creating
120 Delicious viands, demons of waves their watery echoes woke.
Bright souls of vegetative life, budding and blossoming
[14] Stretch their immortal hands to smite the gold & silver wires,
And with immortal voice soft warbling fill all earth & heaven,
With doubling voices & loud horns wound round sounding
125 Cavernous dwellers filled the enormous revelry responding.
And spirits of flaming fire on high governed the mighty song.

And this the song sung at the feast of Los & Enitharmon:
'Ephraim called out to Zion: Awake, O brother mountain,

ii 106. *Luvah's robes of blood*] See headnote, p. 296. Lines 101–7 were inserted into the original text.

ii 113. *Not long in harmony*] Los and Enitharmon will disturb it (see 116, and the song beginning on 128).

ii 116. *discontent and scorn*] Still angry with one another, perhaps also scorning what they see. The phrase indicates the true nature of the social 'pleasure' of the feast.

ii 121. *VEGETATIVE*] B. gives this a specific meaning, 'rooted in the soil of the mortal world'. See also *generation*, p. 506.

ii 122. *Stretch their immortal hands*] Recalling *Europe* 13, 'Stretch forth your hands and strike the elemental strings', spoken by Los as he calls the spirits to an earlier feast of Los and Enitharmon: both lines deriving from Milton's *At a Solemn Music*, 12–13: 'And the cherubic host in thousand choirs / Touch the immortal harps of golden wires'.

ii 124. *loud horns wound round*] The valveless French horn, in common use in duets in pleasure gardens.

ii 128. *Ephraim, Zion*] The holy mountains, and the capitals, of Israel and Judah. Israel broke into these two kingdoms after Solomon's death; here they unite in bloodthirstiness, and represent the capitals of Europe to express awareness of the nature of the European war.

130 Let us refuse the plough & spade, the heavy roller & spiked
Harrow. Burn all these cornfields, throw down all these fences.
Fattened on human blood & drunk with wine of life is better
far

‘Than all these labours of the harvest & the vintage. See the
river,
Red with the blood of men, swells lustful round my rocky knees;
My clouds are not the clouds of verdant fields & groves of fruit,
135 But clouds of human souls; my nostrils drink the lives of men.

‘The villages lament. They faint outstretched upon the plain.
Wailing runs round the valleys, from the mill & from the barn;
But most the polished palaces, dark, silent, bow with dread,
Hiding their books & pictures underneath the dens of earth.

140 ‘The cities send to one another saying: My sons are mad
With wine of cruelty. Let us plait a scourge, O sister city!
Children are nourished for the slaughter; once the child was fed
With milk; but wherefore now are children fed with blood?

[15] ‘The horse is of more value than the man. The tiger fierce
145 Laughs at the human form. The lion mocks & thirsts for blood
They cry: O spider, spread thy web! Enlarge thy bones &, filled
With marrow, sinews & flesh, exalt thyself, attain a voice!

‘Call to thy dark-armed hosts, for all the sons of men muster
together
To desolate their cities. Man shall be no more. Awake, O hosts!’

150 The bowstring sang upon the hills. Luvah & Vala ride
Triumphant in the bloody sky, & the human form is no more.

‘The listening stars heard, & the first beam of the morning
started back;
He cried out to his father, “Depart! depart!” But sudden seized
And clad in steel—& his horse proudly neighed, he smelt the
battle

155 Afar off, rushing back. Reddening with rage the mighty father

ii 144. The tiger is destructive; the human form is the epitome of beautiful completeness and coordination.

ii 148. *muster together*] Perhaps a reference to the renewal of the war with France in 1803, or to any period of its intensification.

ii 150ff. The events of this passage are part of the song, not part of the narrative of the poem. In it the demons describe a victory of Urizen over Luvah, which presages that of 282ff.

ii 152. Urizen is Prince of Light, and *the first beam* is his messenger, the *He* of 153.

ii 155. *the mighty father*] Urizen, retaliating against Luvah.

- ‘Seized his bright sheephook studded with gems & gold; he
 swung it round
 His head, shrill sounding in the sky; down rushed the sun
 with noise
 Of war. The mountains fled away, they sought a place beneath.
 Vala remained in deserts of dark solitude, nor sun nor moon
- 160 ‘By night nor day to comfort her (she laboured in thick
 smoke).
 Tharmas endured not, he fled howling. Then a barren waste
 sunk down,
 Conglobing in the dark confusion. Meantime Los was born
 And thou, O Enitharmon—hark, I hear the hammers of Los!
- [16] ‘They melt the bones of Vala & the bones of Luvah into wedges:
 165 The innumerable sons & daughters of Luvah closed in furnaces
 Melt into furrows. Winter blows his bellows; ice & snow
 Tend the dire anvils. Mountains mourn, & rivers faint & fail.
- ‘There is no city nor cornfield nor orchard—all is rock & sand!
 There is no sun nor moon nor star, but rugged wintry rocks
 170 Justling together in the void, suspended by inward fires.
 Impatience now no longer can endure. Distracted Luvah,
 ‘Bursting forth from the loins of Enitharmon, thou fierce
 terror,
 Go howl in vain! Smite, smite his fetters! Smite, O wintry
 hammers!
 Smite, Spectre of Urthona, mock the fiend who drew us down
 175 From heavens of joy into this deep. Now rage, but rage in vain!’
- Thus sang the demons of the deep; the clarions of war blew
 loud.
 The feast redounds, & crowned with roses & the circling vine,
 The enormous bride & bridegroom sat. Beside them Urizen
 With faded radiance sighed, forgetful of the flowing wine,
 180 And of Ahania his pure bride; but she was distant far.

ii 164. *the bones of Vala . . . Luvah*] Cp. the melting of Luvah in the fires of Vala in 282–326 below – note that here Vala is melted also. The iron, smelted in the furnace, runs out along ‘furrows’ (166) to the mould.

ii 171–5. The song now foretells what actually happens at the beginning of Night v, where Orc (the fallen form of Luvah) is born to Enitharmon (v 37) but fettered by Los and the spectre of Urthona (v 104–12).

ii 177. *redounds*] A favourite (Miltonic) word of B’s, rather odd here. *OED* notes a meaning ‘resound, reverberate’, as obsolete after 1632.

ii 178. *enormous*] i.e., monstrous.

ii 180. *Ahania*] Urizen’s emanation.

- But Los & Enitharmon sat in discontent & scorn,
 Craving the more the more enjoying, drawing out sweet bliss
 From all the turning wheels of heaven & the chariots of the
 slain,
 At distance far in night repelled, in direful hunger craving,
 185 Summers & winters round revolving in the frightful deep.
- [17] Enion blind & age-bent wept upon the desolate wind:
 ‘Why does the raven cry aloud & no eye pities her?
 Why fall the sparrow & the robin in the foodless winter?
 Faint, shivering, they sit on leafless bush, or frozen stone,
 190 Wearied with seeking food across the snowy waste—the little
 Heart cold and the little tongue consumed, that once in
 thoughtless joy
 Gave songs of gratitude to waving cornfields round their nest.
- ‘Why howl the lion & the wolf? Why do they roam abroad?
 Deluded by summer’s heat, they sport in enormous love,
 195 And cast their young out to the hungry wilds & sandy deserts.
- [18] ‘Why is the sheep given to the knife? The lamb plays in the sun:
 He starts, he hears the foot of man, he says, “Take thou my
 wool
 But spare my life;” but he knows not that winter cometh fast.
- ‘The spider sits in his laboured web, eager watching for the fly;
 200 Presently comes a famished bird & takes away the spider;
 His web is left all desolate, that his little anxious heart
 So careful wove & spread it out with sighs and weariness.’
- This was the lamentation of Enion round the golden feast.
 Eternity groaned and was troubled at the image of eternal death
 205 Without the body of Man, an exudation from his sickening limbs.
- Now Man was come to the palm tree & to the oak of weeping
 Which stand upon the edge of Beulah; & he sunk down

ii 181. This line recalls 116.

ii 186. *Enion* was left (i 157) after being driven to the void of non-entity by the scorn of Los and Enitharmon. Compare this lament with 597ff.

ii 187–90. Unlike the literary lion and wolf of 193, this passage gives the impression of being at least to some extent derived from observation.

ii 198. *the winter cometh*] When he will suffer without his fleece (but sheep are shorn in late spring so that the wool can grow again before winter) – or the reference may be to slaughter for winter food (an out-of-date practice by 1800).

ii 206–10. B. adds to the picture of Enion watching at the Feast, a further aspect – that of the Divine Family. The effect of the wickedness of Los and Enitharmon, Urizen and all the Zoas, is expressed in terms of the myth of the weakened Albion as in *Jerusalem* pl.47.15–48.52.

From the supporting arms of the Eternal Saviour, who
 disposed
 The pale limbs of his eternal Individuality
 210 Upon the Rock of Ages, watching over him with love & care.

End of the First Night

[23] Rising upon his Couch of Death Albion beheld his sons;
 Turning his eyes outward to self, losing the Divine Vision,
 Albion called Urizen & said: 'Behold these sickening spheres!
 Whence is this voice of Enion that soundeth in my porches?
 215 Take thou possession! Take this sceptre! Go forth in my might.
 For I am weary, & must sleep in the dark sleep of death.
 Thy brother Luvah hath smitten me; but pity thou his youth,
 Though thou hast not pitied my age, O Urizen, Prince of Light.'

Urizen rose from the bright feast like a star through the
 evening sky,
 220 Exulting at the voice that called him from the feast of envy.
 First he beheld the body of Man, pale, cold; the horrors of death
 Beneath his feet shot through him as he stood in the human
 brain,
 And all its golden porches grew pale with his sickening light.
 No more exulting, for he saw eternal death beneath;

ii 207. *palm tree* and *oak of weeping*] M. J. Tolley has suggested a connection between two Deborahs, in *Genesis* xxxv 8 and *Judges* iv 5. In the first, a certain Deborah, nurse of Rebecca, Jacob's wife, dies and is buried beneath an oak, *Allonbachuth* (A. V. margin translates, 'Oak of weeping') at Bethel. The second is near Bethel also, and refers to the palm tree where Deborah the prophetess gave judgment. The reference to two Deborahs appears incidental: the heart of the allusion is Jacob's experience at Bethel. There he laid his head on a stone pillar, and in his sleep saw a vision of God (*Genesis* xxviii 10–19). In B., dreams are an entry to Beulah. Albion also sleeps on stone, and is watched by the Divine love and care. Perhaps he also will see a vision of God, a vision which is not merely a dream, but an eternal reality.

ii 208–10. Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.48.1–12.

ii 210. For the 'Ending' see i. 183*n*.

ii Page 23. Once the beginning of a Night: still the beginning of Urizen's active dominion. See Night i headnote. The heading now stands as 'VALA / Night the [erasure]'.
 ii 211. *Albion* (1st *rdg del.* The Man) B.'s later name for the archetypal Man; it implies also that the nation of Britain can stand for *The Man*.

ii 215. *take this sceptre*] The symbol of handing over power. The illustration below shows the Man, aged, lying down to sleep.
 ii 217. *Luvah hath smitten me*] Cp. i 253–4. Luvah's attack on Urizen had turned on himself and the Man.

ii 218. *Prince of Light*] Urizen is equated with Lucifer and Satan.
 ii 222. *the human brain*] The brain of the 'Man', Urizen's home.

- 225 Pale, he beheld futurity; pale, he beheld the abyss,
Where Enion, blind & age-bent, wept in direful hunger
craving,
All ravening like the hungry worm, & like the silent grave.
- [24] Mighty was the draught of voidness to draw existence in.
Terrific, Urizen strode above; in fear & pale dismay
- 230 He saw the indefinite space beneath, & his soul shrunk with
horror,
His feet upon the verge of Non-Existence his voice went forth.
- Luvah & Vala, trembling & shrinking, beheld the great
workmaster,
And heard his word, 'Divide, ye bands, influence by influence.
Build we a bower for Heaven's darling in the grisly deep;
235 Build we the Mundane Shell around the rock of Albion.'
The bands of Heaven flew through the air, singing &
shouting to Urizen:
Some fixed the anvil, some the loom erected, some the plough
And harrow formed, & framed the harness of silver & ivory,
The golden compasses, the quadrant & the rule & balance.
- 240 They erected the furnaces, they formed the anvils of gold,
beaten in mills
Where winter beats incessant, fixing them firm on their base.

ii 229ff. Cp. *Paradise Lost* vii 131ff, the creation of the world. But in B. 'Lucifer' is enthroned as creator, and he creates through fear of the abyss, not to fill a gap left by rebels. B. draws on many details of Milton's account.

ii 230. *the indefinite space*] Cp. *Paradise Lost* vii 211-12: '... the vast immeasurable abyss, / Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild'.

ii 232. *the great workmaster*] Cp. Bacon (whose thought was anathema to B.), *Advancement of Learning* II xiv 9: 'For if that great work-master had been of an human disposition, he would have cast the stars into some pleasant and beautiful works and orders, like the frets in the roofs of houses; whereas one can scarce find a posture in square, or triangle, or straight line, amongst such an infinite number ...' But though this phraseology is remarkably relevant, B. could have found the phrase in *Paradise Lost* iii 696.

ii 233. *bands*] Bands (or gangs) of Urizen's servants.

ii 234. *Heaven's darling*] In *Paradise Lost* ii 350-1 and 373, Beelzebub refers to newly created man as 'favoured more of him who rules above' and 'his darling sons'.

ii 235. *the mundane shell*] The enclosing firmament which confines and restricts the material world: cp. 458, and note at *Milton* pl.34.31.

ii 237-40. At first sight a rather improbable mixture of tools and implements of various trades: but B., later in the Night, develops each trade - blacksmithing, ironmoulding, farming and carpentry - in turn (327-82).

ii 239. *the golden compasses*] From *Paradise Lost* vii 225, where they were '... prepared / In God's eternal store, to circumscribe / This Universe, and all created things'.

- The bellows began to blow & the lions of Urizen stood
round the anvil
- [25] And the leopards covered with skins of beasts tended the
roaring fires;
Sublime, distinct, their lineaments divine of human beauty.
- 245 The tigers of wrath called the horses of instruction from their
mangers:
They unloosed them & put on the harness of gold & silver
& ivory.
- In human forms distinct they stood round Urizen, prince of
light,
Petrifying all the Human Imagination into rock & sand.
Groans ran along Tyburn's brook, and along the river of
Oxford
- 250 Among the Druid temples. Albion groaned on Tyburn's brook,
Albion gave his loud death groan. The Atlantic mountains
trembled,
Aloft the moon fled with a cry, the sun with streams of blood
From Albion's loins fled. All peoples and nations of the earth
Fled with the noise of slaughter, & the stars of heaven fled.
- 255 Jerusalem came down in a dire ruin over all the earth;
She fell cold from Lambeth's vales in groans & dewy death,
The dew of anxious souls, the death-sweat of the dying
In every pillared hall & arched roof of Albion's skies.
The brother & the brother bathe in blood upon the Severn,

ii 243. *leopards*] B. might have heard of the West African 'leopard-man' cults, which involved human sacrifice by celebrants dressed in leopard skins; but no direct source has been found.

ii 245. Cp. *Marriage*, p. 115 above.

ii 248. In a sketch below Urizen manipulates huge compasses. Lines 248–75 are an insertion.

ii 248–75. This unexpected material derives from (but does not quote) *Jerusalem*, which blends elements of British and Israelite history, to mark the universality of all experience.

ii 249. *Tyburn*] The place where criminals were hanged, near the site of the Marble Arch. For *Oxford*, see *Jerusalem* pl.40.30, p. 744.

ii 250. *Druid temples*] Cp. notes on *Europe* 72 and *Jerusalem* 27.2–3.

ii 255. *Jerusalem*] In B.'s later myth, Jerusalem, Albion's Emanation, is involved in his fall, and is enslaved (as a woman) or razed (as a city) until he rises again from his sleep of death. See i 17, 19, 259–63; viii 576–8; and especially the poem in *Jerusalem* 27.

ii 256. *Lambeth's vales*] B.'s home 1791–1800. Also the home of the Archbishop of Canterbury, head of English official and organized religion. But cp. *Milton* pl.25.48.

ii 259. *the Severn*] Two civil-war battles were fought on the Severn: Shrewsbury (1403) and Tewkesbury (1471). But see next *n*.

- 260 The maiden weeping by, the father & the mother with
 The maiden's father & her mother fainting over the body,
 And the young man, the murderer, fleeing over the mountains.
 Reuben slept on Penmaenmawr & Levi slept on Snowdon.
 Their eyes, their ears, nostrils & tongues roll outward; they
 behold
- 265 What is within now seen without; they are raw to the hungry
 wind,
 They become nations far remote in a little & dark land.
 The daughters of Albion girded around their garments of
 needlework,
 Stripping Jerusalem's curtains from mild demons of the hills,
 Across Europe & Asia to China & Japan, like lightnings
- 270 They go forth, & return to Albion on his rocky couch:
 Gwendolen, Ragan, Sabrina, Gonorill, Mehetabel, Cordella,
 Boadicea, Conwenna, Estrild, Gwinefred, Ignoge, Cambel—
 Binding Jerusalem's children in the dungeons of Babylon.

ii 260. *The maiden*] No one in *Vala*; it is a stock ballad-scene.

ii 263–6. *Reuben* belongs chiefly to *Jerusalem* (see pl.30.43*n*), these lines may be understood fully only in the context of that poem, especially pls.15.1–29, 30.43–54, 32.1–13. The chief ideas here are: (a) that the two, Reuben and Levi, are faithless children, and *asleep*; (b) their faculties are turned inwards and limited, as human faculties are limited in this material world. B. introduces the pair here within Urizen's creation as examples of eternal natures corrupted. Reuben, eldest son of Judah, was disinherited as 'unstable as water' (*Genesis* xlix 4) for his incest and Levi (father of the tribe of priests) for his cruelty and betrayal of trust (*Genesis* xxxiv, xlix). For *outward* see *Jerusalem* pl.12.55*n*.

Snowdon and *Penmaenmawr*, the great mountains of northern Wales, are associated by B. with the bards of old, inspired men who maintained the great patriarchal tradition. Perhaps B. is indicating that even they have only earthbound intuitions.

ii 266. *little . . . land*] Intermittently and rather obscurely, B. develops in *Jerusalem* pls.63.1–64.5, 64.35–8, 71.1–5 the image of Albion and Canaan as two visions of one holy land, which through Albion's despair is split into two, the separated parts rolling far apart from one another. Here Reuben and Levi are parted from Albion, and have become two of the twelve tribes or nations in the remote land of Canaan. Line 264 is a reference to the idea developed in *Jerusalem* pl.71.6–9. Lines 263–75, an addition to the original text, describe the evil which comes upon disintegrating Albion in his sleep.

ii 271–2. *the daughters of Albion*] The names are chosen from the legendary history of Ancient Britain (i.e. pre-Roman Britain) and so belong to the druid age. They are much used in *Jerusalem*; see pl.5.43–4 for details.

ii 273. *Babylon*] For the transportation of the Jews of Jerusalem to Babylon (the background of *Ezekiel*) see 2 *Kings* xxv. *Revelation* uses the opposition of Babylon and Jerusalem to symbolize evil and the city of God. Cp. also *Galatians* iv 25: 'Jerusalem . . . is in bondage, with her children'. The image is biblical, not B.'s invention.

They play before the armies, before the hounds of Nimrod,
 275 While the Prince of Light on Salisbury Plain among the
 Druid stones . . .

Rattling the adamantine chains & hooks, heave up the ore
 In mountainous masses, plunged in furnaces, & they shut &
 sealed

The furnaces a time & times; all the while blew the north
 His cloudy bellows, & the south & east & dismal west;
 280 And all the while the plough of iron cut the dreadful furrows
 In Ulro beneath Beulah, where the dead wail night & day.

Luvah was cast into the furnaces of affliction & sealed,
 And Vala fed in cruel delight the furnaces with fire.

Stern Urizen beheld, urged by necessity to keep
 285 The evil day afar, & if perchance with iron power
 He might avert his own despair. In woe & fear he saw
 [26] Vala encircle round the furnaces where Luvah was closed.
 In joy she heard his howlings, & forgot he was her Luvah,
 With whom she walked in bliss, in times of innocence &
 youth.

290 Hear ye the voice of Luvah from the furnaces of Urizen:

‘If I indeed am Vala’s king, & ye, O sons of men,
 The workmanship of Luvah’s hands in times of everlasting,
 When I called forth the earth-worm from the cold & dark obscure
 I nurtured her, I fed her with my rains & dews, she grew
 295 A scaled serpent, yet I fed her though she hated me;
 Day after day she fed upon the mountains in Luvah’s sight.
 I brought her through the wilderness, a dry & thirsty land,
 And I commanded springs to rise for her in the black desert
 Till she became a dragon, winged, bright & poisonous.

ii 274. *Nimrod*] in *Genesis* x 9, ‘the mighty hunter’ and a ruler of wide lands; to B. a fierce tyrant.

ii 275. *Salisbury Plain*] Site of Stonehenge. Lines 249–75 are an added passage; probably a line between 275 and 276 was missed out in copying.

ii 282–9. *Furnaces*] Luvah is like iron refined in a blast-furnace. The process used to continue for many months. The mouth at the base was sealed; charcoal, other materials, and the iron ore, were fed in constantly from above. The melted iron in the ore then ran down, to be tapped at the base. The flames could be seen for miles, and the roaring of the air driven in by water-driven bellows to maintain the heat.
 ii 283. Vala has betrayed her counterpart; in vii Vala also takes Urizen’s side against Orc (who is a degraded form of Luvah).

ii 299. The four drawings on this page show variations on this bat-winged female dragon; two heavily emphasize Vala’s sexual poison, one with bird’s head, scales and emphasized vulva, the other many-breasted, with flowing hair and fan. On the opposite page, Vala smirks at Luvah, wasted to skin and bone.

- 300 I opened all the floodgates of the heavens to quench her thirst,
 [27] And I commanded the great deep to hide her in his hand,
 Till she became a little weeping infant a span long,
 I carried her in my bosom as a man carries a lamb,
 I loved her, I gave her all my soul & my delight;
 305 I hid her in soft gardens & in secret bowers of summer,
 Weaving mazes of delight along the sunny paradise,
 Inextricable labyrinths. She bore me sons & daughters,
 And they have taken her away & hid her from my sight.
 They have surrounded me with walls of iron & brass. O Lamb
 310 Of God clothed in Luvah's garments, little knowest thou
 Of death eternal—that we all go to eternal Death,
 To our primeval chaos, in fortuitous concourse of incoherent
 Discordant principles of love & hate. I suffer affliction
 Because I love, for I was love; but hatred awakes in me,
 315 And Urizen, who was faith & certainty, is changed to doubt.
 The hand of Urizen is upon me, because I blotted out
 That human delusion to deliver all the sons of God
 From bondage of the human form. O first-born Son of Light,
 O Urizen my enemy, I weep for thy stern ambition
 320 But weep in vain. Oh, when will you return, Vala the wanderer?⁷
- [28] These were the words of Luvah, patient in afflictions,
 Reasoning from the loins in the unreal forms of Ulro's night.
 And when Luvah age after age was quite melted with woe,
 The fires of Vala faded like a shadow, cold & pale,
 325 An evanescent shadow; last she fell, a heap of ashes
 Beneath the furnaces, a woeful heap in living death.
 Then were the furnaces unsealed with spades, & pickaxes
 Roaring let out the fluid, the molten metal ran in channels,
 Cut by the plough of ages held in Urizen's strong hand
 330 In many a valley, for the bulls of Luvah dragged the plough.
 With trembling horror, pale, aghast the children of man
 Stood on the infinite earth & saw these visions in the air,

ii 309–13. An addition written over an erased passage. It expresses Luvah's disillusionment; but his view is erroneous, as the poem later shows (see 321–2 and 473–5).

ii 310–3. In 106 it is made clear that Jesus is 'clothed in Luvah's garments' in order to redeem him. Luvah misinterprets this here as Vala does in viii 145. Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.29.8.

ii 316–7. In fact, Luvah was striking at the Man's balance and personality. There can be no freedom for the Man's separate elements if the whole is disintegrated.

ii 324. Vala has destroyed Luvah and, unwittingly, herself also. But Luvah reappears as Orc in v 17, and Vala's shadow also returns in vii 317, with dire results.

ii 332. *the infinite earth*] *Not* the finite world Urizen is having built. Cp. the reaction of the Eternals against Urizen in *Urizen* 44ff.

- In waters, & in earth beneath; they cried to one another,
 'What? are we terrors to one another? Come, O brethren,
 wherefore
 335 Was this wide earth spread all abroad? Not for wild beasts to
 roam!'
- But many stood silent & busied in their families,
 And many said: 'We see no visions in the darksome air.
 Measure the course of that sulphur orb, that lights the
 darksome day.
 Set stations on this breeding earth, & let us buy & sell.'
 340 Others arose & schools erected, forming instruments
 To measure out the course of heaven. Stern Urizen beheld
 In woe his brethren & his sons, in darkening woe lamenting
 Upon the winds, in clouds involved, uttering his voice in
 thunders,
 Commanding all the work with care & power & severity.
- 345 Then seized the lions of Urizen their work, & heated in the
 forge
 Roar the bright masses, thundering beat the hammers, many
 a pyramid
 Is formed & thrown down thundering into the deeps of
 non-entity.
 Heated red hot they hissing rend their way down many a league
 Till resting each his centre finds; suspended there they stand,
 350 Casting their sparkles dire abroad into the dismal deep.
 For measured out in ordered spaces the sons of Urizen
 With compasses divide the deep; they the strong scales erect
 [29] That Luvah rent from the faint heart of the fallen Man,
 And weigh the massy cubes, then fix them in their awful
 stations.
- 355 And all the time, in caverns shut, the golden looms erected
 First spun, then wove the atmospheres. There the spider & worm
 Plied the winged shuttle, piping shrill through all the
 listening threads.
 Beneath the caverns roll the weights of lead & spindles of iron;

ii 337. These *many* were seduced to Urizen's vision, defying imagination and seeing only the material world.

ii 342. *sons*] Urizen's 'sons' are those imbued with his spirit.

ii 346. *pyramid*] Altered from 'globe'. In the following pages B. systematically replaces spherical images with angular ones, such as 'cube'.

ii 353. *Luvah rent*] This act is not mentioned elsewhere.

ii 357-8. *winged shuttle*] Urizen was apparently using Kay's flying shuttle. *weights*] See *Milton* pl.6.*sn*, p. 514. *spindle*] In *Milton* pl.7.*I*, and presumably here, the spindle belongs to the spinning machine.

- The enormous warp & woof rage direful in the affrighted deep.
- 360 While far into the vast unknown the strong-winged eagles bend
 Their venturous flight, in Human forms distinct; through
 darkness deep
 They bear the woven draperies; on golden hooks they hang abroad
 The universal curtains, & spread out from sun to sun
 The vehicles of light; they separate the furious particles
- 365 Into mild currents as the water mingles with the wine.
- While thus the spirits of strongest wing enlighten the dark deep,
 The threads are spun & the cords twisted & drawn out.
 Then the weak
 Begin their work, & many a net is netted many a net
- [30] Spread & many a spirit caught; (innumerable the nets,
 370 Innumerable the gins & traps), & many a soothing flute
 Is formed & many a corded lyre outspread over the immense.
 In cruel delight they trap the listeners, & in cruel delight
 Bind them, condensing the strong energies into little compass.
 Some became seed of every plant that shall be planted; some
- 375 The bulbous roots, thrown up together into barns & garners.
- Then rose the builders; first the architect divine his plan
 Unfolds—the wondrous scaffold reared all round the infinite.
 Quadrangular the building rose, the heavens squared by a line.
 Trigon & cubes divide the elements in finite bonds;
- 380 Multitudes without number work incessant; the hewn stone
 Is placed in beds of mortar mingled with the ashes of Vala.
 Severe the labour, female slaves the mortar trod, oppressed.

ii 359. *warp and woof*] The warp is the series of threads stretched along the loom; the woof is the thread woven across it. The words were in common poetic use and notoriously misused by Gray, *The Bard* 49. So in *Exodus* xxv gorgeous hangings are made for the Tabernacle, and a veil to close off the people from the presence of God.

ii 361. *Human forms*] Eternal, not yet fallen.

ii 364. *particles*] The infinite spirit is imprisoned in finite Newtonian *particles* of light (Hilton, *BQ* 12:80).

ii 368. *net*] Like the curtain of 360–5, this is an irresistible woven fabric that ties down the spirit. The drawing immediately below shows a man making a net.

ii 370. *soothing flute*] The connection of oppression and seductiveness goes back in B. at least to *In a Myrtle Shade* of the early 1790s (p. 158) and *Europe* 17–28, 33–41, etc.

ii 379. *Trigon*] A term used in astrology: see line 494*n*.

ii 380. *hewn stone* is forbidden for the altar (*Exodus* xx 25), and in the prophets marks pride riding for a fall (*Isaiah* ix 10, *Amos* v 11).

ii 381. *ashes of Vala*] From 326.

ii 382. *female slaves*] This and 430–2 probably derive from the use of women to mix mortar for building.

Twelve halls, after the names of his twelve sons, composed
 The wondrous building, & three central domes, after the
 names
 385 Of his three daughters, were encompassed by the twelve
 bright halls,
 Every hall surrounded by bright paradises of delight
 In which are towns & cities, nations, seas, mountains & rivers.
 Each dome opened toward four halls, & the three domes
 encompassed
 The golden hall of Urizen, whose western side glowed bright
 390 With ever-streaming fires, beaming from his awful limbs.
 His shadowy feminine semblance here reposed on a white
 couch,
 Or hovered o'er his starry head, & when he smiled she
 brightened
 Like a bright cloud in harvest; but when Urizen frowned she
 wept
 In mists over his carved throne, & when he turned his back
 395 Upon his golden hall & sought the labyrinthine porches
 Of his wide heaven, trembling, cold, in paling fears she sat,
 A shadow of despair. Therefore toward the west Urizen
 formed
 A recess in the wall, for fires to glow upon the pale
 Female's limbs in his absence; & her daughters oft upon
 400 A golden altar burnt perfumes, with art celestial formed
 Foursquare, sculptured & sweetly engraved to please their
 shadowy mother.
 Ascending into her misty garments the blue smoke rolled to
 revive
 Her cold limbs in the absence of her lord. Also her sons
 With lives of victims, sacrificed upon an altar of brass
 405 On the east side, revived her soul, with lives of beasts & birds
 Slain on the altar up ascending into her cloudy bosom.
 Of terrible workmanship the altar, labour of ten thousand
 slaves;

ii 383ff. Urizen's *twelve sons* and *three daughters* are an idea not fully developed. Four sons are named in *Urizen* 430-7; and below, vii 785, one (Thiriel) is mentioned. The daughters reappear in vi 5-23 and vii 95ff, where they are named – Eleth, Uveth and Ona.

ii 391. *His shadowy feminine semblance*] Not a true emanation; she is a shadow of himself, and has no true separate existence (see note on *Emanation*, i 17). Yet the entire division of 413-16 makes matters worse, for the shadow should be subordinate to its person of origin, and for it to take on a pretence of Humanity is a great evil.

ii 400. *with art celestial formed*] i.e. the altar. The 'art' is cruelty.

One thousand men of wondrous power spent their lives in its formation.

It stood on twelve steps named after the names of her twelve sons

410 And was erected at the chief entrance of Urizen's hall.

When Urizen returned from his immense labours & travels

Descending she reposed beside him, folding him around

In her bright skirts. Astonished & confounded he beheld

Her shadowy form now separate, he shuddered & was silent,

415 Till her caresses & her tears revived him to life & joy.

Two wills they had, two intellects, & not as in times of old.

This Urizen perceived & silent brooded in darkening clouds;

To him his labour was but sorrow, & his kingdom was

repentance.

He drave the male spirits all away from Ahania,

420 And she drave all the females from him away.

Los joyed & Enitharmon laughed, saying, 'Let us go down

And see this labour & sorrow.' They went down to see the woes

Of Vala, & the woes of Luvah, to draw in their delights.

And Vala like a shadow oft appeared to Urizen.

[31] The King of Light beheld her mourning among the brick kilns, compelled

426 To labour night & day among the fires. Her lamenting voice

Is heard when silent night returns & the labourers take their rest:

'O Lord, wilt thou not look upon our sore afflictions

Among these flames incessant labouring? Our hard masters laugh

430 At all our sorrow. We are made to turn the wheel for water,

To carry the heavy basket on our scorched shoulders, to sift

The sand & ashes, & to mix the clay with tears & repentance.

I see not Luvah as of old; I only see his feet

Like pillars of fire travelling through darkness & non-entity.

435 The times are now returned upon us; we have given ourselves

To scorn, and now are scorned by the slaves of our enemies.

Our beauty is covered over with clay & ashes, & our backs

Furrowed with whips, & our flesh bruised with the heavy basket.

Forgive us, O thou piteous one whom we have offended, forgive

ii 419-20. So with Los and Enitharmon in i 179-80.

ii 425-32. See note on 382.

ii 433-4 are written in the margin here, but B. did not mark where they should go.

ii 435. i.e. 'the wheel has come full circle'.

ii 438. Like the Israelites in bondage in Egypt.

- 440 The weak remaining shadow of Vala that returns in sorrow
to thee.’
Thus she lamented day & night, compelled to labour &
sorrow.
Luvah in vain her lamentations heard; in vain his love
Brought him in various forms before her—still she knew him
not,
[32] Still she despised him, calling on his name & knowing him not,
445 Still hating, still professing love, still labouring in the smoke.

And Los & Enitharmon joyed, they drank in tenfold joy
From all the sorrow of Luvah & the labour of Urizen;
And Enitharmon joyed, plotting to rend the secret cloud,
To plant divisions in the soul of Urizen & Ahania.

450 But infinitely beautiful the wondrous work arose
In sorrow & care, a golden world whose porches round the
heavens
And pillared halls & rooms received the eternal wandering stars:
A wondrous golden building—many a window, many a door,
And many a division let in & out into the vast unknown,
455 *Cubed in window square* immoveable; within its walls &
ceilings
The heavens were closed, and spirits mourned their bondage
night and day.
And the Divine Vision appeared in Luvah’s robes of blood.

Thus was the Mundane Shell builded by Urizen’s strong
power.

Sorrowing went the planters forth to plant, the sowers to sow:
460 They dug the channels for the rivers, & they poured abroad
[33] The seas & lakes, they reared the mountains & the rocks & hills

ii 441–3. Characteristically, B. puts Vala in various situations: faded to ashes (326, 381); one of the female labourers (382, 425–38); and still ignoring the imprisoned Luvah, here as in 283. The consistent feature is that both she and Luvah are governed by the will of Urizen, and cannot follow their own natures.

ii 451. *sorrow and care*] 1st *rdg del.* songs and joy: so also in 478.

ii 455. *Cubed in window square*] 1st *rdg del.* Circled in infinite orb. The second reading is also deleted; but note the allusion to ‘cubes’ and ‘window’ in 469–70. ‘If B. hesitated to choose either reading, an editor hesitates to reject either’ (*Erdman* 829) See also 346n.

ii 457. *the Divine Vision*] Luvah has been sacrificed, but the Divine Vision takes his place in the sacrifice. B. uses this term to avoid the monarchic implications of the word *God*, but sometimes uses the name *Jesus* or *the Saviour* (e.g. ii 208). Thus B. regards the Divine Vision as a person; see also line 471.

robes of blood] A mark of Luvah’s sufferings, from 101–7, throughout the poem.

ii 458. *the Mundane Shell*] The mortal world: see *Milton* pl.34.31n.

On broad pavilions, on pillared roofs & porches & high towers
 In beauteous order. Thence arose soft clouds & exhalations,
 Wandering even to the sunny cubes of light & heat.
 465 For many a window, ornamented with sweet ornaments,
 Looked out into the world of Tharmas, where in ceaseless torrents
 His billows roll, where monsters wander in the foamy paths.

On clouds the sons of Urizen beheld heaven walled round;
 They weighed & ordered all, & Urizen comforted saw
 470 The wondrous work flow forth, like visible out of the invisible.
 For the Divine Lamb, even Jesus, who is the Divine Vision,
 Permitted all, lest Man should fall into eternal death.
 For when Luvah sunk down, himself put on the robes of blood
 Lest the state called Luvah should cease, & the Divine Vision
 475 Walked in robes of blood till he who slept should awake.

Thus were the stars of heaven created like a golden chain,
 To bind the body of man to heaven from falling into the abyss:
 Each took his station, & his course began with sorrow & care,
 In sevens & tens & fifties, hundreds, thousands, numbered all
 480 According to their various powers, subordinate to Urizen
 And to his sons in their degrees, & to his beauteous daughters,
 Travelling in silent majesty along their ordered ways
 In right-lined paths outmeasured, by proportions of number,
 weight,
 And measure; mathematic motion wondrous along the deep
 485 In fiery pyramid or cube or unornamented pillar
 Of fire far shining, travelling along even to its destined end,
 Then falling down a terrible space, recovering in winter dire
 Its wasted strength, it back returns upon a nether course,
 Till fired with ardour fresh recruited in its humble season
 490 It rises up on high all summer till its wearied course
 Turns into autumn. Such the period of many worlds.
 Others, triangular, right-angled course maintain, others obtuse,
 Acute, scalene, in simple paths; but others move

ii 466. *Tharmas*] Named for the first time in this Night, by his characteristic domain – the sea.

ii 471–5. Written over erasures; the addition justifies Urizen's world, on account of 'necessity'.

ii 474. *the state called Luvah*] The idea of *states*, developed in B.'s late period, differentiates individual personality, which is eternal, from its occasional appearances, its *states*. B. deals with these states mythically, as if they were persons, but wishes to make it clear that this is only a literary device. Cp. *Milton* pl.32.10*n* and *Jerusalem* headnote and pl.31.13*n*.

ii 478. Cp. 451*n*.

ii 485. *unornamented pillar*] 1st *rdg del.* ornamented pillar square.

ii 486. *its*] A star's. In 478–96 the stars vary between singular and plural.

ii 493. *scalene*] A triangle with unequal sides.

In intricate ways biquadrate—trapeziums, rhombs, rhomboids,
 495 Parallelograms, triple & quadruple, polygonic—
 In their amazing hard subdued course in the vast deep.

[34] And Los & Enitharmon were drawn down by their desires,
 Descending sweet upon the wind, among soft harps & voices,
 To plant divisions in the soul of Urizen & Ahania,
 500 To conduct the voice of Enion to Ahania's midnight pillow.

Urizen saw, & envied; & his imagination was filled.

Repining, he contemplated the past in his bright sphere,
 Terrified with his heart & spirit at the visions of futurity
 That his dread fancy formed before him in the unformed void.

505 For Los & Enitharmon walked forth on the dewy earth,
 Contracting or expanding their all-flexible senses—
 At will to murmur in the flowers, small as the honey bee;
 At will to stretch across the heavens & step from star to star;
 Or standing on the earth erect, or on the stormy waves
 510 Driving the storms before them, or delighting in sunny beams
 While round their heads the elemental gods kept harmony.

And Los said: 'Lo! the lily pale & the rose reddening fierce
 Reproach thee, & the beamy gardens sicken at thy beauty.
 I grasp thy vest in my strong hand in vain, like water-springs
 515 In the bright sands of Los, evading my embrace. Then I alone
 Wander among the virgins of the summer: "Look!" they cry.
 "The poor forsaken Los, mocked by the worm, the shelly snail,
 The emmet & the beetle!" Hark, they laugh & mock at Los!'

Enitharmon answered: 'Secure now from the smittings of thy
 power,
 520 Demon of fury, if the god enraptured me enfolds,

ii 494. *biquadrate*] The square of the square; i.e. to the fourth power. These are astrological angles, measuring 'conjunctions' and 'oppositions' of planets, etc.

ii 496. *hard subdued*] 1st rdg *del.* fructifying.

ii 511. *the elemental gods*] The 'elements'; i.e. the features of the weather personified – a piece of commonplace poetic diction. They sang the song in 119ff; and sing again in v 42ff and vii 471ff.

ii 512ff. The sense of this passage, 512–92 (all added material) divides into two at 554. Its theme is the flirtatious deceitfulness and jealousy of Enitharmon, which bring out similar feelings in an unhappy Los.

ii 518. *emmet*] ant.

ii 520–3. *the god*] Urizen, 'the bright god' (526), whom Los determines to make jealous (548). Enitharmon says, in effect: 'I will let *the god* embrace me if I like; but you must not behave as I do'. Los says: 'I shall do as you do, but I am still unhappy because you reject me'.

In clouds of sweet obscurity my beauteous form dissolving,
Howl thou over the body of death—'tis thine! But if among
the virgins

Of summer I have seen thee sleep, & turn thy cheek delighted
Upon the rose or lily pale, or on a bank where sleep

525 The beamy daughters of the light, starting they rise, they flee
From thy fierce love. For though I am dissolved in the
bright god,

My spirit still pursues thy false love over rocks & valleys.'

Los answered: 'Therefore fade I, thus dissolved in raptured trance:
Thou canst repose on clouds of secrecy, while o'er my limbs

530 Cold dews & hoary frost creeps, though I lie on banks of summer
Among the beauties of the world. Cold & repining, Los
Still dies for Enitharmon, nor a spirit springs from my dead corse.
Then I am dead, till thou revivest me with thy sweet song—
Now taking on Ahanias form, & now the form of Enion.

535 I know thee not as once I knew thee, in those blessed fields
Where memory wishes to repose among the flocks of
Tharmas.'

Enitharmon answered: 'Wherefore didst thou throw thine
arms around

Ahanias image? I deceived thee & will still deceive.

Urizen saw thy sin, & hid his beams in darkening clouds;

540 I still keep watch, although I tremble & wither across the heavens
In strong vibrations of fierce jealousy; for thou art mine,
Created for my will, my slave—though strong, though I am weak.
Farewell! the god calls me away. I depart in my sweet bliss!'

She fled, vanishing on the wind, and left a dead cold corse

545 In Los's arms. Howlings began over the body of death.

Los spoke: 'Thy god in vain shall call thee if by my strong power
I can infuse my dear revenge into his glowing breast,
Then jealousy shall shadow all his mountains, & Ahanias
Curse thee, thou plague of woeful Los, & seek revenge on thee!'

550 So saying, in deep sobs he languished till dead he also fell.
Night passed, & Enitharmon ere the dawn returned in bliss.
She sang o'er Los, reviving him to life (his groans were terrible),
But thus she sang: 'I seize the sphery harp, I strike the strings.

'At the first sound the golden sun arises from the deep

555 And shakes his awful hair.

The echo wakes the moon to unbind her silver locks.

ii 536. *the flocks of Tharmas*] Presumably fish.

ii 542. This line sums up Enitharmon's creed.

ii 554. This is a more regular st. form than that of *Europe* 161-91.

The golden sun bears on my song,
And nine bright spheres of harmony rise round the fiery king.

560 'The joy of woman is the death of her most best beloved,
Who dies for love of her
In torments of fierce jealousy & pangs of adoration.
The lovers' night bears on my song,
And the nine spheres rejoice beneath my powerful control.

565 'They sing unceasing, to the notes of my immortal hand:
The solemn silent moon
Reverberates the living harmony upon my limbs,
The birds & beasts rejoice & play,
And every one seeks for his mate to prove his inmost joy.

570 'Furious & terrible they sport, & rend the nether deeps;
The deep lifts up his rugged head
And lost in infinite humming wings vanishes with a cry;
The fading cry is ever dying,
The living voice is ever living in its inmost joy.

575 'Arise! you little glancing wings, & sing your infant joy!
Arise & drink your bliss!
For every thing that lives is holy, for the source of life
Descends to be a weeping babe;
For the earthworm renews the moisture of the sandy plain.

580 'Now my left hand I stretch to earth beneath
And strike the terrible string:
I wake sweet joy in dens of sorrow, & I plant a smile
In forests of affliction,
And wake the bubbling springs of life in regions of dark death.

585 'Oh, I am weary. Lay thine hand upon me or I faint;
I faint beneath these beams of thine,
For thou hast touched my five senses & they answered thee.
Now I am nothing, & I sink
And on the bed of silence sleep, till thou awakest me!'

590 Thus sang the lovely one in rapturous delusive trance.
Los heard; reviving he seized her in his arms, delusive hopes
Kindling. She led him into shadows, & thence fled
 outstretched
Upon the immense, like a bright rainbow, weeping, &
 smiling, and fading.

ii 574. As in *Visions* 214 – a strange equation of the innocent Oothoon and Enitharmon.

- Thus lived Los, driving Enion far into the deathful infinite,
That he may also draw Ahania's spirit into her vortex.
- 595 Ah, happy blindness! Enion sees not the terrors of the uncertain;
Thus Enion wails from the dark deep (the golden heavens
tremble)
- [35] 'I am made to sow the thistle for wheat, the nettle for a
nourishing dainty;
I have planted a false oath in the earth, it has brought forth
a poison tree;
I have chosen the serpent for a counsellor, & the dog
- 600 For a schoolmaster to my children.
I have blotted out from light & living the dove & nightingale,
And I have caused the earthworm to beg from door to door.
I have taught the thief a secret path into the house of the just,
I have taught pale artifice to spread his nets upon the morning.
- 605 My heavens are brass, my earth is iron, my moon a clod of clay,
My sun a pestilence burning at noon & a vapour of death in
night.
- 'What is the price of experience? Do men buy it for a song,
Or wisdom for a dance in the street? No: it is bought with
the price
Of all that a man hath, his house, his wife, his children.
- 610 Wisdom is sold in the desolate market where none come to buy,
And in the withered field where the farmer ploughs for bread
in vain.
- 'It is an easy thing to triumph in the summer's sun
And in the vintage, & to sing on the waggon loaded with corn;
It is an easy thing to talk of patience to the afflicted,
- 615 To speak the laws of prudence to the houseless wanderer,
- [36] To listen to the hungry ravens' cry in wintry season,
When the red blood is filled with wine, & with the marrow
of lambs.
- 'It is an easy thing to laugh at wrathful elements,
To hear the dog howl at the wintry door, the ox in the
slaughterhouse moan;

ii 593. *Enion*] Before the addition of 512-92 to the MS, this was an immediate continuation from 511. B. wishes to introduce Enion's new lament.

ii 599. Taken from *Visions* 119-120.

ii 605. Cp. *Leviticus* xxvi 19, *Deuteronomy* xxviii 23, describing the state of an accursed land: 'And thy heaven that is over thy head shall be brass, and the earth that is under thee shall be iron'.

ii 607. Cp. *Job*: xxviii 12-15 'Where shall wisdom be found? . . . it cannot be gotten for gold'.

ii 619. Taken from *Urizen* 448-9.

- 620 To see a god on every wind, & a blessing on every blast,
 To hear sounds of love in the thunderstorm that destroys
 our enemy's house,
 To rejoice in the blight that covers his field, & the sickness
 that cuts off his children,
 While our olive & vine sing & laugh round our door & our
 children bring fruits & flowers.
- 'Then the groan & the dolour are quite forgotten, & the slave
 grinding at the mill,
- 625 And the captive in chains, & the poor in the prison, & the
 soldier in the field
 When the shattered bone hath laid him groaning among the
 happier dead.
- 'It is an easy thing to rejoice in the tents of prosperity.
 Thus could I sing, & thus rejoice; but it is not so with me!'
- Ahania heard the lamentation, & a swift vibration
- 630 Spread through her golden frame. She rose up ere the dawn
 of day
 When Urizen slept on his couch, drawn through unbounded
 space,
 On to the margin of Non-Entity the bright female came.
 There she beheld the spectrous form of Enion in the void,
 And never from that moment could she rest upon her pillow.

End of the Second Night

Night the Third

Night the Third is concerned with Urizen and Ahania, taking up the last lines of *Night ii*. Ahania tries to comfort Urizen (1-10), but he reveals the source of his unhappiness – the foreknowledge that 'a boy' (13) (that is, Orc) will come to overpower him. Ahania then (39-99) reveals her own vision, which is another version of Enitharmon's vision in vii 234ff; as also in ii 14ff – a passage which underwent much revision, apparently beginning as a story of Vala similar to Ahania's.

In each repetition of the story, the Eternal Man walks with Vala, Urizen 'sleeps in the porch', and Luvah usurps a power not rightly his. In *Night iii*, Ahania tells how, with Urizen asleep and unable

ii 621. *enemy's*] B. has *enemies*, unpunctuated; but the next line makes the singular clear.

ii 628. Cp. *Job* ix 35, 'Then would I speak, and not fear him; but it is not so with me'.

ii 634. *she*] Ahania.

to use his reason to guard the Man and maintain his inner balance, the Man begins to worship a shadow of himself. He is seduced by Vala (Luvah's counterpart), mistakes Urizen's sleep for 'faded splendour' and is thus entranced by the bright shadow (42-60), Luvah in disguise (61-5). The Man realizes, too late, that he has worshipped an unworthy part of himself, and has neglected the rest (73). In reaction, he struggles against the 'unworthy' part, Luvah, and throws him out (74-85). The result is internal tumult and chaos as Luvah and Vala go down to his heart 'where Paradise and its joys abounded', and turn it into a place of 'fury and rage' (90-1).

Urizen turns violently on Ahania, as Los had turned on Enitharmon in ii 32. He sees her vision as an attempt to enslave him to her will, and throws her 'from his bosom obdurate' (126). The result is disastrous; his whole carefully-built world falls into chaos in echoes of *A Song of Liberty*. Tharmas emerges from this chaos (147-55), but Enion, who is hated by Tharmas, withers away even from what she was ('blind and age-bent', 172) to a mere voice singing a lament, as in the Nights i and ii.

In the interchange between Urizen and Ahania, the speeches are at least partly dramatic, giving their own views, and not necessarily B.'s. It seems that Ahania's warning to Urizen is meant genuinely to help him; she feels that he should have been satisfied with his original position as Prince of Light. Urizen's exclamation, 'Am I not God?', is both evil and manifestly untrue; on the other hand, his suspicions of Ahania's intentions are probably well-founded, for the feminine deceitfulness which seeks to gain power by seductive persuasion – associated here (116), as so often, with moralistic chastity – is one of B.'s commonest dislikes. Neither Urizen nor Ahania is entirely right or wrong; both are parts of fallen Humanity, and so partake of its errors, and also of its glimpses of fragmentary light.

[37]

NIGHT THE THIRD

Now sat the King of Light on high upon his starry throne,
And bright Ahania bowed herself before his splendid feet:

'O Urizen, look on me; like a mournful stream

I embrace round thy knees & wet my bright hair with my tears:

5 Why sighs my lord? Are not the morning stars thy obedient
sons?

Do they not bow their bright heads at thy voice? At thy
command

iii 1. See ii 416-18.

iii 2. Illustrated at the foot of the page.

- Do they not fly into their stations, & return their light to thee?
 The immortal atmospheres are thine; there thou art seen in
 glory
 Surrounded by the ever-changing daughters of the light.
 10 Why wilt thou look upon futurity, darkening present joy?’
- She ceased. The prince his light obscured, & the splendours
 of his crown
 [38] Enfolded in thick clouds, from whence his mighty voice
 burst forth:
- ‘O bright *Ahania*, a boy is born of the dark ocean,
 Whom Urizen doth serve, with light replenishing his darkness.
 15 I am set here a king of trouble, commanded here to serve
 And do my ministry to those who eat of my wide table.
 All this is mine; yet I must serve, & that prophetic boy
 Must grow up to command his prince. But hear my
 determined decree:
 Vala shall become a worm in Enitharmon’s womb,
 20 Laying her seed upon the fibres, soon to issue forth,
 And Luvah in the loins of Los a dark & furious death.
 Alas for me! what will become of me at that dread time?’
 Ahania bowed her head & wept seven days before the king,
 And on the eighth day, when his clouds unfolded from his
 throne,
 25 She raised her bright head, sweet perfumed, & thus with
 heavenly voice:
- ‘O Prince, the Eternal One hath set thee leader of his hosts;
 [39] Leave all futurity to him, resume thy fields of light.
 Why didst thou listen to the voice of Luvah that dread morn
 To give the immortal steeds of light to his deceitful hands,
 30 No longer now obedient to thy will? Thou art compelled

iii 13. *Ahania*] ‘Shadow’ is pencilled above, but both words are deleted. The *boy* is Orc, another form of Luvah, Urizen’s old enemy. In v 18–42 he is born to Enitharmon and Los; in vii Orc wars against Urizen, but this prophecy is not entirely fulfilled.

iii 19. See ii 211–18, where the Man gave his sceptre to Urizen.

iii 27–9. In ii 17 Luvah steals the horses of light while Urizen is asleep; in i 187–92 the idea is Urizen’s, and Luvah denounces it as a trick. The present version seems to be a third, in which Luvah has tricked Urizen. Cp. also vii 234 and ix 92. Most of these stories are seen through the eyes of the teller; but B. had clearly no fixed idea in his mind. The theme is developed in *Milton* 17.5ff.

Line 27 replaces two deleted lines:

Raise then thy radiant eyes to him raise thy obedient hands
 And comforts shall descend from heaven into thy darkening clouds.

iii 30. *No longer now obedient*] i.e. the horses.

- To forge the curbs of iron & brass, to build the iron mangers,
 To feed them with intoxication from the winepresses of Luvah,
 Till the Divine Vision & fruition is quite obliterated.
 They call thy lions to the fields of blood, they rouse thy tigers
 35 Out of the halls of justice, till these dens thy wisdom framed
 Golden & beautiful—but Oh, how unlike those sweet fields
 of bliss
 Where liberty was justice & eternal science was mercy!
 Then, O my dear lord, listen to Ahania, listen to the vision,
 The vision of Ahania in the slumbers of Urizen.
 40 When Urizen slept in the porch and the Ancient Man was
 smitten,
 ‘The darkening Man walked on the steps of fire before his halls,
 And Vala walked with him in dreams of soft deluding slumber.
 He looked up and saw thee, Prince of Light, thy splendour faded,
 But saw not Los nor Enitharmon, for Luvah hid them in
 shadow,
 [40] In a soft cloud outstretched across; and Luvah dwelt in the cloud.
 46 ‘Then Man ascended mourning into the splendours of his
 palace;
 Above him rose a shadow from his wearied intellect
 Of living gold, pure, perfect, holy; in white linen pure he
 hovered,
 A sweet entrancing self-delusion, a watery vision of Man,
 50 Soft exulting in existence, all the Man absorbing.
 ‘Man fell upon his face prostrate before the watery shadow,
 Saying, “O Lord, whence is this change? Thou knowest I am
 nothing.”
 And Vala trembled and covered her face, and her locks were
 spread on the pavement.

iii 34. The eternal order, where lions and tigers have a valuable place, is disturbed, and they become destructive beasts.

iii 40. According to Ahania, the downfall of the Man was largely due to Urizen's sleep and neglect of duty. But, as in Enitharmon's song (ii 14ff), Vala is the real source of trouble, 'deluding' Albion. As Los is hidden, the insights of neither intellect nor imagination are available.

iii 41–98. These lines were copied on to *Jerusalem* pl.43.33–90, where they are spoken by two messengers in another context. To prepare for this transfer, B. made alterations in pencil on the pages of *Four Zoas*, changing singular to plural where necessary, *Man* to *Albion*, and marking 68–72 for omission, since they are Ahania's words to Urizen. These pencil alterations, made for *Jerusalem* only, are here ignored. See also 98n.

iii 47. *shadow*] Of the sleeping Urizen ('his sleeping intellect').

iii 48. *pure, perfect, holy*] In appearance, not truth.

- ‘I heard, astonished at the vision, and my heart trembled
within me;
- 55 I heard the voice of the slumberous Man, and thus he spoke,
Idoltrous to his own shadow, words of Eternity uttering:
- “Oh, I am nothing when I enter into judgement with thee.
If thou withdraw thy breath I die and vanish into Hades;
If thou dost lay thine hand upon me, behold I am silent;
- 60 If thou withhold thine hand I perish like a fallen leaf.
Oh, I am nothing, and to nothing must return again;
If thou withdraw thy breath, behold I am oblivion!”
- ‘He ceased: the shadowy voice was silent; but the cloud
hovered over their heads
- [41] In golden wreaths, the sorrow of Man, and the balmy drops
fell down.
- 65 And lo! that son of Man, that shadowy spirit of the fallen one,
Luvah, descended from the cloud. In terror Man arose.
Indignant rose the awful Man and turned his back on Vala—
- ‘Why roll thy clouds in sickening mists? I can no longer hide
The dismal vision of mine eyes, O love and life and light!
- 70 Prophetic dreads urge me to speak; futurity is before me
Like a dark lamp. Eternal death haunts all my expectation,
Rent from Eternal Brotherhood we die, and are no more!
- ‘I heard the voice of the fallen One starting from his sleep:
- “Whence is this voice crying, *Enion!* that soundeth in my ears?
- 75 O cruel pity! O dark deceit! Can love seek for dominion?”
- ‘And Luvah strove to gain dominion over the fallen Man:
They strove together above the body where Vala was enclosed,

iii 55. Man, having given up proper judgement, is not truly awake, and so ‘slumberous’.

iii 57–8. Cp. *Psalms* cxliii 2, 7: ‘And enter not into judgment with thy servant: for in thy sight shall no man living be justified . . . hide not thy face from me, lest I be like unto them that go down into the pit’.

iii 65. *that son of Man*] Luvah, in this myth, is a ‘son’ of the Man – not his master, as he seeks to be. But B. is aware of the biblical use of the phrase and opposes it to the *Lamb of God* (as in ii 310, 471; vii 708), who takes Luvah’s place. B. argues (e.g. i 14) that the gods of the heathen are actually man’s own creations, which he has elevated to undeserved worship, instead of treating them as the vivid and valuable imaginative concepts they are.

iii 67. The Man realizes he has been betrayed.

iii 68–72. As Urizen smoulders, Ahania grows fearful.

iii 74–5. The Man, turning away from Vala, can hear Tharmas crying for Enion.

iii 77–8. Vala had assumed a *body* while walking with the Man; but it was not an essential part of her being; she was merely enclosed in it. Likewise, the Man leaves his body lying while he wrestles spiritually with Luvah.

And the dark body of Man left prostrate upon the crystal
pavement,
Covered with boils from head to foot, the terrible smittings
of Luvah.

80 'Then frowned the fallen Man & put forth Luvah from his
presence
(I heard him: frown not Urizen; but listen to my vision),

[42] 'Saying: "Go & die the death of Man for Vala, the sweet
wanderer.
I will turn the volutions of your ears outward & bend your
nostrils

Downward, & your fluxile eyes englobed roll round in fear;
85 Your withering lips & tongue shrink up into a narrow circle,
Till into narrow forms you creep. Go, take your fiery way
And learn what 'tis to absorb the Man, you spirits of pity &
love!"

'O Urizen, why art thou pale at the visions of Ahania?
Listen to her who loves thee, lest we also are driven away.

90 'They heard the voice & fled, swift as the winter's setting sun,
And now the Human blood foamed high; I saw that Luvah
& Vala

Went down the Human heart where paradise & its joys
abounded,

In jealous fears, in fury & rage, & flames rolled round their
fervid feet,

And the vast form of Nature like a serpent played before them;
95 And as they went in folding fires & thunders of the deep,
Vala shrunk in like the dark sea that leaves its slimy banks,
And from her bosom Luvah fell far as the east & west,

iii 79. Cp. *Job* ii 7: '[Satan] smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown.'

iii 83-7. These lines are derived from the description of Urizen's own fate in *Urizen* 218-46.

iii 84. *fluxile*] Implying that in Eternity the eyes were infinitely variable.

iii 91-2. The Eternal Man is vast, and Luvah and Vala are parts of his being. In this sense they are so minute, relative to him, that they travel down his veins as if down a river. Cp. vii 282-3: 'the veins / Which now my rivers were become.'

iii 92-3. Next to these lines in the margin of the MS is the following material perhaps intended as two lines to go in, e.g. after 'foamed high', although never fitted in: 'Albion clos'd the Western Gate & / shut America out by the Atlantic / for a Curse and hidden horror / and an altar of victims to Sin / & Repentance.'

iii 94, 98. Nature is material, transient and mortal; the serpent is one of B.'s favourite images of evil.

And the vast form of Nature like a serpent rolled between.
She ended. From his wrathful throne burst forth the black
hailstorm:

100 'Am I not God?' said Urizen, 'Who is equal to me?
Do I not stretch the heavens abroad, or fold them up like a
garment?'

He spoke, mustering his heavy clouds around him black,
opaque.

[43] Then thunders rolled around, & lightnings darted to & fro;
His visage changed to darkness, & his strong right hand
came forth

105 To cast Ahania to the earth. He seized her by the hair
And threw her from the steps of ice that froze around his throne,

Saying: 'Art thou also become like Vala? Thus I cast thee out!
Shall the feminine indolent bliss, the indulgent self of
weariness,

The passive idle sleep, the enormous night & darkness of
death,

110 Set herself up to give her laws to the active masculine virtue?
Thou little diminutive portion that darest be a counterpart!
Thy passivity, thy laws of obedience & insincerity
Are my abhorrence. Wherefore hast thou taken that fair form?
Whence is this power given to thee? Once thou wast in my
breast,

115 A sluggish current of dim waters, on whose verdant margin
A cavern shagged with horrid shades, dark, cool & deadly,
where

I laid my head in the hot noon after the broken clods
Had wearied me. There I laid my plough, & there my horses
fed.

And thou hast risen with thy moist locks into a watery image,

120 Reflecting all my indolence, my weakness & my death,
To weigh me down beneath the grave into non-entity

iii 98. Two lines written as one, in pencil, follow: 'Whether this is Jerusalem or Babylon we know not. All is confusion, all is tumult, and we alone are escaped.' These lines are a version of *Jerusalem* pl.43.81-2, and were presumably intended to go there, as they do not fit this context. See 41*n*.

iii 116. Cp. Milton, *Comus* 420, 428-30: 'Tis chastity, my brother, chastity . . . / Yea, there where very desolation dwells, / By grots and caverns shagged with horrid shades, / She may pass on with unblenched majesty.' B. usually associated such exclusive chastity with hypocrisy.

iii 117-21. In this passage Urizen recalls another occasion when, he says, Ahania tempted him. In his tiredness, once, she, like a reflection in a pool, showed him a depressing image of himself.

- Where Luvah strives, scorned by Vala age after age wandering,
 Shrinking & shrinking from her lord & calling him the
 tempter.
 And art thou also become like Vala? Thus I cast thee out!’
- 125 So loud in thunders spoke the king, folded in dark despair,
 And threw Ahania from his bosom obdurate. She fell like
 lightning.
 Then fled the sons of Urizen from his thunderous throne
 petrific;
 They fled to east & west & left the north & south of heaven.
 A crash ran through the immense, the bounds of Destiny
 were broken;
- 130 The bounds of Destiny crashed direful, & the swelling sea
 Burst from its bonds, in whirlpools fierce roaring with
 human voice,
 Triumphant even to the stars at bright Ahania’s fall.
- Down from the dismal north the prince in thunders & thick
 clouds,
- [44] As when the thunderbolt down falleth on the appointed place,
 135 Fell down, down, rushing, ruining, thundering, shuddering
 Into the caverns of the grave & places of Human seed,
 Where the impressions of despair & hope enroot forever,
 A world of darkness. Ahania fell far into Non-Entity.
 She continued falling. Loud the crash continued, loud &
 hoarse.
- 140 From the crash roared a flame of blue sulphureous fire; from
 the flame
 A dolorous groan that struck with dumbness – all confusion,
 Swallowing up the horrible din in agony on agony.
 Through the confusion like a crack across, from immense to
 immense,
 Loud, strong, a universal groan of death, louder
- 145 Than all the wracking elements, deafened & rended worse
 Than Urizen & all his hosts in cursed despair down rushing.
 But from the dolorous groan one like a shadow of smoke
 appeared,
 And human bones, rattling together in the smoke & stamping
 The nether abyss, & gnashing in fierce despair, panting in sobs

iii 129. *Destiny*] See i 66*n*, and 171 below. The attempt (100) of one Zoa to be the whole of the Man was doomed, and collapses.

iii 136. So in vii 449. It may continue the anatomical idea of vastness of 91–2. Cp. *Song of Liberty* 16.

iii 147. B. brings Tharmas back into the story, having shut him away in i 68, when he was as good as ‘dead’ (155).

- 150 Thick, short, incessant bursting, sobbing, deep despairing,
 stamping, struggling—
 Struggling to utter the voice of Man, struggling to take the
 features of Man, struggling
 To take the limbs of Man. At length emerging from the smoke
 Of Urizen dashed in pieces from his precipitant fall,
 Tharmas reared up his hands & stood on the affrighted ocean.
 155 The dead reared up his voice, & stood on the resounding shore,

 Crying: 'Fury in my limbs, destruction in my bones & marrow,
 My skull riven into filaments, my eyes into sea jellies,
 Floating upon the tide, wander bubbling & bubbling,
 Uttering my lamentations & begetting little monsters,
 160 Who sit mocking upon the little pebbles of the tide
 In all my rivers, & on dried shells that the fish
 [45] Have quite forsaken. O fool! fool! to lose my sweetest bliss!
 Where art thou, Enion? Ah, too near, too cunning, too far off
 And yet too near! Dashed down I send thee into distant
 darkness
 165 Far as my strength can hurl thee. Wander there, & laugh &
 play
 Among the frozen arrows. They will tear thy tender flesh.
 Fall off, afar from Tharmas; come not too near my strong fury,
 Scream & fall off & laugh at Tharmas, lovely summer
 beauty—
 Till winter rends thee into shivers as thou hast rended me.'
- 170 So Tharmas bellowed o'er the ocean, thundering, sobbing,
 bursting.
 The bounds of Destiny were broken, & hatred now began
 Instead of love to Enion. Enion, blind & age-bent,
 Plunged into the cold billows living a life in midst of waters.
 In terrors she withered away to Entuthon Benithon,
 175 A world of deep darkness where all things in horrors are
 rooted.
 These are the words of Enion heard from the cold waves of
 despair:

iii 157–62. These images are natural enough to suggest direct observation, probably after B.'s removal to Felpham in Sept. 1800. But see iv 265*n*.

iii 164. On the reverse of this page (there is no room on the same side) Tharmas is drawn driving Enion away.

iii 174. *Entuthon Benithon*] As the description suggests, a gloomy place of dark forests in Ulro: see viii 25*n*. This is almost B.'s first use of a mythical place-name since the very early poems *Thel* and *Tiriel*; in the later epics such names grow increasingly important.

‘O Tharmas! I had lost thee, & when I hoped I had found thee—

O Tharmas, do not thou destroy me quite, but let
A little shadow, but a little showery form of Enion

180 Be near thee, loved terror. Let me still remain, & then do thou
Thy righteous doom upon me; only let me hear thy voice!
Driven by thy rage I wander like a cloud into the deep,
Where never yet existence came, there losing all my life.
I back return, weaker & weaker; consume me not away
185 In thy great wrath. Though I have sinned, though I have rebelled,
Make me not like the things forgotten as they had not been;
Make not the thing that loveth thee a tear wiped away.’

Tharmas replied, riding on storms (his voice of thunder rolled):

‘Image of grief, thy fading lineaments make my eyelids fail.

190 What have I done? Both rage & mercy are alike to me.

Looking upon thee, image of faint waters, I recoil

From my fierce rage into thy semblance. Enion, return!

Why does thy piteous face vanish like a rainy cloud

[46] Melting, a shower of falling tears, nothing but tears? Enion!

195 Substanceless, voiceless, weeping, vanished, nothing but
tears! Enion,

Art thou for ever vanished from the watery eyes of Tharmas?

Rage, rage shall never from my bosom, winds & waters of woe

Consuming, all to the end consuming: love and hope are ended!’

For now no more remained of Enion in the dismal air,

200 Only a voice eternal wailing in the elements,

Where Enion blind & age-bent wandered, Ahania wanders now.

She wanders in eternal fear of falling into the indefinite,

For her bright eyes behold the abyss. Sometimes a little sleep

Weighs down her eyelids, then she falls, then starting wakes
in fears,

205 Sleepless to wander round repelled on the margin of Non-Entity.

End of the Third Night

Night the Fourth

In Night iii Urizen’s creation, laboriously built in Night ii, was hurled into ruins; in Night iv Tharmas takes a hand in order to try to limit the disaster. Tharmas, revived in iii 145–54, is now living in the abyss

iii 197. i.e. ‘rage shall never leave my bosom . . .’ There is no punctuation in the MS.

(where all the Zoas have fallen, except Luvah), mourning the loss of his emanation Enion. In a quarrelsome meeting with Los (iv 34ff) Tharmas carries away Enitharmon, shattering Los's personality. Although B. has hitherto treated Los and Enitharmon as two separate persons, this division is now a division of Los himself, and it results in the appearance of Los's spectre (see 63*n*). (Night i, as we now have it, was written later than this, hence the discrepancy. B. did not always trouble about consistency. Note also that in *Urizen* Los divides when he is deluded by pity; and here Tharmas is the pitying spirit, who causes the division of Los and Enitharmon, both as the Spectre describes it (93–100) and by carrying her away (56).)

But Tharmas in turn claims to be God (129–32), an evil aspiration which seizes the four Zoas in turn. He returns Enitharmon to Los at the price of obedience: for they are to stay in his dominion, the sea (71), and Los is to work with his spectre according to Tharmas's directions. Tharmas, whose nature is compassionate, is overcome by the loss of Enion; to save her from complete dissolution he orders Los to 'rebuild these furnaces' (149) – to save something from the ruins of Urizen's world. At this point, B. recalls and quotes *Urizen*, where Los's labours turn the ruined Urizen into a definite form, the physical form of man, to save him from formless chaos.

NIGHT THE FOURTH

But Tharmas rode on the dark abyss, the voice of Tharmas rolled
Over the heaving deluge. He saw Los & Enitharmon emerge
In strength & brightness from the abyss; his bowels yearned
over them.

They rose in strength above the heaving deluge, in mighty scorn,
5 Red as the sun in the hot morning of the bloody day.
Tharmas beheld them, his bowels yearned over them,

And he said: 'Wherefore do I feel such love & pity?
Ah, Enion! Ah, Enion! Ah, lovely, lovely Enion!
How is this? All my hope is gone for ever, fled
10 Like a famished eagle, eyeless, raging in the vast expanse.
Incessant tears are now my food, incessant rage & tears.
Deathless for ever now, I wander seeking oblivion
In torrents of despair in vain; for if I plunge beneath
Stifling I live; if dashed in pieces from a rocky height

iv 2–6. Similarly, in ii 497–504, Los and Enitharmon come to look at Urizen's world, and Urizen is envious of their brightness.

iv 12. *Deathless*] See 15–16 and 83; Tharmas fell in i 68 into the ocean, but has now reappeared.

- 15 I reunite in endless torment. Would I had never risen
 From death's cold sleep beneath the bottom of the raging ocean!
 And cannot those who once have loved ever forget their love?
 Are love & rage the same passion? They are the same in me!
 Are those who love, like those who died, risen again from death
 20 Immortal, in immortal torment, never to be delivered?
 Is it not possible that one risen again from death
 Can die? When dark despair comes over, can I not
 Flow down into the sea, & slumber in oblivion? Ah, Enion!
 [48] Deformed I see these lineaments of ungratified desire—
 25 The all-powerful curse of an honest man be upon Urizen &
 Luvah!
 But thou, my son, glorious in brightness, comforter of
 Tharmas,
 Go forth: rebuild this universe beneath my indignant power,
 A universe of death & decay. Let Enitharmon's hands
 Weave soft delusive forms of Man above my watery world,
 30 Renew these ruined souls of men through earth, sea, air & fire,
 To waste in endless corruption. Renew thou, I will destroy.
 Perhaps Enion may resume some little semblance
 To ease my pangs of heart & to restore some peace to
 Tharmas.'
- Los answered in his furious pride, sparks issuing from his hair:
 35 'Hitherto shalt thou come, no further. Here thy proud waves
 cease.
 We have drunk up the Eternal Man by our unbounded power;
 Beware lest we also drink up thee, rough demon of the waters!
 Our god is Urizen the King, king of the heavenly hosts.
 We have no other god but he, thou father of worms & clay,
 40 And he is fallen into the deep, rough demon of the waters,
 And Los remains god over all, weak father of worms & clay.
 I know I was Urthona, keeper of the gates of heaven,
 But now I am all-powerful Los, & Urthona is but my shadow.'

iv 25. Tharmas regards himself as the 'honest man', destroyed by the quarrels of others.

iv 26. *my son*] Los. He and Enitharmon are born of Enion in i 140–41.

iv 30–1. To give finite material form to 'these ruined souls' is to continue their existence, though the world of the four elements is corrupt. It is not clear if Tharmas's intention is good – the salvation of some humanity from Urizen's ruins – or evil – revenge.

iv 31–2. Los is to be the builder, Tharmas the destroyer, in the never-ending cycle of life and death. Enion (iii 200) has faded away and may vanish unless given a definite form.

iv 41. *weak father*] Scornfully addressed to Tharmas.

iv 43. In fact the opposite is true.

Doubting stood Tharmas in the solemn darkness; his dim eyes
 45 Swam in red tears. He reared his waves above the head of Los
 In wrath, but pitying back withdrew with many a sigh.
 Now he resolved to destroy Los, & now his tears flowed down.
 In scorn stood Los; red sparks of blighting from his furious head
 Flew over the waves of Tharmas. Pitying, Tharmas stayed his
 waves;

50 For Enitharmon shrieked amain, crying: 'O my sweet world,
 Built by the architect divine whose love to Los & Enitharmon
 Thou, rash abhorred demon, in thy fury hast o'erthrown!'

[49] 'What sovereign architect', said Tharmas, 'dare my will
 control?

For if I will I urge these waters, if I will they sleep
 55 In peace beneath my awful frown: my will shall be my law!'

So saying in a wave he rapt bright Enitharmon far
 Apart from Los, but covered her with softest brooding care,
 On a broad wave in the warm west, balming her bleeding wound.

Oh, how Los howled at the rending asunder! All the fibres rent,
 60 Where Enitharmon joined to his left side, in griding pain.
 He falling on the rocks bellowed his dolour, till the blood
 Stanch'd, then in ululation wailed his woes upon the wind.

And Tharmas called to the dark Spectre who upon the shores
 With dislocated limbs had fallen. The Spectre rose in pain,

iv 44. *solemn*] The first of a series of alterations where B., realizing that he is overworking the word 'dismal', replaces it with another word. The others are: *griding* (60), *dreary* (121, and v 5), *griding* (v 93), *accursed* (102), *deadly* (178), *dreary* (180): in vi, *dreary* (79), *gloomy* (166): in viii 566, *flaming*.

iv 51-2. *the architect divine*] Urizen. *demon*] Tharmas.

iv 56. *rapt*] B. has *raped*, with the older sense of 'carried off'. On the back of this page, Enitharmon is drawn, carried on a wave.

iv 59. Los, like the other three, Tharmas, Luvah and Urizen, is now separated from his emanation.

iv 60. *his left side*] Possibly his 'inferior' side. *griding* was taken from Milton; it means 'fiercely painful'.

iv 63. *the dark Spectre*] The spectre of Urthona (*dark* Urthona, *America* Prel. 1), and so of Los, who is the fallen Urthona.

The SPECTRE appears in B. for the first time here as an active figure, since the passage about the spectre of Tharmas in i 70-141 was written later than this. This passage reads as if the spectre was invented by B. for this particular occasion; then, as often happened, he saw more and more possibilities in the idea as he used and developed it. A *spectre* is, of course, first of all a *ghost*. In *Four Zoas* the spectre (here and later, of Urthona: in i, the spectre of Tharmas) is a creature arising out of the disintegration of a personality. Urthona's spectre henceforth exists as a being separate from Los, though normally subordinate to him, and is as often as not a good influence. This separateness is the chief evil; the parted

- 65 A shadow blue, obscure, & dismal. Like a statue of lead
Bent by its fall from a high tower, the dolorous shadow rose.
- ‘Go forth’, said Tharmas, ‘works of joy are thine. Obey & live.
So shall the spongy marrow issuing from thy splintered bones
Bonify, & thou shalt have rest when this thy labour is done.
- 70 Go forth, bear Enitharmon back to the Eternal Prophet.
Build her a bower in the midst of all my dashing waves;
Make first a resting place for Los & Enitharmon, then
Thou shalt have rest. If thou refusest, dashed abroad on all
My waves, thy limbs shall separate in stench & rotting, & thou
- 75 Become a prey to all my demons of despair & hope.’

The Spectre of Urthona, seeing Enitharmon, writhed
His cloudy form in jealous fear & muttering thunders hoarse,
And casting round thick glooms, thus uttered his fierce
pangs of heart:

‘Tharmas, I know thee. How are we altered, our beauty
decayed!

- 80 But still I know thee, though in this horrible ruin whelmed.
Thou, once the mildest son of Heaven, art now become a rage,
A terror to all living things. Think not that I am ignorant
That thou art risen from the dead, or that, my power forgot,
[50] I slumber here in weak repose. I well remember the day,

spectre sums up the need for union between the person and his spectre himself in vii 633–50. The spectre is part of the personality which should obey, and be mastered: a useful servant but an evil master. Here, in iv, he has memories – admittedly rather garbled – of a happy life in Eden which he, unlike most of B.’s evil figures, does not reject as illusory. In vii his power is both evil and good. He seduces Enitharmon’s *shadow* (vii 215ff), and from their union the Shadowy Female, Vala, is let loose on the world, thus leading to ultimate disaster in viii. Yet (vii 630) he is also the mediator of reconciliation between Enitharmon *herself* (not her shadow) and Los; and after this reconciliation he disappears, and the united pair become Eden’s chief instruments in the remedying of the Man’s sickness.

For the imagery of the spectre, see *Jerusalem* pl.6.1n.

iv 71. Los and Enitharmon are to be reunited at the price of living in Tharmas’s dominion.

iv 76ff. Characteristically, the spectre, who is a mere shadow of Urthona, claims to be the true Urthona. Yet he remembers the days before the fall, although his narrative may be garbled, especially in 105–10, where the flight of Urthona and Enitharmon to Tharmas does not accord with the story in Night i. Or perhaps B. wrote the two accounts at different times.

iv 84–9. This is the first mention of Beulah; see headnote vii, and note on *Milton* pl.30.2. The *sons of Beulah* are unusual but in the passage in vii Beulah is the dwelling of the fallen Man, and his family of ‘many sons / And many daughters’ (vii 249–50). In Bunyan’s Beulah, the land on the border of heaven, one would expect to find ‘sons and daughters’, but as B. developed Beulah the sons disappear and the daughters take over.

- 85 The day of terror & abhorrence,
 When fleeing from the battle, thou, fleeting like the raven
 Of dawn outstretching an expanse where ne'er expanse had been,
 Drew'st all the sons of Beulah into thy dread vortex, following
 Thy eddying spirit down the hills of Beulah. All my sons
 90 Stood round me at the anvil, where new-heated the wedge
 Of iron glowed furious, prepared for spades & mattocks.
 Hearing the symphonies of war loud sounding, all my sons
 Fleed from my side; then pangs smote me, unknown before. I
 saw
 My loins begin to break forth into veiny pipes, & writhe
 95 Before me in the wind, englobing, trembling with strong
 vibrations.
 The bloody mass began to animate. I bending over
 Wept bitter tears incessant. Still beholding how the piteous form,
 Dividing & dividing from my loins, a weak & piteous
 Soft cloud of snow, a female pale & weak, I soft embraced
 100 My counterpart & called it love. I named her Enitharmon,
 But found myself & her together issuing down the tide
 Which now our rivers were become, delving through caverns
 huge
 Of gory blood, struggling to be delivered from our bonds.
 She strove in vain; not so Urthona strove, for breaking forth
 105 A shadow, blue, obscure, & dismal from the breathing nostrils
 Of Enion I issued into the air, divided from Enitharmon.
 I howled in sorrow. I beheld thee rotting upon the rocks;
 I, pitying, hovered over thee; I protected thy ghastly corse
 From vultures of the deep. Then wherefore shouldst thou rage
 110 Against me, who thee guarded in the night of death from harm?'
 Tharmas replied: 'Art thou Urthona, my friend, my old
 companion,
 With whom I lived in happiness before that deadly night
 When Urizen gave the horses of light into the hands of Luvah?
 Thou knowest not what Tharmas knows. Oh, I could tell
 thee tales
 115 That would enrage thee as it has enraged me, even
 From death, in wrath & fury. But now come, bear back
 Thy loved Enitharmon, for thou hast her here before thine eyes.
 [51] But my sweet Enion is vanished, & I never more

iv 85. This line is left metrically incomplete.

The day] Described in i 228-48.

iv 114. Tharmas recognizes the spectre as Urthona's, and sees that he cannot now see or remember the truth. Tharmas's memory carries back to the time before the Fall; but he too is fallen, and the reader cannot trust his version entirely, as his own desire for power is shown in 129.

120 Shall see her, unless thou, O Shadow, wilt protect this son
Of Enion, & him assist to bind the fallen King,
Lest he should rise again from death in all his dreary power.

Bind him, take Enitharmon for thy sweet reward, while I
In vain am driven on false hope—hope, sister of despair.’

125 Groaning the terror rose & drave his solid rocks before
Upon the tide, till underneath the feet of Los a world
Dark, dreadful, rose; & Enitharmon lay at Los’s feet.
The dolorous shadow joyed; weak hope appeared around his
head.

Tharmas before Los stood, & thus the voice of Tharmas
rolled:

130 ‘Now all comes into the power of Tharmas. Urizen is fallen
And Luvah hidden in the elemental forms of life & death.
Urthona is my son. O Los, thou art Urthona, & Tharmas
Is God. The Eternal Man is sealed, never to be delivered:
I roll my floods over his body, my billows & waves pass over
him,

The sea encompasses him, & monsters of the deep are his
companions.

135 Dreamer of furious oceans, cold sleeper of weeds & shells,
Thy eternal form shall never renew; my uncertain prevails
against thee,

Yet, though I rage, God over all. A portion of my life
That in eternal fields in comfort wandered with my flocks
At noon, & laid her head upon my wearied bosom at night,
140 She is divided. She is vanished, even like Luvah & Vala.

O why did foul ambition seize thee, Urizen, Prince of Light?
And thee, O Luvah, Prince of Love, till Tharmas was divided?
And I—what can I now behold but an Eternal Death
Before my eyes, & an eternal weary work to strive

iv 119–20. *this son / Of Enion*] Los himself; *the fallen King* is Urizen. Here as elsewhere (e.g. *Jerusalem* pls.8.21–10.6) B. has a task given to the spectre, whose evil nature can be used to good effect, if controlled.

iv 131. Urthona is Tharmas’s equal in eternity; it is only since the Fall (Night i) that Tharmas is parent of Los.

iv 132. In *Revelations* xx 1–3 Satan is sealed in the pit, but allowed to escape after a thousand years.

iv 134–5. The sea is Tharmas’s dominion; he claims that the man is in his power.

iv 136. *my uncertain*] Contrasted with *eternal form*; the one shapeless, indefinite, deathly, and the other (if restored) living, real and sure.

iv 137–40. Refers to Enion.

iv 141–2. Tharmas blames everyone but himself.

- 145 Against the monstrous forms that breed among my silent
waves?
Is this to be a god? Far rather would I be a man—
To know sweet science, & to do with simple companions,
Sitting beneath a tent & viewing sheepfolds & soft pastures.
Take thou the hammer of Urthona, rebuild these furnaces.
150 Dost thou refuse? Mind I the sparks that issue from thy hair?
[52] I will compel thee to rebuild by these my furious waves.
Death choose, or life. Thou strugglest in my waters, now
choose life
And all the elements shall serve thee to their soothing flutes.
Their sweet inspiring lyres thy labours shall administer,
155 And they to thee only. Remit not, faint not, thou my son.
Now thou dost know what 'tis to strive against the God of
Waters.'

So saying Tharmas on his furious chariots of the deep
Departed far into the unknown & left a wondrous void
Round Los. Afar his waters bore on all sides round, with noise
160 Of wheels & horses, hoofs & trumpets, horns & clarions.

Terrified Los beheld the ruins of Urizen beneath,
A horrible chaos to his eyes, a formless unmeasurable death,
Whirling up broken rocks on high into the dismal air,
And fluctuating all beneath in eddies of molten fluid.

- 165 Then Los with terrible hands seized on the ruined furnaces
Of Urizen. Enormous work—he builded them anew,
Labour of ages in the darkness & the war of Tharmas;
And Los formed anvils of iron petrific; for his blows
Petrify with incessant beating many a rock, many a planet.

- 170 But Urizen slept in a stonied stupor in the nether abyss,
A dreamful horrible State. In tossings on his icy bed
Freezing to solid all beneath, his grey oblivious form

iv 147. *science*] Skill or understanding rather than mere abstract learning. Note the very last line of the poem, ix 852 – 'sweet science reigns'.

iv 149. Urizen's furnaces (ii 282, 327, etc.), in his fall destroyed (iii 140–6).

iv 150. *sparks*] See 48.

iv 152. *Death choose*] 'I have set before you life and death . . . therefore choose life' (*Deuteronomy* xxx 19).

iv 161. B. continues to rework the material of earlier poems as far as vii 107 (approx.). Note his alteration of the division of Los (56–62 above) from *Urizen* 286ff. As in *Urizen*, Los increasingly becomes the prophet-blacksmith, rather than the play-boy of *Europe* and the early Nights of *Four Zoas*. Lines 208–45, 279–86 are almost the same as *Urizen* 184–274. In *Four Zoas* the division of Enitharmon from Los precedes the binding of Urizen.

iv 171. *State*] See *Milton* pl.32.22.

- Stretched over the immense heaves in strong shudders, silent
 his voice,
 In brooding contemplation stretching out from north to south
 175 In mighty power. Round him Los rolled furious
 His thunderous wheels, from furnace to furnace, tending
 diligent
 The contemplative terror, frightened in his scornful sphere,
 Frightened with cold infectious madness—in his hand the
 thundering
 Hammer of Urthona, forming under his heavy hand the hours,
 [53] The days & years, in chains of iron round the limbs of Urizen,
 181 Linked hour to hour & day to night, & night to day & year
 to year
 In periods of pulsative furor. Mills he formed & works
 Of many wheels resistless in the power of dark Urthona.

 But Enitharmon wrapped in clouds wailed loud; for as Los beat
 185 The anvils of Urthona, link by link the chains of sorrow
 Warping upon the winds & whirling round in the dark deep
 Lashed on the limbs of Enitharmon, & the sulphur fires,
 Belched from the furnaces, wreathed round her. Chained in
 ceaseless fire,
 The lovely female howled, & Urizen beneath deep groaned
 190 Dead, between the hammers, beating grateful to the ears
 Of Los. Absorbed in dire revenge, he drank with joy the cries
 Of Enitharmon & the groans of Urizen, fuel for his wrath
 And for his pity, secret feeding on thoughts of cruelty.

 The spectre wept at his dire labours, when from ladles huge
 195 He poured the molten iron round the limbs of Enitharmon,
 But when he poured it round the bones of Urizen, he laughed
 Hollow upon the hollow wind, his shadowy form obeying
 The voice of Los. Compelled he laboured round the furnaces.

 And thus began the binding of Urizen, day & night in fear.
 200 Circling round the dark demon with howlings, dismay &
 sharp blightings
 The prophet of Eternity beat on his iron links, & links of brass;
 And as he beat round the hurtling demon, terrified at the shapes
 Enslaved humanity put on, he became what he beheld,
 Raging against Tharmas his god, & uttering
 205 Ambiguous words blasphemous, filled with envy, firm resolved
 On hate eternal. In his vast disdain he laboured, beating
 The links of fate, link after link, an endless chain of sorrows.

iv 186. *Warping*] Throwing or twisting about – an unusual sense.

iv 191. *revenge*] For her spitefulness.

iv 203. *became* . . .] Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.30.54, pl.32.9.

- [54] The eternal mind bounded began to roll eddies of wrath
 ceaseless,
 Round & round, & the sulphureous foam surging thick
 210 Settled, a lake bright & shining clear, white as the snow:
 Forgetfulness, dumbness, necessity, in chains of the mind
 locked up,
 In fetters of ice shrinking, disorganized, rent from Eternity.
 Los beat on his fetters & heated his furnaces
 And poured iron solder, and solder of brass.
- 215 Restless the immortal, enchained, heaving dolorous,
 Anguished unbearable, till a roof, shaggy wild, enclosed
 In an orb his fountain of thought.
- In a horrible dreamful slumber, like the linked chain,
 A vast spine writhed in torment upon the wind,
 220 Shooting pained ribs like a bending cavern,
 And bones of solidness froze over all his nerves of joy.
 A first age passed, a state of dismal woe.
- From the caverns of his jointed spine down sunk with fright
 A red round globe, hot burning, deep, deep down into the abyss,
 225 Panting, conglobing, trembling, shooting out ten thousand
 branches
 Around his solid bones: & a second age passed over.
- In harrowing fear rolling, his nervous brain shot branches
 On high into two little orbs, hiding in two little caves;
 Hiding carefully from the wind his eyes beheld the deep.
 230 And a third age passed, a state of dismal woe.
- The pangs of hope began in heavy pain, striving, struggling.
 Two ears in close volutions from beneath his orbs of vision
 Shot spiring out & petrified as they grew: and a fourth
 Age passed over & a state of dismal woe.
- 235 In ghastly torment sick hanging upon the wind,
 Two nostrils bent down to the deeps.
- [55a] And a fifth age passed & a state of dismal woe.
- In ghastly torment sick, within his ribs bloated round
 And a craving hungry cavern. Thence arose his channelled
 240 Throat; then like a red flame a tongue of hunger
 And thirst appeared: and a sixth age passed of dismal woe.

iv 225. The illustration seems to show the globe forming; but its content is not altogether clear.

iv 227. After this line B. wrote, then deleted, the line which follows it in *Urizen* (220): 'Round the branches of his heart.' As B. was combining short lines into longer ones, the probable reason for the deletion was a problem in versification.

- Enraged & stifled with torment he threw his right arm to
the north,
His left arm to the south, shooting out in anguish deep,
And his feet stamped the nether abyss, in trembling, howling
and dismay
245 And a seventh age passed over & a state of dismal woe.
- The Council of God on high, watching over the body
Of Man, clothed in Luvah's robes of blood, saw & wept,
Descending over Beulah's mild moon-covered regions.
The daughters of Beulah saw the Divine Vision; they were
comforted
250 And as a double female form, loveliness & perfection of beauty,
They bowed the head & worshipped, & with mild voice
spoke these words:
- [56] 'Lord, Saviour, if thou hadst been here our brother had not
died;
And now we know that whatsoever thou wilt ask of God
He will give it thee; for we are weak women & dare not lift
255 Our eyes to the divine pavilions. Therefore in mercy thou
Appearest clothed in Luvah's garments that we may behold
thee
And live. Behold! Eternal death is in Beulah! Behold,
We perish & shall not be found unless thou grant a place
In which we may be hidden under the shadow of wings!
260 For if we who are but for a time & who pass away in winter
Behold these wonders of Eternity, we shall consume.'
- Such were the words of Beulah, of the feminine Emanation.
The empyrean groaned throughout. All Eden was darkened.

iv 246–78. These lines are added at the end of the text, but are marked to go between 245 and 279. This addition is intended to remind the reader that even though the Eternal Man seems to be dead, having handed his power to Urizen in ii 211 and fallen into the sleep of death on his rock, he is cared for by those in Beulah, and may be resurrected – as he is in the Ninth Book. B. draws on the story of the resurrection of Lazarus in *John* xi, which he illustrates at the foot of the text.

iv 250. *double female form*] i.e. in the form of Martha and Mary, the two sisters of Lazarus, whose words B. adapts in 252ff.

iv 252. Taken from Martha's saying on the death of Lazarus in *John* xi 21–2: 'Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. But I know, that even now, whatsoever thou wilt ask of God, God will give it thee.'

our brother] The Eternal Man.

iv 258. The phraseology is biblical, but this is not a direct allusion.

iv 259. *Psalms* xvii 8: 'Hide me under the shadow of thy wings'.

iv 261. The sense is imperfect because the following lines are erased and written over: but *consume* may have a passive meaning 'be consumed'.

- The corse of Albion lay on the Rock, the sea of time & space
 265 Beat round the Rock in mighty waves, & as a polypus
 That vegetates beneath the sea the limbs of Man vegetated
 In monstrous forms of death, a human polypus of death.
- The Saviour mild & gentle bent over the corse of death,
 Saying: 'If ye will believe, your brother shall rise again.'
 270 And first he found the Limit of Opacity, & named it *Satan*
 In Albion's bosom (for in every human bosom these limits stand).

iv 265. POLYPUS] There are thousands of species of these simple sea animals called *polypus* (the term is not now in scientific use) on account of the many stinging tentacles which fringe the mouth. There are different types; the sea anemones (depicted by B. in his colour-plate *Newton*, and in *Jerusalem* pl.28) and many corals; the jellyfish (*Book of Los* 166; see also *Four Zoas* iii 157–9); and, most important in B., the *hydroids*. B.'s knowledge of all these creatures is more than that of the casual seaside observer, since he is aware that, in spite of their very different appearances, all are types of polypus. Yet he gives his polypus a heart once (*Jerusalem* pl.67.36) though there he may be thinking of the manylegged octopus or cuttle-fish.

The hydroid polyp consists commonly of a body and a stalk. It uses the stalk to attach itself to a convenient base; the body is a stomach with a mouth ringed by tentacles to trap the animal's prey, which is poisoned by stinging cells on the tentacles and body. Many species are 'colonial'; that is, one such polyp may extend itself by putting out a *stolon*, which resembles a root (or the runner of a strawberry), from which other complete individual polyps arise. A polyp may also 'bud' out on the stalk, so that a 'colony' of polyps branches out from the stolon and stalks – individuals, yet held together (see *Milton* pl.29.30, *Jerusalem* pl.29.23; 66.53–54). Erasmus Darwin writes in *The Temple of Nature* ii 85–6, 'So the male Polypus parental swims, / And branching infants bristle all his limbs.' B. had collected some or all of this knowledge; but for Johnson a polypus was 'Any thing' (esp. 'a sea animal') 'with many roots or feet', and – significantly here – a form of nose cancer.

B. was affected by the apparently parasitic rooting of the *polypus*, by its tentacles and poison, and most of all by the indefinite and endless ramifications of the colonial forms. He had surely seen them, perhaps in an aquarium, waving their tentacles in sinister silence. The image affected him profoundly; for its associations with the branching systems of nerves and veins, with the clutching images of web and tree, and with cancer, see *Milton* pls.24.38, 34.24; *Jerusalem* pls.15.4, 66.48, 69.3 and notes.

iv 269. 'Your brother shall rise again' is also quoted from the Lazarus story, *John* xi 23, though B. here as in 253–5 puts the plural in the place of the biblical singular, 'thou'.

iv 270–2. LIMITS] As in *Milton* pl.13.20 and *Jerusalem* pl.42.29ff and 73.23n. B. uses the Cartesian scheme of the universe for his own ends. According to Descartes there were three fundamental elements; the light-giving (e.g. the sun), the translucent (the ether) and the opaque (e.g. the earth). B. takes light to be the imaginative power. Hence the *opaque* is of Ulro, Satanic. Similarly, a person with faculties infinitely limited would vanish and cease to be. By the same mercy, a *limit of contraction* is fixed, and the faculties cannot shrink below that limit. In

And next he found the Limit of Contraction, & named it *Adam*,
While yet those beings were not born, nor knew of good or
evil.

Then wondrously the starry wheels felt the Divine Hand. Limit
275 Was put to Eternal Death. Los felt the limit & saw
The finger of God touch the seventh furnace, in terror;
And Los beheld the hand of God over his furnaces
Beneath the deeps in dismal darkness beneath immensity.

[55b] In terrors Los shrunk from his task; his great hammer
280 Fell from his hand, his fires hid their strong limbs in smoke,
For with noises ruinous, hurtlings & clashings & groans
The immortal endured, though bound in a deadly sleep.
Pale terror seized the eyes of Los as he beat round
The hurtling demon, terrified at the shapes
285 Enslaved humanity put on, he became what he beheld.
He became what he was doing, he was himself transformed.

Spasms seized his muscular fibres writhing to & fro, his
pallid lips

Unwilling moved as Urizen howled, his loins waved like the sea
At Enitharmon's shriek, his knees each other smote, & then
he looked

290 With stony eyes on Urizen, & then swift writhed his neck
Involuntary to the couch where Enitharmon lay.
The bones of Urizen hurtle on the wind, the bones of Los
Twinge, & his iron sinews bend like lead & fold
Into unusual forms, dancing & howling, stamping the abyss.

[56b] *End of the Fourth Night*

our narrow material world, we are at that limit (*f* 1-3, p. 479), called 'Adam', for we are 'children of Adam'.

The *limit of translucence* is the border between the lesser element which can let light pass, and the dark, dead element which repels light. It is thus the very farthest point a human being can go to, and still live. That this limit is fixed, so that a person cannot become 'opaque' and die, is the mercy of God. But when he has gone so far, he is near spiritual death – and that is Satan's state. But (*Jerusalem* pl.42.35-6) translucence is not limited eternally.

iv 274. *the starry wheels*] The stars in their circling courses.

iv 274-8. This is the regenerate Los of vii 630ff.

iv 286. Here B. wrote 'Bring in here the Globe of Blood as in the B of Urizen'. In *Urizen* it became Enitharmon, who is already here, and so B. could not 'bring it in' after all. *Erdman* inserts *Urizen* 308-15 as four lines – an interesting experiment.

At the bottom of this page is this erased pencil: 'Christ's Crucifix shall be made an excuse for Executing Criminals' – an ironic comment on the resurrection theme of the page.

Night the Fifth

This Night falls into two parts. Lines 1-184 continue the story of Los and Enitharmon, with the birth of Orc and his subsequent binding in the Chain of Jealousy. From about 143 Los and Enitharmon become more like husband and wife and less like the squabbling children they were in the earlier Nights. Los is repentantly concerned for Enitharmon's unhappiness and tries, ineffectively, to free Orc for her sake. There may be some autobiographical source for this. B. certainly saw himself as a prophet, and Catherine's name seems to appear in *Enitharmon*; lines 177-82 may refer to a vision of Catherine's; but conjecture must be cautious in the absence of any facts to which we can pin events in the poem. In any case, the poems have a wider meaning than the events which may have given them birth.

In 41-2 the identification of Luvah and Orc is a new development, which enables B. to work the stories of Orc, the rebel of the two *Prophecies*, into *Four Zoas*, the Fuzon myth of *Urizen* and *Ahania* having proved unsatisfactory. Orc is a manifestation of Luvah, as Los is of Urthona (see i 9). Orc is born to Los and Enitharmon, and Vala, Luvah's emanation, is also born to them in vii. For the associations of Orc/Luvah to Christ, see 41*n*.

The last part of Night v (183-241) returns us to Urizen, who laments his fall. Thus this Night, like ii and iii, ends in a lament.

[57]

NIGHT THE FIFTH

Infected, mad, he danced on his mountains high & dark as
heaven.

Now fixed into one steadfast bulk his features stonify;
From his mouth curses, & from his eyes sparks of blighting.
Beside the anvil cold he danced with the hammer of

Urthona—

- 5 Terrific, pale. Enitharmon, stretched on the dreary earth,
Felt her immortal limbs freeze, stiffening pale, inflexible.
His feet shrunk withering from the deep, shrinking &
withering,
And Enitharmon shrunk up, all their fibres withering
beneath—

v 1. *be*] Los. *Infected, mad* and the ensuing lines suggest that B. is thinking of rabies. Los and Enitharmon lose their immortal, infinite form (described in ii 505ff), and become 'unexpansive' (13) though still mighty.

v 4. *the anvil cold*] He has given up working.

As plants withered by winter, leaves & stems & roots decaying,
 10 Melt into thin air; while the seed driven by the furious wind
 Rests on the distant mountain's top. So Los & Enitharmon,
 Shrunk into fixed space, stood trembling on a rocky cliff.
 Yet mighty bulk & majesty & beauty remained; but
 unexpansive.

As far as highest zenith from the lowest nadir, so far shrunk
 15 Los from the furnaces, a space immense, & left the cold
 Prince of Light bound in chains of intellect among the furnaces.
 But all the furnaces were out & the bellows had ceased to blow.

He stood trembling & Enitharmon clung around his knees.
 Their senses unexpansive in one steadfast bulk remain.
 20 The night blew cold & Enitharmon shrieked on the dismal wind,
 [58] Her pale hands cling around her husband, & over her weak
 head
 Shadows of eternal death sit in the leaden air.

But the soft pipe, the flute, the viol, organ, harp & cymbal,
 And the sweet sound of silver voices calm the weary couch
 25 Of Enitharmon, but her groans drown the immortal harps.
 Loud & more loud the living music floats upon the air;
 Faint & more faint the daylight wanes. The wheels of
 turning darkness
 Began in solemn revolutions. Earth convulsed with rending pangs
 Rocked to & fro, & cried sore at the groans of Enitharmon.
 30 Still the faint harps & silver voices calm the weary couch;
 But from the caves of deepest night ascending in clouds of mist
 The winter spread his wide black wings across from pole to pole.
 Grim frost beneath & terrible snow, linked in a marriage chain,
 Began a dismal dance. The winds around on pointed rocks
 35 Settled like bats innumerable, ready to fly abroad.
 The groans of Enitharmon shake the skies, the labouring
 earth—

Till from her heart rending his way a terrible child sprang forth,
 In thunder smoke & sullen flames & howling & fury & blood.

Soon as his burning eyes were opened on the abyss
 40 The horrid trumpets of the deep bellowed with bitter blasts.

v 15. The *furnaces* are Urizen's, used in the making of his dominion in Night ii and repaired by Los in iv 165ff.

v 18. *He*] Los. With this physical restriction, the cycle of birth and death begins (36-7).

v 18-22. B. illustrated these lines on p. 58.

v 34. The imagery of pointed rocks and bats is distinctly 'Gothic'.

- The enormous demons woke & howled around the
 new-born king,
 Crying: 'Luvah, king of love, thou art the king of rage & death!'
 Urizen cast deep darkness round him; raging Luvah poured
 The spears of Urizen from chariots round the eternal tent.
 45 Discord began, then yells & cries shook the wide firmament.
- [59] 'Where is sweet Vala, gloomy prophet? Where the lovely
 form
 That drew the body of Man from Heaven into this dark abyss?
 Soft tears & sighs, where are you? Come forth, shout on
 bloody fields!
 Show thy soul, Vala, show thy bow & quiver of secret fires!
- 50 'Draw thy bow, Vala, from the depths of hell! Thy black
 bow draw,
 And twang the bow-string to our howlings! Let thine arrows
 black
 Sing in the sky as once they sang upon the hills of light,
 When dark Urthona wept in torment of the secret pain.
 'He wept & he divided, & he laid his gloomy head
- 55 Down on the Rock of Eternity, on darkness of the deep,
 Torn by black storms & ceaseless torrents of consuming fire.

v 41. As in *Urizen*, Orc is born of Enitharmon, and is chained by the jealous Los. Here, however, he turns out to be the fallen form of Luvah. He is still the rebel of the two *Prophecies* (*America* and *Europe*), and is destined to conquer Urizen (iii 13-14): but by vii B. has changed his mind, and Orc becomes the corrupted servant of Urizen, his free spirit gone but his violence remaining. Note the allusions to Christ: in *America* 37ff Orc is related to resurrecting humanity; in *Europe* 1-4 there are allusions to the Nativity: here the phrase *new-born king* and the choir of demons (instead of angels) who hymn his birth have a similar purpose. There is a general similarity also between this choir of demons and their strophic song (46-65) and Milton's *Nativity Ode*: earlier, in *Europe*, B. had used the same material in a rather similar way. But Orc is always Christ with a difference – he comes with war and revolt, not peace. In B.'s earlier poems this was the beginning of a new age: in the political disillusionment of the later poems this was the violence of Antichrist. Cp. iii 65n.

v 43. The demons sing of the beginning of the fall (narrated in i 20ff).

v 46. Note the four-line sts from here to 65 – the 'demons' song'. Cp. Urizen's lament v 190-241. The demons ask for Vala; since Luvah has appeared in the form of Orc, where is his counterpart?

v 49. *secret fires*] Of her sexual allurements.

v 53-61. These lines describe the disintegration of Urthona, the 'enormous spirit' (*spectre* in *Jerusalem* pl.36.32) and Enitharmon 'his dark wife' breaking out from his inner being. It is a version of the fall of Urthona varied from i 233ff, iv 89ff.

v 56-61. These lines recur, with minor alterations, in *Jerusalem* pl.36 [40] as 39-40, 38, 32, 41-2.

Within his breast his fiery sons chained down, & filled with cursings,

‘And breathing terrible blood & vengeance, gnashing his teeth with pain,

Let loose the enormous spirit in the darkness of the deep,
60 And his dark wife, that once fair crystal form, divinely clear,
Within his ribs producing serpents whose souls are flames of fire.

‘But now the times return upon thee! Enitharmon’s womb
Now holds thee, soon to issue forth. Sound, clarions of war!
Call Vala from her close recess in all her dark deceit.

65 Then rage on rage shall fierce redound out of her crystal quiver!’

So sung the demons round red Orc & round faint
Enitharmon.

Sweat & blood stood on the limbs of Los in globes, his fiery eyelids

Faded; he roused, he seized the wonder in his hands & went
Shuddering & weeping through the gloom & down into the deeps.

70 Enitharmon nursed her fiery child in the dark deeps,
Sitting in darkness; over her Los mourned in anguish fierce,
Covered with gloom. The fiery boy grew, fed by the milk
Of Enitharmon. Los around her builded pillars of iron

[60] And brass & silver & gold fourfold in dark prophetic fear;

75 For now he feared Eternal Death & uttermost extinction.
He builded Golgonooza on the lake of Udan Adan;
Upon the Limit of Translucence then he builded Luban.

Tharmas laid the foundations & Los finished it in howling woe.

v 59. *the enormous spirit*] The spectre of Urthona, separated in iv 59–66.

v 73–6. *builded pillars* . . . *Golgonooza*] Los builds a tower to surround Enitharmon against the dangers he foresees from Orc. His motive at this point is chiefly jealousy, yet Orc does cause great distress to her as the poem goes on (e.g. vii 408ff). Later this tower developed into one of B.’s great conceptions – the infinite and beautiful city built by Los as a barrier against the onset of darkness and evil. Here is the germ of the idea, no more, but it is significant as an example of the manner in which B.’s images grew as he saw them more and more profoundly. Cp. vii 726, viii 25n, *Jerusalem* pls.12.21–14.34.

v 77. For the *Limit of Translucence* see iv 270n. Luban becomes the gate of birth, through which spirits rescued from the darkness of Udan-Adan and Ulro may pass to new life. Cp. vii 726; viii 29; *Milton* pls.24.49, 26[27].24, 28.21; *Jerusalem* pl.13.24. This passage is one of B.’s earliest expressions of this image – or are lines 76–7 later than the rest?

But when fourteen summers & winters had revolved over
 80 Their solemn habitation, Los beheld the ruddy boy
 Embracing his bright mother, & beheld malignant fires
 In his young eyes, discerning plain that Orc plotted his death.
 Grief rose upon his ruddy brows, a tightening girdle grew
 Around his bosom like a bloody cord. In secret sobs
 85 He burst it, but next morn another girdle succeeds
 Around his bosom. Every day he viewed the fiery youth
 With silent fear, & his immortal cheeks grew deadly pale—
 Till many a morn & many a night passed over in dire woe,
 Forming a girdle in the day & bursting it at night.
 90 (The girdle was formed by day; by night was burst in twain,
 Falling down on the rock, an iron chain link by link locked.)

Enitharmon beheld the bloody chain of nights & days
 Depending from the bosom of Los, & how with griding pain
 He went each morning to his labours with the spectre dark,
 95 Called it the Chain of Jealousy. Now Los began to speak
 His woes aloud to Enitharmon, since he could not hide
 His uncouth plague. He seized the boy in his immortal hands,
 While Enitharmon followed him weeping in dismal woe
 Up to the iron mountain's top, & there the jealous chain
 100 Fell from his bosom on the mountain. The spectre dark
 Held the fierce boy; Los nailed him down, binding around
 his limbs

The accursed chain. Oh, how bright Enitharmon howled & cried
 Over her son! Obdurate, Los bound down her loved joy.
 [61] The hammer of Urthona smote the rivets in terror of brass
 105 Tenfold. The demon's rage flamed tenfold, forth rending,
 Roaring, redounding, loud, loud, & louder, & fired
 The darkness, warring with the waves of Tharmas & snows
 of Urizen.

Crackling the flames went up with fury from the immortal
 demon;
 Surrounded with flames the demon grew, loud howling in
 his fires.

110 Los folded Enitharmon in a cold white cloud in fear,
 Then led her down into the deeps & into his labyrinth,
 Giving the Spectre sternest charge over the howling fiend.

v 79ff. The *fourteen years* are found in *America* 'Preludium' 2; the jealousy of Los in the form of a girdle which becomes the Chain of Jealousy is in *Urizen* 379–95. The design on this page of the MS also illustrates it.

v 94–95. Perhaps a line has been missed out in copying.

v 108. *demon*] Orc, flames being one of his characteristics.

v 112. In vii 328, the spectre hands over to Vala, disastrously.

- Concentred into love of parent, storgous appetite, craving,
 His limbs bound down mock at his chains; for over them a flame
 115 Of circling fire unceasing plays, to feed them with life & bring
 The virtues of the eternal worlds. Ten thousand thousand
 spirits
 Of life lament around the demon; going forth & returning
 At his enormous call they flee into the heavens of heavens
 And back return with wine & food. Or dive into the deeps
 120 To bring the thrilling joys of sense to quell his ceaseless rage.
 His eyes, the lights of his large soul, contract or else expand:
 Contracted they behold the secrets of the infinite mountains,
 The veins of gold & silver & the hidden things of Vala,
 Whatever grows from its pure bud or breathes a fragrant soul;
 125 Expanded they behold the terrors of the sun & moon,
 The elemental planets & the orbs of eccentric fire.
 His nostrils breathe a fiery flame. His locks are like the forests
 Of wild beasts: there the lion glares, the tiger & wolf howl there,
 And there the eagle hides her young in cliffs & precipices.
 130 His bosom is like starry heaven expanded; all the stars
 Sing round. There waves the harvest & the vintage rejoices,
 the springs
 Flow into rivers of delight; there the spontaneous flowers
 Drink, laugh & sing, the grasshopper, the emmet & the fly
 The golden moth builds there a house & spreads her silken bed.
 [62] His loins enwove with silken fires are like a furnace fierce,
 136 As the strong bull in summer-time, when bees sing round
 the heath,
 Where the herds low after the shadow & after the water spring,
 The numerous flocks cover the mountain & shine along the
 valley.
 His knees are rocks of adamant & ruby & emerald;
 140 Spirits of strength in palaces rejoice in golden armour,
 Armed with spear & shield they drink & rejoice over the slain.
 Such is the demon, such his terror in the nether deep.

v 113. *storgous*] Gk. *storgé*, family love or affection. E. Darwin sees it as an asexual precursor, among the lower creatures, of love for offspring: 'Parturient Sires caress the infant train, / And heaven-born STORGE weaves the social chain' (*Temple of Nature* ii 85–6). For Coleridge (Egerton MS 2800) it is the self-sacrificial yearning of a mother; but for B. it is an oppressive mother-love.

v 117. *lament*] For 'rejoice' deleted.

v 121–6. Immortal, infinite senses need no lenses to magnify small or distant objects.

v 126. *orbs of eccentric fire*] Comets, whose orbits are usually elongated ellipses, as Halley had shown (see also vi 317–19n).

v 133. There seems to be a hiatus here, unless it is the insects who *laugh & sing* – a construction not easily paralleled in B.'s verse, (though grasshoppers do 'laugh and sing'). B. has a point in the MS after *sing*, nowhere else.

- But when returned to Golgonooza, Los & Enitharmon
 Felt all the sorrow parents feel. They wept toward one another,
 145 And Los repented that he had chained Orc upon the
 mountain;
 And Enitharmon's tears prevailed, parental love returned—
 Though terrible his dread of that infernal chain. They rose
 At midnight, hasting to their much-beloved care.
 Nine days they travelled through the gloom of Entuthon
 Benithon;
 150 Los, taking Enitharmon by the hand, led her along
 The dismal vales & up to the iron mountain's top, where Orc
 Howled in the furious wind. He thought to give to
 Enitharmon
 Her son in tenfold joy & to compensate for her tears,
 Even if his own death resulted; so much pity him pained.
 155 But when they came to the dark rock & to the spectrous cave,
 Lo! the young limbs had stricken root into the rock, & strong
 Fibres had from the Chain of Jealousy enwove themselves
 In a swift vegetation round the rock & round the cave
 And over the immortal limbs of the terrible fiery boy.
 160 In vain they strove now to unchain, in vain with bitter tears
 To melt the Chain of Jealousy. Not Enitharmon's death
 Nor the consummation of Los could ever melt the chain,
 Nor unroot the infernal fibres from their rocky bed.
 Nor all Urthona's strength, nor all the power of Luvah's
 bulls—
 165 Though they each morning drag the unwilling sun out of
 the deep—
 Could uproot the infernal chain, for it had taken root
 [63] Into the iron rock, & grew a chain beneath the earth
 Even to the centre, wrapping round the centre; &, the limbs
 Of Orc entering with fibres, became one with him, a living chain
 170 Sustained by the demon's life. Despair & terror & woe & rage
 Enwrap the parents in cold clouds, as they bend howling over
 The terrible boy, till fainting by his side the parents fell.

 Not long they lay: Urthona's spectre found herbs of the pit;
 Rubbing their temples he revived them. All their lamentations
 175 I write not here; but all their afterlife was lamentation.

v 149. *Entuthon Benithon*] Where Enion was lost – a fearsome world of darkness (iii 174).

v 162. *consummation*] As usual in B., a burning-up, a consuming.

v 164. *Luvah's bulls* drag the sun; he is 'lord of day' in 211.

v 170–2. On the facing page, B. illustrates this with a drawing varied from that at the head of the Preludium to *America*.

v 175. This detail is not in *Urizen*. Perhaps it has a personal meaning.

When satiated with grief they returned back to Golgonooza,
Enitharmon on the road of Dranthon felt the inmost gate
Of her bright heart burst open, & again close, with a deadly
pain.

- Within her heart Vala began to reanimate in bursting sobs,
180 And when the gate was open she beheld that dreary deep
Where bright Ahanian wept. She also saw the infernal roots
Of the Chain of Jealousy, & felt the rendings of fierce
howling Orc,
Rending the caverns like a mighty wind pent in the earth.
Though wide apart as furthest north is from the furthest south,
185 Urizen trembled where he lay, to hear the howling terror.
The rocks shook; the eternal bars, tugged to & fro, were rifted.
Outstretched upon the stones of ice, the ruins of his throne,
Urizen shuddering heard; his trembling limbs shook the
strong caves.

The woes of Urizen, shut up in the deep dens of Urthona:

- 190 'Ah, how shall Urizen the king submit to this dark mansion?
Ah, how is this? Once on the heights I stretched my throne
sublime;
The mountains of Urizen, once of silver where the sons of
wisdom dwelt
And on whose tops the virgins sang, are rocks of desolation.
'My fountains, once the haunt of swans, now breed the scaly
tortoise,
195 The houses of my harpers are become a haunt of crows,
The gardens of wisdom are become a field of horrid graves,
And on the bones I drop my tears, & water them in vain.
[64] 'Once, how I walked from my palace in gardens of delight,
The sons of wisdom stood around, the harpers followed with
harps,

v 177. *Dranthon*] The only other reference in the whole of B. is the deleted line after vii 749 (*q.v.n*) – 'the caverned rocks of Dranthon'.

v 179. *Vala*] Born of Enitharmon's shadow in vii 313.

v 180. Enitharmon's imaginative powers are momentarily awoken. Cp. B.'s letter to Thomas Butts, 23 Sept. 1800, just after arriving in Felpham – 'I met a plough on my first going out at my gate the first morning after my arrival, and the plough-boy said to the ploughman, "Father, the gate is open" – I have begun to work, and find that I can work with greater pleasure than ever'. Cp. also the opening by Sin of the gate between Hell and Chaos in *Paradise Lost* ii 871–84. The parallel is not exact: Sin's act is evil, but the momentary opening of Enitharmon's heart is vision. Sin cannot reclose the gates of Hell; Enitharmon's heart remains barred until vii 323–4.

v 182–3. B. has a space here which the sense seems to contradict.

v 185. *the howling terror*] Orc.

v 189. *Urizen, shut up . . .*] Cp. iv 170–84.

- 200 Nine virgins clothed in light composed the song to their
immortal voices,
And at my banquets of new wine my head was crowned with
joy.
- ‘Then in my ivory pavilions I slumbered in the noon,
And walked in the silent night among sweet-smelling flowers
Till on my silver bed I slept, & sweet dreams round me
hovered;
- 205 But now my land is darkened & my wise men are departed.
- ‘My songs are turned to cries of lamentation
Heard on my mountains, & deep sighs under my palace
roofs—
Because the steeds of Urizen, once swifter than the light,
Were kept back from my lord, & from his chariot of
mercies.
- 210 ‘Oh, did I keep the horses of the day in silver pastures?
Oh, I refused the lord of day the horses of his prince!
O did I close my treasures with roofs of solid stone,
And darken all my palace walls with envyings & hate?
- ‘O fool! to think that I could hide from his all-piercing eyes
- 215 The gold & silver & costly stones, his holy workmanship!
O fool! could I forget the light that filled my bright spheres
Was a reflection of his face, who called me from the deep?
- ‘I well remember: for I heard the mild & holy voice
Saying: “O light, spring up & shine!” & I sprang up from
the deep.
- 220 He gave to me a silver sceptre & crowned me with a golden
crown,
And said: “Go forth & guide my son who wanders on the
ocean.”
- ‘I went not forth. I hid myself in black clouds of my wrath;
I called the stars around my feet in the night of councils dark.

v 200. *Nine virgins*] Perhaps B. was thinking of the nine Muses, or of the nine spheres (sun, moon, five planets, the star-sphere and the firmament). See i 169n.
v 211. *the lord of day*] Luvah: in 164 it is his bulls who drag the sun, but here the lines seem to refer to the Divine Vision; Luvah had never been Urizen’s lord, but an equal.

v 218–21. *the mild and holy voice*] That of the Divine Vision; the phrase is not otherwise used except satirically. This st. can be allegorically interpreted: that Thought has failed to act as a guide, preferring to rule, and has ruined both Love and Imagination thereby; cp. 241.

v 223. *America* ‘b’ s is similar.

- The stars threw down their spears & fled naked away:
 225 We fell. I seized thee, dark Urthona! In my left hand falling
 ‘I seized thee, beauteous Luvah; thou art faded like a flower,
 And like a lily is thy wife Vala, withered by winds.
 When thou didst bear the golden cup at the immortal tables
 Thy children smote their fiery wings, crowned with the gold
 of heaven;
- [65] ‘Thy pure feet stepped on the steps divine, too pure for
 other feet,
 231 And thy fair locks shadowed thine eyes from the divine
 effulgence;
 Then thou didst keep with strong Urthona the living gates
 of Heaven.
 But now thou art bound down with him, even to the gates
 of Hell,
- ‘Because thou gavest Urizen the wine of the Almighty
 235 For steeds of light, that they might run in thy golden chariot
 of pride.
 I gave to thee the steeds, I poured the stolen wine,
 And drunken with the immortal draught fell from my throne
 sublime.
- ‘I will arise, explore these dens, & find that deep pulsation
 That shakes my caverns with strong shudders. Perhaps this is
 the night
 240 Of prophecy, & Luvah hath burst his way from Enitharmon.
 When thought is closed in caves, then love shall show its
 root in deepest Hell.’

End of the Fifth Night

v 224. So in ‘The Tiger’, p. 221 above.

v 232. *thou*] Luvah throughout.

v 234. In other versions it is said that Urizen was asleep; this is the first suggestion that Luvah had made him drunk.

v 238. B. returns to the narrative as in *Urizen*, left behind at 103.

v 239–40. *the night/Of prophecy*] The night prophesied in iii 13ff, that Orc (Luvah) will come to conquer Urizen.

v 241. A Blakean aphorism. Thought is closed in the restricting caves of our material existence: but even at the worst love’s power can be shown. The ‘love’ that is to be shown in viii is the Divine Mercy, greater than Luvah’s love, and more than Urizen can envisage. Orc’s chain is rooted ‘even to the centre’ of Hell (168); note 42, and the paradox involved – ‘Luvah, king of love, thou art the king of rage and death’.

Night the Sixth

This Night follows the journey of Urizen as he ‘explores his dens’, in a sequence owing much to Satan’s journey through Chaos in *Paradise Lost* ii. He meets three women, his daughters, who refuse to know him, and, Tiriel-like, he curses them (35). This curse is later seen to cause still greater trouble in his ruined world (138–43). He meets Tharmas, who pleads with him that they should destroy one another (64–6), but Urizen ignores him and continues his journey through the abyss of his ruined world (72ff). In horror at its chaos, he determines to rebuild it as he built the palace in ii for fear of the abyss; but he rebuilds, not the golden palace, but a hard, fixed, rigid, mechanical world of laws (224ff), like that in *Urizen* 50–84. Yet chaos is not overcome and he still wanders (258ff) until Tharmas, Orc and the spectre of Urthona oppose him (295ff).

[66] [Full-page drawing]

[67] NIGHT THE SIXTH

So Urizen arose, & leaning on his spear explored his dens;
 He threw his flight through the dark air to where a river flowed,
 And taking off his silver helmet filled it & drank;
 But when, unsatiated his thirst, he assayed to gather more,
 5 Lo! three terrific women at the verge of the bright flood,
 Who would not suffer him to approach, but drove him back
 with storms.

Urizen knew them not, & thus addressed the spirits of
 darkness:

‘Who art thou, eldest woman, sitting in thy clouds?
 What is that name written on thy forehead? What art thou?
 10 And wherefore dost thou pour this water forth in sighs & care?’

She answered not, but filled her urn & poured it forth abroad.

‘Answerest thou not?’ said Urizen, ‘Then thou mayest answer
 me,

Thou terrible woman clad in blue, whose strong attractive power
 Draws all into a fountain at the rock of thy attraction.

vi. page 66. A group of nude sketches, dominated by a standing male figure, seen from the back, and holding a globe on his head.

vi 5. B.’s three women may derive from Lear’s three daughters, or the three Fates of Greek legend, who look into past, present and future. But though Urizen’s three silent daughters are awesome, B. does not develop any equivalent characteristics in them.

With frowning brow thou sittest, mistress of these mighty waters!’

- 15 She answered not, but stretched her arms & threw her limbs abroad.

‘Or wilt thou answer, youngest woman clad in shining green?
With labour & care thou dost divide the current into four.
Queen of these dreadful rivers, speak & let me hear thy voice!’

- [68] They reared up a wall of rocks, and Urizen raised his spear.

- 21 They gave a scream, they knew their father; Urizen knew his daughters.

They shrunk into their channels, dry the rocky strand
beneath his feet,
Hiding themselves in rocky forms from the eyes of Urizen.

Then Urizen wept, & thus his lamentation poured forth:

- 25 ‘O horrible, O dreadful state—those whom I loved best,
On whom I poured the beauties of my light, adorning them
With jewels & precious ornament, laboured with art divine
Vests of the radiant colours of heaven, & crowns of golden fire!
I gave sweet lilies to their breasts & roses to their hair,
30 I taught them songs of sweet delight, I gave their tender voices
Into the blue expanse, & I invented with laborious art
Sweet instruments of sound. In pride encompassing my knees
They poured their radiance above all. The daughters of
Luvah envied

At their exceeding brightness, & the sons of Eternity sent
them gifts.

- 35 Now will I pour my fury on them & I will reverse
The precious benediction! For their colours of loveliness
I will give blackness; for jewels, hoary frost; for ornament,
deformity;
For crowns, wreathed serpents; for sweet odours, stinking
corruptibility;
For voices of delight, hoarse croakings inarticulate through frost.
40 For laboured fatherly care & sweet instruction, I will give
Chains of dark ignorance & cords of twisted self-conceit,
And whips of stern repentance, & food of stubborn
obstinacy—
That they may curse Tharmas their god, & Los his adopted son;
That they may curse & worship the obscure demon of
destruction;

vi 20. Originally the order of the clauses was reversed: ‘Then Urizen . . . but they . . .’

vi 44. *the obscure demon*] Orc. Urizen says ‘Let them worship the other Zoas – and suffer the effects!’

- 45 That they may worship terrors & obey the violent!
Go forth, sons of my curse; go forth, daughters of my
abhorrence!’

- Tharmas heard the deadly scream across his watery world,
And Urizen’s loud-sounding voice lamenting on the wind,
And he came riding in his fury. Froze to solid were his waves:
[69] Silent in ridges he beheld them stand round Urizen,
51 A dreary waste of solid waters. For the King of Light
Darkened his brows with his cold helmet, & his gloomy spear
Darkened before him. Silent on the ridgy waves he took
His gloomy way. Before him Tharmas fled, & flying fought,
55 Crying: ‘What & who art thou, cold demon? Art thou Urizen?
Art thou like me risen again from death—or art thou deathless?
If thou art he, my desperate purpose hear, & give me death:
For death to me is better far than life, death my desire,
That I in vain in various paths have sought. But still I live.
60 The body of Man is given to me; I seek in vain to destroy,
For it surges forth in fish & monsters of the deeps,
And in these monstrous forms I live in an eternal woe.
And thou, O Urizen, art fallen never to be delivered!
Withhold thy light from me for ever, & I will withhold
65 From thee thy food. So shall we cease to be & all our sorrows
End, & the Eternal Man no more renew beneath our power.
If thou refusest, in eternal flight thy beams in vain
Shall pursue Tharmas, & in vain shalt crave for food. I will
Pour down my flight through dark immensity, eternal falling.
70 Thou shalt pursue me but in vain, till starved upon the void
Thou hangst, a dried skin shrunk up, weak wailing in the wind.’

- So Tharmas spoke; but Urizen replied not. On his way
He took, high bounding over hills & deserts, floods &
horrible chasms.
Infinite was his labour, without end his travel. He strove
75 In vain, for hideous monsters of the deeps annoyed him
sore—
Scaled & finned with iron & brass they devoured the path
before him;
Incessant was the conflict. On he bent his weary steps,
Making a path toward the dark world of Urthona. He rose
With pain upon the dreary mountains, & with pain descended
80 And saw their grisly fears, & his eyes sickened at the sight.

vi 45. Taken from *Visions* 23.

vi 72ff. This passage recalls – in general – Satan’s journey through Chaos in *Paradise Lost* ii 890–1033. Cp. also the wanderings of Tiriel.

74. *travel*.] Or *travail*: see *Europe* Prel. 6n.

- The howlings, gnashings, groanings, shriekings, shudderings,
sobblings, burstings
Mingle together to create a world for Los. In cruel delight
[70a] Los brooded on the darkness, nor saw Urizen with a globe
of fire
Lighting his dismal journey through the pathless world of
death,
- 85 Writing in bitter tears & groans in books of iron & brass
The enormous wonders of the abysses, once his brightest joy.
- For Urizen beheld the terrors of the abyss wandering among
The ruined spirits, once his children & the children of Luvah,
Scared at the sound of their own sigh that seems to shake
the immense
- 90 They wander, moping, in their heart a sun, a dreary moon,
A universe of fiery constellations in their brain,
An earth of wintry woe beneath their feet, & round their loins
Waters or winds or clouds, or brooding lightnings &
pestilential plagues.
Beyond the bounds of their own self their senses cannot
penetrate,
- 95 As the tree knows not what is outside of its leaves & bark,
And yet it drinks the summer joy & fears the winter sorrow,
So in the regions of the grave none knows his dark compeer,
Though he partakes of his dire woes & mutual returns the pang,
The throb, the dolour, the convulsion in soul-sickening woes,
- 100 The horrid shapes & sights of torment in burning dungeons
& in
Fetters of red-hot iron, some with crowns of serpents & some
With monsters girding round their bosoms, some lying on
beds of sulphur,

vi 92-9. In the margin opposite these lines is the rhymed couplet in crayon, not marked for entry:

Till thou dost injure / the distrest
Thou shalt never have peace / within thy breast.

This seems to be a cryptic author's comment, not part of the text, to the effect that 'You must tell the truth, even if it hurts the person who hears it'.

vi 97. *the regions of the grave*] Our material world which (see note above) the prophet must shape for its own good.

vi 99. Followed by these lines all del., the first replacing the second:

Not so closd up the Prince of Light now darkend wandring among
[For Urizen beheld the terrors of the Abyss wandring among]
The Ruined Spirits once his Children & the Children of Luvah

vi 100. Much that Urizen sees is recognizable in certain human conditions, e.g. the slavery in 103-4.

- On racks & wheels. He beheld women marching o'er
 burning wastes
 Of sand, in bands of hundreds & of fifties & of thousands,
 stricken with
 105 Lightnings which blazed after them upon their shoulders in
 their march,
 In successive volleys; with loud thunders swift flew the king
 of light
 Over the burning deserts. Then the deserts passed; involved
 in clouds
 Of smoke, with myriads moping in the stifling vapours, swift
 Flew the king, though flagged, his powers labouring, till over
 rocks
 110 And mountains faint, weary, he wandered, where multitudes
 were shut
 Up in the solid mountains & in rocks which heaved with
 their torments.
 Then came he among fiery cities & castles built of burning steel;
 Then he beheld the forms of tigers & of lions, dishumanized
 men.
 Many in serpents & in worms stretched out enormous length
 115 Over the sullen mould, & slimy tracks obstruct his way,
 Drawn out from deep to deep, woven by ribbed
 And scaled monsters; or armed in iron shell, or shell of brass
 Or gold, a glittering torment shining & hissing in eternal
 pain—
 Some as columns of fire or of water, sometimes stretched out
 in height,
 120 Sometimes in length, sometimes englobing, wandering in
 vain, seeking for ease.
 His voice to them was but an inarticulate thunder, for their ears
 Were heavy & dull, & their eyes & nostrils closed up.
 Oft he stood by a howling victim, questioning in words
 Soothing or furious; no one answered, everyone wrapped up
 125 In his own sorrow howled regardless of his words, nor voice
 Of sweet response could he obtain, though oft assayed with tears.
 He knew they were his children, ruined in his ruined world.
 [71a] Oft would he stand & question a fierce scorpion glowing
 with gold;
 In vain—the terror heard not; then a lion he would seize
 130 By the fierce mane, staying his howling course—in vain the voice

vi 110–11. Miners, perhaps.

vi 113–14. The illustration shows a dragon with human hands and feet.

vi 119. *height*] B. has *heighth*.

- Of Urizen, in vain the eloquent tongue. A rock, a cloud, a
 mountain
 Were now not vocal as in climes of happy Eternity,
 Where the lamb replies to the infant voice & the lion to the
 man of years,
 Giving them sweet instructions; where the cloud, the river &
 the field
- 135 Talk with the husbandman & shepherd. But these attacked
 him sore,
 Seizing upon his feet & rending the sinews, that in caves
 He hid, to recure his obstructed powers with rest & oblivion.
- [70b] Here he had time enough to repent of his rashly threatened
 curse—
 He saw them cursed beyond his curse; his soul melted with fear.
- [71b] He could not take their fetters off, for they grew from the soul,
 141 Nor could he quench the fires, for they flamed out from the
 heart,
 Nor could he calm the elements because himself was subject.
 So he threw his flight in terror & pain & in repentant tears.
- When he had passed these southern terrors, he approached
 the east,
- 145 Void, pathless, beaten with iron, sleet & eternal hail & rain.
 No form was there, no living thing, & yet his way lay through
 This dismal world. He stood a while, & looked back o'er his
 former
 Terrific voyage—hills & vales of torment & despair—
 Sighing & wiping a fresh tear; then turning round he threw
- 150 Himself into the dismal void. Falling he fell & fell,
 Whirling in irresistible revolutions, down & down
 In the horrid bottomless vacuity, failing, falling, falling
 Into the eastern vacuity, the empty world of Luvah.
- The Ever-pitying One who seeth all things saw his fall,
 155 And in the dark vacuity created a bosom of clay.
 When wearied, dead he fell; his limbs reposed in the bosom
 of slime.
 As the seed falls from the sower's hand, so Urizen fell, & death
 Shut up his powers in oblivion. Then as the seed shoots forth

vi 138. The curse of 35–46.

vi 145. *iron . . . rain*] 1st rdg *del.* eternal . . . snow.

vi 152. Milton's 'vast vacuity' into which Satan falls 'ten thousand fathom deep', *Paradise Lost* ii 934.

vi 154. *The Ever-pitying One*] B. rarely names God.

vi 155. Luvah, the passionate one, belongs to the heart. He is absent, but an imitation of his home, the *bosom*, is created temporarily for Urizen's sake.

- In pain & sorrow, so the slimy bed his limbs renewed;
 160 At first an infant weakness. Periods passed; he gathered
 strength,
 But still in solitude he sat; then rising, threw his flight
 Onward, though falling, through the waste of night, and
 ending in death,
 And in another resurrection to sorrow & weary travel.
 But still his books he bore in his strong hands, & his iron pen;
 165 For when he died they lay beside his grave, & when he rose
 He seized them with a gloomy smile. For wrapped in his
 death clothes
 He hid them, when he slept in death; when he revived, the
 clothes
 Were rotted by the winds, the books remained still
 unconsumed,
 Still to be written & interleaved with brass & iron & gold
 170 Time after time—for such a journey none but iron pens
 Can write, and adamantine leaves receive; nor can the man
 who goes
 [72] The journey, obstinate refuse to write time after time.
- Endless had been his travel; but the Divine Hand him led,
 For infinite the distance & obscured by combustions dire,
 175 By rocky masses frowning in the abysses revolving erratic
 Round lakes of fire in the dark deep, the ruins of Urizen's world.
 Oft would he sit in a dark rift & regulate his books,
 Or sleep such sleep as spirits eternal, wearied in his dark
 Tearful & sorrowful state, then rise, look out & ponder
 180 His dismal voyage, eyeing the next sphere though far remote,
 Then darting into the abyss of night his venturous limbs,
 Through lightnings, thunders, earthquakes & concussions,
 fires and floods,
 Stemming his downward fall, labouring up against futurity,
 Creating many a vortex, fixing many a science in the deep;
 185 And thence throwing his venturous limbs into the vast
 unknown,
 Swift, swift, from chaos to chaos, from void to void, a road
 immense.

vi 172. *obstinate*] B. has no punctuation; the meaning seems to be that refusal would be obstinate.

vi 184. *vortex*] See *Milton* pl. 15.22n, p. 535 below. In the Cartesian theory, the universe consisted of a series of vortices, each centred on a star or similar body. *science*] B.'s objection is not to *science* (cp. iv 147 and ix 852), but to *fixed science*: the word means *learning* as a whole rather than physical science alone.

- For when he came to where a vortex ceased to operate,
 Nor down nor up remained; then if he turned & looked back
 From whence he came, 'twas upward all. And if he turned
 and viewed
- 190 The unpassed void, upward was still his mighty wandering,
 The midst between, an equilibrium grey of air serene,
 Where he might live in peace, & where his life might meet repose.
- But Urizen said: 'Can I not leave this world of cumbrous wheels,
 Circle o'er circle, nor on high attain a void
- 195 Where self-sustaining I may view all things beneath my feet;
 Or sinking through these elemental wonders, swift to fall,
 I thought perhaps to find an end, a world beneath of voidness,
 Whence I might travel round the outside of this dark
 confusion?
- When I bend downward, bending my head downward into
 the deep,
- 200 'Tis upward all, which way soever I my course begin.
 But when a vortex formed on high, by labour & sorrow & care,
 And weariness begins on all my limbs, then sleep revives
 My wearied spirits; waking then 'tis downward all, which way
 Soever I my spirits turn. No end I find of all.
- 205 Oh, what a world is here—unlike those climes of bliss
 Where my sons gathered round my knees. O thou poor
 ruined world,
 Thou horrible ruin! once like me thou wast all glorious,
 And now like me partaking desolate thy master's lot,
 Art thou, O ruin, the once-glorious Heaven? Are these thy rocks
- 210 Where joy sang in the trees & pleasure sported on the rivers,
 [73] And laughter sat beneath the oaks & innocence sported round
 Upon the green plains, & sweet friendship met in palaces,
 And books & instruments of song & pictures of delight?
 Where are they? Whelmed beneath these ruins in horrible
 destruction!
- 215 And if eternal falling I repose on the dark bosom
 Of winds & waters, or thence fall into a void where air
 Is not, down falling through immensity, ever & ever,
 I lose my powers, weakened every revolution till a death

vi 193. *cumbrous wheels*] These have not been mentioned: but to B. formless chaos and mechanical rigidity were equal enemies of the imaginative life. The heavy machinery of B.'s day had little functional beauty or precision, to make it attractive.

vi 197. Urizen longs for death – not life – but finds he can only escape from one vortex into another. He cannot get away from this universe of eternal, moving vortices.

vi 209–II. The sketch shows the present state – three dejected women under a leafless tree.

Shuts up my powers; then, a seed in the vast womb of
darkness,
220 I dwell in dim oblivion. Brooding over me the enormous worlds
Reorganize me—shooting forth in bones & flesh & blood
I am regenerated, to fall or rise at will or to remain
A labourer of ages, a dire discontent, a living woe,
Wand'ring in vain. Here will I fix my foot, & here rebuild.
225 Here mountains of brass promise much riches in their
dreadful bosoms.'

So he began to dig, forming of gold, silver & iron
And brass, vast instruments to measure out the immense & fix
The whole into another world, better suited to obey
His will, where none should dare oppose his will, himself
being king
230 Of all, & all futurity be bound in his vast chain.
And the sciences were fixed, & the vortexes began to operate
On all the sons of men, & every human soul terrified
At the turning wheels of heaven shrunk away inward,
withering away.
Gaining a new dominion over all his sons & daughters,
235 And over the sons & daughters of Luvah in the horrible
abyss—
For Urizen lamented over them in a selfish lamentation,
Till a white woof covered his cold limbs from head to feet.
Hair white as snow covered him in flaky locks terrific,
Overspreading his limbs. In pride he wandered weeping.
240 Clothed in aged venerableness, obstinately resolved,
Travelling through darkness; & wherever he travelled, a dire
web
Followed behind him, as the web of a spider dusky & cold,
Shivering across from vortex to vortex drawn out from his
mantle of years,
A living mantle adjoined to his life & growing from his soul,

vi 225. This line is an insertion, preparing for the changes in the next line.

vi 226. *So . . . iron*] *1st rdg*: 'So saying, he began to form of gold, silver and iron.' 'dig' was inserted above 'form', and 'saying' deleted, presumably to make room for both 'dig' and 'form'. 'To dig, forming' is more characteristic of B. than 'to dig and form'.

vi 233. The souls shrink with the shrinking of the diameter of the vortex as it draws them in.

vi 234. *his*] Urizen's. He also gains power over his chief enemy, Luvah.

vi 236. Urizen's lamenting creates a false religion. If he had not made this corrupt world he would not need to lament; these are not tears of remorse, but of false pity.

vi 237. *woof*] Fabric: a 'poetic' usage.

vi 241. In *Urizen* 461–8 called 'the Net of Religion'.

- 245 And the web of Urizen stretched direful, shivering in clouds,
And uttering such woes, such bursts, such thunderings—
The eyelids expansive as morning, & the ears
As a golden ascent winding round to the heavens of heavens.
(Within the dark horrors of the abysses, lion or tiger or
scorpion).
- [74] For every one opened within into eternity at will—
251 But they refused, because their outward forms were in the abyss,
And the wing-like tent of the universe, beautiful,
surrounding all,
Or drawn up or let down at the will of the Immortal Man
Vibrated in such anguish. The eyelids quivered:
255 Weak & weaker their expansive orbs began shrinking,
Pangs smote through the brain & a universal shriek
Ran through the abysses, rending the web, torment on
torment.
- Thus Urizen in sorrows wandered many a dreary way,
Warring with monsters of the deeps in his most hideous
pilgrimage,
260 Till his bright hair scattered in snows, his skin barked o'er
with wrinkles.
- Four caverns rooting downwards, their foundations thrusting
forth,
The metal, rock & stone in ever-painful throes of vegetation—
The cave of Orc stood to the south, a furnace of dire flames
Quenchless unceasing. In the west the cave of Urizen;
265 For Urizen fell as the midday sun falls down into the west.
North stood Urthona's steadfast throne, a world of solid
darkness
- Shut up in stifling obstruction, rooted in dumb despair.
The east was void. But Tharmas rolled his billows in ceaseless
eddis,
Void, pathless, beat with snows eternal & iron hail & rain

vi 246–50. The sense is obscure, perhaps because of an omission. The eyelids and ears belonging to all living creatures, including such horrors as lion, tiger or scorpion are 'expansive' – 'opened to Eternity at will'. But because they have fallen into the abyss of Urizen's universe, they refuse the vision.

vi 250–1. *within . . . outward*] B. insists on the need for proportion in the soul, a balance between the inward-looking and the outward-looking. If these are separated, the inward man withers and the outward becomes a mere shell.

vi 261. *Four caverns*] In 277–8, Urizen, Prince of Light, belongs in the south, the direction of the midday sun. Orc/Luvah, the bright youth, should be in the east with the rising sun, and Tharmas in the west. But all is now disordered: the eternal homes of the Zoas have become four caverns.

- 270 All through the caverns of fire & air & earth, seeking
 For Enion's limbs, nought finding but the black seaweed and
 sickening slime,
 Flying away from Urizen that he might not give him food,
 Above, beneath, on all sides round in the vast deep of
 immensity,
 That he might starve the sons & daughters of Urizen, on the
 winds
- 275 Making between horrible chasms into the vast unknown.
 All these around the world of Los cast forth their monstrous
 births.
 (But in eternal times the seat of Urizen is in the south,
 Urthona in the north, Luvah in east, Tharmas in west.)
 And now he came into the abhorred world of dark Urthona
- 280 By Providence divine conducted—not bent from his own will
 Lest Death Eternal should be the result; for the will cannot
 be violated—
 Into the doleful vales where no tree grew nor river flowed,
 Nor man nor beast nor creeping thing, nor sun nor cloud
 nor star:
 Still he with his globe of fire immense in his venturous hand
- 285 Bore on, through the affrighted vales, ascending &
 descending,
 O'erwearied, or in cumbrous flight he ventured o'er dark rifts,
 Or down dark precipices, or climbed with pain and labour huge,
 Till he beheld the world of Los from the peaked rock of
 Urthona,
 And heard the howling of red Orc distincter & distincter.
- [75] Redoubling his immortal efforts through the narrow vales,
 291 With difficulty down descending, guided by his ear
 And by his globe of fire, he went down the vale of Urthona,
 Between the enormous iron walls built by the spectre dark.
 Dark grew his globe, reddening with mists; and full before
 his path,
- 295 Striding across the narrow vale, the shadow of Urthona,

vi 279. *be*] Urizen.

vi 280–1. Cp. *Jerusalem* 39.18.

vi 284. This is illustrated at the foot of the page.

vi 288. *the peaked rock*] So Satan arrived 'on Niphates' top' to view the Earth (*Paradise Lost* iii 742).

vi 295. *shadow*] Altered from 'shade'. A *shadow* is always a sinister unreality. This meeting is reminiscent of Satan's meeting with Death and Sin who barred his way out of Hell (*Paradise Lost* ii 643ff). The Spectre's iron scales on feet and legs recall Sin who 'ended foul in many a scaly fold' (*Paradise Lost* ii 651); and also, perhaps, Apollyon who was 'hideous to behold; he was clothed in scales . . .'

- A Spectre vast, appeared, whose feet & legs with iron scaled
 Stamped the hard rocks, expectant of the unknown
 wanderer—
 Whom he had seen wandering his nether world when distant
 far—
 And watched his swift approach. Collected, dark, the spectre
 stood;
 300 Beside him Tharmas stayed his flight & stood in stern defiance,
 Communing with the spectre who rejoiced along the vale.
 Round his loins a girdle glowed with many-coloured fires;
 In his hand a knotted club whose knots like mountains
 frowned,
 Desert among the stars, then withering with its ridges cold.
 305 Black scales of iron arm the dread visage, iron spikes instead
 Of hair shoot from his orb'd skull, his glowing eyes
 Burn like two furnaces; he called with voice of thunder.
 Four winged heralds mount the furious blasts & blow their
 trumps—
 Gold, silver, brass, & iron clangours clamouring rend the
 shores.
 310 Like white clouds rising from the vales, his fifty-two armies
 From the four cliffs of Urthona rise glowing around the
 spectre.
 Four sons of Urizen the squadrons of Urthona led in arms
 Of gold & silver, brass & iron; he knew his mighty sons.
 Then Urizen arose upon the wind, back many a mile
 315 Retiring into his dire web, scattering fleecy snows
 As he ascended, howling loud. The web vibrated strong,
 From heaven to heaven, from globe to globe. In vast
 eccentric paths
 Compulsive rolled the comets at his dread command, the
 dreary way
 Falling with wheel impetuous down among Urthona's vales

vi 302–3. *girdle . . . club*] Suggesting the constellation of Orion, and the legendary Hercules.

vi 304. *Desert*] i.e. 'making a desert'.

vi 308–10. Adapted from 14–17 of the rejected plate *c* of *America*.

vi 309. *shores*] 1st *rdg* *del.* deeps. *America c 15* has *shores*.

vi 317–9. In 1705 the astronomer Halley published his calculations to show that comets are part of the solar system, turning on very elliptical orbits. Previously it had been thought that they were only temporary visitors, drawn towards the sun for a while and then released. Descartes explained them as falling from one vortex to another, being drawn in and then escaping. B. saw this with moral overtones, as an endless and purposeless succession in the life of a fallen personality or world.

- 320 And round red Orc, returning back to Urizen gorged with blood.
 Slow roll the massy globes at his command, & slow o'erwheel
 The dismal squadrons of Urthona, weaving the dire web
 In their progressions, & preparing Urizen's path before him.

End of the Sixth Night

Night the Seventh

The *Seventh Night* has presented many textual problems. B. left, not a book, but a pile of often unnumbered sheets. Two separate groups of these, known as viia and viib, were labelled 'Night the Seventh'. Night viia at first consisted of lines 1–328, later extended in several stages by our 627–792. Night viib, lines 329–626, was at some point split in two and the halves reversed, to read 449–626, 329–448. All this generated much discussion, culminating in three articles in *BQ* 12/2 (1978) by Lincoln, Kilgore; and Lefebvre, whose proposal is adopted here. It keeps viib in its inverted order, and inserts it after the original ending of viia at 328. This is the best guess so far as to B.'s possible intentions. In an unfinished MS that is all that we can do. Probably he himself was still undecided.

Night vii continues the narrative from vi with Urizen's confrontation of Orc; but B. now becomes more interested in Orc than in Urizen. Urizen's Tree of Mystery shoots up to become increasingly important in the following books. Orc is drawn under its power and changes into a serpent, losing his Human form entirely (152–6). He is still chained to his rock, and the myth alters its setting as Orc and Urizen disappear, while Enitharmon, Los and the spectre of Urthona return (166ff).

B. achieves this change of setting by distinguishing, in Swedenborgian fashion, two corresponding levels of existence: the upper world of true Humanity, and Urizen's ruined, spectral world, inhabited by shadows, which Enitharmon cannot enter. Her shadow enters it, however, and is tempted by the spectre of Urthona in a passage reminiscent of the temptation of Eve by Satan. In the upper world, Enitharmon knows nothing of this; but when her shadow, having been seduced by Urthona's spectre, gives birth (313) to a monstrous shadow child (Vala's shadow, foretold in iii 20), her whole being in the upper world is shaken. This is one of the climaxes of the poem: for now evil begins to predominate. Urizen's influence is at its most malign, but Vala's power is growing. We see three Zoas in turn – Urizen with the fearsome products of his evil, the secret temple and the cruel machines; the unregenerate Los opposing him; and Tharmas threatening war. Enitharmon cries out in fear, but the shadowy troops gather for war.

Orc now appears, (461) at what had once been the opening of viib. In transferring this passage to the end, B. has delayed till last the revelation of the worst evil. So far the Zoas have threatened one another (e.g. at the end of vi); war begins only when Orc breaks free. The time has now come; but the now-liberated Orc is the corrupted serpent form created by Urizen (162–3). Vala, now identified with the Shadowy Female, has tended him, hoping to seduce him by soft treatment, but he breaks his chain. The war begins in earnest (469); Vala joins Urizen's side (525) and Orc attacks her, only to be destroyed entirely, except for his evil serpent-shadow. Vala delights in the savagery, since cruel sensuality is her nature, and it is now only a matter of time before (in Night viii) she can dominate all creation. Yet at this point she feels, not happiness, but melancholy (605), for an evil person, even in triumph, cannot feel joy. A few lines remind us of the hope of Beulah, before the scene returns to the shadowy world, where Urthona's spectre hands over control of the chained Orc to the Shadow (630) and goes up to the upper world.

At line 627 the narrative takes a positive and personal turn, resolving at last the alienation of Los and Enitharmon in a passage of great tenderness. Until now, she has been trapped in Vala's world, but now she and Los are reconciled as he learns to accept his darker, Spectral side (636ff). They turn together in compassion to the souls lost in Urizen's war (730–57), in acts of re-creation reminiscent of William and Catherine working together (759ff). As the Night ends, the balance of the poem has changed: they find they can redeem even Urizen himself (787).

[76]

[*Full-page drawing*]

[77]

NIGHT THE SEVENTH

Then Urizen arose. The Spectre fled, & Tharmas fled;
 The darkening Spectre of Urthona hid beneath a rock,
 Tharmas threw his impetuous flight through the deeps of
 immensity,
 Revolving round in whirlpools fierce all round the caverned
 worlds.

- 5 But Urizen silent descended to the caves of Orc, & saw
 A caverned universe of flaming fire. The horses of Urizen,

vii. page 76. A sketch of a male figure, nude, with arms raised.

vii *5ff*: In Orc's cave Urizen sees what Orc stands for: if this fiery creature had his way, Urizen's own properties and all the universe would be aflame.

- Here bound to fiery mangers, furious dash their golden hoofs,
Striking fierce sparkles from their brazen fetters; fierce his lions
Howl in the burning dens, his tigers roam in the redounding
smoke
- 10 In forests of affliction; the adamantine scales of justice
Consuming in the raging lamps of mercy poured in rivers
The holy oil rages through all the caverned rocks. Fierce flames
Dance on the rivers & the rocks, howling & drunk with fury.
The plough of ages & the golden harrow wade through fields
- 15 Of gory blood; the immortal seed is nourished for the
slaughter.
- The bulls of Luvah, breathing fire, bellow on burning pastures
Round howling Orc, whose awful limbs cast forth red smoke
& fire,
That Urizen approached not near, but took his seat on a rock
And ranged his books around him, brooding envious over Orc.
- 20 Howling & rending his dark caves the awful demon lay.
Pulse after pulse beat on his fetters, pulse after pulse his spirit
Darted & darted higher & higher to the shrine of Enitharmon;
As when the thunder folds himself in thickest clouds,
The watery nations couch & hide in the profoundest deeps,
- 25 Then bursting from his troubled head with terrible visages &
flaming hair
His swift-winged daughters sweep across the vast black ocean.
- Los felt the envy in his limbs like to a blighted tree,
[78] For Urizen, fixed in envy, sat brooding & covered with snow.
His book of iron on his knees, he traced the dreadful letters,
30 While his snows fell & his storms beat to cool the flames of
Orc
Age after age, till underneath his heel a deadly root

vii 7. *bound to fiery mangers*] Instead of being out in the fields of light at Urizen's work.

vii 8-16. Cp. vii 435-7, especially the phrase 'the tiger in redounding smoke', and the bull, lion and tiger.

vii 22. In v 80-1 Los 'beheld the ruddy boy embracing his bright mother', and the chain that binds Orc grew from Los's jealousy.

vii 23-6. An epic simile, leading to the lightning-struck 'blighted tree' of 27.

vii 31. *a deadly root*] One of B.'s favourite images. Cp. 'A Poison Tree' and 'The Human Abstract' in *Experience* (pp. 219, 222), *Ahania* 103-15, and *Jerusalem* pl.28.14ff. B. has taken the idea of the tree that roots itself as its branches touch the ground from the banyan tree; cp. *Paradise Lost* ix 1101ff; also the poisonous upas tree of 'A Poison Tree'. B.'s tree branches above in the heavens, and its roots similarly branch out in the abyss - an inverted, perverted image of the heavens. Cp. *Marriage*, iv 136 p. 122. This may owe something to Yggdrasil, the ash of Norse myth, on whose life the world was said to depend; its roots were spread

- Struck through the rock—the root of Mystery accursed
 shooting up
 Branches into the heaven of Los. They, pipe-formed,
 bending down
 Take root again, wherever they touch again branching forth
- 35 In intricate labyrinths, o'erspreading many a grisly deep.
 Amazed started Urizen, when he found himself compassed round
 And high roofed over with trees. He arose, but the stems
 Stood so thick, he with difficulty & great pain brought
 His books out of the dismal shade, all but the book of iron.
- 40 Again he took his seat & ranged his books around
 On a rock of iron, frowning over the foaming fires of Orc.
- And Urizen hung over Orc & viewed his terrible wrath.
 Sitting upon an iron crag at length his words broke forth:
- 'Image of dread, whence art thou? Whence is this most
 woeful place?
- 45 Whence these fierce fires but from thyself? No other living thing
 In all this chasm I behold. No other living thing
 Dare thy most terrible wrath abide. Bound here to waste in pain
 Thy vital substance in these fires, that issue new & new
 Around thee; sometimes like a flood, & sometimes like a rock
- 50 Of living pangs, thy horrible bed glowing with ceaseless fires
 Beneath thee & around. Above a shower of fire now beats,
 Moulded to globes & arrowy wedges, rending thy bleeding limbs;
 And now a whirling pillar of burning sands to overwhelm thee,
 Steeping thy wounds in salts infernal & in bitter anguish;
- 55 And now a rock moves on the surface of this lake of fire
 To bear thee down beneath the waves in stifling despair.
 Pity for thee moved 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,
- 60 Yet throw thy limbs these fires abroad, that back return upon
 thee;
 While thou reposest, throwing rage on rage, feeding thyself
 With visions of sweet bliss far other than this burning clime.
 Sure thou art bathed in rivers of delight, on verdant fields
 Walking in joy, in bright expanses sleeping on bright clouds

in the misty underworld of Niflheim. The overtones of evil are B.'s, but he knew the Norse myth through P. H. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* (1770), which contains a translation of the Edda. Note also how B. associates the branching of the tree with the branching of the human nerves and veins, 'pipe-formed' (*Book of Los* ch. iii) and with the other monstrous image of the *polypus* (*Four Zoas* iv 205). vii 42ff. Note how Urizen and Orc interpret differently what they see.

- 65 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?’

Orc answered: ‘Curse thy hoary brows! What dost thou in
 this deep?

- 70 Thy pity I contemn; scatter thy snows elsewhere!
 [79] I rage in the deep, for lo! my feet & hands are nailed to the
 burning rock.

Yet my fierce fires are better than thy snows. Shuddering
 thou sittest:

Thou art not chained; why shouldst thou sit cold grovelling,
 demon of woe,

- In tortures of dire coldness? Now a lake of waters deep
 75 Sweeps over thee, freezing to solid; still thou sitst, closed up
 In that transparent rock, as if in joy of thy bright prison,
 Till overburdened with its own weight, drawn out through
 immensity,

With a crash breaking across the horrible mass comes down.
 Thundering & hail & frozen iron, hailed from the element,

- 80 Rends thy white hair; yet thou dost, fixed obdurate,
 brooding sit,

Writing thy books. Anon a cloud filled with a waste of snows
 Covers thee, still obdurate, still resolved, & writing still;
 Though rocks roll o’er thee, though floods pour, though
 winds, black as the sea

Cut thee in gashes, though the blood pours down around
 thy ankles,

- 85 Freezing thy feet to the hard rock, still thy pen obdurate
 Traces the wonders of futurity, in horrible fear of the future.
 I rage furious in the deep, for lo! my feet & hands are nailed
 To the hard rock, or thou shouldst feel my enmity & hate
 In all the diseases of man falling upon thy grey accursed front.’

- 90 Urizen answered: ‘Read my books: explore my constellations:
 Enquire of my sons, & they shall teach thee how to war:
 Enquire of my daughters, who accursed in the dark depths
 Knead bread of sorrow by my stern command: for I am God
 Of all this dreadful ruin. Rise, O daughters, at my stern
 command!’

- 95 Rending the rocks Eleth & Uveth rose, & Ona rose,
 Terrific with their iron vessels, driving them across

vii 89. So in *America* 177ff, Orc drives the plagues, which originated in Albion’s
 Angel, servant of Urizen, back again.

vii 95. *Eleth, Uveth and Ona*] Urizen’s three daughters of vi 5–23.

- In the dim air they took the book of iron & placed above
 On clouds of death, & sang their songs, kneading the bread
 of Orc.
- Orc listened to the song compelled, hungering on the cold wind
 100 That swagged heavy with the accursed dough. The hoar frost
 raged
 Through Ona's sieve; the torrent rain poured from the iron pail
 Of Eleth, & the icy hands of Uveth kneaded the bread.
 The heavens bow with terror underneath their iron hands,
 Singing at their dire work the words of Urizen's book of iron,
 105 While the enormous scrolls rolled dreadful in the heavens
 above
 And still the burden of their song in tears was poured forth:
 'The bread is kneaded: let us rest, O cruel father of children!'
- But Urizen remitted not their labours upon his rock,
 [80] And Urizen read in his book of brass in sounding tones:
- 110 'Listen, O daughters, to my voice! Listen to the words of
 wisdom!
 So shall ye govern over all. Let moral duty tune your tongue,
 But be your hearts harder than the nether millstone,
 To bring the shadow of Enitharmon beneath our wondrous tree:
 That Los may evaporate like smoke & be no more,
 115 Draw down Enitharmon to the Spectre of Urthona,
 And let him have dominion over Los the terrible shade.
- 'Compel the poor to live upon a crust of bread by soft mild arts.
 Smile when they frown, frown when they smile & when a
 man looks pale
 With labour & abstinence, say he looks healthy & happy—
 120 And when his children sicken, let them die. There are enough
 Born, even too many, & our earth will be overrun
 Without these arts. If you would make the poor live with temper,
 With pomp give every crust of bread you give, with gracious
 cunning
 Magnify small gifts, reduce the man to want a gift, & then
 give with pomp.
- 125 Say he smiles if you hear him sigh; if pale say he is ruddy:
 Preach temperance, say he is overgorged & drowns his wit
 In strong drink, though you know that bread & water are all
 He can afford. Flatter his wife, pity his children, till we can
 Reduce all to our will, as spaniels are taught with art.

vii 117ff. B. is bitter about the methods of poor relief in his time by which, as he saw it, the rich kept the poor in poverty while pretending to help them. Cp. *Song of Los (Asia)*.

vii 122. *temper*] Equanimity, 'good' temper, moderation in the face of provocation.

- 130 Lo! how the heart & brain are formed in the breeding womb
Of Enitharmon, how it buds with life & forms the bones,
The little heart, the liver & the red blood in its labyrinths:
By gratified desire, by strong devouring appetite, she fills
Los with ambitious fury that his race shall all devour.’
- 135 Then Orc cried: ‘Curse thy cold hypocrisy! Already round
thy tree,
In scales that shine with gold & rubies thou beginnest to weaken
My divided spirit. Like a worm I rise in peace, unbound
From wrath. Now when I rage, my fetters bind me more:
O torment! O torment! A worm compelled! Am I a worm?
- 140 Is it in strong deceit that man is born? In strong deceit
Thou dost restrain my fury that the worm may fold the tree.
Avant, cold hypocrite! I am chained or thou couldst not
use me thus.
The man shall rage, bound with this chain; the worm in
silence creep.
Thou wilt not cease from rage. Grey demon, silence all thy
storms:
- 145 Give me example of thy mildness, king of furious hail-storms!
Art thou the cold attractive power that holds me in this chain?
I well remember how I stole thy light, & it became fire
Consuming. Thou knowest me now, O Urizen, Prince of Light:
And I know thee! Is this the triumph, this the godlike state
- 150 That lies beyond the bounds of science in the grey obscure?’
- Terrified Urizen heard Orc, now certain that he was Luvah,
And Orc began to organize a serpent body,
Despising Urizen’s light & turning it into flaming fire,
Receiving as a poisoned cup receives the heavenly wine,
- 155 And turning affection into fury & thought into abstraction,
A self-consuming dark devourer, rising into the heavens.
- Urizen envious brooding sat, & saw the secret terror
Flame high in pride, & laugh to scorn the source of his deceit,

vii 130–4. Here Enitharmon is no more than the universal Mother, as in the Preludium to *Europe*. The word ‘Woman’ might be used instead of her name; similarly in 134, *Los* might read ‘her men-folk’.

vii 141. *fold*] i.e. enfold.

vii 147. Orc speaks as Luvah, who stole the light in ii 17; see 151.

vii 152. *organize*] This usually implies creative activity: yet the next lines show that Orc’s efforts have perverted results.

vii 154. *poisoned cup . . . heavenly wine*] An allusion to the Last Supper. Perhaps ‘it’ is missing after ‘Receiving’.

vii 155. *affection*] 1st *rdg del.* wisdom.

vii 157. *envious* of Orc’s youth and life.

- Nor knew the source of his own, but thought himself the
sole author
- [81] Of all his wandering experiments in the horrible abyss.
161 He knew that weakness stretches out in breadth & length;
he knew
That wisdom reaches high & deep, & therefore he made Orc,
In serpent form compelled, stretch out & up the mysterious
tree.
He suffered him to climb that he might draw all human forms
165 Into submission to his will; nor knew the dread result.
- Los sat in showers of Urizen, watching cold Enitharmon.
His broodings rush down to his feet producing eggs that
hatching
Burst forth upon the winds above the Tree of Mystery.
Enitharmon lay on his knees. Urizen traced his verses;
170 In the dark deep the dark tree grew. Her shadow was drawn
down,
Down to the roots; it wept over Orc—the Shadow of
Enitharmon.
- Los saw her stretched, the image of death, upon his withered
valleys:
Her shadow went forth & returned. Now she was pale as snow
When the mountains & hills are covered over & the paths of
men shut up;
175 But when her spirit returned as ruddy as a morning when
The ripe fruit blushes into joy in heaven's eternal halls,
Sorrow shot through him from his feet; it shot up to his head,

vii 159. *of his own*] Urizen's own deceit. He did not even know that he was sinful, or that his 'wandering experiments' were the inevitable deeds of a creature trapped in evil.

vii 164. Cp. *John* iii 14: 'And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up' and xii 32: 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.' Moses, like Urizen, is the Lawgiver; and he could never envisage Christ, as Urizen did not envisage Orc.

vii 166. The narrative of Los and Enitharmon is taken up from v 183, where their wretchedness over Orc's imprisonment and the Chain of Jealousy is described. The 'husband-and-wife' relationship of v 143–75 is absent, replaced by the old suspicion (which suggests that v contains later revisions which the MS does not show). Nor is there any trace in these lines of Enitharmon's deep grief of v 174–83, although these return later in this Night (319ff).

vii 171. *Shadow* here means, not the real Enitharmon, but a phantasm, a projection of her personality which appeared like her.

vii 176. Followed by two deleted lines:

She secret joyed to see: she fed herself on his despair.
She said I am avenged for all my sufferings of old.

Like a cold night that nips the roots & shatters off the leaves.
 Silent he stood o'er Enitharmon, watching her pale face.
 180 He spoke not, he was silent, till he felt the cold disease.
 Then Los mourned on the dismal wind in his jealous
 lamentation:

'Why can I not enjoy thy beauty, lovely Enitharmon?
 When I return from clouds of grief in the wandering elements,
 Where thou in thrilling joy, in beaming summer loveliness
 185 Delectable reposest, ruddy in my absence, flaming with beauty;
 Cold, pale in sorrow at my approach, trembling at my terrific
 Forehead & eyes, thy lips decay like roses in the spring—
 How art thou shrunk! Thy grapes that burst in summer's
 vast excess,
 Shut up in little purple covering, faintly bud & die.
 190 Thy olive trees, that poured down oil upon a thousand hills,
 Sickly look forth & scarcely stretch their branches to the plain;
 Thy roses that expanded in the face of glowing morn,
 [82] Hid in a little silken veil, scarce breathe & faintly shine;
 Thy lilies that gave light what time the morning looked forth
 195 Hid in the vales faintly lament, & no one hears their voice.
 All things beside the woeful Los enjoy the delights of beauty.
 Once, how I sang & called the beasts & birds to their delights.
 Nor knew that I alone, exempted from the joys of love,
 Must war with secret monsters of the animating worlds.
 200 Oh that I had not seen the day! Then should I be at rest,
 Nor felt the stings of desire nor longings after life.
 For life is sweet to Los the wretched; to his winged woes
 Is given a craving cry that they may sit at night on barren rocks,
 And whet their beaks, & snuff the air & watch the opening
 dawn,
 205 And shriek, till at the smells of blood they stretch their bony
 wings,
 And cut the winds like arrows shot by troops of destiny.'

Thus Los lamented in the night, unheard by Enitharmon,
 For the Shadow of Enitharmon descended down the Tree of
 Mystery.

The Spectre saw the Shade, shivering over his gloomy rocks
 210 Beneath the Tree of Mystery, which in the dismal abyss
 Began to blossom, in fierce pain shooting its writhing buds
 In throes of birth, & now, the blossoms falling, shining fruit
 Appeared of many colours, & of various poisonous qualities

vii 182–206. A passage similar to ii 512–18.

vii 187. *in the*] *1st rdg del.* in early.

vii 210. *Tree . . . abyss*] See 31n.

- Of plagues, hidden in shining globes that grew on the living Tree.
- 215 The Spectre of Urthona saw the Shadow of Enitharmon
Beneath the Tree of Mystery among the leaves & fruit.
Reddening the demon strong prepared the poison of sweet love.
He turned from side to side in tears, he wept & he embraced
The fleeting image, & in whispers mild wooed the faint shade:
- 220 'Loveliest delight of men, Enitharmon, shady hiding
In secret places, where no eye can trace thy watery way,
Have I found thee? have I found thee? tremblest thou in fear?
Because of Orc, because he rent his discordant way
From thy sweet loins of bliss? Red flowed thy blood,
- 225 Pale grew thy face, lightnings played around thee, thunders
hovered
Over thee, & the terrible Orc rent his discordant way.
But the next joy of thine shall be in sweet delusion,
And its birth in fainting & sleep, & sweet delusions of Vala.'
- The Shadow of Enitharmon answered: 'Art thou, terrible
Shade,
- 230 Set over this sweet boy of mine, to guard him lest he rend
[83] His mother to the winds of heaven? Intoxicated with
The fruit of this delightful tree, I cannot flee away
From thy embrace: else be assured, so horrible a form
Should never in my arms repose. Now listen: I will tell
- 235 Thee secrets of eternity which ne'er before unlocked
My golden lips, nor took the bar from Enitharmon's breast—
Among the flowers of Beulah walked the Eternal Man, & saw
Vala, the lily of the desert: melting in high noon
Upon her bosom in sweet bliss he fainted. Wonder seized

vii 214. The tree, which attracts Enitharmon, grows dangerous fruit, and is used by the serpent Orc for his own malicious purposes. It clearly derives from 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil' (*Genesis* ii 17), but it is the Tree of Mystery, one of B.'s most powerful creations, and its influence is intoxicating (311). The illustration to this page shows a woman turning a starry wheel – Enitharmon on the side of evil – in contrast to MS page 104, where the woman is shown pushing the wheel away – on a page where Enitharmon is working for good.

vii 215. B. again uses *Paradise Lost* as a source, where, in ix 494, Satan as a serpent slides up to Eve 'among the leaves and fruit', flatters her and, after a disputation, wins her over. Here Orc is the serpent, but the tempter is the Spectre of Urthona.

vii 217. The adjective *strong* is used solely of Urthona among the Zoas.

vii 228. *sweet*] Written over 'woe'.

vii 237. Yet another version of the story of the seduction of the Eternal Man by Vala. Cp. ii 13*n*, iii 41. It does not agree with Enitharmon's Song in Night ii; but here her shadow has a different purpose in telling the tale.

240 All Heaven: they saw him dark; they built a golden wall
 Round Beulah. There he revelled in delight among the flowers.
 Vala was pregnant & brought forth Urizen, Prince of Light,
 First-born of Generation. Then behold, a wonder to the eyes
 Of the now fallen Man, a double form Vala appeared! A male
 245 And female, shuddering pale: the fallen Man recoiled
 From the enormity, & called them *Luvah* & *Vala*, turning down
 The vales to find his way back into Heaven—but found none,
 For his frail eyes were faded & his ears heavy & dull.

‘Urizen grew up in the plains of Beulah. Many sons
 250 And many daughters flourished round the Holy Tent of man,
 Till he forgot Eternity, delighted in his sweet joy
 Among his family, his flocks & herds & tents & pastures.

‘But Luvah close conferred with Urizen in darksome night,
 To bind the father & enslave the brethren. Nought he knew
 255 Of sweet Eternity: the blood flowed round the holy tent, &
 riven

From its hinges, uttering its final groan all Beulah fell
 In dark confusion. Meantime Los was born & Enitharmon,
 But how I know not; then forgetfulness quite wrapped me up
 A period, nor do I more remember, till I stood
 260 Beside Los in the cavern dark, enslaved to vegetative forms,
 According to the will of Luvah who assumed the place
 Of the Eternal Man, & smote him. But thou, Spectre dark,
 Mayest find a way to punish Vala in the fiery south,
 To bring her down subjected to the rage of my fierce boy.’

[84] The Spectre said: ‘Thou lovely vision, this delightful tree
 266 Is given us for a shelter from the tempests of void & solid,
 Till once again the morn of ages shall renew upon us,
 To reunite in those mild fields of happy Eternity,
 Where thou & I in undivided essence walked about

vii 241. Cp. iv 84*n*. This is not the Beulah of *Milton* pl.30.1 and the late additions to *The Four Zoas* (e.g. i 84–9, iv 248ff), but the less distinctive place of iv 88–9 – a simpler and earlier use of Bunyan’s Beulah, a ‘holiday’ land just outside heaven.

vii 243. *Generation*] The world of mortal existence.

vii 248. Because he had fallen, he had lost the imaginative power necessary to live in Heaven.

vii 253. Another narrative of the seizing of power from the Man by Urizen and Luvah; cp. i 207ff. Like the rest of Enitharmon’s speech, many details do not fit the earlier narrative. This is probably her error, but may be due to B.’s changing mind.

vii 263. But the south belongs to Urizen: something must be wrong.

vii 265. The tree is only ‘lovely and delightful’ in the spectre’s eyes.

- 270 Embodied, thou my garden of delight & I the spirit in the
garden.
Mutual there we dwelt in one another's joy, revolving
Days of eternity, with Tharmas mild & Luvah sweet melodious
Upon our waters. This thou well rememberest. Listen I will tell
What thou forgettest—they in us & we in them alternate lived,
- 275 Drinking the joys of Universal Manhood. One dread morn—
Listen, O vision of delight—one dread morn of gory blood
The Manhood was divided, for the gentle passions, making way
Through the infinite labyrinths of the heart & through the
nostrils issuing
In odorous stupefaction, stood before the eyes of Man,
- 280 A female bright. I stood beside my anvil dark; a mass
Of iron glowed bright, prepared for spades & ploughshares:
sudden down
I sunk, with cries of blood issuing downward in the veins
Which now my rivers were become, rolling in tubelike forms
Shut up within themselves, descending down I sunk along
- 285 The gory tide even to the place of seed, & there dividing
I was divided in darkness & oblivion. Thou an infant woe,
And I an infant terror in the womb of Enion.
My masculine spirit scorning the frail body issued forth
From Enion's brain, in this deformed form leaving thee there
- 290 Till times passed over thee; but still my spirit returning
hovered
And formed a male to be a counterpart to thee, O love
Darkened & lost. In due time issuing forth from Enion's
womb
Thou & that demon Los wert born. Ah, jealousy & woe!
Ah, poor divided dark Urthona, now a spectre wandering
- 295 The deeps of Los, the slave of that creation I created.
I labour night & day for Los. But listen, thou my vision,
I view futurity in thee; I will bring down soft Vala
To the embraces of this terror, & I will destroy
That body I created. Then shall we unite again in bliss.
- 300 'Thou knowest that the spectre is, in every man, insane,
brutish,
Deformed—that I am thus a ravening devouring lust,
continually
Craving & devouring, but my eyes are always upon thee,
O lovely

vii 297. This is the punishment asked for by Enitharmon (263).

vii 298. *this terror*] Orc. This happens in 535ff.

vii 299. Los, Urthona's fallen form, will vanish in the reunited Urthona.

vii 300. So in i 93-4, and *Jerusalem* pl.33.4.

- Delusion, & I cannot crave for anything but thee; not so
 The spectres of the dead, for I am as the spectre of the living.
 305 For till these terrors planted round the Gates of Eternal life
 Are driven away & annihilated, we never can repossess the Gates.'
- [85a] Astonished, filled with tears, the spirit of Enitharmon beheld
 And heard the Spectre. Bitterly she wept, embracing fervent
 Her once-loved lord, now but a shade, herself also a shade,
 310 Conferring times on times among the branches of that Tree.
- Thus they conferred among the intoxicating fumes of Mystery,
 Till Enitharmon's shadow, pregnant in the deeps beneath,
 Brought forth a wonder horrible. While Enitharmon shrieked
 And trembled through the worlds above, Los wept. His
 fierce soul was terrified
- 315 At the shrieks of Enitharmon, at her tossings, nor could his
 eyes perceive
 The cause of her dire anguish, for she lay the image of death,
 Moved by strong shudders till her shadow was delivered,
 then she ran
 Raving about the upper elements in maddening fury.
 She burst the gates of Enitharmon's heart with direful crash,

vii 303. *thee; not*] These words are on different lines, the following between them being deleted:

. . . and till
 I have thee in my arms and am again united to Los
 To be one body and one spirit with him . . .

vii 304. The spectre of Urthona claims that his longing is for life, so that he is unlike other spectres, who dream only destructively (whether they know this or not).

vii 305-6. So in *Genesis* iii 24 the gate of Paradise was guarded to prevent the re-entry of mankind. Cp. *Paradise Lost* xii 643-4: ' . . . the gate / With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.' Note also B.'s use of the idea of re-entry into Paradise in *The Gates of Paradise* (p. 890) and in *The Everlasting Gospel* iii 23-6: 'The Christian trumpets loud proclaim / Through all the world in Jesus' name / Mutual forgiveness of each vice- / And oped the Gates of Paradise.' This is a version of the theme of salvation, central in B.'s writings and especially, in this form, in the long epics.

vii 312-14. As Enitharmon's shadow in the abyss brings forth 'a wonder horrible' the real Enitharmon above suffers in sympathy. Los (315-16) cannot tell why until her shadow 'in the deeps beneath' has given birth.

vii 314-15. B. makes a space between these lines which the sense does not require.
 vii 319. *She*] Somewhat obscure. The general meaning is that because of this trial Enitharmon's heart was shattered. 'She' is probably Enitharmon's shadow, but may be the 'wonder horrible', Vala, child of the shadow. This line marks the crisis in Enitharmon's regeneration. For the closing of the gates, see i 278 and v 177-9, with v 180n.

- 320 Nor could they ever be closed again; the golden hinges were
broken,
And the gates broke in sunder & their ornaments defaced
Beneath the Tree of Mystery. For the immortal shadow
shuddering
Brought forth this wonder horrible. A cloud she grew & grew,
Till many of the dead burst forth from the bottoms of their tombs,
325 In male forms without female counterparts or emanations,
Cruel and ravening with enmity & hatred & war,
In dreams of Ulro dark delusive, drawn by the lovely Shadow.
The Spectre, terrified, gave her charge over the howling Orc.
-
- [87b] But in the deeps beneath the roots of Mystery in darkest night,
(95b) Where Urizen sat on his rock, the Shadow brooded:
331 Urizen saw & triumphed, & he cried to his warriors:
‘The time of prophecy is now revolved, & all
This universal ornament is mine & in my hands—
The ends of heaven, like a garment will I fold them round me,
335 Consuming what must be consumed. Then in power &
majesty
I will walk forth through those wide fields of endless eternity,
A god & not a man, a conqueror in triumphant glory;
And all the sons of everlasting shall bow down at my feet!’
First trades & commerce, ships & armed vessels he builded
laborious,
340 To swim the deep; & on the land children are sold to trades

vii 321. *broke*] A past participle, equal to *broken* in the previous line. This form was quite correct, and is commonly found until the early nineteenth century.

vii 324. At the Day of Judgment the dead will rise from their graves: B. has inverted this idea before, e.g. *Europe* 147–50 where instead the angels fall ‘seeking their graves’ when the last trumpet blows. Here there is the idea of the dead descending into the shadowy land where the roots of the Tree of Mystery spread. Cp. vii 624, j5–7 (p. 480), *Jerusalem* 89.60, and *French Rev.* 301.

vii 325. Cp. viii 243.

vii 327. *dark*] 1st rdg *del.* sweet.

vii 328. *terrified*] 1st rdg. smiled &, (the ‘&’ not deleted). Cp. v 112: now Vala, instead of the spectre, tends Orc until Orc breaks free (vii 462) and, to her delight, ‘rends’ her (vii 468, 536–37).

vii 329. This line is the fifteenth on p. 87. See headnote for the page numbering.

vii 330. *the Shadow*] Vala watching over Orc (vii 328).

vii 331. *his warriors*] 1st rdg *del.* the Shadowy female.

vii 334. Cp. *Psalms* civ. 2: ‘Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment, who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain.’ Note Urizen’s association with light, and B.’s dislike of veils and coverings.

vii 338. Followed by the deleted line: ‘The shadowy voice answered O Urizen Prince of Light.’

- Of dire necessity, still labouring day & night; till all
 Their life extinct, they took the spectre form in dark despair:
 And slaves in myriads in ship-loads burden the
 hoarse-sounding deep,
 Rattling with clanking chains the universal empire groans.
- 345 And he commanded his sons found a centre in the deep,
 And Urizen laid the first stone, & all his myriads
 Built a temple in the image of the human heart;
 [88] And in the inner part of the temple—wondrous
 workmanship—
 They formed the secret place, reversing all the order of delight,
 350 That whosoever entered into the temple might not behold
 The hidden wonders, allegoric of the generations
 Of secret lust, when hid in chambers dark the nightly harlot
 Plays in disguise, in whispered hymn & mumbling prayer.
 The priests
 He ordained, & priestesses clothed in disguises bestial,
 355 Inspiring secrecy, & lamps they bore; intoxicating fumes
 Roll round the temple and they took the sun that glowed
 o'er Los,
 And with immense machines down rolling, the terrific orb
 Compelled. The sun reddening, like a fierce lion in his chains
 Descended, to the sound of instruments that drowned the
 noise
 360 Of the hoarse wheels, & the terrific howlings of wild beasts

vii 347. Cp. *Genesis* i 26–7: ‘God created man in his own image.’ Urizen’s temple is merely an imitation, an image, not the real, living thing. This ‘temple’ is in human form – a body dedicated to a Urizenic life – cp. *1 Corinthians* vi 19: ‘Your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you.’

vii 349. *the secret place*] Alludes to *Ezekiel* vii 22, where it refers to the inmost and holiest part of the temple, where only the High Priest might enter once a year on the Day of Atonement. B. takes the phrase and associates it with secret acts, specifically acts of lust. See, in *Ezekiel* viii, the ‘abominations’ of Babylonian religions: ‘creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols . . .’ (*verse* 10); dark temples thickly clouded with incense (*vv.* 11–12); women weeping for Tammuz (*v.* 14); and men with their backs to the Jewish temple altar worshipping the sun in the east (*v.* 16). B. also uses the phrase *secret place* to indicate the kind of religious ritual that is reserved for the priesthood alone. This ritual, he believed, was designed only to deceive the people. The two associations here run together: in 353 B. may also have had temple prostitution in mind, but these lines are a wider denunciation of ecclesiastical oppressiveness. The illustration shows three worshippers at a phallic shrine. Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.44.33n, 34n.

vii 354. *bestial*] B. spells it *bestial*, as usual: here he probably means ‘imitating beasts’.

vii 357. *machines* have objectionable associations to B.; cp. 500–II.

- That dragged the wheels of the sun's chariot, & 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 ordered portions—
 365 The day for war, the night for secret religion in his temple.
- Los reared 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
 Bathed in bloody clouds, his loins in fires of war where spears
 370 And swords rage, where the eagles cry & the vultures laugh,
 saying:
 'Now comes the night of carnage, now the flesh of kings &
 princes
 Pampered in palaces for our food, the blood of captains
 nurtured
 With lust & murder for our drink. The drunken raven shall
 wander
 All night among the slain & mock the wounded that groan
 in the field.'
- 375 Tharmas laughed furious among the banners, clothed in
 blood,
 Crying: 'As I will I rend the nations all asunder, rending
 The people. Vain their combinations—I will scatter them!
 But thou, O son, whom I have crowned and enthroned, thee
 strong
 I will preserve though enemies arise around thee numberless.
 380 I will command my winds & they shall scatter them, or call
 [89] My waters like a flood around thee. Fear not, trust in me,
 And I will give thee all the ends of heaven for thy possession.
 In war shalt thou bear rule, in blood shalt thou triumph for
 me—
 Because in times of everlasting I was rent in sunder,
 385 And what I loved best was divided among my enemies.
 My little daughters were made captives, & I saw them beaten

vii 365. Followed by the beginning of a line immediately deleted: 'Urizen named it Pande . . .' (i.e. Pandemonium, from *Paradise Lost* i 756).

vii 366. This is not Los, the sensitive artist of lines 750ff, but the fierce and callous Los of the original version and of *Europe* 206–8 'in snaky thunders clad'. *Stature* replaces 'forehead' *del*.

vii 378. Los is the son of Tharmas's spectre in i 198–211; and, e.g., in iv 26 and 131 Tharmas speaks to Los as 'son'. There also they are united against Urizen.

vii 384ff. Tharmas was 'divided' in i 17ff; what follows here is imaginative enlargement on that.

With whips along the sultry sands. I heard those whom I loved
 Crying in secret tents at night, & in the morn compelled
 To labour. And behold my heart sunk down beneath
 390 In sighs & sobbings, all dividing, till I was divided
 In twain, & lo! my crystal form that lived in my bosom
 Followed her daughters to the fields of blood. They left me
 naked,
 Alone, & they refused to return from the fields of the mighty.
 Therefore I will reward them as they have rewarded me.
 395 I will divide them in my anger, & thou, O my king,
 Shalt gather them from out their graves & put thy fetter on
 them,
 And bind them to thee that my crystal form may come to me.'

So cried the Demon of the Waters, in the clouds of Los.
 Outstretched upon the hills lay Enitharmon; clouds & tempests
 400 Beat round her head all night; all day she riots in excess.
 But night or day Los follows war, & the dismal moon rolls
 over her
 That when Los warred upon the south reflected the fierce fires
 Of his immortal head into the north upon faint Enitharmon.
 Red rage the furies of fierce Orc, black thunders roll round Los,
 405 Flaming his head, like the bright sun seen through a mist,
 that magnifies
 His disc into a terrible vision to the eyes of trembling mortals.
 And Enitharmon trembling & in fear uttered these words:
 'I put not any trust in thee, nor in thy glittering scales;
 Thy eyelids are a terror to me, & the flaming of thy crest,
 410 The rushing of thy scales confound me, thy hoarse rushing scales,
 And if that Los had not built me a tower upon a rock

vii 391. *my crystal form*] Enion.

vii 400. As with Los in 38, this Enitharmon is the unredeemed figure of Nights i-vii 206.

vii 405-6. Note the use of direct observation, and cp. *Milton* pl.22.6 and letter to Butts (22 Nov. 1802, p. 490) 55-8:

Then Los appeared in all his power:
 In the sun he appeared, descending before
 My face in fierce flames: in my double sight
 'Twas outward a Sun: inward Los in his might.

vii 407. She addresses Orc, the *shadow of jealousy* of 418 (though it has been suggested that she addresses Tharmas, that the *glittering scales* are fish-scales of the sea-god. In this case the *shadow of jealousy* would be Urthona's spectre).

vii 411. *a tower*] In iv 73-4 Los surrounded her with pillars of fourfold metals 'in dark prophetic fear' against Orc. (This became Golgonooza, but here, probably because this is an early text, that development is not noticed.)

- I must have died in the dark desert, among noxious worms.
 How shall I flee, how shall I flee into the tower of Los?
 My feet are turned backward & my footsteps slide in clay,
 415 And clouds are closed around my tower, my arms labour in vain!
 Does not the god of waters in the wracking elements
 Love those who hate, rewarding with hate the loving soul?
 [90] And must not I obey the god, thou Shadow of jealousy?
 I cry, the watchman heareth not; I pour my voice in roarings:
 420 "Watchman, the night is thick & darkness cheats my rayey sight.
 Lift up, lift up, O Los! awake my watchman, for he sleepeth.
 Lift up, lift up! Shine forth, O light; watchman, thy light is out!
 O Los, unless thou keep my tower, the watchman will be slain." "
- So Enitharmon cried upon her terrible earthy bed,
 425 While the broad oak wreathed his roots round her, forcing
 his dark way
 Through caves of death into existence. The beech long-limbed
 advanced
 Terrific into the pained heavens. The fruit trees, humanizing,
 Showed their immortal energies in warlike desperation,
 Rending the heavens & earths & drinking blood in the hot battle,
 430 To feed their fruit, to gratify their hidden sons & daughters,
 That far within the close recesses of their secret palaces
 Viewed the vast war & joyed, wishing to vegetate
 Into the worlds of Enitharmon. Loud the roaring winds
 Burdened with clouds howl round the couch. Sullen the
 woolly sheep
 435 Walks through the battle; dark & fierce, the bull his rage
 Propagates through the warring earth. The lion raging in
 flames,
 The tiger in redounding smoke, the serpent of the woods
 And of the waters, & the scorpion of the desert irritate
 With harsh songs every living soul. The Prester Serpent runs

vii 414. sounds like a biblical quotation, but isn't.

vii 424-39. As the war comes nearer, both vegetable and animal creations are affected by the growing tension.

vii 427. *humanizing*] Changing from mortal into spiritual Human form.

vii 439-47. *The Prester Serpent*] (Illustrated on this page of the MS.) An image of those clergy who use the prestige and authority of religion to strengthen the most evil acts of state – in particular, to justify wars. In their arrogance and treachery the cobra's hood becomes the priest's cowl, and his venom the ecclesiastical power to curse. The name suggests Prester John, the legendary Christian priest-king of the medieval orient – a figure bound to be detested by B. The Prester Serpent is not Orc, but he is a realization of Orc; in B.'s terms, a 'son' of Orc. A *prester* was 'a venomous Serpent, whose Sting causes a deadly Thirst' (E. Phillips, 1706).

- 440 Along the ranks crying: 'Listen to the Priest of God, ye
warriors!
This cowl upon my head he placed in times of everlasting,
And said: "Go forth & guide my battles. Like the joined spine
Of Man I made thee, when I blotted Man from life & light.
Take thou the seven diseases of Man, store them for times to
come
445 In store-houses, in secret places that I will tell thee of,
To be my great & awful curses at the time appointed."'

The Prester Serpent ceased. The war-song sounded, loud &
strong
Through all the heavens: Urizen's web vibrated, torment on
torment.

-
- [91] Thus in the caverns of the grave & places of human seed,
450 The nameless shadowy Vortex stood before the face of Orc.
The Shadow reared her dismal head over the flaming youth,
With sighs & howling & deep sobs that he might lose his rage
And with it lose himself in meekness, she embraced his fire.
As when the earthquake rouses from his den his shoulders huge
455 Appear above the crumbling mountain. Silence waits around him
A moment; then astounding horror belches from the centre,
The fiery dogs arise, the shoulders huge appear.
So Orc rolled round his clouds upon the deeps of dark
Urthona,
Knowing the arts of Urizen were pity & meek affection.
460 And that by these arts the serpent form exuded from his limbs,
Silent as despairing love & strong as jealousy—

vii 448. *Urizen's web*] Cp. vi 236–46. After this line B. wrote 'Then I heard the Earthquake &c' referring to a lost passage – or to some revision of 454. Next follows the inked, and earlier, direction to bring in 'Thus in the Caverns of the Grave &c as it stands now'.

vii 449. This Night originally began here. *Thus*] 1st *rdg* Now.

places of human seed] B. again represents the action as taking place in the universe of the body of the Man: cp. iii 136–7n.

vii 450. Cp. the Preludiums to *America* and *Europe*, where the female is respectively 'the shadowy daughter of Urthona' and 'the nameless Shadowy Female'. Here the *vortex* is Vala (134): B. is reusing the phrases of *America* and *Europe* for changed ideas. In *America* Urthona's daughter delights in Orc's fierce embrace. Here Vala seeks to reduce Orc to her power by seduction, as the *vortex* that will swallow the male 'in the places of human seed'; Orc refuses her wiles and mingles with her, destroying himself in the process (467–70, 536–67).

Vortex] In Descartes's system, each star is the centre of a vortex, with a portion of the universe centred on it (cp. *Milton* pl.15.22n). Vala is a vortex because she is one of the universal powers; and perhaps because, like a whirlpool, her empty heart is greedy.

- Jealous that she was Vala, now become Urizen's harlot
 And the harlot of Los & the deluded harlot of the kings of
 earth,
 His soul was gnawn in sunder—
 465 The hairy shoulders rend the links, free are the wrists of fire.
 Red rage redounds; he roused his lions from his forests black;
 They howl around the flaming youth, rending the nameless
 shadow,
 And running their immortal course, through solid darkness borne.
 Loud sounds the war song round red Orc in his fury,
 470 And round the nameless Shadowy Female in her howling
 terror,
 When all the elemental gods joined in the wondrous song:
 'Sound the war trumpet, terrific souls clad in attractive steel!
 Sound the shrill fife, serpents of war! I hear the northern
 drum.
 Awake, I hear the flappings of the folding banners!
 475 'The dragons of the north put on their armour,
 Upon the eastern sea direct they take their course:
 The glittering of their horses' trapping stains the vault of
 night.
 'Stop we the rising of the glorious king! Spur, spur your clouds
 [92] Of death! O northern drum, awake! O hand of iron, sound

vii 462–65. Cp. *America* Preludium 21–2. There also, in the Prophecy, war follows.
 vii 469. *his fury*] 1st *rdg* his triumphant fury.

vii 472ff. This passage is obscure; it is not clear who is involved and who speaks. Being a song, it may have no narrative meaning, and its events need not be the events of the poem at this point. It is not even clear whether the song is meant to contain all of 472–534. These lines are made up of a number of discrete passages: 472–86 (in three-line sts), 487–94, 496–511, 512–34. Lines 472–77, 478–87 seem to be antiphonal, the first made by those who see the northern armies moving, the second by someone who commands them. *North* and *iron* are normally attributes of Urthona, so that Los, as well as Urizen, Vala and Orc, seems to be involved. The passage is better taken as song than as narrative. The songs of 'the elemental gods' elsewhere (ii 128ff, v 42ff) deal with *primaeva* history, not present events. See also 489–94n, 495n.

vii 473–5. *northern drum . . . dragons of the north*] Besides referring to Urthona, they may have some reference to the armies of Russia fighting on the side of reaction in the Napoleonic war.

serpent] A wind-band instrument, now obsolete, but widely used from the 16th to the 19th century.

vii 478. *the glorious king*] Possibly Urizen, to whom these terms most often apply. But in the context the phrase might refer to Orc – who, however, is neither a king nor glorious. See 472n.

- 480 The northern drum! Now give the charge, bravely obscured
 With darts of wintry hail! Again the black bow draw;
 Again the elemental strings to your right breasts draw,
 And let the thundering drum speed on the arrows black!⁷
- The arrows flew from cloudy bow all day, till blood
- 485 From east to west flowed like the human veins, in rivers
 Of life upon the plains of death & valleys of despair:
- 'Now sound the clarions of victory, now strip the slain!
 Clothe yourselves in golden arms, brothers of war!'
 They sound the clarions strong, they chain the howling captives,
- 490 They give the oath of blood, they cast the lots into the helmet;
 They vote the death of Luvah, & they nailed him to the tree;
 They pierced him with a spear, & laid him in a sepulchre,
 To die a death of six thousand years, bound round with
 desolation.
- The sun was black, & the moon rolled a useless globe
 through heaven.
- 495 —Then left the sons of Urizen the plough & harrow, the loom,
 The hammer & the chisel, & the rule & compasses;
 They forged the sword, the chariot of war, the battle axe,
 The trumpet fitted to the battle; & the flute of summer
 And all the arts of life they changed into the arts of death,
- 500 The hour glass condemned because its simple workmanship
 Was as the workmanship of the ploughman; & the water-wheel
 That raises water into cisterns broken & burned in fire,
 Because its workmanship was like the workmanship of the
 shepherd;
- And in their stead intricate wheels invented, wheel without wheel,

vii 487. *victory*] But the battle is renewed in 512.

vii 489–94. This seems to be an intrusive passage; it certainly does not fit the sequence as a whole (cp. 472*n*). Luvah is Orc, but Orc is not now destroyed (cp. 536); Luvah was crushed by Urizen in Night i, and this is a back-reference to those events.

There are two allusions: to the druid practice mentioned by Caesar, of sacrificing prisoners or criminals before a battle, to ensure victory; and, in 490–92, to the crucifixion. Lines 473–94 associate the druids, the Romans at the death of Christ, and contemporary politics in a condemnation of all such inhumanity.

vii 489–535. These lines recur in *Jerusalem* pl.65.6–56, with variations.

vii 495–511. This is the voice of B., not of the 'elemental gods'. Yet their song is resumed at 512 without comment. Although the MS of page 92 shows no sign of alteration, it seems likely that both this passage and the preceding six lines (see 489*n*) were interpolations at an earlier stage of composition.

vii 500. B. condemns the mechanization of manufacture, especially its application to armaments. Note that *condemn* is related to *contempt*, not *condemnation*.

vii 504. *without*] 'outside'.

- 505 To perplex youth in their outgoings, & to bind to labours
 Of day & night the myriads of eternity—that they might file
 And polish brass & iron, hour after hour, laborious workmanship,
 Kept ignorant of the use, that they might spend the days of
 wisdom
 In sorrowful drudgery to obtain a scanty pittance of bread;
 510 In ignorance to view a small portion & think that all,
 And call it ‘demonstration’, blind to all the simple rules of life.
 ‘Now, now the battle rages round thy tender limbs, O Vala!
 Now smile among thy bitter tears! Now put on all thy beauty!
 Is not the wound of the sword sweet, & the broken bone
 delightful?
 515 Wilt thou now smile among the slain, when the wounded
 groan in the field?
- [93] ‘Lift up thy blue eyes, Vala, & put on thy sapphire shoes,
 O melancholy Magdalen; behold the morning breaks.
 Gird on thy flaming zone, descend into the sepulchre.
 Scatter the blood from thy golden brow, the tears from thy
 silver locks;
 520 Shake off the waters from thy wings & the dust from thy
 white garments.
 Remember all thy feigned terrors on the secret couch,
 When the sun rose in glowing morn with arms of mighty hosts
 Marching to battle, who was wont to rise with Urizen’s harps,
 Girt as a sower with his seed to scatter life abroad.
- 525 ‘Arise, O Vala! Bring the bow of Urizen, bring the swift
 arrows of light!
 How raged the golden horses of Urizen, bound to the
 chariot of love,

vii 506–9. The workman at a machine only sees one process, in contrast with the craftsman who manufactures the whole product.

vii 512. Vala is the seductress who enjoys the torments of others; the song asks, ironically, if war is also pleasing to her when she is in the midst of it.

vii 517. An added line, also found in *Jerusalem* pl.65.38. Mary Magdalene with other women went down to the grave of Jesus after his death (*Matthew* xxvii 61, xxviii 1): Luvah’s crucifixion here replaces Christ’s, for Vala should have taken the side of Luvah, her counterpart.

vii 521. *feigned terrors*] The *couch* is Urizen’s; Vala has betrayed Luvah and turned to Urizen, ousting Ahania. The dawn is no longer heralded by Urizen with light and music, for he is still with Vala who, by her pretence of sexual fear, is leading him on and destroying his manhood by luring him away from his proper tasks.

vii 522–4. These images are not as confused as they may seem; they are a compression of images of the sun, for Urizen was once Prince of Light. The *glowing morn* is a red, threatening dawn.

vii 523. *who*] The sun.

- Compelled to leave the plough to the ox, to snuff up the
winds of desolation,
To trample the cornfields in boastful neighings! This is no
gentle harp,
This is no warbling brook, nor shadow of a myrtle tree,
530 But blood, & wounds, & dismal cries & clarions of war,
And hearts laid open to the light by the broad grisly sword,
And bowels hidden in hammered steel ripped forth upon the
ground.
Call forth thy smiles of soft deceit; call forth thy cloudy tears.
We hear thy sighs in trumpets shrill when morn shall blood
renew.'
- 535 So sung the demons of the deep. The clarions of war blew loud.
Orc rent her, & his human form, consumed in his own fires,
Mingled with her dolorous members strewn through the abyss.
She joyed in all the conflict, gratified, & drinking tears of woe.
No more remained of Orc but the serpent round the Tree of
Mystery.
- 540 The form of Orc was gone; he reared his serpent bulk among
The stars of Urizen in power, rending the form of life
Into a formless indefinite & strewing her on the abyss,
Like clouds upon the winter sky broken with winds &
thunders.
This was to her supreme delight. The warriors mourned,
disappointed;
- 545 They go out to war with strong shouts & loud clarions—
O pity!
They return with lamentations, mourning & weeping.

vii 532. *in hammered steel*] 1st *rdg del.* in darkness are.

vii 536. Vala was Luvah's counterpart; now both are so corrupted that they can only do violence to one another. *Rent*, or pierced; here military and sexual ferocity are deliberately confused together. Luvah was also consumed by his own rage (against Urizen) in i 254. Contrast the sense of *America* (Prel.).

vii 538. Although Orc attacks her, Vala 'joys', for she sees that his spirit is given over to the cruelty by which she reigns. In the left margin are two lines, the first in pencil and the second in ink, which seem not part of the text but an aphoristic comment upon it:

Unorganized Innocence, an Impossibility.

Innocence dwells with Wisdom but never with Ignorance.

vii 539–41. Without form there is no life. Orc's serpent form since 152 (see notes vii 152, 164), is a superficial form or appearance. Now the real Orc has gone, and only the appearance remains. B.'s use of the serpent image of Orc, as against the seductive Vala, may invite a Freudian interpretation, but the imagery is traditional. In viii 29–32, Enitharmon gives life to lost spectres by weaving mortal forms for them.

- Invisible or visible, drawn out in length, or stretched in
breadth,
The Shadowy Female varied in the war in her delight,
Howling in discontent black & heavy, uttering brute sounds,
550 Wading through fens among the slimy weeds, making
lamentations
To deceive Tharmas in his rage, to soothe his furious soul,
To stay him in his flight, that Urizen might live, though in pain.
He said: 'Art thou bright Enion? Is the shadow of hope
returned?'
- And she said: 'Tharmas, I am Vala, bless thy innocent face!
555 Doth Enion avoid the sight of thy blue watery eyes?
Be not persuaded that the air knows this, or the falling dew.'
- Tharmas replied: 'O Vala, once I lived in a garden of delight;
[94] I wakened Enion in the morning & she turned away
Among the apple trees, & all the gardens of delight
560 Swam like a dream before my eyes. I went to seek the steps
Of Enion in the gardens, & the shadows compassed me
And closed me in a watery world of woe, where Enion stood
Trembling before me like a shadow, like a mist, like air.
And she is gone, and here alone I war with darkness & death.
565 I hear thy voice, but not thy form see. Thou & all delight
And life appear & vanish, mocking me with shadows of false
hope.
Hast thou forgot that the air listens through all its districts, telling
The subtlest thoughts shut up from light in chambers of the
moon?'
- 'Tharmas, the moon has chambers where the babes of love
lie hid,
570 And whence they never can be brought in all eternity
Unless exposed by their vain parents. Lo, him whom I love
Is hidden from me, & I never in all Eternity
Shall see him. Enitharmon & Ahania, combined with Enion,

vii 548. *varied*] Varied her form, as in 547. She now turns her attention to Tharmas, having captured Urizen and Orc. She appeals to his sense of pity, his major attribute.
vii 552. Cp. vi 64–71, where Tharmas proposes to starve Urizen, so that they might both end their useless lives.

vii 557–60. The *garden of delight*, the *apple trees*, the *morning* hint at the Garden of Eden, somewhat in the phraseology of the *Song of Songs*.

vii 562. *watery world of woe*] The watery chaos associated with Tharmas in this poem.

vii 563–64. This is false, but Vala wants Tharmas to believe it, and not blame her for the first fall of the Man. Tharmas is not deceived (581).

- Hid him in that outrageous form of Orc which torments me
for sin,
- 575 For all my secret faults, which he brings forth upon the light
Of day in jealousy & blood my children are led to Urizen's
war
- Before my eyes, & for every one of these I am condemned
To eternal torment in these flames. For though I have the power
To rise on high, yet love here binds me down; & never, never
- 580 Will I arise, till him I love is loosed from this dark chain.'
- Tharmas replied: 'Vala, thy sins have lost us heaven & bliss;
Thou art our curse, and till I can bring love into the light
I never will depart from my great wrath.'
- So Tharmas wailed wrathful, then rode upon the stormy deep,
- 585 Cursing the voice that mocked him with false hope, in
furious mood.
- Then she returns, swift as a blight upon the infant bud,
Howling in all the notes of woe to stay his furious rage,
Stamping the hills, wading or swimming, flying furious, or falling,
Or like an earthquake rumbling in the bowels of the earth,
- 590 Or like a cloud beneath & like a fire flaming in high,
Walking in pleasure of the hills or murmuring in the dales,
Like to a rushing torrent beneath & a falling rock above,
A thundercloud in the south, & a lulling voice heard in the
north.
- And she went forth, & saw the forms of life & of delight
- 595 Walking on mountains, or flying in the open expanse of
heaven.
- She heard sweet voices in the winds, & in the voices of birds
That rose from waters; for the waters were as the voice of Luvah,
Not seen to her like waters or like this dark world of death.
Though all those fair perfections (which men know only by name)
- 600 In beautiful, substantial forms appeared, & served her
As food or drink or ornament, or in delightful works
To build her bowers (for the elements brought forth
abundantly
- The living soul in glorious forms, & every one came forth,
Walking before her shadowy face & bowing at her feet).
- 605 But in vain delights were poured forth on the howling
melancholy:

vii 580. *this dark chain*] Orc was bound in the Chain of Jealousy; yet (465) he has broken it. B. has not troubled to maintain complete consistency; Orc is really still bound by the sins of all the Zoas.

vii 605. *in vain* . . .] Vala, for all her power, cannot know true delight, for her soul is evil. Only the Eternal Man, when he returns to his true, balanced nature, can enjoy life in this way. The usurping Zoas, and Vala, must be unhappy.

- For her delight the horse his proud neck bowed & his white
mane,
And the strong lion deigned in his mouth to wear the
golden bit,
While the far beaming peacock waited on the fragrant wind,
To bring her fruits of sweet delight from trees of richest
wonders,
610 And the strong-pinioned eagle bore the fire of heaven in the
night season.
Wooded & subdued into eternal death the demon lay
In rage against the dark despair, the howling melancholy;
[87a] For far & wide she stretched through all the worlds of
Urizen's journey,
And was adjoined to Beulah, as the polypus to the rock.
615 Mourning the daughters of Beulah saw, nor could they have
sustained
The horrid sight of death and torment, but the eternal promise
They wrote on all their tombs and pillars and on every urn;
These words—*If ye will believe, your brother shall rise again*,
In golden letters ornamented with sweet labours of love,
620 Waiting with patience for the fulfilment of the promise
divine.

And all the songs of Beulah sounded comfortable notes,
Not suffering doubt to rise up from the clouds of the
Shadowy Female.
Then myriads of the dead burst through the bottoms of their
tombs,
Descending on the Shadowy Female's clouds in spectrous
terror,
625 Beyond the Limit of Translucence on the lake of Udan-Adan:
These they named *Satans*, and in the aggregate they named
them *Satan*.

vii 611. *the demon*] Perhaps Tharmas, with whom Vala has been dealing; but 'demon' usually means Orc.

vii 612. *rage against*] 1st *rdg del.* anguish for.

vii 614. *polypus*] See iv 265*n*.

vii 615. *Mourning*] B. has *Morning*.

vii 617. *urn*] Funeral urn (as stated in *Jerusalem* pl.53.28; cp. also pl.11.2*n*).

vii 618. *John* xi 23, 25, 40: see also iv 252–69, where B. uses extensively the story of the resurrection of Lazarus, from which this saying comes. A hopeful addition to a hopeless scene.

vii 621–5. For the *Limit of Translucence* see iv 270*n*. The songs and the limit prevent the invasion of spectrous fear, which is driven in on itself.

vii 623. Cp. line 324 and note.

vii 626. The separate Satanic fears add up to one image of Satan. See STATES, *Milton* 32.22*n*, p. 577.

- [85b] Then took the Tree of Mystery root in the world of Los,
 Its topmost boughs shooting a fibre beneath Enitharmon's couch;
 The double-rooted labyrinth soon waved around their heads.
- 630 But then the spectre entered Los's bosom—every sigh & groan
 Of Enitharmon bore Urthona's Spectre on its wings.
 Obdurate Los felt pity; Enitharmon told the tale
 Of Urthona. Los embraced the Spectre, first as a brother,
 Then as another self—astonished, humanizing & in tears,
 635 In self-abasement giving up his domineering lust.
- ‘Thou never canst embrace sweet Enitharmon, terrible
 demon, till
 Thou art united with thy Spectre, consummating by pains
 and labours
 That mortal body, & by self-annihilation back returning
 To life eternal. Be assured I am thy real self,
 640 Though thus divided from thee, & the slave of every passion
 Of thy fierce soul. Unbar the gates of memory; look upon me,
 Not as another, but as thy real self. I am thy Spectre,
 Though horrible & ghastly to thine eyes, though buried
 beneath
 The ruins of the universe. Hear what inspired I speak, & be
 silent.
- 645 Thou didst subdue me in old times by thy immortal strength
 When I was a ravening, hungering & thirsting, cruel lust &
 murder.
- If we unite in one, another better world will be
 Opened within your heart & loins & wondrous brain,
 Threefold as it was in Eternity & this the fourth universe
 650 Will be renewed by the three & consummated in mental fires.
 But if thou dost refuse, another body will be prepared
- [86] For me & thou annihilate, evaporate, & be no more.
 For thou art but a form & organ of life, & of thyself
 Art nothing, being created continually by mercy & love
 divine.’

vii 628. *boughs* . . . *fibre*] 1st *rdg.* *del.* branches . . . stem.

vii 630–1. The spectre is drawn back by the realization that the true Enitharmon is in sympathy with her shadow, and he hopes to find Los also in sympathy with himself. These lines are written over *End of the Seventh Night* erased.

vii 634–5. refer to the spectre.

vii 636. The spectre speaks: the *demon* is Los. This is the critical moment in Los's recovery of his Emanation.

vii 641–2. Over *The End of the Seventh Night* erased. (The first ‘End’ would have been after 629, the second after 635.)

vii 654. In having no eternal life, but going through the endless cycle of birth and death. See *Continual Creation* note, *Milton* pl.11.20n.

655 Los furious answered: 'Spectre horrible, thy words astound
 my ear
 With irresistible conviction. I feel I am not one of those
 Who when convinced can still persist—though furious,
 controllable
 By reason's power. Even I, already, feel a world within
 Opening its gates, & in it all the real substances

[*Drawing*]

660 Of which these in the outward world are shadows which pass
 away.
 Come then into my bosom, & in thy shadow arms bring
 with thee
 My lovely Enitharmon. I will quell my fury, & teach
 Peace to the soul of dark revenge, & repentance to cruelty.'

So spoke Los, & embracing Enitharmon & the Spectre.

665 Clouds would have folded round, in ecstasy & love uniting,
 [95] But Enitharmon trembling fled, & hid beneath Urizen's tree.
 But mingling together with his Spectre, the Spectre of Urthona
 Wondering beheld the centre opened, by Divine Mercy inspired.
 He in his turn gave tasks to Los, enormous, to destroy

670 That body he created—but in vain, for Los performed
 wonders of labour.
 They builded Golgonooza; Los labouring builded pillars high,
 And domes terrific in the nether heavens. For beneath
 Was opened new heavens, & a new earth beneath & within:
 Threefold, within the brain, within the heart, within the loins,

675 A threefold atmosphere sublime, continuous from Urthona's
 world,
 But yet having a limit twofold, named *Satan* & *Adam*.

vii 659–60. *Drawing*. Made before B. used the spaces for text, and filling most of the page, of a nude female kneeling up, smiling, head on one side, her hands pressing her breasts. Around the more finished drawing are vaguely sketched loops, perhaps suggesting children. Is she Vala, earth-mother and earth-ruler, who dominates by the twin female powers of motherhood and seduction: the poem is drawing towards her triumph? Or Enitharmon? This design was once the tailpiece for vii, before lines 630ff were added.

vii 667ff. What follows is not in the main stream of the narrative of Urizen, Orc and Los in the ruins of Urizen's universe, but a sort of gloss on it, made probably some time, perhaps a long time, later.

vii 668. *the centre*] The centre of the earth, the traditional site of Hell.

vii 674. *Threefold*] B.'s ideal was fourfold vision, but the threefold vision had great power. Cp. letter to Butts, 22 Nov. 1802 83–8 (pp. 490–1); and i 276.

vii 676–8. Cp. *Milton* pl.13.21; the lines mean that the 'threefold atmosphere sublime' reached from Urthona's universal world to the nether heavens, but could not pass below a certain limit of opacity or contraction, both marks of death. Cp. iv 270n.

But Los stood on the Limit of Translucence, weeping &
trembling,
Filled with doubts, in self-accusation beheld the fruit
Of Urizen's mysterious Tree; for Enitharmon thus spake:

- 680 'When in the deeps beneath I gathered of this ruddy fruit,
It was by that I knew that I had sinned, & then I knew
That without a ransom I could not be saved from eternal death,
That life lives upon death, & by devouring appetite
All things subsist on one another. Thenceforth in despair
685 I spend my glowing time. But thou art strong & mighty
To bear this self-conviction: take then, eat thou also of
The fruit, & give me proof of life Eternal, or I die.'

- Then Los plucked the fruit & ate & sat down in despair,
And must have given himself to death Eternal, but
690 Urthona's Spectre, in part mingling with him, comforted him,
Being a medium between him & Enitharmon. But this union
Was not to be effected without cares, & sorrows, & troubles
Of six thousand years of self-denial and of bitter contrition.

- Urthona's Spectre terrified beheld the spectres of the dead:
695 Each male formed without a counterpart, without a
concentring vision.

The Spectre of Urthona wept before Los, saying: 'I am the
cause

That this dire state commences; I began the dreadful state
Of separation, & on my dark head the curse & punishment
Must fall, unless a way be found to ransom & redeem.

- 700 'But I have thee, my *counterpart vegetating* miraculous:
These spectres have no *counterparts*, therefore they raven

vii 678. *beheld*] 1st *rdg del.* gathered.

vii 682. *ransom*] The doctrine of 'substitutionary atonement', the ransom being Christ's death taken as payment. B. rejects it fiercely (*Jerusalem* 18.27, 35.16–26), as does Paul, who, in *Romans* v. 12, sets it out thus: 'So death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned', and proceeds to reject it. Enitharmon in despair thinks she is doomed; Eve-like, she wants Los to prove his possession of eternal life by also eating the supposedly poisonous fruit (687).

vii 688. Cp., *Paradise Lost* ix 781: 'Forth reaching to the fruit, she plucked, she ate.'

vii 693. The world's allotted life-span. See *Marriage* iv 64n.

vii 700–3. In the margin, and marked to go in here. In 700, B. wrote *Counterpart*, and cancelled it in favour of *Vegetation* (Bentley) or *Vegetating* (Erdman), which he also cancelled. We are therefore left with a space. Erdman's reading, accepted here, makes sense and is metrically valid, although *vegetating counterpart* is equally possible. We must recognize that B. was not satisfied with any of these, and was hoping to find another word or phrase, but (it seems) never did. For the significance of the word *Create*, see Milton pl.11.20n.

Without the food of life. Let us create them counterparts,
For without a Created body the Spectre is Eternal Death.'

Los trembling answered: 'Now I feel the weight of stern
repentance.

- 705 Tremble not so, my Enitharmon; at the awful gates
Of thy poor broken heart I see thee like a shadow, withering
As on the outside of existence. But look! behold! take comfort!
Turn inwardly thine eyes, & there behold the Lamb of God
Clothed in Luvah's robes of blood descending to redeem.
710 O Spectre of Urthona, take comfort! O Enitharmon,
Couldst thou but cease from terror & trembling & affright,
When I appear before thee in forgiveness of ancient injuries.
Why shouldst thou remember & be afraid? I surely have died
in pain
Often enough to convince thy jealousy & fear & terror.
715 Come hither, be patient, let us converse together, because
I also tremble at myself & at all my former life.'

- Enitharmon answered: 'I behold the Lamb of God descending
To meet these spectres of the dead. I therefore fear that he
Will give us to Eternal death, fit punishment for such
720 Hideous offenders—uttermost extinction in eternal pain,
An ever-dying life of stifling & obstruction, shut out
Of existence, to be a sign & terror to all who behold,
Lest any should in futurity do as we have done in Heaven.
Such is our state, nor will the Son of God redeem us but
destroy.'

[96–97]

- [98] So Enitharmon spoke, trembling & in torrents of tears.

- 726 Los sat in Golgonooza in the gate of Luban, where
He had erected many porches, where branched the
mysterious Tree,
Where the spectrous dead wail, & sighing thus he spoke to
Enitharmon:

vii 710. Cp. ii 309–10, iii 65*n*; also viii 53. A key image.

vii. Page 96. The only writing on this page, the engraved side of one of the two leaves (95–96 and 97–98), made by cutting in half B.'s print of *Edward and Elenor* (1793), is the following prose aphorism: 'The Christian Religion teaches that No Man is Indifferent to you but that every one is Either your friend or your enemy. He must necessarily be either the one or the other And that he will be equally profitable both ways if you treat him as he deserves.'

vii. Page 97 contains the other half of the *Edward and Elenor* engraving.

vii 726 *Los sat*] 1st *rdg*. Los stood. An important change: see viii 28–9*n*.

gate of Luban] See v 27*n*, viii 25*n*. Biblical kings 'sat in the gate' to dispense justice.

- ‘Lovely delight of men, Enitharmon, shady refuge from
furious war,
730 Thy bosom translucent is a soft repose for the weeping souls
Of those piteous victims of battle. There they sleep in happy
obscurity,
They feed upon our life; we are their victims. Stern desire
I feel to fabricate embodied semblances in which the dead
May live before us in our palaces & in our gardens of labour
735 Which now, opened within the centre, we behold spread
abroad,
To form a world of sacrifice of brothers & sons & daughters,
To comfort Orc in his dire sufferings. Look! my fires enlume
afresh
Before my face ascending with delight, as in ancient times.’
- Enitharmon spread her beaming locks upon the wind, & said:
740 ‘O lovely, terrible Los! wonder of Eternity! O Los, my
defence and guide!
Thy works are all my joy, & in thy fires my soul delights.
If mild they burn in just proportion, & in secret night
And silence build their day, in shadow of soft clouds & dews.
Then I can sigh forth on the winds of Golgonooza piteous forms
745 That vanish again into my bosom. But if thou, my Los,
Wilt in sweet moderated fury fabricate forms sublime,
Such as the piteous spectres may assimilate themselves into,
They shall be ransoms for our souls that we may live.’

vii 729ff. *embodied semblances*] The abyssal war has left many souls as *Spectres* (729–31), now existing only as dreams, ‘semblances in Enitharmon’s bosom’ (730–2, 741–5), who must be ‘embodied’ in the living Human form essential if they are to live (732–4). In a kind of spiritual sexuality, Los, at her desire, ‘modulates his fires’ (749–61), to create forms which can grow in her, to which the lost ‘semblances’ can ‘assimilate’ (765–7), to be ‘embodied’ in. In a spiritual version of childbirth, Enitharmon ‘breathes them forth’ (745–8, 764–5).

vii 733. Cp. the later lines 749ff, and *n*. This sentiment is very Neo-Platonic.

vii 734. *labour*] The change from ‘pleasure’ (*1st rdg*) looks odd; but B. felt pleasure in the labours of art. He probably made the change so that the reader might not think he meant ‘enervating pleasure’.

vii 735. Looking up and around from the centre of a vortex. Cp. vi 184–92.

vii 736. *sacrifice*] *1st rdg del.* life and love.

vii 737. Ever since Orc was bound (v 101) Los and Enitharmon have tried to ease his sufferings; this is the only method that has any effect.

vii 747. The spectres (694–5, 701–3) are no more than ghosts; Los may give them bodies to live in. In them, B. represents the poor, earthly natures of men.

vii 748. i.e. ‘they can then be substitutes for us’ (cp. 385*n*) ‘that we may live’. But the result is different (cp. 774–7).

- So Enitharmon spoke, & Los, his hands divine inspired, began
 750 To modulate his fires studious. The loud roaring flames
 He vanquished with the strength of art, bending their iron points
 And drawing them forth delighted upon the winds of
 Golgonooza,
 From out the ranks of Urizen's war & from the fiery lake
 Of Orc, bending down as the binder of the sheaves follows
 755 The reaper, in both arms embracing the furious raging flames.
 Los drew them forth out of the deeps, planting his right foot
 firm
 Upon the iron crag of Urizen, thence springing up aloft
 Into the heavens of Enitharmon in a mighty circle.
 And first he drew a line upon the walls of shining heaven,
 760 And Enitharmon tintured it with beams of blushing love.
 It remained permanent, a lovely form inspired, divinely human,
 Dividing into just proportions. Los unwearied laboured
 The immortal lines upon the heavens, till with sighs of love
 Sweet Enitharmon, mild entranced, breathed forth upon the wind
 765 The spectrous dead. Weeping the spectres viewed the
 immortal works
 Of Los, assimilating to those forms, embodied & lovely,
 In youth & beauty in the arms of Enitharmon mild reposing.
 First Rintrah & then Palamabron, drawn from out the ranks
 of war,
 In infant innocence reposed on Enitharmon's bosom.
 770 Orc was comforted in the deeps, his soul revived in them;
 As the eldest brother is the father's image, so Orc became
 As Los, a father to his brethren, & he joyed in the dark lake,
 Though bound with chains of jealousy, & in scales of iron &
 brass.
 But Los loved them & refused to sacrifice their infant limbs,
 775 And Enitharmon's smiles & tears prevailed over self-
 protection.
 They rather chose to meet eternal death than to destroy

vii 749. This is followed by a deleted line: 'To hew the cavernd rocks of Dranthon into forms of beauty'. The passage 749-91 is clearly an imaginative interpretation of B.'s own sensation in the act of artistic creation as like parenthood, the exaltation reaching its height at the end.

vii 750. i.e. 'studious to modulate his fires'.

vii 755. A remarkable image drawn from life: had B. experienced also the 'fiery' prickling of an armful of wheat?

vii 760. For the first time in any poem, Enitharmon shows her skills; here, in 'tincturing' Los's designs, as Catherine used to colour B.'s prints, and later (viii 29-48n) in tapestry-weaving. The process continues in viii 22-52, lines 100-06, and 174-207, moderating the theme of war that otherwise still dominates.

The offspring of their care & pity. Urthona's Spectre was comforted,
 But Tharmas most rejoiced in hope of Enion's return,
 780 For he beheld new female forms born forth upon the air,
 Who wove soft silken veils of covering, in sweet raptured trance,
 Mortal & not as Enitharmon, without a covering veil.

First his immortal spirit drew Urizen's Shadow away,
 From out the ranks of war separating him in sunder,
 Leaving his spectrous form which could not be drawn away.
 785 Then he divided Thiriël, the eldest of Urizen's sons;
 Urizen became Rintrah, Thiriël became Palamabron,
 Thus dividing the powers of every warrior.
 Startled was Los; he found his enemy Urizen now
 In his hands—he wondered that he felt love & not hate.
 790 His whole soul loved him; he beheld him an infant
 Lovely, breathed from Enitharmon; he trembled within himself.

[*End of the Seventh Night*]

Night the Eighth

B. has complicated this Night almost as much as the First by his alterations; but his theme is plain: *the apparent victory of evil*. There are two parallel stories of disaster: the first (*A*) is the continuation of the story of Urizen and Vala to its catastrophe in the triumph of Vala, who overcomes Urizen and the others (468). This ends in laments from Ahania and – more hopefully – Enion. This, the original story, was then elaborated. In (*B*) the more explicitly evangelical material, which identifies Jesus as the Universal Man (line 222), emerges in the Council of God and the redeemed Los and Enitharmon, who watch over the unfolding tragedy. (Thus Los appears in two forms: the fierce, unregenerate Los of (*A*), and the labouring prophet of (*B*), who was regenerated in vii.) The major new development – which becomes the central theme – is that the Lamb of God has taken the place (53–6) of Urizen's chief enemy and victim, Luvah; and neither Urizen nor Vala can destroy his Divine Humanity, though they must seem to. He must suffer the death they condemn him to, so that in ix his life may spread through everything they have corrupted. There is also (*C*) the introduction of Jerusalem, who is the biblical figure, a city and a people seen as a woman, beloved though

vii 780. *born*] Or 'borne'?

vii 783. *his*] Los's.

vii 785. Cp. *Urizen* 430–7 where Urizen's sons Thiriël, Utha, Grodna and Fuzon are born. Rintrah and Palamabron, however, are *Los's* sons: by this B. means that Los has drawn Urizen into his influence – cp. 787–8.

weak and sometimes faithless. This receives less emphasis, but remains an important theme, for Jerusalem counterbalances Vala.

The earliest state of the present MS contained the narrative thus elaborated, and the evangelical material is still further elaborated by the later additions. The original story (*A*), in which Vala first flatters, then overcomes Urizen, and thereafter the other Zoas, remains undeveloped except by additions which bring it into line with the new. The additions are: (*D*) the enemies of Jesus, the Lamb of God, are Urizen and Vala; but these are enlarged into a council, the *Synagogue of Satan*, in the midst of whom appears a still greater evil, the harlot Rahab. The Synagogue is another image of Urizen, and Rahab an image of Vala. Thus we now have the two parallel myths in full, and two climaxes – the triumph of Vala over the Zoas (*A*); and (*B*) the apparent triumph of Rahab (dominating the Synagogue) over Jesus at the crucifixion (313–18). These are in effect the same thing: a vision and its reinterpretation.

(*E*) Into this fits a further refinement of Rahab, her ‘daughter’ Tirzah, who is the sum of all the heathen; she is revealed in her song. (*F*) Finally, in a long and puzzling addition, Los faces Rahab and tells how many of his sons and daughters, of whom the unfallen Satan was one, were led astray and separated into a little round world (our world) which was guarded by a succession of emissaries, leading up to Jehovah – and then Jesus. At this point, in a crowning line of rhetoric (395) the meaning of the digression becomes clear; Los is telling Rahab that her triumph is vain, for by causing the death of Jesus she has permitted life to enter into her world of death – as the Divine Mercy had planned.

Thus the Night may be analysed roughly as follows (an asterisk indicates an added page), though close study will reveal this as only an approximate guide.

(<i>B</i>)	The Council of God and the work of Los	(1–56)
(<i>A</i>)	Urizen restarts his war, but succumbs to Vala	(52–173)
(<i>C</i>)	Jerusalem appears	(174–191)
	(<i>B, D</i>) Los and Enitharmon versus Satan and Rahab	(192–236)*
(<i>B</i>)	The Lamb confronts the Synagogue of Satan	(237–266)
(<i>D</i>)	Rahab appears among the Synagogue	(267–283)
	(<i>E</i>) The song of Tirzah	(283–310)
(<i>B, C</i>)	The crucifixion	(311–328)
	(<i>F</i>) Los’s children	(329–401)***
(<i>A</i>)	Urizen’s fall and Vala’s ultimate triumph	(402–471)
(<i>A</i>)	The laments of Ahania and Enion	(472–571)
(<i>B, C, D</i>)	The triumph of Rahab	(572–582)
(<i>D</i>)	Rahab’s changing form	(583–599)*

The reader who finds the sequence difficult would do well to miss out at the first reading the passages indented in this table. The sequence of lettering (*A*) to (*F*) does not indicate a chronological sequence of composition except conjecturally and approximately.

[99]

NIGHT THE EIGHTH

- Then all in great Eternity met in the Council of God
 As one Man, even Jesus, upon Gilead & Hermon,
 Upon the Limit of Contraction to Create the fallen Man.
 The fallen Man stretched like a corse upon the oozy rock
 5 Washed with the tides, pale, overgrown with weeds
 That moved with horrible dreams. Hovering high over his head
 Two winged immortal shapes, one standing at his feet
 Toward the east, one standing at his head toward the west,
 Their wings joined in the zenith overhead.
 10 Such is a vision of all Beulah hovering over the sleeper.
 The Limit of Contraction now was fixed & Man began
 To wake upon the Couch of Death. He sneezed seven times.
 A tear of blood dropped from either eye; again he reposed
 In the Saviour's arms, in the arms of tender mercy & loving
 kindness.
 15 Then Los said: 'I behold the Divine Vision through the
 broken gates
 Of thy poor broken heart'—astonished, melted into
 compassion and love.
 And Enitharmon said, 'I see the Lamb of God upon Mount
 Zion.'
 Wondering with love & awe they felt the Divine Hand upon
 them.

viii 1. *met in*] *1st rdg del.* which is called.

viii 2. *Gilead and Hermon*] Mountains on the borders of the Holy Land, and 'upon the limit' – as far out on the frontier as an eternal human being may safely go without dissolution: see iv 270*n*.

viii 3. *Limit of Contraction*] i.e. to give the Man a body (which will keep a semblance of reality) when he has reached the limit beyond which he could pass only to go into non-entity – to cease to be. So it is with Albion in Jerusalem. The Night opens with the Man in a state of inner warfare – the war of Urizen – but with the prophetic voice of Los now audible within him. See iv 270*n*; *Milton* II.20*n*; *Jerusalem* 53.19*n*, 73.23*n*.

viii 4–9. For two distinct cancelled passages, see appendix p. 479 below. This passage describes one of B.'s own pictures, *Christ in the Sepulchre* (1800–05).

viii 12. In 2 *Kings* iv 35, the Shunammite child, when Elisha restored him to life, sneezed seven times.

viii 15. *Then Los said I behold*] *1st rdg del.*: Then Los beheld. *2nd rdg.*: Then first Los beheld. This takes up from the end of vii, with the new, reconciled pair.

- For nothing could restrain the dead in Beulah from
descending
20 Unto Ulro's night; tempted by the Shadowy Female's sweet
Delusive cruelty they descend away from the daughters of
Beulah
And enter Urizen's temple, Enitharmon pitying & her heart
Gates broken down, they descend through the gate of pity,
The broken heart-gate of Enitharmon. She sighs them forth
upon the wind
25 Of Golgonooza: Los stood receiving them—
For Los could enter into Enitharmon's bosom & explore
Its intricate labyrinths, now the obdurate heart was
broken—
[100a] From out the war of Urizen & Tharmas receiving them,

viii 19. Referring to vii 623.

viii 22. *Urizen's temple*] The 'secret temple' of vii 349ff. 'They' were pitying Enitharmon.

viii 24. *Enitharmon*] Followed by a deletion: 'which joins to Urizen's temple/Which is the Synagogue of Satan . . .'

viii 25. GOLGONOOZA] Cp. v 73n, vii 726, *Milton* 22.26–29.65 and especially *Jerusalem* pls.12.21–14.34, the most elaborate picture of Golgonooza, as a city preserving the arts of creativity in its widest sense. So far in *Four Zoas*: (a) it is built on the edge of Ulro, region of chaos and darkness, in the grim forest valleys of *Entuthon Benithon*, near the dark lake of *Udan-Adan* (q.v. *Jerusalem* pl.13.38). (b) It is a city of guard, to keep watch on Ulro and to serve as a refuge for spirits fleeing from death in Ulro. Los also tries to dissuade those who, in despair, want to leave it. Golgonooza thus resembles Nehemiah's Jerusalem, a city being built in a hostile land, where watch had to be kept continually. (c) In vii 33, 672–80, 726–8, (vii 676, 726), watched by Los the Tree of Mystery grows in the porch of *Luban*; but this is not referred to elsewhere. (d) The Porch or Gate of Luban, facing East towards the lands of darkness (viii 214) is the passage of creation and rebirth, through which all spirits in and out of Golgonooza must pass. Enitharmon's looms, called *Cathedron*, are built in Luban, and here she works at her redemptive weaving, creating the clothing of human form for lost – i.e. formless – souls. Like Los, she must be at hand to help those who seek refuge in Golgonooza, and those whose despair is drawing them out.

viii 28–9. Between these lines a marginal note 'Los stood &c' is reasonably interpreted in *Erdman* p. 840 to mean that nearly all page 98 (vii 726–89) was once intended to go here. Thus vii 789 'In his hands' would have become viii 29 'Into his hands'. Pages 96/98 are one consecutive late passage, written on distinctive sheets. B. may well have been uncertain where to put it: at the end of viia (when he had two versions of Night vii – see p. 382) or, jumping viib, (our vii 329–626), which consists almost entirely of early material in which B. was perhaps losing interest, to use it early in viii. Erdman's conclusion is that B.'s latest decision was to leave the passage in vii where it now is. If B. was indeed uncertain, he may well have considered placing half of it here. *BQ* 12/2 (1978).

- Into his hands. Then Enitharmon erected looms in Luban's gate
 30 And called the looms *Cathedron*; in these looms she wove
 the spectres
 Bodies of vegetation, singing lulling cadences to drive away
 Despair from the poor wandering spectres, and Los loved them
 With a parental love, for the Divine Hand was upon him
 And upon Enitharmon, & the Divine Countenance shone
 35 In Golgonooza. Looking down the daughters of Beulah saw
 With joy the bright light, & in it a human form;
 And knew he was the Saviour, even Jesus, & they worshipped.

 Astonished, comforted, delighted, in notes of rapturous ecstasy
 All Beulah stood astonished. Looking down to Eternal Death
 40 They saw the Saviour beyond the pit of death & destruction.
 For whether they looked upward they saw the Divine Vision,
 Or whether they looked downward still they saw the Divine
 Vision
 Surrounding them on all sides beyond sin & death & Hell.

 Enitharmon wove in tears, singing songs of lamentation
 45 And pitying comfort, as she sighed forth on the wind the
 spectres;
 Also the vegetated bodies which Enitharmon wove
 Opened within their hearts & in their loins & in their brain
 To Beulah, & the dead in Ulro descended from the war
 Of Urizen & Tharmas & from the Shadowy Female's clouds.

 50 And some were woven single & some twofold, & some
 threefold,
 In head or heart or reins, according to the fittest order
 Of most merciful pity & compassion to the spectrous dead.

viii 30–48. In true tapestry-weaving (as distinct from embroidery) the 'spectral' lines of a design were often sketched out on the warp threads. As the weaver worked, the bulk of the threads gave solid form to the figures, thus 'bringing them to life'. So as if in a womb, bodies are created for spirits to dwell in, 'breathed forth' (766) by Enitharmon.

viii 36. *human*] Equal to 'Divine'.

viii 40. *pit*] In *Revelation* xx 1–3 'the dragon, that old serpent', Satan, is cast into the bottomless pit.

viii 44–52. Cp. vii 764. Enitharmon continues the saving task of giving form to the Spectres who would otherwise vanish. It is an inferior, i.e. Vegetated form, but better than Non-Entity. For the threefold order of 50–I, see i 94 and especially *Milton* pl.5.6–10.

viii 46. *vegetated*] See ii 121*n*.

viii 52. Lines 82–93 originally followed here.

- [101a] When Urizen saw the Lamb of God clothed in Luvah's robes
 Perplexed & terrified he stood (though well he knew that Orc
 55 Was Luvah—but he now beheld a new Luvah, or one
 Who assumed Luvah's form & stood before him opposite).
 But he saw Orc, a serpent-form augmenting times on times
 In the fierce battle, & he saw the Lamb of God & the world
 of Los
 Surrounded by his dark machines. For Orc augmented swift
 60 In fury, a serpent wondrous among the constellations of
 Urizen.
 A crest of fire rose on his forehead, red as the carbuncle;
 Beneath down to his eyelids scales of pearl, then gold & silver
 Immingled with the ruby, overspread his visage down
 His furious neck writhing contortive; in dire budding pains
 65 The scaly armour shot out. Stubborn down his back & bosom
 The emerald, onyx, sapphire, jasper, beryl, amethyst
 Strove in terrific emulation which should gain a place
 Upon the mighty fiend—the fruit of the mysterious tree
 Kneaded in Uveth's kneading-trough. Still Orc devoured the
 food
 70 In raging hunger; still the pestilential food in gems & gold
 Exuded round his awful limbs, stretching to serpent length
 His human bulk, while the dark Shadowy Female brooding over

viii 53ff. Urizen is perplexed by his failure to subdue all things to order. He has believed he had power over Orc, a form of Luvah, whom he has bound; but he is faced by a power of mercy that he cannot control, and which has taken on Luvah's sufferings in order to alleviate them.

The Lamb of God] Cp. vii 151 and 708–9. Luvah, as Orc, has deteriorated into the serpent: but the Lamb has taken his place.

viii 60. Cp. vii 540–1. There is a lesser constellation named *Serpens*.

viii 66. Five of the jewels are among the twelve used in the garnishing of the Holy City in *Revelation* xxi 19–20, where only onyx does not appear (but sardonyx, one of its varieties, does). In Ezekiel's condemnation of Tyre, 'the Covering Cherub', *Ezekiel* xxviii 13 reads: 'every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz and the diamond, the beryl the onyx and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold.' The allusion is to the Covering Cherub (see *Milton* 37.8n).

viii 68. *Upon the mighty fiend*] 1st rdg del. On the immortal fiend.

viii 69. *Uveth*] Cp. vii 95–102. The food she and her sisters prepare for Orc keeps him in subjection to Urizen, in spite of his hostility.

viii 72–3. (Cp. *America Preludium* 1–4.) This seems to contradict Night vii, where Orc broke free from the Shadowy Female, Vala: there is a similar contradictory mention of the chain in vii 580. As myth, this is explicable in that Orc's spirit is enslaved by Urizen, even after he has broken free. As yet Vala is controlled by Urizen's daughters; later in viii she dominates Urizen himself. This echoes her servitude to Urizen when tending Luvah in ii 425–7.

Measured his food morning & evening in cups & baskets of
iron.

With tears of sorrow incessant she laboured the food of Orc—

- 75 Compelled by the iron-hearted sisters, daughters of Urizen—
Gathering the fruit of that mysterious tree, circling its root
She spread herself through all the branches in the power of Orc.

Thus Urizen in self-deceit his warlike preparations fabricated.
And when all things were finished, sudden waved among the
stars

- 80 His hurtling hand gave the dire signal. Thunderous clarions
blow,

And all the hollow deep rebellowed with the wondrous war.

- [100b] But Urizen his mighty rage let loose in the mid-deep.
Sparkles of dire affliction issued round his frozen limbs,
Horrible hooks & nets he formed, twisting the cords of iron
85 And brass, & molten metals cast in hollow globes, & bored
Tubes in petrific steel, & rammed combustibles, & wheels
And chains & pullies fabricated all round the heavens of
Los—

Communing with the serpent of Orc in dark dissimulation,
And with the Synagogue of Satan in dark sanhedrim,

viii 74. *laboured*] The syntax is not clear, but the sense is. B. has no punctuation at all in 74–7.

viii 76. *circling its root*] So also in 165. In Norse myth the world-ash Yggdrasil was encircled by a serpent which attacked its roots and at the last day brought it down. Vala is as fateful.

viii 78–81. Urizen prepares a new offensive. So the Treaty of Amiens in 1802 was used to prepare for more war, which came in 1803. The following lines may have been inspired by new devices of war, which were being eagerly developed by numerous enthusiasts at the turn of the century; but these pages are an image of the universal horrors of war.

viii 79–80. Originally: ‘his hurtling hand / Among the stars.’

viii 83. *Paradise Lost* vi 766: ‘Of smoke and bickering flame, and sparkles dire.’

viii 85–6. *globes*] Perhaps shrapnel (cannon balls were solid), which was tested on the Thames in 1803; the tubes are cannon.

rammed combustibles] The explosives rammed down a muzzle-loading cannon.

viii 89. This reads like an added line, though it is not so in the MS. *The Synagogue of Satan* is a council, opposed to the *Council of God*, and only active in this Night (cp. 261ff). B. uses the idea to link Urizen, the villain of his original story, with his newer conception of Vala and Satan opposing the Divine Vision and the Council of God, with Christ in Luvah’s sacrificial robes of blood (262) and their servants Los and Enitharmon (90). In John xi 47, after the raising of Lazarus (for which see iv 252ff and vii 618) ‘then gathered the chief priests and the Pharisees a council’ to concert their antagonism to Jesus. See also *Revelation* ii 9: ‘I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.’ For a different interpretation of the same idea, cp. ix 265–9.

- 90 To undermine the world of Los & tear bright Enitharmon
 [101b] To the four winds, hopeless of future. All futurity
 Seems teeming with endless destruction, never to be repelled:
 Desperate remorse swallows the present in a quenchless rage.
- Terrified & astonished, Urizen beheld the battle take a form
 95 Which he intended not: a shadowy hermaphrodite black &
 opaque—
 The soldiers named it Satan—but he was yet unformed & vast.
 Hermaphroditic it at length became, hiding the male
 Within as in a tabernacle, abominable, deadly.
- The battle howls; the terrors, fired, rage in the work of death.
 100 Enormous works Los contemplated, inspired by the holy Spirit.
 Los builds the walls of Golgonooza against the stirring battle,
 That only through the gates of death they can enter to
 Enitharmon;
 Raging they take the human visage & the human form,
 Feeling the hand of Los in Golgonooza, & the force
 105 Attractive of his hammers beating, & the silver looms
 Of Enitharmon singing lulling cadences on the wind.
 They humanize in the fierce battle, where in direful pain
 Troop by troop the bestial droves rend one another;
 sounding loud
 The instruments of sound, & troop by troop in human forms
 they urge
- [102] The dire confusion till the battle faints. Those that remain
 111 Return in pangs & horrible convulsions to their bestial state.
 For the monsters of the elements, lions or tigers or wolves,
 Sound loud the howling music, inspired by Los &
 Enitharmon sounding loud. Terrific men
 They seem to one another, laughing terrible among the
 banners;
- 115 And when, the revolution of their day of battles over,
 Relapsing in dire torment, they return to forms of woe,
 To moping visages returning, inanimate though furious,

viii 94–8. Written in the margin without a guide-line, but probably meant to come at the end of the transferred passage 82–93, which ends here.

viii 95. *hermaphrodite*] 1st *rdg del.* male. See notes at *Milton* pls.14.37, 37.6–8.

viii 102. *they*] The ‘terrors’ (99) who wish to destroy Enitharmon. The alternation between ‘humanized’ and ‘bestial’ forms is confusing, but is perhaps a reflection on the way folk change in war from humanity to savagery, and ‘relapse in torment’ when it is over.

viii 106. The cadences come from the tinkling of the weights hanging from the loom: cp. *Milton* pl.6.5–6.

viii 108. *bestial*] B. spells it *beastial*, perhaps with deliberate semantic intention.

No more erect though strong, drawn out in length they ravin
 For senseless gratification, & their visages thrust forth
 120 Flatten above & beneath, & stretch out into bestial length.
 Weakened they stretch beyond their power in dire droves till
 war begins,

Or secret religion in their temples, before secret shrines.

And Urizen gave life & sense by his immortal power
 To all his engines of deceit, that linked chains might run
 125 Through ranks of war spontaneous, & that hooks & boring
 screws

Might act according to their forms by innate cruelty.
 He formed also harsh instruments of sound
 To grate the soul into destruction, or to inflame with fury
 The spirits of life, to pervert all the faculties of sense
 130 Into their own destruction—if perhaps he might avert
 His own despair, even at the cost of every thing that breathes.

Thus in the temple of the sun his books of iron & brass
 And silver & gold he consecrated, reading incessantly
 To myriads of perturbed spirits through the universe.
 135 They propagated the deadly words, the Shadowy Female
 absorbing
 The enormous sciences of Urizen, ages after ages exploring
 The fell destruction. And she said: 'O Urizen, Prince of Light,
 What words of dread pierce my faint ear! What falling snows
 around

My feeble limbs enfold my destined misery!
 140 I alone dare the lash abide to sit beneath the blast
 Unhurt, & dare the inclement forehead of the King of Light;
 From dark abysses of the times remote fated to be
 [103] The sorrower of eternity, in love with tears. Submit I rear
 My eyes to thy pavilions: hear my prayer, for Luvah's sake!
 145 I see the murderer of my Luvah clothed in robes of blood—
 He who assumed my Luvah's throne in times of everlasting—
 Where hast thou hid him whom I love? In what remote abyss

viii 124. *linked chains*] Chain-shot, twin pieces of shot joined by a short chain.

viii 127–8. *harsh instruments*] Trumpets, drums, pipes, etc., used in war.

viii 134. *through the universe*] There is no punctuation; this phrase may begin a sentence continuing on the next line.

viii 137. Vala begins to see the endless futility of the war she has promoted.

viii 145–6. Referring to Christ. Vala is deluded (cp. ii 106 and viii 53). She fomented the jealousy between Luvah and Urizen which caused the strife, and now she sees the endless futility of the war she has provoked. But, imagining Urizen to be Lord of all, she misinterprets the sight of Christ in her Luvah's robes.

- Resides that god of my delight? Oh, might my eyes behold
 My Luvah! Then could I deliver all the sons of god
 150 From bondage of these terrors, & with influences sweet,
 As once in those eternal fields, in brotherhood & love
 United we should live in bliss, as those who sinned not.
 The Eternal Man is sealed by thee, never to be delivered.
 We are all servants to thy will, O King of Light! Relent
 155 Thy furious power, be our father & our loved king!
 But if my Luvah is no more, if thou hast smitten him
 And laid him in the sepulchre, or if thou wilt revenge
 His murder on another, silent I bow with dread.
 But happiness can never [come] to thee, O king, nor me,
 160 For he was source of every joy that this mysterious tree
 Unfolds in allegoric fruit. When shall the dead revive?
 Can that which has existed cease, or can love & life expire?’
- Urizen heard the voice & saw the shadow. Underneath
 His woven darkness, & in laws & deceitful religions,
 165 Beginning at the Tree of Mystery, circling its root,
 She spread herself through all the branches in the power of Orc,
 A shapeless & indefinite cloud, in tears of sorrow incessant,
 Steeping the direful web of Religion. Swagging heavy it fell
 From heaven to heaven through all its meshes, altering the
 vortexes,
 170 Misplacing every centre. Hungry desire & lust began,
 Gathering the fruit of that mysterious Tree, till Urizen,
 Sitting within his temple furious, felt the numbing stupor;
 Himself tangled in his own net in sorrow, lust, repentance.
- Enitharmon wove in tears, singing songs of lamentations
 175 And pitying comfort, as she sighed forth on the wind the
 spectres
 And wove them bodies, calling them her beloved sons and
 daughters,
 Employing the daughters in her looms; & Los employed the
 sons
 In Golgonooza’s furnaces, among the anvils of time & space,
 Thus forming a vast family, wondrous in beauty & love.

viii 149–50. Cp. ii 317–8, where Luvah speaks.

viii 150. *these terrors*] 1st *rdg del.* the human form.

viii 153. Similar to iv 132.

viii 159. *come*] Editorially added.

viii 168. *web of Religion*] See vi 241ff., lines *j.I*–8 (p. 480), and *Urizen* 454–69.

viii 174–5. So in 44–5 above. From here to 402, B. turns from Urizen and treats the illusory triumph of evil in another form – Satan and Rahab at the crucifixion of Christ.

- 180 And they appeared a universal female form, created
From those who were dead in Ulro, from the spectres of the
dead.
- [104a] And Enitharmon named the female Jerusalem the holy;
Wondering she saw the Lamb of God within Jerusalem's veil—
The Divine Vision, seen within the inmost deep recess
- 185 Of fair Jerusalem's bosom, in a gently beaming fire.
- Then sang the sons of Eden round the Lamb of God, & said:
'Glory! Glory! Glory to the holy Lamb of God,
Who now beginneth to put off the dark satanic body!
Now we behold redemption. Now we know that life eternal
- 190 Depends alone upon the Universal Hand, & not in us
Is aught but death, in individual weakness sorrow & pain.
- [105a] 'We behold with wonder Enitharmon's looms & Los's forges,
And the spindle of Tirzah & Rahab, and the mills of Satan
and Beelzeboul.
- In Golgonooza Los's anvils stand & his furnaces rage;
- 195 Ten thousand demons labour at the forges, Creating
Continually
- The times & spaces of mortal life—the sun, the moon, the stars
In periods of pulsative furor; beating into wedges & bars,
Then drawing into wires the terrific passions & affections
Of spectrous dead. Thence to the looms of Cathedron conveyed
- 200 The daughters of Enitharmon weave the ovarium & the
integument

viii 181. Cp. vii 214*n*, on the illustration to p. 82.

viii 182. *Jerusalem* here is the sum of all lost souls seeking to escape from Ulro and death, and saved by Enitharmon's work. Elsewhere she is the Emanation of Albion, the Universal Man (i 259); B.'s image of her is derived from the biblical vision of the great city, beloved by God in spite of her disobedience and – particularly in *Revelation* – personified as his bride. B. brings in this image of redemption just as Urizen's world is coming to its destined catastrophe.

viii 192–228. These lines are on a separate sheet with directions for their insertion here. They use the idiom of *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, Rahab and Tirzah, etc., and the concept of Los's Times and Spaces, to expand the matter of lines 186–91; see 174*n*.

viii 193. *Satan* is a miller in the Bard's Song in *Milton* pl.8.4–5 etc., where he has his accepted place in Eden before his fall. Here he is working against Los (see 207ff), in his traditional form.

viii 195. Followed by two deleted lines, which are used in another context in *Milton* pl.24.63–4:

The hard dentant hammers are lulld by the flute lula lula
The bellowing furnaces blare by the long sounding Clarion.

viii 195. *Creating Continually*] An important concept: see *Jerusalem* 53.19*n*.

viii 200. *ovarium . . . integument*] In botanical terms, the seed-carrier and the husk; or, generally, the ovary and the body.

- In soft silk, drawn from their own bowels in lascivious delight,
 With songs of sweetest cadence to the turning spindle & reel,
 Lulling the weeping spectres of the dead, clothing their limbs
 With gifts & gold of Eden. Astonished, stupefied with delight,
 205 The terrors put on their sweet clothing on the banks of Arnon,
 Whence they plunge into the river of space for a period till
 The dread sleep of Ulro is past. But Satan, Og & Sihon
 Build mills of resistless wheels to unwind the soft threads,
 and reveal
 Naked of their clothing the poor spectres before the accusing
 heavens,
 210 While Rahab & Tirezah far different mantles 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.
- ‘We look down into Ulro: we behold the wonders of the grave.
 Eastward of Golgonooza stands the lake of Udan-Adan in
 215 Entuthon Benithon, a lake not of waters but of spaces,
 Perturbed, black & deadly on its islands & its margins.
 The mills of Satan and Beelzeboul stand round the roots of
 Urizen’s Tree,
 For this lake is formed from the tears & sighs & death sweat
 of the victims
 Of Urizen’s laws, to irrigate the roots of the Tree of Mystery.
 220 They unweave the soft threads, then they weave them anew
 in the forms
 Of dark death & despair, & none from Eternity to Eternity
 could escape,
 But thou, O Universal Humanity, who is One Man blessed
 for ever,
 Receivest the integuments woven. Rahab beholds the Lamb
 of God:
 She smites with her knife of flint, she destroys her own work
 225 Times upon times, thinking to destroy the Lamb blessed for
 ever.
 He puts off the clothing of blood, he redeems the spectres
 from their bonds,

viii 205. *Arnon*] 1st *rdg del.* the Moon. The River Arnon being a border of Israel (see *Numbers* xxi 13–14, and map. p. 601), the souls are seen to be standing on the brink of earthly life. Cp. also *Milton* pl.34.30, where B. uses the fact that the Arnon flows into the Dead Sea.

viii 224. *knife of flint*] The ‘sharp knives of circumcision’ (marginal note, in A.V., to *Joshua* v 2) marked acceptance of the Law. See *Jerusalem* 66. 20n, 23–4n.

He awakes the sleepers in Ulro. The daughters of Beulah
praise him:

They anoint his feet with ointment, they wipe them with the
hair of their head.

[104b] 'We now behold the ends of Beulah, & we now behold

230 Where Death Eternal is put off eternally.

Assume the dark satanic body in the virgin's womb,
O Lamb Divine; it cannot thee annoy, O pitying one.

Thy pity is from the foundation of the world, & thy
redemption

Begun already in Eternity. Come then, O Lamb of God!

235 Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!'

So sang they in Eternity looking down into Beulah.

The war roared round Jerusalem's gates; it took a hideous form.

Seen in the aggregate, a vast hermaphroditic form

Heaved like an earthquake, labouring with convulsive groans

240 Intolerable. At length an awful wonder burst

From the hermaphroditic bosom: *Satan* he was named,

Son of perdition; terrible his form dishumanized, monstrous,

A male without a female counterpart, a howling fiend

Forlorn of Eden & repugnant to the forms of life,

245 Yet hiding the Shadowy Female Vala as in an ark & curtains,
Abhorred, accursed, ever dying an eternal death,

viii 227. Cp. the allusions to Mary, Martha and Lazarus (the sleeper awoken by Christ) in iv 246ff: B. here adopts the traditional identification of this Mary and Mary Magdalene (228).

viii 228. *John* xii 3: 'Mary . . . anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped his feet with her hair'; in *Luke* vii 37-8, a woman 'which was a sinner . . . began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head.'

viii 229. *ends*] i.e., *borders*. In the MS this line originally followed 191 without a space.

viii 233. *pity*] In *Experience*, B. often sees pity as a patronizing excuse for inaction (see 'The Human Abstract', p. 222); now he can use it more positively.

viii 234-5. Cp. *Revelation* xxii 20: 'Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.'

viii 237. *a hideous form*]. To be read literally; the war *is* Satan. An example of B.'s embodying the large spirit of an age, or an idea, or movement, or such a practice as war, that takes on a form and life of its own. It has a shadowy existence, but absorbs within itself the lives of all who fall, or place themselves, into its power.

viii 238. *aggregate*] A nearer view (247) shows 'multitudes'; a distant, 'aggregate' view shows one figure.

viii 241. Cp. *Milton* pl.14.37n. Satan is a fearsome male, inhabited and animated by the female spirit of evil Rahab.

viii 242. *Son*] B. wrote 'Sons' and altered it to 'Son'.

viii 243. Cp. vii 325.

Being multitudes of tyrant men in union blasphemous
 Against the divine image, congregated assemblies of wicked men.
 Los said to Enitharmon: 'Pitying I saw,
 250 Pitying the Lamb of God descended through Jerusalem's gates
 To put off Mystery time after time, & as a man
 Is born on earth so was he born of fair Jerusalem
 In mystery's woven mantle & in the robes of Luvah.'

He stood in fair Jerusalem, to awake up into Eden
 255 The fallen Man, but first to give his vegetated body
 To be cut off & separated that the spiritual body may be revealed.
 [109] The Lamb of God stood before Satan opposite
 In Entuthon Benithon, in the shadows of torments & woe,
 Upon the heights of Amalek; taking refuge in his arms
 260 The victims fled from punishment; for all his words were peace.

Urizen called together the Synagogue of Satan in dire
 Sanhedrim
 To judge the Lamb of God to death as a murderer & robber,
 As it is written: 'He was numbered among the transgressors'.

Cold, dark, opaque, the assembly met twelvefold in Amalek.
 265 Twelve rocky unshaped forms, terrific forms of torture & woe,
 Such seemed the Synagogue to distant view. Amidst them
 beamed
 A false feminine counterpart lovely, of delusive beauty,

viii 255. *give . . . body*] *1st rdg del.* 'rend the Veil of Mystery', followed by the deleted line: 'And then call Urizen & Luvah & Tharmas & Urthona.'

viii 257-318. An early draft of 257-66, 284-6a, 313-18 in one consecutive passage is found on a separate sheet known as p. 145. One inserted passage, 286b-312, is written into the main text of p. 109; the other lines (267-83) were added in the margin and are therefore the latest. On line 257, *Satan* replaces *Urizen* (p. 145).
 viii 259. *Amalek*] Enemies of Israel, as were Canaan and Moab (284). *1st rdg* (altd. on Ms. p. 145) *Entuthon*.

viii 261. Cp. 89 above and note.

viii 262. *robber*] As worse than Barabbas.

viii 263. From *Isaiah* liii 12, *Mark* xv 28, *Luke* xxii 37.

viii 266. *Amidst them beamed*] *1st rdg del.* around them stood; referring, at 284, to the Daughters of Amalek. The change was made to fit the following new passage, 267-83, a set piece written sideways in the margin.

viii 267. See 257n. *A false feminine counterpart*] RAHAB, the great Harlot of *Revelation* xvii 3-5 quoted in lines 329-30 and see Plate 10.

I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gems and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication. And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

- Dividing & uniting at will in the cruelties of holiness—
 Vala drawn down into a vegetated body now triumphant.
 270 The Synagogue of Satan clothed her with scarlet robes &
 gems,
 And on her forehead was her name written in blood: MYSTERY.
 When viewed remote she is one, when viewed near she divides
 To multitude (as it is in Eden so permitted, because
 It was the best possible in the State called Satan, to save
 275 From Death Eternal & to put off Satan eternally).
 The Synagogue created her from fruit of Urizen's tree
 By devilish arts abominable, unlawful, unutterable,
 Perpetually vegetating in detestable births
 Of female forms, beautiful through poisons hidden in secret,
 280 Which give a tincture to false beauty: then was hidden within
 The bosom of Satan the false Female, as in an ark & veil
 Which Christ must rend & her reveal. Her daughters are called
 Tirzah, she is named Rahab, their various divisions are called

In *Revelation* she is grotesque, but for B. she is 'feminine, most beautiful . . . soft flourishing in beauty . . . all love and all perfection' (*Jer.* 70.20-4). Rahab is irresistible, alluring but heartless, 'consuming lives of gods & men / In fires of beauty . . . O who can withstand her power?' (*Jer.* 70.27-30). She is no kindly prostitute, like the helpful Rahab of *Joshua* ii 1-22, vi 17-25, but glittering, sensual, cruel, powerful and power-loving, the great harlot-image of *Revelation*.

Unexpectedly, she is not an image of sexual corruption. The Harlot of *Revelation* is an image of the varied powers of the great city of Rome. B.'s Rahab is, repeatedly, 'Religion hid in War; a Dragon red and hidden Harlot'. She is often linked with the dragon Satan as his counterpart; hidden within him. For B., she is 'Mystery', a cruel institutionalized religion, falsely offering the sweets of Salvation, but requiring unattainable Moral Law as its price, and a self-righteous ally of war. In her false 'virginity' she is a harlot selling an appearance of virtue.

But Rahab is a 'delusive' State (see next note): an illusion, not a person, 'a covering', existing only in her victims' belief in her. When she attacks the Lamb of God she is 'revealed in all her turpitude' (332). Vala has fallen under her power, but Vala is an Eternal soul (273-5), who in Night ix returns to innocence; Rahab has vanished in smoke, as the illusion she is (ix 32, 66).

That B. had difficulty with the assertive female is plain. So is the power of the ruthless female over the male, and the evils which arise when it is turned to corrupt ends. Hence B.'s glamorous Rahab and Tirzah are often more to be feared and hated than the aggressive male figures, whether Urizen, Satan or the Covering Cherub, for one can see them coming.

See *Milton* pl.37.41-3; 38.15-27; 40.17-22; *Jer.* 75.20; 89.53; and esp. 70.17-31.
 viii 274. State] See *Jerusalem* 31.13n.

viii 280-3. there was hidden . . . called] An afterthought to this late addition (cp. 257n).

viii 283. TIRZAH is closely connected with Rahab, often as a kind of twin (e.g., *Jerusalem* pl.40.5, where they each represent six of the twelve Daughters of Albion),

- The daughters of Amalek, Canaan, & Moab, binding on the
stones
285 Their victims & with knives tormenting them, singing with tears
Over their victims. Hear ye the song of the females of Amalek:

‘O thou poor human form, O thou poor child of woe,
Why dost thou wander away from Tirzah? Why me compel
to bind thee?
If thou dost go away from me I shall consume upon the rocks.
290 These fibres of thine eyes that used to wander in distant
heavens
Away from me I have bound down with a hot iron;
These nostrils that expanded with delight in morning skies
I have bent downward with lead molten in my roaring furnaces;
My soul is seven furnaces, incessant roars the bellows
295 Upon my terribly flaming heart; the molten metal runs

but sometimes (line 284; *Milton* pl.19.54) as a daughter. In the Bible she was, first, one of the daughters of Zelophehad (*Numbers* xxvii 1–2) who were allowed to inherit their father’s goods, as he had no sons. Thus the law of male inheritance was changed for them – to B. a case of feminine insinuation. Secondly, and more important, the city of Tirzah was, as capital of the Northern Kingdom, rival of Jerusalem, the Holy City, in religious politics and in beauty (*Song of Songs*, vi 4: ‘Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem’). But as capital of the Northern Kingdom, she was rival to Jerusalem, the Holy City, in religious politics and in beauty. Tirzah becomes the false renegade, associated with heathen tribes, such as Amalek, Canaan and Moab (283–4).

Where Rahab is an alluring queen of Moral cruelty, Tirzah, queen of the mortal world, ‘mother of my mortal part’ (‘To Tirzah’ (p. 618), is a tormentor who binds man ‘upon the stems of Vegetation’ (309), with a passionate, selfish, insatiable devouring desire, torturing him and justifying her sadism for his own supposed good, ruthlessly crushing all his attempts to be free. She is the power of Nature that restricts humanity to a material existence which may be beautiful, but is a cruel torment to the free human spirit.

viii 284. *Amalek*] Added on p. 105. These were great enemies of Israel. *stones*] 1st *rdg*, p. 145, stones; 2nd *rdg*, p. 105, stems.

viii 286. *Hear ye . . .*] See 257–318n.

viii 287–309. This passage is not on p. 145 (see 257n). It appears to be drawn from the song of Tirzah in *Jerusalem* pls.67.43–68.9, where five and a half more lines are found. The short line 302 seems to be due to the omission of references not relevant to *Four Zoas*.

viii 288. *Why dost thou wander . . .*] See note on Tirzah, 267. Tirzah is the renegade religion, and Amalek, etc., are heathen tribes; the separated tribes are identified with the heathens, and are trying to force Man, in the form of Israel (hence the place-names) into apostasy. But to B. apostasy means refusal of the Divine Vision, and so Tirzah is shown (288, 298–9) as wishing to bind the free, imaginative, ‘wandering’ living form ‘on the stems of vegetation’ to this dead, law-bound material life.

- In channels through my fiery limbs: O love! O pity! O pain!
 O the pangs, the bitter pangs of love forsaken!
 Ephraim was a wilderness of joy where all my wild beasts ran;
 The river Kanah wandered by my sweet Manasseh's side—
- 300 'Go, Noah, fetch the girdle of strong brass: heat it red hot,
 Press it around the loins of this expanding cruelty—
 Shriek not so, my only love!
 Bind him down, sisters, bind him down on Ebal, mount of
 cursing.
 Mahlah, come forth from Lebanon, & Hoglah from Mount
 Sinai,
- 305 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 & Mount
 Gilead—
 Unless my beloved is bound upon the stems of Vegetation.'
- 310 Such are the songs of Tirzah, such the loves of Amalek.

viii 298. *Ephraim*] A tribe in central Palestine, south of Manasseh.

viii 299. *The river Kanah* flows into the sea, and is the boundary between Ephraim and the western part of Manasseh. Kanah, Manasseh, Ephraim, Shechem and Gilead all lay in the Northern Kingdom. Its fault, in Tirzah's eyes, is 'wandering'.

Manasseh] One of the tribes of Israel that settled beyond Jordan. B. often uses the name in *Milton* (e.g. pls.20.3 and 24.2-6), implying that it was a faithless tribe.

viii 299. Followed by deleted line: 'To see the boy spring into heaven sounding from my sight.'

viii 300. *Noah*] Not the patriarch, but a woman, one of the daughters of Zelophehad, with Milcah, Mahlah, Hoglah and Tirzah. See 267n.

viii 303. *Ebal*] A mountain in central Palestine. Cp. *Deuteronomy* xxvii 4-8: '... in mount Ebal ... shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them ... and thou shalt offer burnt offerings thereon unto the Lord thy God ... and thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly', and xxvii 12-13: 'These shall stand upon mount Gerizim to bless the people ... and these shall stand upon mount Ebal to curse; Reuben, Gad and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan and Naphtali.' There follows a series of twelve prohibitions, each beginning 'Cursed be he that ...'

viii 308. *Shechem* (now Nablus)] is a city to the west of Jordan opposite Gilead, and between Mounts Gerizim and Ebal, near the border of Manasseh and Ephraim. The Law was accepted there (*Joshua* viii 30) and the secession of the Northern Kingdom ratified there (1 *Kings* xii).

viii 310. *loves*] Ironically meant.

The Lamb of God descended through the twelve
portions of Luvah,
Bearing his sorrows and receiving all his cruel wounds.

- [110a] Thus was the Lamb of God condemned to death.
They nailed him upon the Tree of Mystery, weeping over him,
315 And then mocking & then worshipping, calling him 'Lord'
& 'King':

Sometimes as twelve daughters lovely, & sometimes as five
They stood in beaming beauty, & sometimes as one, even Rahab
Who is Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots.

- Jerusalem saw the body dead upon the cross; she fled away,
320 Saying: 'Is this Eternal Death? Where shall I hide from death?
Pity me, Los, pity me, Urizen; & let us build
A sepulchre & worship death in fear while yet we live—
Death, god of all, from whom we rise, to whom we all return!
And let all nations of the earth worship at the sepulchre
325 With gifts & spices, with lamps rich embossed, jewels & gold.'

Los took the body from the cross, Jerusalem weeping over;
They bore it to the sepulchre which Los had hewn in the rock
Of eternity for himself. He hewed it, despairing of Life Eternal.

- [105b] But when Rahab had cut off the mantle of Luvah from
330 The Lamb of God it rolled apart, revealing to all in heaven

viii 311. *the twelve portions*] Suggests the twelve tribes, equating Israel and Luvah, and both with mankind.

viii 313. This refers back to 262: 267–309 are an enlargement of 264.

viii 315. As in the crucifixion: *Matthew* xxvi 67–8, xxvii 36–44.

viii 316. *Sometimes as twelve*] The number of the Daughters of Albion in *Jerusalem* (and ii 267–73 above). *sometimes as five*] The daughters of Zelophehad (300–06).

viii 318. For one line added above, and ten below this line, see appendix, p. 480. In the MS, 402 follows: 319–28 are a marginal addition, and 329–401 are on two other leaves.

viii 319. B. continues the parallel with the Crucifixion narrative, with Los taking the part of Joseph of Arimathea and Jerusalem that of the women (*Matthew* xxvii 55–61). Like Christ's disciples, they mourn because they do not understand his sufferings. Cp. 572–5.

viii 321–2. Jerusalem's attitude is that of Christ's followers after the crucifixion, failing to understand. In this sense Jerusalem, as in the Bible, stands for 'God's people' collectively.

viii 329–44 (p. 105b). Another added passage (see 318*n*).

viii 330. As the veil of the Temple, which hid the Holy of Holies from the eyes of the people, tore at Christ's death (*Matthew* xxvii 51), so here a mystery is laid open – the true nature of Rahab.

- And all on earth the Temple & the Synagogue of Satan, and
 Mystery—
 Even Rahab in all her turpitude. Rahab divided herself.
 She stood before Los in her pride among the furnaces,
 Dividing & uniting in delusive feminine pomp,
 questioning him.
- 335 He answered her, with tenderness & love not uninspired;
 Los sat upon his anvil stock, they sat beside the forge;
 Los wiped the sweat from his red brow, & thus began
 To the delusive female forms shining among his furnaces:
- ‘I am that shadowy prophet who six thousand years ago
 340 Fell from my station in the eternal bosom. I divided
 To multitude, & my multitudes are children of care & labour.
 O Rahab, I behold thee. I was once like thee a son
 Of pride, and I also have pierced the Lamb of God in pride
 and wrath.
- Hear me repeat my generations, that thou mayst also repent.
- [107] And these are the sons of Los & Enitharmon: Rintrah,
 Palamabron,
 346 Theotormon, Bromion, Antamon, Ananton, Ozoth, Ohana,
 Sotha, Mydon, Ellayol, Natho, Gon, Harhath, Satan,
 Har, Ochim, Ijim; Adam; Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah,
 Dan, Naphtali,
 Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun, Joseph, Benjamin; David,
 Solomon;
- 350 Paul, Constantine, Charlemagne, Luther, Milton.
 These are our daughters: Ocalythron, Elynittria, Oothoon,
 Leutha,

viii 339–40. So in *Milton* pl.22.15–16.

viii 345–95 (p. 107). This is another added passage, used as a continuation of the addition 329–44, but perhaps once intended for another purpose; several third person pronouns have been changed to the first person; and see 367*n*.

viii 345–53. Of the thirty-eight sons named, the first four are named in *Milton* pl.24.11–12 as Los’s sons, as are Antamon, Ozoth and Sotha in *Milton* pl.28.13, 21, 29. Har and Ijim belong to *Tiriel*, written but not engraved many years before. Besides Satan and Adam, the twelve biblical names – from Reuben to Benjamin – are the sons of Israel, also called sons of Los; some appear in *Milton* pl.24, and all in *Jerusalem* pl.16.35–60. Paul to Luther are among the corrupt ‘Churches’ in *Milton* pl.37.41. The other seven, Ananton, Ohana, and Mydon to Harhath, seem to have been invented to fill out the list.

viii 351. Of the eighteen daughters, six of the first eight (not Elythiria and Enanto) occur in *Europe*, and seem here to be merely re-used names, though the first four are also found in *Milton* pls.10.14–19, 13.36–44; Moab and Midian were unfriendly neighbours of Israel; the remainder are names of biblical women; cp. also *Jerusalem* pl.62.8–12*n*. Only Mary is important. B. may mean Magdalene, the prostitute, to parallel Rahab ‘the Canaanitess’; but he may mean the mother of Jesus, who wanted to hold him back – cp. ‘To Tirzah’ (p. 618).

- Elythiria, Enanto, Manathu-Vorcyon, Ethinthus; Moab,
 Midian;
 Adah, Zillah, Caina, Naamah, Tamar, Rahab, Tirzah, Mary;
 And myriads more of sons & daughters to whom our love
 increased,
 355 To each according to the multiplication of their multitudes.
 But Satan accused Palamabron before his brethren; also he
 maddened
 The horses of Palamabron's harrow, wherefore Rintrah and
 Palamabron
 Cut him off from Golgonooza. But Enitharmon in tears
 Wept over him, Created him a Space closed with a tender
 moon,
 360 And he rolled down beneath the fires of Orc, a globe immense,
 Crusted with snow in a dim void. Here by the arts of Urizen
 He tempted many of the sons & daughters of Los to flee
 Away from me. First Reuben fled, then Simeon, then Levi,
 then Judah,
 Then Dan, then Naphtali, then Gad, then Asher, then
 Issachar,
 365 Then Zebulun, then Joseph, then Benjamin, twelve sons of
 Los—
 And this is the manner in which Satan became the tempter.
 "There is a State named Satan—learn distinct to know,
 O Rahab,
 The difference between States, & Individuals of those states.
 The State named Satan never can be redeemed in all eternity;
 370 But when Luvah in Orc became a serpent he descended into
 That State called Satan. Enitharmon breathed forth on the winds
 Of Golgonooza her well-beloved, knowing he was Orc's
 human remains.

viii 356–9. B. uses the Bard's story, from *Milton* pls.7–9, to tell how his children were corrupted. See also 366–84 below. In that story, Satan, brother to Rintrah and Palamabron, starts a quarrel which results in his own separation from heaven.

viii 359. *created him a space*] See *Milton* 8.43n, 13.12–13.

viii 361–6. In *Milton* pls.23.61–24.4 Los says that some of his sons have left him, but does not directly blame Satan there.

viii 367. *Rahab*] 1st rdg del. Mortals: a piece of tinkering to make the passage fit the confrontation of Los and Rahab.

viii 367–9. Cp. *Milton* pl.32.22, and note below.

viii 370. B. is trying here to assimilate the Bard's mythology from *Milton* to that of *The Four Zoas*. In *Milton* Satan is fallen, hidden away in 'a space' by Enitharmon so that his condition will not worsen (cp. also the fate of Tharmas in i 78–92). B. now says that the corruption of Orc into a serpent (vii) is another case of the same fall, using the tradition which equates the *Genesis* serpent with Satan. See note on STATES, *Milton* pl.32.22n, p. 577.

- She tenderly loved him above all his brethren; he grew up
 In mother's tenderness. The enormous worlds rolling in
 Urizen's power
- 375 Must have given Satan, by these mild arts, dominion over all;
 Wherefore Palamabron, being accused by Satan to Los,
 Called down a Great Solemn Assembly. Rintrah in fury & fire
 Defended Palamabron, & rage filled the universal tent.
 Because Palamabron was good-natured, Satan supposed he
 feared him,
- 380 And Satan not having the science of wrath but only of pity
 Was soon condemned, & wrath was left to wrath, & pity to
 pity.
 Rintrah & Palamabron cut sheer off from Golgonooza
 Enitharmon's moony space, & in it Satan & his
 companions.
 They rolled down, a dim world crusted with snow, deadly &
 dark.
- 385 Jerusalem, pitying them, wove them mantles of life & death
 Times after times. And those in Eden sent Lucifer for their guard.
 Lucifer refused to die for Satan & in pride he forsook his charge.
 Then they sent Molech; Molech was impatient. They sent
 Molech impatient, they sent Elohim, who created Adam
- 390 To die for Satan. Adam refused but was compelled to die
 By Satan's arts. Then the eternal sent Shaddai;
 Shaddai was angry. Pachad descended; Pachad was terrified.
 And then they sent Jehovah, who leprous stretched his hand
 to eternity.
 Then Jesus came, & died willing beneath Tirzah & Rahab.
- 395 Thou art that Rahab: lo, the tomb! what can we purpose more?

[108]

[*Drawing*]

'Lo! Enitharmon terrible & beautiful in eternal youth—
 Bow down before her, you her children, & set Jerusalem free!
 Rahab, burning with pride & revenge, departed from Los.
 Los dropped a tear at her departure, but he wiped it away in
 hope.

viii 376. *Palamabron*] 1st *rdg del.* Rintrah and Palamabron. The alteration agrees with *Milton* pls.7–9.

viii 376–94. These lines follow quite closely but much more briefly the narrative of *Milton* pls.8.46–9.45 and 13.17–27. See notes there.

viii 385. Satan in his restricted globe becomes our material world, watched by the Seven, for whom see *Milton* pl.14.42n.

viii. *Drawing*. Covering virtually the whole page, Christ, walking, with outspread arms.

- 400 She went to Urizen in pride; the Prince of Light beheld
Revealed before the face of heaven his secret holiness.
- [110b] Darkness & sorrow covered all flesh; Eternity was darkened.
Urizen sitting in his web of deceitful religion
Felt the female death, a dull & numbing stupor such as ne'er
405 Before assaulted the bright human form. He felt his pores
Drink in the deadly dull delusion. Horrors of Eternal death
Shot through him. Urizen sat stonied upon his rock;
Forgetful of his own laws, pitying he began to embrace
The Shadowy Female. Since life cannot be quenched, life
exuded:
- 410 His eyes shot outwards, then his breathing nostrils drawn forth,
Scales covered over a cold forehead & a neck outstretched
Into the deep to seize the shadow; scales his neck & bosom
Covered, & scales his hands & feet, upon his belly falling
Outstretched through the immense, his mouth wide opening
tongueless,
- 415 His teeth a triple row, he strove to seize the shadow in vain,
And his immense tail lashed the abyss, his human form a stone,
A form of senseless stone remained in terrors on the rock,
Abominable to the eyes of mortals who explore his books.
His wisdom still remained & all his memory, stored with woe:
- 420 And still his stony form remained in the abyss immense,
Like the pale visage in its sheet of lead that cannot follow.
Incessant stern disdain his scaly form gnaws inwardly,
With deep repentance for the loss of that fair form of man.
With envy he saw Los, with envy Tharmas, & the spectre
425 With envy, & in vain he swam around. His stony form
No longer now erect, the King of Light outstretched in fury

viii 402. After the additions (cp. 318*n*, 320*n*) we return to Urizen, caught as at 171–3 by Vala in his own net of false religion.

viii 404. He is the first to feel it: in 454–7 it spreads to Tharmas and Los.

viii 407. *stonied*] Not ‘astonished’ but ‘turned to stone’. See 420.

viii 411. Urizen’s scales, fang-like teeth, and (426) his fall ‘outstretched’ recall B.’s early use of the image of Nebuchadnezzar (e.g. in the design on pl.24 of *Marriage*). Cp. also Leviathan in *Job* 41.

viii 416–7. Perhaps B. was thinking of a fossil skeleton.

viii 424. *the spectre*] 1st *rdg del.* Urthona – a correction to remind us that the real Urthona is not yet redeemed.

viii 425–6. In the MS there is a narrow but uncertain space here. But the syntax seems to require that ‘his stony form . . . erect’ should be read as one phrase, for there seems to be no sense in ‘he swam around his stony form’. B. has no punctuation of any sort.

- Lashes his tail in the wild deep; his eyelids like the sun
 Arising in his pride enlighten all the grisly deeps;
 His scales transparent give forth light like windows of the
 morning;
- 430 His neck flames with wrath & majesty; he lashes the abyss,
 Beating the deserts & the rocks; the deserts feel his power,
 They shake their slumbers off, they wave in awful fear,
 Calling the lion & the tiger, the horse & the wild stag,
- [III] The elephant, the wolf, the bear, the lamia, the satyr.
- 435 His eyelids give their light around, his folding tail aspires
 Among the stars, the earth & all the abysses feel his fury.
 When as the snow covers the mountain, oft petrific hardness
 Covers the deeps, at his vast fury moaning in his rock,
 Hardens the lion & the bear trembling in the solid mountain:
- 440 They view the light, & wonder, crying out in terrible existence
 (Up bound the wild stag & the horse) 'Behold the king of pride!'
- Off doth his eye emerge from the abyss into the realms
 Of his eternal day, & memory strives to augment his
 ruthfulness;
 Then weeping he descends in wrath, drawing all things in his
 fury
- 445 Into obedience to his will, & now he finds in vain
 That not of his own power he bore the human form erect,
 Nor of his own will gave his laws in times of everlasting.
 For now fierce Orc in wrath & fury rises into the heavens,
 A king of wrath & fury, a dark enraged horror,
- 450 And Urizen repentant forgets his wisdom in the abyss,
 In forms of priesthood, in the dark delusions of repentance,
 Repining in his heart & spirit that Orc reigned over all,
 And that his wisdom served but to augment the indefinite lust.
- Then Tharmas & Urthona felt the stony stupor rise
- 455 Into their limbs. Urthona shot forth a vast fibrous form;
 Tharmas like a pillar of sand rolled round by the whirlwind,
 An animated pillar rolling round & round in incessant rage.
- Los felt the stony stupor, & his head rolled down beneath
 Into the abysses of his bosom; the vessels of his blood
- 460 Dart forth upon the wind in pipes writhing about in the abyss,
 And Enitharmon, pale & cold, in milky juices flowed

viii 434. *lamia*] 'Monsters of Africa, who had the face and breast of a woman, and the rest of the body like that of a serpent. They allured strangers' [esp. young children] '... to devour them' (Lemprière).

viii 446-8. The 'will' and 'power' were the Man's, not Orc's.

viii 458. This is the early form of Los, not the inspired Los of the late additions (e.g. 15-33, 336ff). As Urthona he also feels 'the stony stupor' (454-5).

- Into a form of vegetation, living, having a voice
 Moving in rootlike fibres, trembling in fear upon the earth.
 And Tharmas gave his power to Los, Urthona gave his
 strength
- 465 Into the youthful prophet for the love of Enitharmon,
 And of the nameless Shadowy Female in the nether deep,
 And for the dread of the dark terrors of Orc & Urizen.
- Thus in a living death the nameless shadow all things bound.
 All mortal things made permanent that they may be put off
- 470 Time after time by the Divine Lamb who died for all,
 And all in him died, & he put off all mortality.
- [112] Tharmas on high rode furious through the afflicted worlds,
 Pursuing the vain shadow of hope, fleeing from identity
 In abstract false expanses, that he may not hear the voice
- 475 Of Ahania wailing on the winds. In vain he flies, for still
 The voice incessant calls on all the children of men:
 For she spoke of all in heaven; & all upon the earth
 Saw not as yet the Divine Vision. Her eyes are toward Urizen,
 And thus Ahania cries aloud to the caverns of the grave:
- 480 'Will you keep a flock of wolves & lead them? Will you take
 the wintry blast
 For a covering to your limbs, or the summer pestilence for a
 tent to abide in?
 Will you erect a lasting habitation in the mouldering
 churchyard,
 Or a pillar & palace of eternity in the jaws of the hungry grave?
 Will you seek pleasure from the festering wound, or marry
 for a wife
- 485 The ancient leprosy, that the king & priest may still feast on
 your decay,
 And the grave mock & laugh at the ploughed field, saying:

viii 464-7. This may be an adjustment, to permit all the Zoas in the first story to be overwhelmed, and yet permit the redeemed Los and Enitharmon of the new story to operate. But it is not an addition to the MS.

viii 468. As in the later additions Rahab triumphs at the crucifixion (311-8), so here the earlier narrative reaches its climax in the triumph of Vala.

viii 469-71. An addition to the MS, glossing the earlier, more complete, statement of disaster. The 'permanence' is 'a living death' because it is incapable of change, adaptation, or any living movement.

viii 472. Tharmas's 'stupor' in the previous lines does not prevent B. inserting another image of his wretchedness. Note that a new page begins here.

viii 474. *abstract false expanses*] Three words indicating B.'s distaste for formlessness and indefiniteness, and the falseness of Tharmas's pity now.

viii 480-3. Cp. *Visions* 211, 152-3.

viii 486. Cp. *Song of Los (Asia)* 59-64.

- "I am the nourisher, thou the destroyer: in my bosom is
 milk and wine
 And a fountain from my breasts: to me come all multitudes,
 To my breath: they obey, they worship me: I am a goddess
 and queen."
- 490 But listen to Ahania, O ye sons of the murdered one:
 Listen to her whose memory beholds your ancient days;
 Listen to her whose eyes behold the dark body of corruptible
 death,
 Looking for Urizen in vain. In vain I seek for morning:
 The Eternal Man sleeps in the earth, nor feels the vigorous sun,
 495 Nor silent moon, nor all the hosts of heaven move in his body.
 His fiery halls are dark, & round his limbs the serpent Orc
 Fold without fold encompasses him, and his corrupting
 members
 Vomit out the scaly monsters of the restless deep;
 They come up in the rivers & annoy the nether parts
 500 Of Man who lays upon the shores, leaning his faded head
 Upon the oozy rock, enwrapped with the weeds of death.
 His eyes sink hollow in his head, his flesh covered with slime
 And shrunk up to the bones. Alas! that Man should come to
 this:
 His strong bones beat with snows & hid within the caves of
 night
 505 Marrowless, bloodless, falling into dust, driven by the winds.
 Oh, how the horrors of eternal death take hold on Man!
 His faint groans shake the caves & issue through the desolate
 rocks.
- [113] And the strong eagle now with numbing cold, blighted of
 feathers,
 Once like the pride of the sun, now flagging in cold night,
 510 Hovers with blasted wings aloft, watching with eager eye
 Till Man shall leave a corruptible body. He famished hears
 him groan,
 And now he fixes his strong talons in the pointed rock,
 And now he beats the heavy air with his enormous wings.
 Beside him lies the lion dead, & in his belly worms
 515 Feast on his death, till universal death devours all,
 And the pale horse seeks for the pool to lie him down & die—
 But finds the pools filled with serpents devouring one another.
 He droops his head & trembling stands, & his bright eyes decay.
 These are the visions of my eyes, the visions of Ahania'.

viii 490. *the murdered one*] i.e. the Man (494).

viii 500-4. There is a similar passage in *Jerusalem* pl.94.1-11.

viii 511. *corruptible body*] B. looks forward to the Man's spiritual resurrection in this phrase from *1 Corinthians* xv 40-54.

- 520 Thus cries Ahania. Enion replies from the caverns of the grave:
 'Fear not, O poor forsaken one! O land of briars & thorns,
 Where once the olive flourished, & the cedar spread his wings!
 Once I wailed desolate like thee; my fallow fields in fear
 Cried to the churchyards, & the earthworm came in dismal state.
 525 I found him in my bosom, & I said, "The time of love
 Appears upon the rocks & hills in silent shades", but soon
 A voice came in the night, a midnight cry upon the mountains:
Awake! the bridegroom cometh! I awoke to sleep no more.
 But an eternal consummation is dark Enion,
 530 The watery grave. O thou cornfield, O thou vegetater happy,
 More happy is the dark consumer: hope drowns all my torment.
 For I am now surrounded by a shadowy vortex, drawing
 The spectre quite away from Enion, that I die a death
 Of bitter hope, although I consume in these raging waters.
 535 The furrowed field replies to the grave; I hear her reply to me:
 "Behold! the time approaches fast that thou shalt be as a thing
 Forgotten; when one speaks of thee he will not be believed.
 When the Man gently fades away in his immortality,
 When the mortal disappears in improved knowledge, cast away
 540 The former things, so shall the mortal gently fade away,
 And so become invisible to those who still remain."
 Listen: I will tell thee what is done in the caverns of the grave:
 [114] The Lamb of God has rent the veil of Mystery, soon to return
 In clouds & fires around the rock & the mysterious tree.
 545 As the seed waits eagerly, watching for its flower & fruit,
 Anxious, its little soul looks out into the clear expanse
 To see if hungry winds are abroad with their invisible army;
 So Man looks out in tree & herb & fish & bird & beast,
 Collecting up the scattered portions of his immortal body
 550 Into the elemental forms of every thing that grows.
 He tries the sullen north wind riding on its angry furrows;
 The sultry south when the sun rises, & the angry east
 When the sun sets, when the clods harden & the cattle stand
 Drooping, & the birds hide in their silent nests. He stores
 his thoughts
 555 As in a storehouse, in his memory he regulates the forms
 Of all beneath & all above, & in the gentle west

viii 528. *Awake! the bridegroom cometh*] From *Matthew* xxv 6 (which reads 'Behold', not 'Awake'), the parable of the wise and foolish virgins.

viii 529-30, i.e. 'Enion, who was dark, a watery grave, is now burnt up and revived by hope'.

viii 543. Cp. 329-34.

viii 548. Man's modern study of his natural surroundings, and his journeys over the earth (551ff) are signs that his sense of wonder and his imagination are awake.

Reposes where the sun's heat dwells. He rises to the sun,
 And to the planets of the night, & to the stars that gild
 The zodiac, & the stars that sullen stand to north & south.
 560 He touches the remotest pole & in the centre weeps,
 That Man should labour & sorrow & learn & forget & return
 To the dark valley whence he came, to begin his labours anew.
 In pain he sighs; in pain he labours in his universe,
 Screaming in birds over the deep, & howling in the wolf
 565 Over the slain, & moaning in the cattle, & in the winds,
 And weeping over Orc & Urizen in clouds & flaming fires;
 And in the cries of birth & in the groans of death his voice
 Is heard throughout the universe: wherever a grass grows
 Or a leaf buds the Eternal Man is seen, is heard, is felt,
 570 And all his sorrows, till he reassumes his ancient bliss.'

Such are the words of Ahania & Enion. Los hears & weeps.
 And Los & Enitharmon took the body of the Lamb
 Down from the cross & placed it in a sepulchre, which Los
 had hewn
 For himself in the Rock of Eternity, trembling & in despair.
 575 Jerusalem wept over the sepulchre two thousand years.

[115] Rahab triumphs over all: she took Jerusalem
 Captive, a willing captive, by delusive arts impelled
 To worship Urizen's dragon form, to offer her own children
 Upon the bloody altar. John saw these things revealed in heaven
 580 On Patmos Isle, & heard the souls cry out to be delivered;
 He saw the harlot of the kings of earth, & saw her cup
 Of fornication, food of Orc & Satan, pressed from the fruit
 of Mystery.
 But when she saw the form of Ahania weeping on the void
 And heard Enion's voice sound from the caverns of the grave
 585 No more spirit remained in her. She secretly left the
 Synagogue of Satan;

viii 566. *Flaming*] 1st *rdg del.* dismal – cp. iv 44 for a series of similar changes from *dismal*.

viii 571. Followed by eight deleted lines: see appendix, p. 480 below. Lines 2–3 of these are written over an erased 'The End of the Eighth Night'; 571 is interpolated; this 'End' was probably 570.

viii 572–5. Cp. 326–8.

viii 579–82. The references to *Revelation* are to vi 9–16: 'I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God . . . And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? . . . and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season . . .' And for the harlot, *Revelation* xvii 3–5, see 267*n*.

viii 585. *She*] Rahab. Cp. the Queen of Sheba's reaction to the sight of Solomon's grandeur (1 *Kings* x 5): 'There was no more spirit in her.'

She communed with Orc in secret, she hid him with the flax
 That Enitharmon had numbered away from the heavens,
 She gathered it together to consume her harlot robes
 In bitterest contrition, sometimes self-condemning repentant,
 590 And sometimes kissing her robes & jewels & weeping over them;
 Sometimes returning to the Synagogue of Satan in pride,
 And sometimes weeping before Orc in humility & trembling.
 The Synagogue of Satan therefore uniting against Mystery,
 Satan divided against Satan, resolved in open sanhedrim.
 595 To burn Mystery with fire & form another from her ashes:
 For God put it into their heart to fulfil all his will.

The ashes of Mystery began to animate. They called it Deism
 And Natural Religion. As of old, so now anew began
 Babylon, again in infancy, called Natural Religion.

[114b] *End of The Eighth Night*

[116] [Full-page drawing]

Night the Ninth

The Ninth Night relates the complete redemption of the Eternal Man. B. bases the Night largely on *Revelation*, and its apocalyptic narrations of the coming of the heavenly city. The first eighty-eight lines, in which Los begins the Last Judgment, are later than the rest, 1–13 being latest of all. Los does not directly bring in the new day; on the contrary, confusion increases, but out of the chaotic movement some order can finally come. The Eternal Man, sick and asleep on his rock (93), feels the ‘war within his members’ (97) and, faint though he is, rouses himself to call for Urizen, the Prince of Light, to whom he had handed his authority at the beginning of Night ii when he first lay down to sleep.

viii 586. In *Joshua* ii 6, Rahab of Jericho, the harlot, to save the two Jewish spies ‘had brought them up to the roof of the house, and hid them with the stalks of flax, which she had laid in order upon the roof’.

viii 587. *heavens*] See *Milton* 37.35n.

viii 593–9. B. allegorizes the replacing of older false religion, with its emphasis on mysterious revelation, by the new false religion of deism, the intellectually popular ‘rationalized’ religion of the eighteenth century. The climax of deism was the cult of the Supreme Being set up under Robespierre (*PAE* 418–19).

viii 597–9. An addition, an explanatory afterthought.

viii page 116. A drawing of a distracted woman, restrained by a man (both nude): probably Los and Enitharmon from Night v, from which this page may have been displaced (perhaps as frontispiece). Its presence in viii seems accidental, due only to B.’s use of the other side for the additional lines 576–599.

The first part of the salvation of Man is thus the regeneration of Urizen, who had been trapped in a stony dragon form since viii 407. Urizen is afraid and reluctant, but the Man commands him and he dares not disobey. He is now renewed as a young man 'glorious bright exulting in his joy' (189), no longer an aged tyrant. The Man shows him the future, and the restoration to him of Ahania, and he confesses his past errors (223). At this 'the bursting universe explodes' (228), the dead rise, and pay off old scores in a scene of riot and revenge (233–275) reminiscent of the Gordon riots of 1780 (which Blake had seen) and the worst days of the French revolutionary mob. Suddenly a divine light shines on the scene as the Man sees Christ descending from heaven (270–2) – at the moment when a prisoner revenges himself on an unjust judge (273–5). The terror fades away, and the Man rises to meet the vision (284). But he may not; he is not yet pure, and the second stage of the judgment, which now begins, must be passed through before the Man is fully redeemed.

The rest of the Night is filled with the harvest and vintage of souls. All human souls are seed to be sown, reaped, the corn thrashed and the grapes crushed so that the Bread and Wine of Ages can be made. This is more an imaginative than an allegorical conception. The farming year begins as Urizen ploughs and sows. As he rests and the seed grows, the poem turns to the redemption of Luvah and Vala in summer-time. Orc, now only the inferior form of Luvah, is burnt away and consumed (355), and Luvah and Vala are temporarily dismissed from Eternity. In an idyllic interlude we read of Vala's new childhood (372ff), and then of her care for the newly growing Tharmas and Enion (487ff).

At harvest-time, Urizen brings in the corn (576ff); then, after a harvest feast (584ff), he thrashes the corn. The chaff – the hosts of Mystery, the effects of his own evil-doing in the earlier part of the poem – is blown away over the sea. Now Luvah, renewed, turns to the vintage. In the terrible passage which follows, the purgatorial sufferings of the souls are seen, as evil is crushed out of them in the winepress. What remains is their true essence; and the wine and bread are made (803–17) as autumn gives way to winter. Man is himself renewed, and again free in the beautiful and infinite universe, as he had been before his long sleep on the cold rock.

The genuine elements of allegory in this Night are worth distinguishing. Urizen represents reason and the reasoning powers of man, first in 162–85, where he regrets all his organizing activities – building, commerce, industry – since he has looked too carefully at the future and, in trying to control it, has destroyed the pleasures of man: and second, in his relations with Luvah. The Man makes him the

master of Luvah; that is to say, the passions must be controlled by sense and reason. Urthona in a similar manner is the intuitive and creative power of imagination, and Tharmas, the spirit of care and tenderness. Yet the whole Night cannot be interpreted in these terms, and it is an impoverishment of the imagination to attempt to do so. The conceptions of the harvest and the vintage of souls, of the bread and wine, of the growing year from spring to winter, are a kind of poetry not to be consciously interpreted by abstract equivalents. That would be to lay one's head upon the rock.

The significant figures in this Night are the Man, his Zoas and their emanations; the Night is fairly unmarked by alterations, and the later accumulations, in particular Satan and Rahab, so powerful in viii, are unimportant after the added opening passage.

[117]

NIGHT THE NINTH

being the Last Judgment

- And Los & Enitharmon builded Jerusalem, weeping
 Over the sepulchre & over the crucified body,
 Which to their phantom eyes appeared still in the sepulchre.
 But Jesus stood beside them in the spirit separating
 5 Their spirit from their body. Terrified at non-existence—
 For such they deemed the death of the body—Los his
 vegetable hands
 Outstretched: his right hand branching out in fibrous
 strength
 Seized the sun; his left hand like dark roots covered the
 moon,
 And tore them down, cracking the heavens across from
 immense to immense.
 10 Then fell the fires of Eternity with loud & shrill
 Sound of loud trumpet, thundering along from heaven to
 heaven,
 A mighty sound articulate: 'Awake, ye dead, & come
 To judgment from the four winds! Awake & come away!'

ix 1. This refers back to their despair in viii 572-4. Los builds Golgonooza; his building Jerusalem is unusual, although B. treats her, biblically, as a city (e.g. i 240, viii 250-4).

ix 7. Cp. *Matthew* xxiv 29-31: 'The sun [shall] be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven . . . and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn . . . and [the Son of Man] shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet.'

ix 12. *articulate*] A 'good' word, implying true creative organization.

- Folding like scrolls of the enormous volume of heaven & earth,
- 15 With thunderous noise & dreadful shakings, rocking to & fro
The heavens are shaken & the earth removed from its place,
The foundations of the eternal hills discovered.
The thrones of kings are shaken; they have lost their robes and crowns.
The poor smite their oppressors, they awake up to the harvest;
- 20 The naked warriors rush together down to the sea-shore
Trembling before the multitudes of slaves now set at liberty;
They are become like wintry flocks, like forests stripped of leaves.
The oppressed pursue like the wind; there is no room for escape.
- The Spectre of Enitharmon let loose on the troubled deep
- 25 Wailed shrill in the confusion, & the Spectre of Urthona
[118] Received her in the darkening south. Their bodies lost, they stood
Trembling & weak—a faint embrace, a fierce desire, as when
Two shadows mingle on a wall. They wail & shadowy tears
Fell down & shadowy forms of joy mixed with despair & grief,
- 30 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.
- The books of Urizen unroll with dreadful noise; the folding serpent
Of Orc began to consume in fierce raving fire; his fierce flames
- 35 Issued on all sides gathering strength, in animating volumes,
Roaring abroad on all the winds, raging intense, reddening
Into resistless pillars of fire, rolling round & round, gathering
Strength from the earths consumed & heavens & all hidden abysses,

ix 14. Cp. *Revelation* vi 14–15: 'The heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together, and every mountain and island were moved out of their places. And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men . . . hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains.'

ix 24. *The Spectre of Enitharmon*] Her shadow, forgotten since vii 322–7. The spectre of a female emanation or counterpart is unusual, but B. has grown used to Enitharmon as a personality in herself – understandably, in view of her partial origin in Catherine Blake.

ix 28. This is surely from direct observation, suggesting one source of B.'s notion of the 'shadowy spectre'.

ix 32. An added line. Except in 66–9, and especially 654–66, Rahab – after her great invasion of Night viii – plays very little part in ix.

consummation] In B., burning, like a phoenix, in regenerative fire.

ix 37. *resistless*] irresistible.

- Wherever the eagle has explored or lion or tiger trod,
 40 Or where the comets of the night or stars of astitial day
 Have shot their arrows or long-beamed spears in wrath & fury.
 And all the while the trumpet sounds. From the clotted gore
 and from the hollow den
 Start forth the trembling millions into flames of mental fire,
 Bathing their limbs in the bright visions of eternity.
 45 Then like the doves from pillars of smoke, the trembling families
 Of women & children throughout every nation under heaven
 Cling round the men, in bands of twenties & of fifties, pale
 As snow that falls around a leafless tree upon the green.
 Their oppressors are fallen, they have stricken them: they
 awake to life.
 50 Yet pale the just man stands erect & looking up to heaven.
 Trembling & stricken by the universal stroke the trees unroot,
 The rocks groan horrible & run about. The mountains and
 Their rivers cry with a dismal cry; the cattle gather together,
 Lowing they kneel before the heavens; the wild beasts of the
 forests
 55 Tremble, the lion shuddering asks the leopard: 'Feelest thou
 The dread I feel, unknown before? My voice refuses to roar,
 And in weak moans I speak to thee. This night
 Before the morning's dawn the eagle called the vulture,
 The raven called the hawk; I heard them from my forests black
 60 Saying, "Let us go up far, for soon I smell upon the wind
 A terror coming from the south." The eagle & hawk fled away
 At dawn, & ere the sun arose the raven & vulture followed.
 Let us flee also the north!' They fled. The sons of men
 Saw them depart in dismal droves. The trumpet sounded loud,
 65 And all the sons of Eternity descended into Beulah.
 [119] In the fierce flames the limbs of Mystery lay consuming with
 howling
 And deep despair. Rattling go up the flames around the
 Synagogue

ix 40. *asterial*] 1st *rdg del.* eternal. This is *not* the eternal world.

ix 42. *sounds*] Followed by a deletion: 'Awake ye dead and come / To judgement'.

ix 43-4. B.'s vision of the longed-for day when everyone on earth will be able to see with a visionary eye.

ix 61. *terror . . . from the south*] Orc, bound there by Urizen.

ix 65. *the sons . . . descended* from Eternity, to be ready in Beulah, the frontier between heaven and earth.

ix 66-80. Written over the erased title *Vala / Night the Ninth / Being / The Last Judgement*. Thus the previous pages, as well as these lines, are an addition: since 81-8 are in the margin, the Night originally began at 89. Lines 66-88 seem, by their substance, to be later than 1-65 (MS pp. 117-18) and of the same period as the added 32.

- Of Satan. Loud the serpent Orc raged through his twenty-seven
Folds. The Tree of Mystery went up in folding flames;
70 Blood issued out in mighty volumes, pouring in whirlpools fierce
From out the flood-gates of the sky. The gates are burst;
down pour
The torrents, black upon the earth; the blood pours down
incessant.
Kings in their palaces lie drowned; shepherds, their flocks,
their tents
Roll down the mountains in black torrents—cities, villages,
75 High spires & castles, drowned in the black deluge. Shoal on
shoal
Float the dead carcasses of men & beasts driven to & fro on
waves
Of foaming blood, beneath the black incessant sky, till all
Mystery's tyrants are cut off & not one left on earth.
And when all tyranny was cut off from the face of earth,
80 Around the dragon form of Urizen & round his stony form,
The flames rolling intense through the wide universe
Began to enter the holy city. Entering, the dismal clouds
In furrowed lightnings break their way, the wild flames
licking up
The bloody deluge, living flames winged with intellect
85 And reason; round the earth they march in order, flame by flame.
From the clotted gore & from the hollow den
Start forth the trembling millions into flames of mental fire
Bathing their limbs in the bright visions of Eternity.
-
- Beyond this universal confusion, beyond the remotest pole
90 Where their vortexes begin to operate, there stands
A horrible rock far in the south. It was forsaken when

ix 68. *twenty-seven*] This is the cube of the 'imperfect' three, and one short of the perfect fourfold seven – cp. *Jerusalem* pl.35.13: 'He is the twenty-eighth, and is fourfold.' See also i 169*n* and *Milton* pl.37.35*n*.

ix 80. Urizen fell into dragon form in viii 410 off, though 'still his stony form remained' (420): in vii 75–6 he is described by Orc as 'closed up / In that transparent rock'.

ix 82. *Began . . . holy city*] 1st *rdg del.* Began to draw near to the Earth.

ix 83. *licking*] A doubtful reading.

ix 86–8. Repeated from 42–4, for no clear reason.

ix 89. *Beyond*] 1st *rdg del.* Without. The Night first began here (see 66*n*): this line refers back to the chaos of viii 468.

ix 90. *their vortexes . . . operate*] *Their* probably means 'the Zoas'; the vortex is an organized system (cp. *Milton* pl.15.22*n*) in the universe, and the sense of this obscure line is then 'beyond the furthest boundary of the universe influenced by the Zoas'.

ix 91. The south should have been Urizen's (vi 266ff, especially 277–8).

- Urizen gave the horses of light into the hands of Luvah.
 On this rock lay the faded head of the Eternal Man,
 Enwrapped round with weeds of death, pale, cold, in sorrow
 and woe,
- 95 He lifts the blue lamps of his eyes & cries with heavenly voice,
 Bowing his head over the consuming universe he cried:
- ‘O weakness & O weariness! O war within my members!
 My sons exiled from my breast pass to & fro before me,
 My birds are silent on my hills, flocks die beneath my branches;
- 100 My tents are fallen, my trumpets & the sweet sounds of my
 harp
 Is silent on my clouded hills, that belch forth storms & fires!
 My milk of cows, & honey of bees, & fruit of golden harvest,
 Are gathered in the scorching heat, & in the driving rain;
 My robe is turned to confusion, & my bright gold to stones.
- 105 Where once I sat I weary walk, in misery & pain;
 For from within my withered breast grown narrow with my woes
 The corn is turned to thistles, & the apples into poison,
 The birds of song to murderous crows, my joys to bitter
 groans,
- [120] The voices of children in my tents to cries of helpless infants.
 110 And all exiled from the face of light & shine of morning,
 In this dark world, a narrow house, I wander up & down.
 I hear Mystery howling in these flames of consummation.
 When shall the Man of future times become as in days of old?
 O weary life; why sit I here & give up all my powers
- 115 To indolence, to the night of death, when indolence &
 mourning
 Sit hovering over my dark threshold? Though I arise, look out
 And scorn the war within my members, yet my heart is weak
 And my head faint. Yet will I look again unto the morning.
 Whence is this sound of rage, of men drinking each others’ blood,
- 120 Drunk with the smoking gore & red, but not with
 nourishing wine?’

ix 92. So in the key passage, i 206–8, and the earlier iii 27–9; in ii 17 Luvah stole them.

ix 93. Since ii 216 the man has ‘slept the dark sleep of death’: he now, by an act of will, resumes the authority he had voluntarily laid down.

ix 98–103, 105–11. These lines also occur in *Jerusalem* pl.19.1–7, 9–14 in the third person and with other minor alterations.

ix 101. *Is*] In *Jerusalem* pl.19.4 this reads *Are*.

ix 112. An addition, as 32.

ix 119. *Whence?*] The man realizes that the war is *within* him (but note that the Man is a collective being, as well as an individual): and it is in his own power to end it. Cp. viii 3*n*.

- The Eternal Man sat on the rocks & cried with awful voice:
 ‘O Prince of Light, where art thou? I behold thee not as once
 In those eternal fields, in clouds of morning stepping forth
 With harps & songs, where bright Ahania sang before thy face
 125 And all thy sons & daughters gathered round my ample table.
 See you not all this wracking furious confusion?
 Come forth from slumbers of thy cold abstraction, come forth!
 Arise to eternal births, shake off thy cold repose!
 Schoolmaster of souls, great opposer of change, arise!
 130 That the eternal worlds may see thy face in peace & joy,
 That thou, dread form of certainty, mayest sit in town &
 village,
 While little children play around thy feet in gentle awe,
 Fearing thy frown, loving thy smile, O Urizen, Prince of
 Light!’
 He called; the deep buried his voice, & answer none returned.
 135 Then wrath burst round. The Eternal Man was wrath; again
 he cried:
 ‘Arise, O stony form of death! O dragon of the deeps!
 Lie down before my feet, O dragon! Let Urizen arise!
 O how couldst thou deform those beautiful proportions
 Of life & person? For as the person, so is his life proportioned.
 140 Let Luvah rage in the dark deep even to consummation,
 For if thou feedest not his rage it will subside in peace.
 But if thou dardest obstinate refuse my stern behest
 Thy crown & sceptre I will seize, & regulate all my members
 In stern severity & cast thee out into the indefinite
 145 Where nothing lives, there to wander. And if thou returnest
 weary,
 Weeping at the threshold of existence, I will steel my heart
 Against thee to eternity & never receive thee more.
 Thy self-destroying beast-formed science shall be thy eternal lot;
 My anger against thee is greater than against this Luvah,
 150 For war is energy enslaved, but thy religion
 The first author of this war; & the distracting of honest minds
 Into confused perturbation, & strife & honour & pride,
 Is a deceit so detestable that I will cast thee out

ix 122. Cp. ii 213, where Urizen, prince of light, was entrusted by the Man with the authority he has so misused.

ix 127. *Come forth*] Christ's words to Lazarus in the tomb (*John* xi 43).

ix 136. *form . . . dragon*] Urizen, now seen in his fallen shape.

ix 140. As in i 233-4, where Urizen broke thieves' faith with Luvah.

ix 150. *energy enslaved*] 1st *rdg* honest energy. This does not necessarily imply a change of opinion; B. may have thought that 'honest' conveyed the wrong idea.

- If thou repentest not, & leave thee as a rotten branch to be
burned
- 155 With Mystery the harlot, & with Satan for ever & ever.
Error can never be redeemed in all eternity,
But sin, even Rahab, is redeemed in blood & fury & jealousy—
That line of blood that stretched across the windows of the
morning
Redeemed from error's power. Wake, thou dragon of the
deeps!
- [121] Urizen wept in the dark deep, anxious his scaly form
- 161 To reassume the human, & he wept in the dark deep,
Saying: 'O that I had never drank the wine nor eat the bread
Of dark mortality, nor cast my view into futurity, nor turned
My back darkening the present, clouding with a cloud,
- 165 And building arches high & cities, turrets & towers & domes
Whose smoke destroyed the pleasant gardens, & whose
running kennels
Choked the bright rivers, burdening with my ships the angry
deep,
Through chaos seeking for delight, & in spaces remote
Seeking the eternal which is always present to the wise,
- 170 Seeking for pleasure, which unsought falls round the infant's
path,
And on the fleeces of mild flocks who neither care nor labour.
But I, the labourer of ages whose unwearied hands
Are thus deformed with hardness, with the sword & with the
spear,
And with the chisel & the mallet, I, whose labours vast
- 175 Order the nations, separating family by family,
Alone enjoy not. I alone in misery supreme,
Ungratified give all my joy unto this Luvah & Vala.
Then go, O dark futurity! I will cast thee forth from these
Heavens of my brain, nor will I look upon futurity more.
- 180 I cast futurity away & turn my back upon that void

ix 155–9. Added, as 32 and 112. The image is drawn from the exclusion of Rahab's household from the fate of Jericho, 'redeemed' by the scarlet thread tied in her window when the city was sacked at dawn (*Joshua* ii 18, 19, vi 15–25).

ix 163. *futurity*] 1st *rdg* the past. Cp. iii 10 and 27 where Ahania asks the scheming Urizen, 'Why wilt thou look upon futurity, darkening present joy?' B. sees Urizen in all the planning and designing of man, who complicates his life by structures and machines. Unlike Los's labours of love, Urizen's are labours of fear and misery.

ix 166. *kennels*] The open drains down the middle of the streets. In his life-time B. must have seen the beginning of the worst choking of the beauty of London.
ix 178, 179, 180, 181. *futurity*] 1st *rdg del.* remembrance (cp. 163*n*).

- Which I have made, for lo! futurity is in this moment.
 Let Orc consume, let Tharmas rage, let dark Urthona give
 All strength to Los & Enitharmon, & let Los self-cursed
 Rend down this fabric, as a wall ruined & family extinct.
 185 Rage, Orc; rage, Tharmas! Urizen no longer curbs your rage.’
- So Urizen spoke. He shook his snows from off his shoulders
 and arose
 As on a pyramid of mist, his white robes scattering
 The fleecy white—renewed he shook his aged mantles off
 Into the fires. Then, glorious bright, exulting in his joy,
 190 He sounding rose into the heavens, in naked majesty.
 In radiant youth—when lo! like garlands in the eastern sky
 When vocal May comes dancing, from the east Ahania came
 Exulting in her flights; as when a bubble rises up
 On to the surface of a lake, Ahania rose in joy.
 195 Excess of joy is worse than grief—her heart beat high, her blood
 Burst its bright vessels; she fell down dead, at the feet of Urizen
 Outstretched, a smiling corse. They buried her in a silent cave;
 Urizen dropped a tear, the Eternal Man darkened with sorrow.
- The three daughters of Urizen guard Ahania’s death couch,
 200 Rising from the confusion in tears & howlings & despair,
 Calling upon their father’s name upon their rivers dark.
- And the Eternal Man said: ‘Hear my words, O Prince of Light:
 [122] Behold Jerusalem, in whose bosom the Lamb of God
 Is seen. Though slain before her gates, he self-renewed remains
 205 Eternal & I through him awake to life from death’s dark vale.
 The times revolve; the time is coming when all these delights
 Shall be renewed, & all these elements that now consume
 Shall reflourish. Then bright Ahania shall awake from death,
 A glorious vision to thine eyes, a self-renewing vision:
 210 The spring, the summer to be thine, then sleep the wintry days
 In silken garments spun by her own hands against her funeral.
 The winter thou shalt plough & lay thy stores into thy barns,
 Expecting to receive Ahania in the spring with joy:
 Immortal thou, regenerate she; & all the lovely sex

ix 186. *snows*] An attribute of Urizen since his first appearance in *America* 208, but in *Four Zoas* specifically introduced in vii 28.

ix 196–213. Ahania here resembles Persephone, in that she is restored to Urizen for the spring and summer of each year, and sleeps away from him each winter; presumably B. was deliberately borrowing the myth, in a form which is also found in i 56–9. Urizen’s eternal year is to be like an earthly working day – work first, domestic pleasure afterwards. When Urizen rests after his work, Ahania reappears (341). Here and after the violence of 228–75 B. shows that the Man can only be redeemed in a new creation, not by will alone.

- 215 From her shall learn obedience & prepare for a wintry grave,
That spring may see them rise in tenfold joy & sweet delight.
Thus shall the male & female live the life of Eternity,
Because the Lamb of God creates himself a bride & wife,
That we his children evermore may live in Jerusalem,
220 Which now descendeth out of heaven, a city yet a woman,
Mother of myriads redeemed & born in her spiritual palaces,
By a new spiritual birth, regenerated from death.'

Urizen said: 'I have erred & my error remains with me.
What chain encompasses, in what lock is the river of light
confined,

- 225 That issues forth in the morning by measure, & the evening
by carefulness?
Where shall we take our stand to view the infinite &
unbounded,
Or where are human feet? For lo! our eyes are in the heavens.'
He ceased: for, riven link from link, the bursting universe
explodes.

- All things reversed flew from their centres; rattling bones
230 To bones join, shaking, convulsed; the shivering clay breathes;
Each speck of dust to the earth's centre nestles round & round
In pangs of an eternal birth, in torment & awe & fear.
All spirits deceased, let loose from reptile prisons, come in shoals;
Wild furies from the tiger's brain & from the lion's eyes,
235 And from the ox & ass come moping terrors, from the eagle
And raven, numerous as the leaves of autumn. Every species
Flock to the trumpet, muttering over the sides of the grave
and crying
In the fierce wind, round heaving rocks & mountains filled
with groans,
On rifted rocks suspended in the air by inward fires.
240 Many a woeful company, & many on clouds & waters,
Fathers & friends, mothers & infants, kings & warriors,

ix 220. Cp. *Revelation* xxi 2: 'And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.'

ix 224. *lock*] The kind of lock used on inland waterways, which in B.'s lifetime had expanded throughout the island.

ix 229. The attractive compulsion of gravity ceases. Cp. *Ezekiel* xxxvii 7 – the vision of the valley of dry bones when, after Ezekiel spoke, 'there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to his bone'.

ix 233. *reptile prisons*] A conflation of two images: first, an image of dungeons loathsome with reptiles; second, B.'s common use of the serpent to symbolize coiling, constricting mental imprisonment. Further, 234–6 contain the notion that an animal's nature springs from a spirit hidden inside it.

Priests & chained captives, met together in a horrible fear.
 And every one of the dead appears as he had lived before,
 [123] And all the marks remain of the slave's scourge & tyrant's crown,
 245 And of the priest's o'ergorged abdomen & of the merchant's
 thin
 Sinewy deception, & of the warrior's outbraving &
 thoughtlessness,
 In lineaments too extended & in bones too straight & long.
 They show their wounds, they accuse, they seize the
 oppressor. Howlings began
 On the golden palace, songs & joy on the desert. The cold babe
 250 Stands in the furious air; he cries; the children of six thousand
 years
 Who died in infancy rage furious, a mighty multitude rage
 furious,
 Naked & pale standing on the expecting air to be delivered,
 Rend limb from limb the warrior & the tyrant;
 reuniting in pain
 The furious wind still rends around—they flee in
 sluggish effort.
 255 They beg, they entreat; in vain now, they listened not to
 entreaty.
 They view the flames, red rolling on through the wide universe
 From the dark jaws of death beneath, & desolate shores
 remote—
 These covering vaults of heaven & these trembling globes of
 earth.
 One planet calls to another, & one star enquires of another:
 260 'What flames are these coming from the south? What noise,
 what dreadful rout
 As of a battle in the heavens? Hark! heard you not the trumpet
 As of fierce battle?' While they spoke the flames come on
 intense, roaring;
 They see him whom they have pierced, they wail because of him;
 They magnify themselves no more against Jerusalem, nor

ix 247. *straight*] B. has *strait*, but the context does not allow the meaning 'narrow'.

ix 248. *They*] The oppressed.

ix 249. *The cold babe*] A figure invented for the occasion, representing all suffering children. Not Orc, who is always 'fiery'.

ix 254. *they*] The warrior and tyrant.

ix 263-4. Cp. *Revelation* i 7: 'Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him.'

- 265 Against her little ones. The innocent accused before the judges
Shines with immortal glory. Trembling the judge springs
from his throne,
Hiding his face in the dust beneath the prisoner's feet &
saying,
'Brother of Jesus, what have I done? Entreat thy lord for me.
Perhaps I may be forgiven?' While he speaks the flames roll on.
- 270 And after the flames appears the cloud of the Son of Man
Descending from Jerusalem with power and great glory;
All nations look up to the cloud & behold him who was crucified.
The prisoner answers, 'You scourged my father to death
before my face
While I stood bound with cords & heavy chains. Your hypocrisy
275 Shall now avail you nought.' So speaking he dashed him
with his foot.
The cloud is blood; dazzling upon the heavens, & in the cloud
Above, upon its volumes is beheld a throne & a pavement
Of precious stones, surrounded by twenty-four venerable
patriarchs,
And these again surrounded by four wonders of the Almighty
280 Incomprehensible, pervading all, amidst & round about,
Fourfold each in the other reflected. They are named Lifes
in Eternity—
Four starry universes, going forward from eternity to eternity.
And the fallen Man who was arisen upon the Rock of Ages

ix 265. *The innocent*] Anyone falsely accused, who is thereby a brother to Jesus, himself falsely accused. B. may not have deliberately intended to relate this scene to the Synagogue of Satan (viii 80ff), but there is a similarity; the false judge has become the self-convicted criminal.

ix 270-1. Cp. *Luke* xxi 27: 'And then they shall see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.'

ix 273-5. These lines do not accord with B.'s doctrine of forgiveness: they show, as does the entire passage, what happens to oppressors when their victims get loose. The sufferers themselves are still to be purified by the flail and the winepress (647ff).

ix 277. The throne, twenty-four elders, and the four beasts are found in *Revelation* iv 4-6.

ix 279-82. Cp. *Revelation* iv 6: 'And before the throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal: and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind.' The Greek word for 'beasts' is ζῶα, *zoa*, which could also be translated, as in 281, 'lives'. This, then, may be the beginning of B.'s idea of the fourfold grouping of the Zoas; he does not identify the four beasts or 'lives' here with Urizen, Luvah, Urthona and Tharmas, and the word *Zoa* only appears in the title of this poem in a very late revision.

ix 281. *Lifes*] B. has 'Life's'.

[124] Beheld the vision of God, & he arose up from the rock,
 285 And Urizen arose up with him walking through the flames
 To meet the Lord coming to judgment. But the flames
 repelled them
 Still to the rock; in vain they strove to enter the consummation
 Together, for the redeemed Man could not enter the
 consummation.

Then seized the sons of Urizen the plough; they polished it
 290 From rust of ages, all its ornaments of gold & silver & ivory
 Reshone across the field immense, where all the nations
 Darkened like mould in the divided fallows, where the weed
 Triumphs in its own destruction. They took down the harness
 From the blue walls of heaven, starry-jingling, ornamented
 295 With beautiful art, the study of angels, the workmanship of
 demons
 When heaven & hell in emulation strove in sports of glory.

The noise of rural work resounded through the heavens of
 heavens.
 The horses neigh from the battle, the wild bulls from the
 sultry waste,
 The tigers from the forests & the lions from the sandy deserts:
 300 They sing, they seize the instruments of harmony, they
 throw away
 The spear, the bow, the gun, the mortar; they level the
 fortifications,
 They beat the iron engines of destruction into wedges,
 They give them to Urthona's sons. Ringing the hammers
 sound
 In dens of death, to forge the spade, the mattock & the axe,
 305 The heavy roller to break the clods, to pass over the nations.

The sons of Urizen shout; their father rose; the eternal horses

ix 283. *Rock of Ages*] The phrase is not in the main biblical text, but is found in the margin of the A.V. at *Isaiah* xxvi 4 as an alternative for 'everlasting strength' (in 'The Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength'). It was in common use among nonconformist hymn writers (e.g. besides Toplady, it occurs in John Newton and the Paraphrases), but B. uses it in a pejorative sense.

ix 287. The thought of repentance is not enough; a change of activity is needed.

ix 288. *redeemed*] 1st *rdg* fallen.

ix 289. This is a reversal of what happened in ii 345ff, and vii 495ff.

ix 292. *fallows*] Land ploughed but left unsown.

ix 306. Urizen takes charge again of his steeds, which had been taken over by Luvah, and puts them to proper use – an agricultural and productive use. This is the beginning of a process of sowing and reaping souls, which ends in the making of bread at the culmination of the poem.

Harnessed, they called to Urizen, the heavens moved at their call.

The limbs of Urizen shone with ardour. He laid his hand on the plough;

Through dismal darkness drove the plough of ages over cities
 310 And all their villages, over mountains & all their valleys,
 Over the graves & caverns of the dead, over the planets
 And over the void spaces, over sun & moon & star &
 constellation.

Then Urizen commanded, & they brought the seed of men—
 The trembling souls of all the Dead stood before Urizen,

315 Weak wailing in the troubled air, east, west & north & south.

[125] He turned the horses loose & laid his plough in the
 northern corner

Of the wide universal field, then stepped forth into the
 immense.

Then he began to sow the seed. He girded round his loins
 With a bright girdle, & his skirt filled with immortal souls.

320 Howling & wailing fly the souls from Urizen's strong hand.

For from the hand of Urizen the myriads fall like stars
 Into their own appointed places; driven back by the winds
 The naked warriors rush together down to the sea shores.
 They are become like wintry flocks, like forests stripped of
 leaves,

325 The kings & princes of the earth cry with a feeble cry,
 Driven on the unproducing sands & on the hardened rocks;
 And all the while the flames of Orc follow the vent'rous feet
 Of Urizen, & all the while the trump of Tharmas sounds.
 Weeping & wailing fly the souls from Urizen's strong hand;

330 The daughters of Urizen stand with cups & measures of
 foaming wine,

Immense upon the heavens with bread & delicate repasts.

Then follows the golden harrow in the midst of mental fires,
 To ravishing melody of flutes & harps & softest voice;
 The seed is harrowed in, while flames heat the black mould
 & cause

ix 308. *ardour*] Followed by deletion:

He rose up from the Rock
 The Fallen Man wondring beheld.

ix 316. Urizen has finished the ploughing; he sows broadcast, not with a drill.

ix 325. The sowing of souls is reminiscent of the parable of the sower (*Luke* viii 5-15): according to B., it is kings and princes who fall on stony ground.

ix 327. *the flames of Orc*] Like the sun on earth, they cause the seed to grow.

- 335 The human harvest to begin. Towards the south first sprang
The myriads, & in silent fear they look out from their graves.
Then Urizen sits down to rest, & all his wearied sons
Take their repose on beds. They drink, they sing, they view
the flames
Of Orc in joy, they view the human harvest springing up.
340 A time they give to sweet repose till all the harvest is ripe.
And lo! like the harvest moon, Ahania cast off her death
clothes.
She folded them up in care, in silence, & her brightening limbs
Bathed in the clear spring of the rocks, then from her
darksome cave
Issued in majesty divine. Urizen rose up from his couch
345 On wings of tenfold joy, clapping his hands, his feet, his
radiant wings
In the immense; as when the sun dances upon the mountains,
A shout of jubilee in lovely notes responds from daughter to
daughter,
From son to son, as if the stars beaming innumerable
Through night should sing, soft warbling, filling earth &
heaven;
350 And bright Ahania took her seat by Urizen in songs & joy.
The Eternal Man also sat down upon the couches of Beulah,
Sorrowful that he could not put off his new risen body
In mental flames; the flames refused, they drove him back to
Beulah:
His body was redeemed to be permanent through Mercy Divine.
[126] And now fierce Orc had quite consumed himself in mental
flames,
356 Expending all his energy against the fuel of fire.
The regenerate Man stooped his head over the universe, & in
His holy hands received the flaming demon & demoness of
smoke,
And gave them to Urizen's hands. The Immortal frowned,
saying:

ix 336. A vivid image of seedlings.

ix 337-8. Urizen is a farmer, and his family bring him refreshments in the field.

ix 351. *the couches of Beulah*] Cp. *Milton* pl.34.9ff, where they are used by those as yet unresurrected. The Eternal Man is not yet fully redeemed; he wishes to go straight into eternity, into the 'mental flames', leaving his body behind. But the flames are driving him towards a complete redemption.

ix 357. *regenerate Man*] 1st *rdg* Ancient Man.

ix 358. *the demon and demoness*] Luvah and Vala. The degenerate form of Luvah, Orc, is now consumed; they, and their passionate natures, are to be servants, not the master of man.

- 360 'Luvah & Vala, henceforth you are servants. Obey & live.
 You shall forget your former state; return, O Love, in peace
 Into your place, the place of seed, not in the brain or heart.
 If gods combine against Man, setting their dominion above
 The Human form Divine, thrown down from their high
 station
- 365 In the eternal heavens of Human Imagination, buried beneath
 In dark oblivion with incessant pangs, ages on ages,
 In enmity & war first weakened, then in stern repentance,
 They must renew their brightness, & their disorganized
 functions
- Again reorganize till they resume the image of the human,
 370 Cooperating in the bliss of man, obeying his will,
 Servants to the infinite & eternal of the human form.'
- Luvah & Vala descended & entered the gates of dark Urthona,
 And walked from the hands of Urizen in the shadows of
 Vala's garden
- Where the impressions of despair & hope for ever vegetate
 375 In flowers, in fruits, in fishes, birds & beasts, & clouds &
 waters—
- The land of doubts & shadows, sweet delusions, unformed hopes.
 They saw no more the terrible confusion of the wracking
 universe,
 They heard not, saw not, felt not all the terrible confusion;
 For in their orb'd senses within closed up they wandered at
 will.
- 380 And those upon the couches viewed them, in the dreams of
 Beulah,
 As they reposed from the terrible wide universal harvest.
 Invisible Luvah in bright clouds hovered over Vala's head,
 And thus their ancient golden age renewed. For Luvah spoke
 With voice mild from his golden cloud upon the breath of
 morning:
- 385 'Come forth, O Vala, from the grass & from the silent dew;

ix 365. *Imagination*] *1st rdg del.* 'thought' – usually a less lively process, for B., than imagination.

ix 373. At the time of the Fall, the Man had walked in Vala's Garden (ii 37, 41: but especially 19–20): the beauties of that garden are deluding – *vegetated* (374) – and limited (379), but they provide a place of rest and renewal for Luvah and Vala, and later for Tharmas and Enion (481ff). The narrative of this renewal continues at 555, a digression filling in the summer-time when Urizen's crop is growing, until the harvest (576ff).

ix 379. *orb'd senses*] They are undergoing regeneration, but are still limited in understanding; and note lines 360–2.

ix 380. *the couches*] Of those awaiting redemption in Beulah: see 351*n*.

Rise from the dews of death: for the Eternal Man is risen!’

She rises among flowers & looks toward the eastern clearness;
She walks, yea runs! Her feet are winged on the tops of the
bending grass;

Her garments rejoice in the vocal wind & her hair glistens
with dew.

390 She answered thus: ‘Whose voice is this, in the voice of the
nourishing air,

In the spirit of the morning awaking the soul from its grassy bed?

[127] Where dost thou dwell? For it is thee I seek, & but for thee
I must have slept eternally, nor have felt the dew of thy
morning.

Look how the opening dawn advances with vocal harmony;

395 Look how the beams foreshow the rising of some glorious
power!

The sun is thine; he goeth forth in his majestic brightness.

O thou creating voice that callest, & who shall answer thee?’

‘Where dost thou flee, O fair one? Where dost thou seek thy
happy place?’

‘To yonder brightness, there I haste, for sure I came from thence;

400 Or I must have slept eternally nor have felt the dew of
morning.’

‘Eternally thou must have slept, nor have felt the morning dew,
But for yon nourishing sun; ’tis that by which thou art risen.

The birds adore the sun, the beasts rise up & play in his beams,
And every flower & every leaf rejoices in his light.

405 Then, O thou fair one, sit thee down, for thou art as the grass;
Thou risest in the dew of morning & at night art folded up.’

‘Alas! am I but as a flower? Then will I sit me down,

ix 387. The east belongs to Luvah.

ix 388. Cp. *Aeneid* vii 808–9 (Camilla): *illa vel intactae segetis per summa
volaret/gramina nec teneras cursu laessisset aristas* (Dryden: ‘Outstripped the winds
in speed upon the plain, / Flew o’er the fields, nor hurt the bearded grain’).

ix 402. In their limited world (372–9) this is the best they can see. We know
that their awakening is due to the Divine Mercy, and the rejuvenation of the
Eternal Man.

ix 407. Vala speaks. Cp. *Thel* 6–14 (and 8, 12–13, etc.):

Ah! Thel is like a watry bow, and like a parting cloud . . .

Ah! gentle may I lay me down, and gentle rest my head,

And gentle sleep the sleep of death . . .

The lyrical style is similar, but the sentiment is not. Thel’s complaint is that her
existence is purposeless, and her death will be unnoticed. Vala’s is more selfish,
for her redemption is only beginning.

- Then will I weep, then I'll complain & sigh for immortality,
And chide my maker—thee, O sun, that raisedst me to fall!
- 410 So saying she sat down & wept beneath the apple trees:
‘Oh, be thou blotted out, thou sun that raisedst me to
trouble,
That gavest me a heart to crave & raisedst me, thy phantom,
To feel thy heat & see thy light & wander here alone—
Hopeless, if I am like the grass & so shall pass away.’
- 415 ‘Rise, sluggish soul, why sitst thou here? Why dost thou sit
and weep?
Yon sun shall wax old & decay, but thou shalt ever flourish.
The fruit shall ripen & fall down, & the flowers consume away,
But thou shalt still survive. Arise, oh dry thy dewy tears!’
- ‘Ha! Shall I still survive? Whence came that sweet &
comforting voice,
420 And whence that voice of sorrow? O sun, thou art nothing
now to me.
Go on thy course rejoicing, & let us both rejoice together;
I walk among his flocks & hear the bleating of his lambs—
Oh, that I could behold his face & follow his pure feet;
I walk by the footsteps of his flocks; come hither, tender
flocks!
- 425 Can you converse with a pure soul that seeketh for her maker?
You answer not; then am I set your mistress in this garden:
I'll watch you & attend your footsteps. You are not like the
birds
- [128] That sing & fly in the bright air, but you do lick my feet
And let me touch your woolly backs. Follow me as I sing,
430 For in my bosom a new song arises to my lord:
“Rise up, O sun, most glorious minister & light of day!
Flow on, ye gentle airs, & bear the voice of my rejoicing;
Wave freshly clear, waters flowing around the tender grass,
And thou, sweet smelling ground, put forth thy life in fruits
and flowers.”
- 435 Follow me, O my flocks, & hear me sing my rapturous song.
I will cause my voice to be heard on the clouds that glitter
in the sun;
I will call & who shall answer me? I will sing, who shall reply?
For from my pleasant hills, behold the living, living springs

ix 415. Luvah speaks.

ix 419. Vala speaks. She has learnt to give the sun and all the material world its true value. She can now enjoy it, not minding that she will, in time, be parted from it, for it is only a limited vision.

- Running among my green pastures, delighting among my
trees.
- 440 I am not here alone, my flocks; you are my brethren,
And you, birds that sing & adorn the sky, you are my sisters:
I sing & you reply to my song; I rejoice & you are glad.
Follow me, O my flocks; we will now descend into the valley.
Oh, how delicious are the grapes flourishing in the sun!
- 445 How clear the spring of the rock, running among the golden
sand!
How cool the breezes of the valley! And the arms of the
branchy trees
Cover us from the sun; come & let us sit in the shade.
My Luvah here hath placed me in a sweet & pleasant land,
And given me fruits & pleasant waters, & warm hills & cool
valleys.
- 450 Here will I build myself a house, & here I'll call on his name;
Here I'll return when I am weary, & take my pleasant rest.'
- So spoke the sinless soul, & laid her head on the downy fleece
Of a curled ram who stretched himself in sleep beside his
mistress;
And soft sleep fell upon her eyelids, in the silent noon of day.
- 455 Then Luvah passed by & saw the sinless soul
And said, 'Let a pleasant house arise to be the dwelling-place
Of this immortal spirit growing in lower Paradise.'
- He spoke, & pillars were builded, & walls as white as ivory;
The grass she slept upon was paved with pavement as of pearl;
- 460 Beneath her rose a downy bed & a ceiling covered all.
Vala awoke. 'When in the pleasant gates of sleep I entered,
I saw my Luvah like a spirit stand in the bright air;
Round him stood spirits like me who reared me a bright
house—
And here I see thee, house, remain, in my most pleasant world.
- [129] 'My Luvah smiled: I kneeled down, he laid his hands on my
head;
- 466 And when he laid his hand upon me, from the gates of sleep
I came

ix 448. *a sweet and pleasant land*] Much of the phraseology of this ode is quasi-biblical, but there are few actual borrowings. Note the psalmlike parallelism of 445-51.

ix 453. A ram is more often noted for its fierceness: Vala's innocence has tamed the lord of the flock. Cp. the illustration to *America* pl.7, where two children lie asleep on 'a curled ram'.

ix 455-7. Vala has cast off her sin and become an innocent *child*; her new being now must grow.

Into this bodily house, to tend my flocks in my pleasant garden.'

So saying, she arose & walked round her beautiful house;
And then from her white door she looked to see her bleating
lambs;

470 But her flocks were gone up from beneath the trees into the hills.

'I see the hand that leadeth me doth also lead my flocks'.
She went up to her flocks & turned oft to see her shining house.
She stopped to drink of the clear spring & eat the grapes &
apples;

475 She bore the fruits in her lap, she gathered flowers for her bosom;
She called to her flocks, saying, 'Follow me, O my flocks'.

They followed her to the silent valley beneath the spreading trees,

And on the river's margin she ungirded her golden girdle.
She stood in the river & viewed herself within the watery glass,
And her bright hair was wet with the waters. She rose up
from the river,

480 And as she rose, her eyes were opened to the world of waters.
She saw Tharmas sitting upon the rocks beside the wavy sea;
He stroked the water from his head & mourned faint
through the summer vales.

And Vala stood on the rocks of Tharmas, & heard his
mournful voice:

'O Enion, my weary head is in the bed of death.

485 For weeds of death have wrapped around my limbs in the
hoary deeps.

I sit in the place of shells & mourn, & thou art closed in clouds.
When will the time of clouds be past, & the dismal night of
Tharmas?

Arise, O Enion, arise, & smile upon my head

As thou dost smile upon the barren mountains and they rejoice.

490 When wilt thou smile on Tharmas, O thou bringer of golden
day?

Arise, O Enion, arise, for lo! I have calmed my seas.'

So saying, his faint head he laid upon the oozy rock,

ix 480-1. Note the dreamlike changes, here and at 500-4. A sketch on MS p. 124, of an aged man facing a young woman on a flower, might illustrate this scene; although B. does not usually separate text and illustration so widely.

ix 481. The story of the reunion of Tharmas and Enion, and their redemption, now begins. Vala has grown from childhood to a kind of motherhood.

And darkness covered all the deep; the light of Enion faded
Like a faint flame quivering upon the surface of the darkness.

495 Then Vala lifted up her hands to heaven to call on Enion.
She called, but none could answer her, & the echo of her
voice returned:

‘Where is the voice of God that called me from the silent dew?
Where is the lord of Vala? Dost thou hide in clefts of the rock?
Why shouldst thou hide thyself from Vala, from the soul that
wanders desolate?’

500 She ceased, & light beamed round her like the glory of the
morning,

[130] And she arose out of the river & girded on her golden girdle.

And now her feet step on the grassy bosom of the ground
Among her flocks, & she turned her eyes toward her pleasant
house,

And saw in the doorway beneath the trees two little children
playing.

505 She drew near to her house & her flocks followed her
footsteps;

The children clung around her knees, she embraced them
and wept over them:

‘Thou, little boy, art Tharmas, & thou, bright girl, Enion.
How are ye thus renewed & brought into the gardens of Vala?’

She embraced them in tears, till the sun descended the
western hills,

510 And then she entered her bright house leading her mighty
children,

And when night came the flocks laid round the house
beneath the trees.

She laid the children on the beds which she saw prepared in
the house,

Then last herself laid down & closed her eyelids in soft
slumbers.

And in the morning when the sun arose in the crystal sky,
515 Vala awoke & called the children from their gentle slumbers:

‘Awake, O Enion, awake! & let thine innocent eyes
Enlighten all the crystal house of Vala. Awake, awake,
Awake! Tharmas, awake, awake, thou child of dewy tears!
Open the orbs of thy blue eyes & smile upon my gardens.’

520 The children woke & smiled on Vala. She kneeled by the
golden couch,

She pressed them to her bosom & her pearly tears dropped
down:

- ‘O my sweet children! Enion, let Tharmas kiss thy cheek.
 Why dost thou turn thyself away from his sweet watery eyes?
 Tharmas, henceforth in Vala’s bosom thou shalt find sweet
 peace.
- 525 Oh, bless the lovely eyes of Tharmas & the eyes of Enion!’
 They rose, they went out wandering, sometimes together,
 sometimes alone.
 ‘Why weepest thou, Tharmas, child of tears, in the bright
 house of joy?
 Doth Enion avoid the sight of thy blue heavenly eyes,
 And dost thou wander with my lambs, & wet their innocent
 faces
- 530 With thy bright tears because the steps of Enion are in the
 gardens?
 Arise, sweet boy, & let us follow the path of Enion.’
 So saying, they went down into the garden among the fruits,
 And Enion sang among the flowers that grew among the trees:
 And Vala said, ‘Go, Tharmas, weep not. Go to Enion.’
- [131] He said, ‘O Vala, I am sick, & all this garden of pleasure
 536 Swims like a dream before my eyes; but the sweet-smelling fruit
 Revives me to new deaths. I fade even like a water lily
 In the sun’s heat, till in the night on the couch of Enion
 I drink new life, & feel the breath of sleeping Enion;
- 540 But in the morning she arises to avoid my eyes;
 Then my loins fade & in the house I sit me down & weep.’
 ‘Cheer up thy countenance, bright boy, & go to Enion.
 Tell her that Vala waits her in the shadows of her garden.’
 He went with timid steps, & Enion, like the ruddy morn
- 545 When infant spring appears in swelling buds & opening flowers
 Behind her veil withdraws, so Enion turned her modest head.
 But Tharmas spoke: ‘Vala seeks thee, sweet Enion, in the shades,
 Follow the steps of Tharmas, O thou brightness of the gardens.’
 He took her hand; reluctant she followed in infant doubts.
- 550 Thus in Eternal childhood straying among Vala’s flocks,
 In infant sorrow & joy alternate, Enion & Tharmas played
 Round Vala in the gardens of Vala & by her river’s margin.
 —They are the shadows of Tharmas & of Enion in Vala’s world.

ix 527. Vala speaks.

ix 553. *the shadows*] Vala’s world is temporary, a limited world where she is to ‘reorganize’ (368–76). Only shadows can live there – it is not the world of living reality. But as events in dreams have their effect on the living personality, so Luvah, Vala, Tharmas and Enion are changed by what happens to them in the dream world of Vala’s garden.

- And the sleepers who rested from their harvest work beheld
these visions;
- 555 Thus were the sleepers entertained upon the couches of
Beulah.
- When Luvah & Vala were closed up in their world of
shadowy forms
Darkness was all beneath the heavens; only a little light
Such as glows out from sleeping spirits appeared in the deeps
beneath,
As when the wind sweeps over a cornfield, the noise of souls
- 560 Through all the immense borne down by clouds swagging in
autumnal heat,
Muttering along from heaven to heaven; hoarse roll the
human forms
Beneath thick clouds; dreadful lightnings burst & thunders roll,
Down pour the torrent floods of heaven on all the human
harvest.
- Then Urizen sitting at his repose on beds in the bright south
- 565 Cried: 'Times are ended!' He exulted; he arose in joy, he exulted,
He poured his light & all his sons & daughters poured their
light
To exhale the spirits of Luvah & Vala through the atmosphere.
And Luvah & Vala saw the light, their spirits were exhaled
In all their ancient innocence; the floods depart, the clouds
- 570 Dissipate or sink into the seas of Tharmas. Luvah sat
Above on the bright heavens in peace; the spirits of men
beneath
Cried out to be delivered, & the spirit of Luvah wept
Over the human harvest, & over Vala the sweet wanderer.
In pain the human harvest waved, in horrible groans of woe;
- [132] The universal groan went up, the Eternal Man was darkened.
- 576 Then Urizen arose & took his sickle in his hand.
There is a brazen sickle & a scythe of iron hid
Deep in the south, guarded by a few solitary stars;
This sickle Urizen took, the scythe his sons embraced
- 580 And went forth & began to reap; & all his joyful sons
Reaped the wide universe, & bound in sheaves a wondrous
harvest.

ix 554. Cp. 337–40: we are recalled to Urizen's work from the story of Luvah and Vala (cp. 373*n*).

ix 577. The 'head' of the constellation Leo, the lion, is shaped like a sickle. It is somewhat isolated and therefore distinctive. There are no constellations named 'sickle' or 'scythe'. In *Revelation* xiv 14, where an angel comes to harvest souls, 'having a sharp sickle', and in B., there are two harvests – corn and grapes (576–83, 647–53, 690–723).

- They took them into the wide barns with loud rejoicings,
and triumph
Of flute & harp & drum & trumpet, horn & clarion.
- The feast was spread in the bright south, & the regenerate Man
585 Sat at the feast rejoicing, & the wine of Eternity
Was served round by the flames of Luvah all day & all the night.
And when morning began to dawn upon the distant hills
A whirlwind rose up in the centre, & in the whirlwind a shriek,
And in the shriek a rattling of bones, & in the rattling of bones
590 A dolorous groan, & from the dolorous groan in tears
Rose Enion like a gentle light. And Enion spoke, saying:
'O dreams of Death! the human form dissolving, companied
By beasts & worms & creeping things, & darkness & despair!
The clouds fall off from my wet brow, the dust from my
cold limbs
595 Into the sea of Tharmas. Soon renewed, a golden moth
I shall cast off my death-clothes & embrace Tharmas again.
For lo! the winter melted away upon the distant hills,
And all the black mould sings. She speaks to her infant race,
her milk
Descends down on the sand; the thirsty sand drinks & rejoices,
600 Wondering to behold the emmet, the grasshopper, the
jointed worm;
The roots shoot thick through the solid rocks, bursting their
way;
They cry out in joys of existence. The broad stems
Rear on the mountain stem after stem, the scaly newt creeps
From the stone & the armed fly springs from the rocky crevice.
605 The spider, the bat burst from the hardened slime crying
To one another, "What are we, & whence is our joy & delight?
Lo, the little moss begins to spring & the tender weed
Creeps round our secret nest." Flocks brighten the mountains,
Herds throng up the valley, wild beasts fill the forests.'
- 610 Joy thrilled through all the furious form of Tharmas,
humanizing;

ix 582-4. The traditional celebrations after a successful harvest, including the band:
B. turns the feast into a magnificent banquet. Cp. the unhappy feast in ii 89ff.
ix 588-91. Cp. the appearance of Tharmas in iii 139ff, where the sequence is a crash,
a flame, a dolorous groan: and also the appearance of God to Elijah in *1 Kings*
xix 11-12 after 'a great and strong wind . . . and after the wind an earthquake . . .
and after the earthquake a fire . . . and after the fire a still small voice'. But now
Enion, not Tharmas appears; and it is the real Enion, not a shadow; renewed
with Vala in the limited world, and now ready for the real world - Eternity.
ix 610-12. Cp. the brutal sexuality of Tharmas's spectre in i 127-34.
whom he sought] A reminder of Tharmas's long quest throughout the poem.

Mild he embraced her whom he sought, he raised her
 through the heavens,
 Sounding his trumpet, to awake the dead; on high he soared
 Over the ruined worlds, the smoking tomb of the eternal
 prophet.

- [133] The Eternal Man arose; he welcomed them to the feast.
 615 The feast was spread in the bright south & the Eternal Man
 Sat at the feast rejoicing, & the wine of Eternity
 Was served round by the flames of Luvah all day & all the
 night.
- And many Eternal Men sat at the golden feast to see
 The female form now separate. They shuddered at the
 horrible thing—
- 620 Not born for the sport and amusement of man, but born to
 drink up all his powers—
 They wept to see their shadows; they said to one another,
 ‘This is sin!
 This is the generative world!’ They remembered the days of old;
 And one of the Eternals spoke; all was silent at the feast:
 ‘Man is a worm wearied with joy; he seeks the caves of sleep
 625 Among the flowers of Beulah in his selfish cold repose,

ix 613. In iv 165 Los began to rebuild Urizen’s golden world which had been hurled into ruins in iii, but he was trapped by the chaos and ‘became what he beheld’. The *smoking tomb* is not otherwise mentioned.

ix 615–17. Repeated from 584–86.

ix 619. This is strange here, as the word *now* suggests a new phenomenon, though the emanations have long been separate, and are soon to be fully reunited. The separation of the person into sexes is a common mark of the fallen world (cp. *Jerusalem* pl.44.33) and it is so represented in *Urizen* 315–25, where Enitharmon is ‘the *first* female form now separate’. In *Vala* there have been separate females from the beginning of the fall. This may be a contrivance to introduce the Eternal’s words at 624. There are other anomalies: the unusual construction (618–19) ‘many Eternal Men sat . . . to see’; B.’s normal style is more likely to be ‘many Eternal Men sat . . . weeping (*or* trembling *or* darkened) to see . . .’ And there is some contradiction in the presence of many Eternal Men; for Night ix as a whole is dealing with the redemption of the one Universal Man, who is all men; and this leaves no room, and normally no relevance, for other Eternals. B. elsewhere has many Eternals, but not in Night ix – or elsewhere in *The Four Zoas*, except as the Council of God. At the feast in ii, no one is present but the elements of the Man, and servants. All these considerations seem to suggest that B. has converted the Man’s feast for Urizen and the others into a feast among Eternals, momentarily, in order to fit in the speech beginning ‘Man is a worm’ (624–39). The other Eternals then disappear, and the rest of the Night is concerned only with the one Man and his elements – the four Zoas, and their families.

ix 620. Almost the same as ii 29, where Los thus describes Enitharmon.

ix 622. *generative*] 1st *rdg del.* Vegetative.

Forsaking Brotherhood & universal Love in selfish clay,
Folding the pure wings of his mind, seeking the places dark,
Abstracted from the roots of science. Then enclosed around
In walls of gold we cast him like a seed into the earth,
630 Till times & spaces have passed over him. Duly every morn
We visit him, covering with a veil the immortal seed;
With windows from the inclement sky we cover him, & with walls
And hearths protect the selfish terror, till divided all
In families we see our shadows born; & thence
we know
635 That Man subsists by Brotherhood & universal Love. } *Ephesians*
We fall on one another's necks, more closely we } *iii 10*
embrace.
Not for ourselves, but for the Eternal Family we live.
Man liveth not by self alone, but in his brother's face
Each shall behold the Eternal Father, & love & joy abound.'
640 So spoke the Eternal at the feast: they embraced the
new-born Man,
Calling him Brother, image of the Eternal Father. They sat down
At the immortal tables, sounding loud their instruments of joy,
Calling the morning into Beulah; the Eternal Man rejoiced.
When morning dawned, the Eternals rose to labour at the
vintage.
645 Beneath they saw their sons & daughters, wondering
inconceivable
At the dark myriads in shadows in the worlds beneath.
The morning dawned. Urizen rose, & in his hand the flail
Sounds on the floor, heard terrible by all beneath the heavens;
Dismal loud redounding, the nether floor shakes with the
sound,

ix 628. *science*] *1st rdg del.* Nature.

ix 634. The earthly desire for family life is a demonstration of man's eternal need, in his nature, for 'Brotherhood and universal Love'. *Ephesians* iii 10 reads: '... to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by [i.e. through] the church the manifold wisdom of God.' The quotation is related to the phrase 'thence we know': B. tells how the Eternals *know*, through seeing the necessity of brotherhood in the physical world, that so Man subsists. Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.96.26-8.

ix 644. Vintage is an incorrect word to use of corn harvesting, but B. takes the association from *Revelation* xiv 15-20.

ix 645-6. The punctuation is editorial, and proposes *wondering* as in apposition to *they* – the Eternals wonder, not the sons and daughters. There is no punctuation in the MS.

ix 647. The harvest, left at 583, continues with the threshing.

- [134] And all nations were threshed out & the stars threshed from
their husks.
- 651 Then Tharmas took the winnowing fan; the winnowing wind
furious
Above veered round, by the violent whirlwind driven west
and south,
Tossed the nations like chaff into the seas of Tharmas.
- ‘O Mystery!’ Fierce Tharmas cries: ‘Behold, thy end is come:
655 Art thou she that made the nations drunk with the cup of
religion?
Go down, ye kings & councillors & giant warriors!
Go down into the depths, go down & hide yourselves
beneath!
Go down, with horse & chariots & trumpets of hoarse war!
- ‘Lo! how the pomp of Mystery goes down into the caves!
660 Her great men howl & throw the dust & rend their hoary hair;
Her delicate women & children shriek upon the bitter wind,
Spoiled of their beauty, their hair rent & their skin shrivelled
up.
Lo, darkness covers the long pomp of banners on the wind,
And black horses & armed men & miserable bound captives.
665 Where shall the graves receive them all, & where shall be
their place,
And who shall mourn for Mystery, who never loosed her
captives?
- ‘Let the slave grinding at the mill run out into the field;
Let him look up into the heavens & laugh in the bright air;
Let the enchained soul, shut up in darkness & in sighing,
670 Whose face has never seen a smile in thirty weary years,
Rise & look out—his chains are loose, his dungeon doors are
open.
And let his wife & children return from the oppressor’s
scourge.
They look behind at every step & believe it is a dream:

ix 650–1. The threshing flail loosens the grain from the chaff; the wind or a fan winnows the chaff away.

ix 654. *Mystery*] The Rahab of viii 313–34, 576–96. But *Mystery* goes behind her to the Tree of Mystery in vii 31ff, which shoots up from the errors of Urizen. The annihilation of Mystery, then, is the annihilation of all that sprang from Urizen’s evil-doing in the heart of the poem, as well as of the delusive harlot Rahab. For these lines cp. *Revelation* xviii, where the sudden and complete overthrow of ‘that great city Babylon’, elsewhere equated with Mystery (*Revelation* xvii 5, quoted at viii 267n), is lyrically described at length in terms similar to these.

ix 667–73. So in *America* 42–8.

- Are these the slaves that groaned along the streets of Mystery?
 675 Where are your bonds & taskmasters? Are these the prisoners?
 Where are your chains, where are your tears? Why do you
 look around?
 If you are thirsty, there is the river: go bathe your parched limbs.
 The good of all the land is before you; for Mystery is no more!’
- Then all the slaves from every earth in the wide universe
 680 Sing a new song, drowning confusion in its happy notes
 (While the flail of Urizen sounded loud, & the winnowing
 wind of Tharmas)
 So loud, so clear in the wide heavens; & the song that they
 sung was this,
 Composed by an African black, from the little earth of Sotha:
 ‘Aha! Aha! How came I here so soon in my sweet native land?
 685 How came I here? Methinks I am as I was in my youth,
 [135] When in my father’s house I sat & heard his cheering voice;
 Methinks I see his flocks & herds & feel my limbs renewed;
 And lo, my brethren in their tents & their little ones around
 them!’
- The song arose to the golden feast, the Eternal Man rejoiced:
 690 Then the Eternal Man said: ‘Luvah, the vintage is ripe: arise!
 The sons of Urizen shall gather the vintage with sharp hooks,
 And all thy sons, O Luvah, bear away the families of earth.
 I hear the flail of Urizen; his barns are full, no room
 Remains, & in the vineyards stand the abounding sheaves
 beneath
- 695 The falling grapes, that odorous burst upon the winds. Arise!
 My flocks & herds trample the corn, my cattle browse upon
 The ripe clusters; the shepherds shout for Luvah, Prince of Love!
 Let the bulls of Luvah tread the corn, & draw the loaded
 waggon
 Into the barn, while children glean the ears around the door.
- 700 Then shall they lift their innocent hands & stroke his furious
 nose,
 And he shall lick the little girl’s white neck, & on her head
 Scatter the perfume of his breath, while from his mountains high
 The lion of terror shall come down, & bending his bright mane

ix 674. After long agitation, the slave trade was abolished in 1807 in British territories and ships. The allusion is also biblical, for Mystery is Babylon (654*n*), the city which enslaved the Jews in later Old Testament times, and which, in *Revelation*, is used as a ‘cover’ name for Rome.

ix 690. The vintage, like the harvest of 577*ff* (q.v. note), derives from *Revelation* xiv where, after the harvest, an angel ‘thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God’ (xiv 19). B.’s winepress follows in 727*ff*.

- And couching at their side, shall eat from the curled boy's
white lap
705 His golden food, and in the evening sleep before the door.'
'Attempting to be more than Man we become less', said
Luvah,
As he arose from the bright feast, drunk with the wine of ages.
His crown of thorns fell from his head, he hung his living lyre
Behind the seat of the Eternal Man & took his way,
710 Sounding the song of Los, descending to the vineyards bright.
His sons, arising from the feast with golden baskets, follow,
A fiery train—as when the sun sings in the ripe vineyards.
Then Luvah stood before the winepress; all his fiery sons
Brought up the loaded waggons with shoutings; ramping
tigers play
715 In the jingling traces, furious lions sound the song of joy
To the golden wheels circling upon the pavement of heaven;
& all
The villages of Luvah ring: the golden tiles of the villages
Reply to violins & tabors, to the pipe, flute, lyre & cymbal.
Then fell the legions of Mystery in maddening confusion
720 Down, down, through the immense, with outcry, fury &
despair
Into the winepresses of Luvah. Howling fell the clusters
Of human families through the deep. The winepresses were filled,
The blood of life flowed plentiful, odours of life arose
All round the heavenly arches & the odours rose, singing this
song:

[136] 'O terrible winepresses of Luvah! O caverns of the grave!

ix 708. *His crown of thorns*] In vii 491–3 Luvah is said to be crucified as Christ was, and throughout the poem they are associated in this way.

ix 710. *the song of Los*] B. may be recalling *Asia* (p. 250) which foreshadows the imminent overthrow by Orc of kings and priests, who serve the evil Urizen. *Asia* ends with the revival of the dead for judgment in terms suggesting a Bacchanalia (62–4): 'And milk and blood and glandous wine / In rivers rush and shout and dance, / On mountain, dale and plain.'

ix 718. *pipe, flute, lyre and cymbal*] The first two may be real village instruments, but the last two are certainly biblical.

ix 719. The harvest is in two parts – corn and grapes. *Mystery* is destroyed in both; by Urizen and by Luvah. The corn, which becomes bread, may signify Thought, and the grapes, which become wine, Feeling; cp. B.'s letter to Mrs Flaxman (14 Sept. 1800): 'The Bread of sweet thought and the wine of delight.' As always, one must beware of too narrow an interpretation, but the associations with Urizen and Luvah make this one plausible.

ix 724. *odours*] Tharmas belongs to the tongue (i 96–8), Urthona to the ear (i 12), Urizen as prince of light to the eyes; thus the nose is left for Luvah.

- 726 How lovely the delights of those risen again from death.
O trembling joy! Excess of joy is like excess of grief.
So sang the human odours round the winepresses of Luvah.
But in the winepresses is wailing, terror & despair.
- 730 Forsaken of their elements they vanish & are no more;
No more but a desire of being, a distracted ravening desire,
Desiring like the hungry worm & like the gaping grave.
They plunge into the elements, the elements cast them forth
Or else consume their shadowy semblance. Yet they, obstinate
- 735 Though pained to distraction, cry: 'Oh, let us exist, for
This dreadful Non-Existence is worse than pains of Eternal Birth!
Eternal Death who can endure? Let us consume in fires,
In waters stifling, or in air corroding, or in earth shut up.
The pangs of Eternal Birth are better than the pangs of
Eternal Death!'
- 740 How red the sons & daughters of Luvah! How they tread
the grapes,
Laughing & shouting, drunk with odours; many fall
o'erwearied;
Drowned in the wine is many a youth & maiden. Those
around
Lay them on skins of tigers or the spotted leopard or wild ass
Till they revive, or bury them in cool grotts making
lamentation.
- 745 But in the winepresses the human grapes sing not nor dance:
They howl & writhe in shoals of torment, in fierce flames
consuming,
In chains of iron & in dungeons, circled with ceaseless fires
In pits & dens & shades of death, in shapes of torment & woe.
The plates, the screws and racks & saws & cords & fires & floods,
- 750 The cruel joy of Luvah's daughters, lacerating with knives
And whips their victims, & the deadly sports of Luvah's sons.

ix 730. *they*] There is no direct antecedent, but the sense is clear. The *human families* (722) are thrown into the press, and the truth they embody – that which is real in them – remains as the essence from which the wine is made; the falsehood, the parasitic *mystery*, deprived of the elements of the material world which gave it temporary form, vanishes and is annihilated.

ix 732. *gaping*] 1st *rdg del.* silent.

ix 740–68. This passage is repeated in *Milton* pl.27(25).3–41, with certain alterations and additions. The additions there do not elucidate its context in *Four Zoas*.

ix 745. The Dionysiac passions of Luvah express his nature; but the process of purification is torment for those being purified.

ix 751. *whips*] The MS has 'whip': *Milton* pl.27(25).36 has 'whips'.

- Timbrels & violins sport round the winepresses. The little
seed,
The sportive root, the earthworm, the small beetle, the wise
emmet
Dance round the winepresses of Luvah. The centipede is there,
755 The ground spider with many eyes, the mole clothed in velvet,
The earwig armed, the tender maggot, emblem of immortality,
The slow slug, the grasshopper that sings & laughs & drinks—
The winter comes, he folds his slender bones without a
murmur—
There is the nettle that stings with soft down, & there
760 The indignant thistle whose bitterness is bred in his milk
And who lives in the contempt of his neighbour; there all
the idle weeds
That creep about the obscure places show their various limbs
Naked in all their beauty, dancing round the winepresses.
They dance around the dying & they drink the howl & groan;
[137] They catch the shrieks in cups of gold, they hand them to
one another.
766 These are the sports of love, & these the sweet delights of
amorous play—
Tears of the grapes, the death sweat of the cluster, the last sigh
Of the mild youth who listens to the luring songs of Luvah.
The Eternal Man darkened with sorrow—& a wintry mantle
770 Covered the hills. He said, ‘O Tharmas, rise; O Urthona!’
Then Tharmas & Urthona rose from the golden feast, satiated
With mirth & joy. Urthona, limping from his fall, on
Tharmas leaned;
In his right hand his hammer. Tharmas held his shepherd’s crook
Beset with gold: gold were the ornaments formed by the
sons of Urizen
775 Then Enion & Ahania & Vala & the wife of dark Urthona
Rose from the feast, in joy ascending to their golden looms.

ix 756. *maggot*] These were supposed to arise in dead flesh by spontaneous birth.

ix 760. *milk*] i.e. his sap.

ix 764–7. The children of Luvah here have some of the nature of the unredeemed Vala, who enjoyed the cruel side of love play; and in 792–5 the Eternal Man gives them in their turn a corrective punishment. The passage is, however, partly allegorical and partly poetic imagination. The allegorical part is that the children of Luvah are the representatives of various sensual delights in man, which are by nature uncontrollable, which can be cruel, and which have to be given rein in some way, but restrained at times.

ix 769. The year, which began with Urizen’s sowing, has ended.

ix 772. *Urthona limping*] This is not referred to elsewhere; it equates Urthona with Hephaestus, the lame smith of the Greek pantheon.

- There the winged shuttle sang, the spindle & the distaff &
the reel
Rang sweet the praise of industry. Through all the golden rooms
Heaven rang with winged exultation. All beneath howled loud;
780 With tenfold rout & desolation roared the chasms beneath,
Where the wide woof flowed down & where the nations are
gathered together.
- Tharmas went down to the winepresses & beheld the sons
and daughters
Of Luvah quite exhausted with the labour & quite filled
With new wine, that they began to torment one another, and
to tread
785 The weak. Luvah & Vala slept on the floor o'erwearied.
- Urthona called his sons around him; Tharmas called his sons
Numerous: they took the wine, they separated the lees,
And Luvah was put for dung on the ground by the sons of
Tharmas & Urthona.
They formed heavens of sweetest woods, of gold & silver &
ivory,
790 Of glass & precious stones. They loaded all the waggons of
heaven
And took away the wine of ages with solemn songs & joy.
- Luvah & Vala woke, & all the sons & daughters of Luvah
Awoke. They wept to one another & they reascended
To the Eternal Man in woe. He cast them wailing into
795 The world of shadows through the air till winter is over & gone.
But the human wine stood wondering; in all their delightful
expanses
The elements subside; the heavens rolled on with vocal harmony.
- Then Los, who is Urthona, rose in all his regenerate power.
The sea that rolled & foamed with darkness & the shadows
of death
800 Vomited out & gave up; all the floods lift up their hands,
Singing & shouting to the Man; they bow their hoary heads
And murmuring in their channels flow & circle round his feet.
- [138] Then dark Urthona took the corn out of the stores of Urizen;
He ground it in his rumbling mills; terrible the distress

ix 777. *reel*] The bobbin of spun thread fitting into the weaving shuttle.

ix 779. *All beneath*] The legions of *Mystery* going down to annihilation.

ix 798. *Urthona*] Of the four Zoas, the least in need of redemption, the last to arise in heaven, and with least ado. His spectre and Enitharmon's were destroyed in ix 31. His is the final part in the making of the bread, and the most creative.

ix 800. Cp. *Revelation* xx 13: 'And the sea gave up the dead which were in it.'

- 805 Of all the nations of earth, ground in the mills of Urthona.
 In his hand Tharmas takes the storms, he turns the
 whirlwind loose
 Upon the wheels, the stormy seas howl at his dread command,
 And eddying fierce, rejoice in the fierce agitation of the wheels
 Of dark Urthona. Thunders, earthquakes, fires, water, floods
- 810 Rejoice to one another; loud their voices shake the abyss,
 Their dread forms tending the dire mills. The grey hoar-frost
 was there,
 And his pale wife, the aged snow (they watch over the fires,
 They build the ovens of Urthona). Nature in darkness groans,
 And men are bound to sullen contemplations in the night.
- 815 Restless they turn on beds of sorrow, in their inmost brain
 Feeling the crushing wheels—they rise, they write the bitter
 words
 Of stern philosophy, & knead the bread of knowledge with
 tears and groans.
- Such are the works of dark Urthona. Tharmas sifted the corn,
 Urthona made the bread of ages, & he placed it
- 820 In golden & in silver baskets, in heavens of precious stone,
 And then took his repose in winter, in the night of time.
- The sun has left his blackness & has found a fresher morning,
 And the mild moon rejoices in the clear & cloudless night,
 And Man walks forth from midst of the fires, the evil is all
 consumed:
- 825 His eyes behold the angelic spheres arising night & day;
 The stars consumed like a lamp blown out, & in their stead,
 behold!
 The expanding eyes of Man behold the depths of wondrous
 worlds.
- One earth, one sea beneath; nor erring globes wander, but stars
 Of fire rise up nightly from the ocean, & one sun
- 830 Each morning like a new-born man issues with songs of joy,
 Calling the ploughman to his labour & the shepherd to his rest.
 He walks upon the eternal mountains raising his heavenly
 voice,
 Conversing with the animal forms of wisdom night & day
 That, risen from the sea of fire, renewed walk o'er the earth.
- 835 For Tharmas brought his flocks upon the hills & in the vales;

ix 822–3. Taken from *America* 49–50.

ix 824–5. Man has destroyed all the evil in himself, and can look at infinity without being harmed; earlier (288) he could not. Cp. also Vala's attempt to walk at will in creation, in vii 594–613; then her only reward was melancholy.

ix 827. *expanding*] i.e. of infinite vision.

ix 832. *He*] The Man.

- Around the Eternal Man's bright tent the little children play,
 Among the woolly flocks. The hammer of Urthona sounds
 In the deep caves beneath, his limbs renewed; his lions roar
 Around the furnaces, & in evening sport upon the plains.
 840 They raise their faces from the earth, conversing with the Man:
 'How is it we have walked through fires & yet are not
 consumed?
 How is it that all things are changed, even as in ancient times?'
- [139] The sun arises from his dewy bed, & the fresh airs
 Play in his smiling beams, giving the seeds of life to grow,
 845 And the fresh earth beams forth ten thousand thousand
 springs of life.
 Urthona is arisen in his strength, no longer now
 Divided from Enitharmon, no longer the spectre Los.
 Where is the spectre of prophecy? Where the delusive phantom?
 Departed; and Urthona rises from the ruinous walls
 850 In all his ancient strength to form the golden armour of
 science
 For intellectual war. The war of swords departed now,
 The dark religions are departed, & sweet science reigns.

End of the Dream

[*Design*]

APPENDIX

The following are passages of some length that are still clearly visible in the MS, but have been cancelled from the text. Single lines and couplets similarly cancelled will be found in the footnotes; there are also signs in several places that B. has erased long passages, but as these have been over-written it has proved impossible to recover them. The text of these passages has been modernized.

(a) Night i 1-3 as given above are the result of much alteration. At first there were seven lines:

- 1 This is the Dirge of Eno which shook the heavens with wrath;
- 2 And thus beginneth the Book of Vala which whosoever reads
- 3 If with his Intellect he comprehend the terrible sentence,

ix 848. *the spectre of prophecy*] Urthona's spectre, of iv-vii, which was sometimes in the right, but could not be trusted.

ix 850. *science*] Knowledge and understanding.

ix *Design*. Below the text, most of the page is taken up with the figure of a young man seen from behind, in a similar attitude to the design, MS p. 2 (p. 299 above), but very much awake, and springing up from a globe.

- 6 The heavens shall quake, the earth shall move, & shudder, &
the moutains
7 With all their woods, the streams & valleys, wail in dismal fear.
4 To hear the sound of long resounding strong heroic verse
5 Marshalled in order for the day of intellectual battle.

The marginal numbers, added later, indicate a changed order. Various corrections were also made, which taken together would give the following text; the italicized words are an intermediate state. The altered numbering of lines is used here; but it is not altogether possible to tell at what time B. intended which changes. Finally B. numbered the lines yet again 1-3, ignoring the unwanted lines, and this gives the first three lines as printed in the main text.

This is the Song of Enitharmon which shook the heavens
with wrath,
And thus beginneth the Book of Vala which whosoever reads
If with his intellect he comprehend the terrible sentence,
Hearing the march of long resounding strong heroic verse
Marshalled in order for the day of Intellectual Battle,
The heavens quake, the earth (*moves*) was moved and
(*shudders*) shuddered, and the mountains
With all their woods, the streams and valleys, wailed in dismal
fear.

*

(b) At the top of MS p. 6, seventeen del. lines:

- [6] Searching for glory, wishing that the heavens had eyes to see,
And courting that the earth would ope her eyelids, and behold
Such wondrous beauty repining in the midst of all his glory,
That nought but Enion could be found to praise, adore, and
love.
5 Three days in self-admiring raptures on the rocks he flamed,
And three dark nights repined the solitude: but the third morn
Astonished, he found Enion hidden in the darksome cave.

She spoke: 'What am I? wherefore was I put forth on these rocks,
Among the clouds to tremble in the wind in solitude?

- 10 Where is the voice that lately woke the desert? Where the face
That wept among the clouds, and where the voice that shall
reply?

No other living thing is here. The sea, the earth, the heaven,
And Enion desolate! Where art thou, Tharmas?—O return!

Three days she wailed, and three dark nights, sitting among the
rocks,

- 15 While the bright spectre hid himself among the backing clouds.

Then sleep fell on her eyelids in a chasm of the valley.
The sixteenth morn, the spectre stood before her manifest.

On p. 7, after 132:

- The spectre said: 'Thou sinful woman! Was it thy desire
That I should hide thee with my power, and delight thee
with my beauty?
20 And now thou dark'nest in my presence! Never from my sight
Shalt thou depart to weep in secret. In my jealous wings
I evermore will hold thee, when thou goest out or comest in.
'Tis thou hast darkened all my world, O woman, lovely bane!'
- Thus they contended all the day among the caves of Tharmas,
25 Twisting in fearful forms and howling, howling, harsh shrieking;
Howling, harsh shrieking; mingled, their bodies join in
burning anguish,

After 138:

- 27 With spectre voice incessant wailing; in incessant thirst
Beauty all blushing with desire mocking her fell despair
- Wandering desolate, a wonder abhorred by gods and men . . .

b 15. backing] An uncertain reading.

b 27. spectre] *1st rdg del.* serpent.

(c) A fragment on a scrap of paper known as p. 143, once taken to be B.'s final thoughts on p. 7 133–38, but now (thanks to Andrew Lincoln) believed to be a midway stage used as a worksheet. In lines c 4–7 the words *beast*, *darkly waving*, *metals*, *rocky features*, *wonder*, were, as in p. 7, *serpent*, *lovely changing*, *poisons*, *scaly armour*, *monster*. With the *metals* and *rocks*, B. seems to be aiming at a personification of Urthona's spectre as the earth. The passage describes the beginning of sexuality as a fierce, antagonistic union of hostile individuals, not the total union of body and spirit known in Eternity.

- [143] Opening his rifted rocks, mingling together they join in
burning anguish,
Mingling his horrible darkness with her tender limbs. Then
high she soared
Shrieking above the ocean. A bright wonder that nature
shuddered at—
Half woman & half beast. All his darkly waving colours mix
5 With her fair crystal clearness; in her lips & cheeks his metals
rose,
In blushes like the morning, & his rocky features softening;

A wonder lovely in the heavens or wandering on the earth,
 With female voice warbling upon the hollow vales,
 Beauty all blushing with desire, a self-enjoying wonder.

- 10 For Enion brooded, groaning loud; the rough seas vegetate.
 Golden rocks rise from the vortex vast
 And thus her voice: 'Glory, delight & sweet enjoyment!—born
 To mild Eternity, shut in a threefold shape delightful,
 To wander in sweet solitude enraptured at every wind.'

c 1. mingling together they] 1st *rdg del.* mingling their bodies.

c 8. female] 1st *rdg del.* serpent.

c 10, 12. Added lines.

c 11. vortex] The *x* is missing where the page is torn; this and the previous line are an insertion written as one line, and some words may be missing after *vast*.

c 13. threefold] Less than the eternal fourfold.

c 14. After this, at the torn foot of the paper, these *del.* lines:
 shining across the ocean

Enion brooded groaning the golden rocks vegetate

[Here a note to bring in lines *d7–13*, but changing the ending:]

Infolding the bright woman from the desolating winds & thus her voice
 &c

(*d*) After i 146, in the middle of MS p. 8:

But those in great Eternity met in the Council of God
 As One Man, hovering over Gilead and Hermon:
 He is the good Shepherd; he is the Lord and Master,
 To create Man morning by morning, to give gifts at
 noonday.

- 5 Enion brooded o'er the rocks; the rough rocks, groaning,
 vegetate—

Such power was given to the solitary wanderer—

The barked oak, the long-limbed beech, the chestnut tree,
 the pine,

The pear-tree mild, the frowning walnut, the sharp crab, and
 apple sweet,

The rough bark opens; twittering peep forth little beaks and
 wings—

- 10 The nightingale, the goldfinch, robin, lark, linnet and thrush;
 The goat leaped from the craggy cliff, the sheep awoke from
 the mould;
 Upon its green stalk rose the corn, waving innumerable,
 Enfolding the bright infants from the desolating winds.

d 1–2. Cp. i 183 and viii 1–2.

d 3–4. These lines are inserted, and derive from an erased passage on MS p. 99 (under viii 4–9 – see (*f*) below) and ultimately from *Jerusalem* pl.34.23.

d 13. the bright infants] Los and Enitharmon (see main text).

(e) Written in the margin of p. 11 and marked to follow ii 40, but then deleted:

- Refusing to behold the Divine Image which all behold
 And live thereby: he is sunk down into a deadly sleep;
 But we, immortal in our own strength, survive by stern debate,
 Till we have drawn the Lamb of God into a mortal form.
 5 And that he must be born is certain; for One must be All,
 And comprehend within himself all things both small and great.
 We therefore, for whose sake all things aspire to be and live
 Will so receive the Divine Image that amongst the Reprobate
 He may be devoted to destruction from his mother's womb.

e 2. *he*] The fallen Man (see ii 39 in main text).

e 3. *immortal in our own strength*] A fallacy.

e 8-9. *Reprobate . . . devoted to destruction*] A concept developed in *Milton* (q.v. pls. 11.21-2 and 25(26).32-8).

*

(f) Lines viii 4-9 are written in the space where five lines had been erased. These can be partially read as follows; they appear to have been continuous with 1-3 of the main text, which is therefore printed here (in italics):

- Then all in great Eternity met in the Council of God
 As one Man, even Jesus, upon Gillead and Hermon,
 Upon the limit of contraction to create the fallen Man:*
 He is . . .
 5 He is the Good Shepherd; he is the Lord and Master;
 He is the Shepherd of Albion; he is all in all:-
 In Eden, in the Garden of God, and in heavenly Jerusalem
 To create Man morning by morning, to give gifts at noonday.

f 4. One or two words in this line can be conjecturally read (see *Erdman* pp. 839-40): the evidence is that, as is to be expected, the line gives attributes of Jesus.

f 5. As in f 4, *He* is Jesus.

f 6. *Shepherd of Albion*] The reading of this phrase is uncertain.

*

(g) After viii 9, *overhead*, the words at the end of the line, plus the first five out of six in the margin (the sixth of these lines was not cancelled, and is 10 of the main text):

- but other wings
- They had which clothed their bodies like a garment of soft down,
 Silvery-white, shining upon the dark blue sky in silence;
 Their wings touched the heavens, their fair feet hovered above
 The swelling tides; they bent over the dead corpse like an arch,
 5 Pointed at top in highest heavens of precious stones and pearl.

*

(*h*) p. 114 is copied from a draft on a separate sheet, known as p. 145. This sheet contains the following lines, which B. erased in the draft and did not transfer to p. 114. Of the following lines, *h* 2 (in italics) was not erased, and so appears in the main text as viii 318:

In which is Tirzah untranslucent, an opaque covering,
Who is Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots.
 And Rahab stripped off Luvah's robes from off the Lamb of
 God.
 Then first she saw his glory, and her harlot form appeared
 5 In all its turpitude beneath the divine light; and of Luvah's robes
 She made herself a mantle.
 Also the vegetated bodies which Enitharmon wove in her looms
 Opened within the heart and in the loins and in the brain
 To Beulah; and the dead in Beulah descended through their gates.
 10 And some were woven onefold, some twofold, and some
 threefold
 In head or heart or reins according to the fittest order
 Of most merciful pity and compassion to the spectrous dead.

h 6. This line shows no sign of completion. The theme of the next lines is different from that of 1-6.

★

(*j*) After viii 571 (itself an interpolation), eight deleted lines:

But Rahab hewed a sepulchre in the Rock of Eternity,
 And, placing in the sepulchre the body which she had taken
 From the divine Lamb, wept over the sepulchre, weaving
 Her web of Religion around the sepulchre times after times,
 beside Jerusalem's gate:
 5 But as she wove, behold! the bottom of the sepulchre
 Rent, and a door was opened through the bottom of the
 sepulchre
 Into Eternity. And as she wove, she heard a voice behind her
 calling her:
 She turned, and saw the Divine Vision, and her

j 1. *hewed*] 1st *rdg del.* built.

j 2-3. Written over 'The End of the Eighth Night' erased.

j 4. *Her web of Religion*] This web was originally attributed to Urizen (cp. vi 241ff, and *Urizen* 462-9).

j 6. Cp. vii 324*n*.

j 8. The passage ends thus, in mid-sentence; there is no sign of its completion.

★

(*k*) There are three fragments, one a torn piece of paper. These are known as pp. 141-2, 143-4 (the torn piece) and 145 respectively (see *h* above: the reverse of p. 145 is blank). For pp. 143-4, see (*c*) above. Page 144 contains only a sketch, and above it only the torn-off words:

That I should hide thee with my power, and . . .
And now thou darkenest in my presence, never from my sight

This leaves pp. 141-2: these contain a number of bits of verse, separated from one another by lines across the page. None is used in the final text, but most seem to be notes for the fall of Tharmas and Enion into sexual division, in Night i.

- [141] Beneath the veil of Vala rose Tharmas from dewy tears.
The eternal Man bowed his bright head, and Urizen, prince
of light,
Astonished looked from his bright portals, calling thus to Luvah:
'O Luvah in the _____
- 5 Astonished looked from his bright portals. Luvah, king of love,
Awakened Vala. Ariston ran forth with bright Onana,
And dark Urthona roused his shady bride from her deep den.
Awaking from his stony slumber
Pitying they viewed the new-born demon, for they could not love
- 10 After their sin _____
Male-formed the demon; mild athletic force his shoulders spread,
And his bright feet firm as a brazen altar: but the parts
To love devoted, female. All astonished stood the hosts
Of heaven, while Tharmas with winged speed flew to the
sandy shore.
- 15 He rested on the desert wild and on the raging sea.
He stood and stretched his wings &c _____

With printless feet scorning the concave of the joyful sky,
Female her form, bright as the summer: but the parts of love
Male, and her brow radiant as day, darted a lovely scorn.

20 Tharmas beheld from his high rocks & _____

- [142] The ocean calm, the clouds fold round, and fiery flames of love
Enwrap the immortal limbs struggling in terrific joy
Not long: thunders, lightnings, swift rending and blasting winds
Sweep o'er the struggling copulation; in fell writhing pangs
- 25 They lie, in twisting agonies beneath the covering heavens.

The womb impressed, Enion fled and hid in verdant mountains;
Yet here his heavenly orbs &c

From Enion pours the seed of life and death in all her limbs;
 Frozen in the womb of Tharmas rush the rivers of Enion's
 pain:
 30 Trembling he lay, swelled with the deluge, stifling in the
 anguish

k 1. Vala] 1st rdg del. ?Enion.

k 3. This line deleted. The first word read *Astonish* – a clear slip (see *k 5*).

k 4. This unfinished line deleted, evidently in the process of composition.

k 6. Onana] The reading is uncertain.

k 8. This line interpolated, then deleted.

k 10. This phrase deleted.

k 14. shore] Altered to 'ocean', but the alteration then deleted.

k 16. The continuation is not found elsewhere.

k 20. The '&c' may, as in *k 16*, and 27 on p. 142, mean '&c'. But here also the continuation is not extant.

k 21–5. An essay for the 'love-scene' of Tharmas's spectre and Enion, *c 1–4*.

All these '*k*' fragments imply an earlier form of the fall of Tharmas (see i headnote) rejected in favour of the present one. The final text derives this fall ultimately from the quarrel of Urizen and Luvah over the Man: *k 1–2* of p. 141 suggest that the Man's fall is due to Vala, and that Urizen and Luvah (*k 2–6*) are still unfallen. This fits the narrative of ii 13ff and iii 40ff. The mention of Ariston and Onana, and the state of Tharmas as a newly-created hermaphrodite, imply that the fourfold pattern of Zoas was not settled when these notes were made. Perhaps B. intended Ariston to be a Zoa, and Tharmas–Enion his fallen children, as Los–Enitharmon are the fallen forms of the Zoa Urthona.

23 'When Klopstock England defied'

Date. August–September 1800 (when B. left Lambeth), although the evidence is not final, and the verses may date from about 1797. Klopstock (German author of the epic *Messias*, and known as 'the German Milton') had for some time been decrying the potentialities and achievements of English verse, and in particular criticising a supposed coarseness, which he traced to Swift. Rodney G. Dennis has observed that Hayley may have shown B., before or after the removal to Felpham, the August 1800 issue of the London journal, *The German Museum*. This contained comparison by Klopstock of English and German verse translations of Homer, contrived to the disadvantage of English. B. replied with appropriate vulgarity, in these verses written on p. 5 of *NB*.

When Klopstock England defied,
 Uprose terrible Blake in his pride.
 For old Nobodaddy aloft
 Farted and belched and coughed,
 5 Then swore a great oath that made Heaven quake,
 And called aloud to English Blake.
 Blake was giving his body ease
 At Lambeth beneath the poplar trees;
 From his seat then started he
 10 And turned himself round three times three.
 The moon at that sight blushed scarlet red,
 The stars threw down their cups and fled,
 And all the devils that were in hell
 Answered with a ninefold yell.
 15 Klopstock felt the entriples turn,
 And all his bowels began to churn,
 And his bowels turned round three times three
 And locked in his soul with a ninefold key,
 That from his body it ne'er could be parted
 20 Till to the last trumpet it was farted.
 Then again old Nobodaddy swore
 He ne'er had seen such a thing before—
 Since Noah was shut in the ark,
 Since Eve first chose her Hell-fire spark,
 25 Since 'twas the fashion to go naked,
 Since the old anything was created;
 And in pity he begged him to turn again
 And ease poor Klopstock's ninefold pain.
 From pity then he reddened round
 30 And the ninefold spell unwound.

 If Blake could do this when he rose up from shite,
 What might he not do if he sat down to write?

¶ 23.3. *Nobodaddy* appears also in two other places in *NB*: 'To Nobodaddy' (p. 162), and 'Let the Brothels of Paris be opened' (p. 175). Both are at the end of the book, where B. was writing with the pages upside-down, and can be dated Oct. 1792–Jan. 1793. B. repeats 3–4 here from 'Let the Brothels . . .'

27. *in pity*] A probable reading.

30. Followed by two del. lines:

It spun back on the stile / Whereat Klopstock did smile.

24 Poems in letters (1800)

These poems are found in letters written at the beginning of B.'s stay at Felpham and show his feelings about the new life he saw beginning. Flaxman, a fellow-artist, was at this time, as can be seen, a great friend of B.'s, although later B.'s attitude changed, as the verses on pp. 624ff below show. Thomas Butts was a constant friend, and, not being an artist, was never involved in B.'s professional quarrels.

I

TO MY DEAREST FRIEND, JOHN FLAXMAN

- I bless thee, O Father of Heaven and Earth, that ever I
saw Flaxman's face.
Angels stand round my spirit in Heaven, the blessed of
Heaven are my friends upon Earth.
When Flaxman was taken to Italy, Fuseli was given to me
for a season,
And now Flaxman hath given me Hayley, his friend to
be mine, such my lot upon Earth.
5 Now my lot in the Heavens is this; Milton loved me in
childhood and showed me his face;
Ezra came with Isaiah the prophet, but Shakespeare in
riper years gave me his hand;
Paracelsus and Behmen appeared to me; terrors appeared
in the Heavens above
And in Hell beneath, and a mighty and awful change
threatened the Earth.

¶ 24. This letter bears the postmark '12 o'clock 12 Sp. 1800'.

i 1-3. *Flaxman . . . Fuseli*] B. met Flaxman about 1780; according to Gilchrist he met Fuseli a little later. But Flaxman did not go to Italy until 1787 (staying until 1794), and Gilchrist's ambiguity may be noted: 'To the list of . . . friends was afterwards added Henry Fuseli . . . In 1780, Fuseli . . . become a neighbour, lodging in Broad Street, where he remained until 1782' (*Life of W.B.*, ch. v). But on 26 Aug. 1799, B. wrote to George Cumberland, 'even Johnson and Fuseli have discarded my graver' – hence, perhaps, the phrase 'for a season'. Fuseli (originally Heinrich Füsslich) was a Continental intellectual, and his crucial influence on B. c. 1790 remains to be properly investigated. Flaxman was a Swedenborgian.

i 6. *Ezra*] The Book of Ezra describes the return of the exiles of Jerusalem, its rebuilding, and the dangers of their intermarriage with the local people. It is not a part of the Bible that has obviously influenced B., despite its subject-matter.

i 7. *Paracelsus and Behmen*] Renaissance mystical writers; for Behmen (the common eighteenth-century spelling of *Boehme*) see headnote to *Urizen*, p. 253 above.

The American War began. All its dark horrors passed
 before my face
 10 Across the Atlantic to France. Then the French
 Revolution commenced in thick clouds,
 And my angels have told me that seeing such visions I
 could not subsist on the Earth
 But by my conjunction with Flaxman, who knows to
 forgive nervous fear.

II

TO MY DEAR FRIEND, MRS. ANNA FLAXMAN

H[ercules] B[uildings] Lambeth, 14 Sept 1800
 This song to the flower of Flaxman's joy,
 To the blossom of hope for a sweet decoy;
 Do all that you can, or all that you may,
 To entice him to Felpham and far away,
 5 Away to sweet Felpham, for Heaven is there;
 The ladder of angels descends through the air;
 On the Turret its spiral does softly descend,
 Through the village then winds, at my cot it does end.
 You stand in the village and look up to Heaven;
 10 The precious stones glitter on flights seventy-seven,
 And my brother is there, and my friend and thine
 Descend and ascend with the bread and the wine.
 The bread of sweet thought and the wine of delight
 Feeds the village of Felpham by day and by night,
 15 And at his own door the blessed Hermit does stand,
 Dispensing unceasing to all the whole land.

III

To my friend Butts I write
 My first vision of light:
 On the yellow sands sitting,
 The sun was emitting
 5 His glorious beams

ii. This poem is written at the foot of a letter from Catherine Blake to Mrs Flaxman, and signed 'W. Blake'. The Blakes moved to Felpham on the 18th.

ii 15. *the blessed Hermit*] Hayley. The 'Turret' (7) was his new house; its walls ensured complete privacy.

iii. Letter dated 2 Oct. 1800. A poem important for stating B.'s concept of the totally Human universe.

From heaven's high streams.
 Over sea, over land,
 My eyes did expand
 Into regions of air,
 10 Away from all care;
 Into regions of fire,
 Remote from desire;
 The light of the morning
 Heaven's mountains adorning,
 15 In particles bright
 The jewels of light
 Distinct shone and clear—
 Amazed and in fear
 I each particle gazed,
 20 Astonished, amazed:
 For each was a man
 Human-formed. Swift I ran,
 For they beckoned to me,
 Remote by the sea,
 25 Saying, 'Each grain of sand,
 Every stone on the land,
 Each rock and each hill,
 Each fountain and rill,
 Each herb and each tree,
 30 Mountain, hill, earth and sea,
 Cloud, meteor and star
 Are men seen afar'.
 I stood in the streams
 Of heaven's bright beams
 35 And saw Felpham sweet
 Beneath my bright feet,
 In soft female charms;
 And in her fair arms
 My shadow I knew,
 40 And my wife's shadow too,
 And my sister and friend.
 We like infants descend
 In our shadows on earth,
 Like a weak mortal birth;
 45 My eyes more and more

iii 19. PARTICLE] B. 'humanizes' (21-2) Newton's inanimate physics (see Ault, *Visionary Physics* (1974) pp. 142-7; *Raine* i 420-2 (n38)). In Newton, the particles are infinitely hard, and lifeless.

Like a sea without shore
 Continue expanding,
 The heavens commanding,
 Till the jewels of light,
 50 Heavenly men beaming bright,
 Appeared as one man,
 Who complacent began
 My limbs to enfold
 In his beams of bright gold;
 55 Like dross purged away
 All my mire and my clay,
 Soft-consumed in delight
 In his bosom sun-bright
 I remained. Soft he smiled,
 60 And I heard his voice mild,
 Saying, 'This is my fold,
 O thou ram horned with gold—
 Who awakest from sleep
 On the sides of the deep,
 65 On the mountains around,
 The roarings resound
 Of the lion and wolf,
 The loud sea and deep gulf.
 These are guards of my fold,
 70 O thou ram horned with gold.'
 And the voice faded mild;
 I remained as a child;
 All I ever had known
 Before me bright shone.
 75 I saw you and your wife
 By the fountains of life.
 Such the vision to me
 Appeared on the sea.

IV

TO MRS. BUTTS

Wife of the friend of those I most revere,
 Receive this tribute from a harp sincere.

iii 62. *ram horned with gold*] B. himself; a reminiscence of the ram seen in a vision by *Daniel* (ch. viii); though that ram (which signified Egypt) was overcome by a goat. Swedenborg said that the ram signified 'those who are in faith from charity' and their moral victories.

iv. Lines written at the end of the letter which contains the previous poem.

- Go on in virtuous seed, sowing on mould
 Of human vegetation, and behold
 5 Your harvest springing to eternal life,
 Parent of youthful minds, and happy wife.

25 On the Virginity of the Virgin Mary and Joanna Southcott

Date. c late 1802. Joanna Southcott (1750–1814), a Devonshire woman, became convinced that she was the vehicle of a divine revelation. Her adherents grew in numbers, and in 1801 she gained some attention in London, where she arrived in May 1802. In October 1802 she proclaimed that she was to give birth to the second Christ; and this is probably the period of B.'s poem, which was written on p. 6 of the Notebook. In May 1813 she declared that she was pregnant with this child, who was to be named Shiloh, but it was a phantom pregnancy; she died, perhaps of cancer, on 27 Dec. 1814.

Whate'er is done to her she cannot know,
 And if you ask her she will swear it so.
 Whether 'tis good or evil none's to blame;
 No one can take the pride, no one the blame.

26 Poems to Mr & Mrs Butts

The letters of 1800 (No. 24 above) show B.'s enthusiasm at the prospects for his stay at Felpham. The letter, and the passage of verse given below, show how those hopes had faded. The second piece is the end of a letter in which B. has described his encounter with John Scholfield (see Chronological Table above, p. xviii, and p. 656).

I [TO THOMAS BUTTS, 22 NOVEMBER 1802]

- With happiness stretched across the hills
 In a cloud that dewy sweetness distils,
 With a blue sky spread over with wings
 And a mild sun that mounts and sings,
 5 With trees and fields full of fairy elves
 And little devils who fight for themselves,
 Remembering the verses that Hayley sung
 When my heart knocked against the root of my tongue;
 With angels planted in hawthorn bowers

- 10 And God himself in the passing hours,
 With silver angels across my way
 And golden demons that none can stay;
 With my father hovering upon the wind
 And my brother Robert just behind
 15 And my brother John, the evil one,
 In a black cloud making his moan—
 Though dead, they appear upon my path
 Notwithstanding my terrible wrath;
 They beg, they entreat, they drop their tears,
 20 Filled full of hopes, filled full of fears,
 With a thousand angels upon the wind
 Pouring disconsolate from behind
 To drive them off—and before my way
 A frowning thistle implores my stay.
 25 What to others a trifle appears
 Fills me full of smiles or tears;
 For double the vision my eyes do see,
 And a double vision is always with me:
 With my inward eye 'tis an old man grey,
 30 With my outward a thistle across my way.
 'If thou goest back,' the thistle said,
 'Thou art to endless woe betrayed:
 For here does Theotormon lower,
 And here is Enitharmon's bower,
 35 And Los the terrible thus hath sworn,
 Because thou backward dost return,
 Poverty, envy, old age and fear
 Shall bring thy wife upon a bier;
 And Butts shall give what Fuseli gave,
 40 A dark black rock and a gloomy cave.'

 I struck the thistle with my foot
 And broke him up from his delving root:
 'Must the duties of life each other cross?
 Must every joy be dung and dross?
 45 Must my dear Butts feel cold neglect,
 Because I give Hayley his due respect?

¶ 26.i 14–15. *Robert*] B.'s favourite brother. William tended him continuously for the fortnight before his death in 1787, and claimed to converse with him many times afterwards. Little is known of *John*, except the report of Frederick Tatham, who knew B., that he 'lived a few reckless days, enlisted as a soldier, and died', having at one time begged his bread from William.

Must Flaxman look upon me as wild
And all my friends be with doubts beguiled?
Must my wife live in my sister's bane,
50 Or my sister survive on my love's pain?
The curses of Los, the terrible shade,
And his dismal terrors make me afraid.'

So I spoke and struck in my wrath
The old man weltering upon my path.
55 Then Los appeared in all his power;
In the sun he appeared, descending before
My face in fierce flames—in my double sight
'Twas outward a sun, inward Los in his might.

'My hands are laboured day and night,
60 And ease comes never in my sight;
My wife has no indulgence given,
Except what comes to her from Heaven.
We eat little, we drink less—
This earth breeds not our happiness.
65 Another sun feeds our life's streams;
We are not warmed with thy beams.
Thou measurest not the time to me
Nor yet the space that I do see;
My mind is not with thy light arrayed,
70 Thy terrors shall not make me afraid.'

When I had my defiance given,
The sun stood trembling in heaven;
The moon that glowed remote below
Became leprous and white as snow,
75 And every soul of men on the earth
Felt affliction and sorrow and sickness and dearth.
Los flamed in my path and the sun was hot
With the bows of my mind and the arrows of thought.
My bowstring fierce with ardour breathes,
80 My arrows glow in their golden sheaves;
My brothers and father march before;
The heavens drop with human gore.

Now I a fourfold vision see,
And a fourfold vision is given to me.

i 49. An allusion to the constant disagreement between the two women (both called Catherine).

- 85 'Tis fourfold in my supreme delight
 And threefold in soft Beulah's night
 And twofold always. May God us keep
 From single vision and Newton's sleep!

II

- Oh, why was I born with a different face?
 Why was I not born like the rest of my race?
 When I look each one starts; when I speak I offend.
 Then I'm silent and passive and lose every friend.
- 5 Then my verse I dishonour, my pictures despise,
 My person degrade and my temper chastise;
 And the pen is my terror, the pencil my shame,
 And my talents I bury, and dead is my fame.
- I am either too low or too highly prized;
 10 When clate I am envied, when meek I'm despised.

III THE PHOENIX TO MRS BUTTS

Date: uncertain. This poem was shown to Keynes, who published it in *TLS* (24 Sep. 1984) shortly before his death. He conjectured that *c.* 1793 Mrs Butts had fallen in love with B., and that the poem was a gentle rebuke. But the style of the poem seems later, and other conjectures are possible: e.g., that the mischievous Fairy is Hayley, who misconceived B.'s inspiration.

- I saw a Bird rise from the East
 As a bird rises from its nest;
 With sweetest songs I ever heard
 It sang: I am Mrs Butts's Bird;
- 5 And then I saw a Fairy gay
 That with this beauteous Bird would play,
 From a golden cloud she came
 She call'd the sweet Bird by its name;
 She call'd it Phoenix! Heaven's Dove!
- 10 She call'd it all the names of Love;
 But the Bird flew fast away
 Where little children sport & play
 And they strok'd it with their hands
 All their coos it understands.

ii. From a letter to Thomas Butts, 16 Aug. 1803. See p. 609, lines 21-2.

- 15 The Fairy to my bosom flew
 Weeping tears of morning dew;
 I said: Thou foolish whimpr'ring thing
 Is not that thy Fairy Ring
 Where those children sport & play
 20 In fairy fancies light & gay?
 Seem a child & be a child
 And the Phoenix is beguil'd;
 But if thou seem'st a fairy thing
 Then it flies on glancing wing.

27 'He is a cock would'

Date: after Aug. 1803; the verse may allude to Pte. Cock, who supported Scholfield's perjury when B. was charged with sedition in Aug. 1803. Probably not later than the Sussex Assizes, when B. was acquitted, in Jan. 1804. It is written sideways in the margin of p. 29 of the Notebook.

He is a cock would,
 And would be a cock if he could.

28 Notebook drafts, c. 1804

These poems are found together in the first pages of the Notebook, wherever earlier drawings did not interfere, after the 'Klopstock' poem of 1800 and the 'Joanna Southcott' poem of c. 1802. The only poem in this group which contains a clue to its own date is the 'Grey Monk' draft, which seems to belong to 1804. This poem, and 'The Golden Net', appear in the 'Pickering MS' (which is itself of uncertain date, but it contains one poem, 'Mary', belonging to mid-1803; see pp. 491 and 609). The pages of the Notebook were at some time disarranged; the poems are here given in the original order of the pages.

¶ 27. 1-2. 1st *rdg.*

He is a Cock Won't
 And would be a Crow if he could.

I THE GOLDEN NET

Beneath the white-thorn, lovely may,
 Three virgins at the break of day:
 'Alas for woe! alas for woe!'

They cry, and tears for ever flow.
 5 The one was clothed in flames of fire,
 The other clothed in iron wire,
 The other clothed in tears and sighs.
 Dazzling bright before my eyes,
 They bore a net of golden twine
 10 To hang upon the branches fine.
 [Pitying I wept to see the woe
 That love and beauty undergo,
 To be consumed with burning fires
 And in ungratified desires,]
 15 And in tears clothed night and day,
 Melted all my soul away.
 When they saw my tears, a smile
 That did Heaven itself beguile
 Bore the golden net aloft,
 20 As by downy pinions soft
 O'er the morning of my day.
 Underneath the net I stray,
 Now entreating Flaming Fire,
 Now entreating Iron Wire,
 25 Now entreating Tears and Sighs—
 Oh, when will the morning rise?

¶ 28.i. Notebook p. 14. Cp. Pickering MS version, p. 603 below; the only significant alteration is 1-2, which were altered from the Pickering MS form in the draft, to give the above opening. This change may have been made at any time; either B. made the change later than the date of the Pickering MS, or he altered the draft and then returned to his original version. Note the similarity of 1 to *Milton* pl.31.55.

i 1. This line is not in the Pickering MS version, where the above 2 is 1, and another line follows it. That was also the uncorrected draft on this page.

i 5-13 were written in this order, but at one stage were numbered 3, 4, 5, 6, 1, 2, 7, 8, 9.

i 11-14. Cancelled: but the following alternative attempt was itself rejected (here printed as corrected):

Wings they had that soft enclose
 Round their body when they chose
 They would let them down at will
 Or make translucent . . .

II THE BIRDS

He. Where thou dwellest, in what grove,
 Tell me, fair one, tell me, love,
 Where thou thy charming nest dost build,
 O thou pride of every field?

5 *She.* Yonder stands a lonely tree,
 There I live and mourn for thee;
 Morning drinks my silent tear,
 And evening winds my sorrows bear.

He. O thou summer's harmony,
 10 I have lived and mourned for thee;
 Each day I mourn along the wood,
 And night hath heard my sorrows loud.

She. Dost thou truly long for me,
 And am I thus sweet to thee?
 15 Sorrow now is at an end,
 O my lover, and my friend!

He. Come, on wings of joy we'll fly
 To where my bower hangs on high;
 Come, and make thy calm retreat
 20 Among green leaves and blossoms sweet.

III 'I SAW A MONK . . . ?

This poem is conjecturally dated 1804 as B.'s reflections on the renewed war (perhaps his reaction to the pacifist sermons of Richard Warner: see *Jerusalem* pl.40.2n and his private troubles) (see below and p. 503). Most editors have dated the poem, and the group in which it occurs, earlier – largely on the grounds that half of this poem is contained in the Pickering MS, which also contains 'Mary' which must have been written by Aug. 1803. However, a draft of 'Mary' is not in this group, or anywhere in the Notebook, and there is no particular reason to suppose that all the Pickering MS poems were composed at the same time. Since B. chose only two of this group (this poem and 'The Golden Net') for the Pickering MS and omitted the others, it is probable that he was selecting from a fairly large number of available drafts written over two or three years at least. Lines 25–8 also suggest composition after B. returned to London in 1803, when he was finding difficulty in getting a living as well as his anxieties over the charge of sedition (see p. 656).

ii. Notebook p. 6, now p. 14. The *He* and *She* are B.'s.

In the following draft, B. numbered the first four stanzas 1-4, the two additional stanzas (see 45-8n) 5-6; these were used in *Jerusalem* pl.52, as was the last stanza, though it is not numbered. The rest of the poem was used in the Pickering MS (see p. 610) in the order: stanzas 5, 4, 6-10, 14, 11. Stanzas 4 and 14 were used in both poems.

- I saw a monk of Charlemaine
 Arise before my sight;
 I talked with the grey monk where he stood
 In beams of infernal light.
- 5 Gibbon arose with a lash of steel,
 And Voltaire with a racking wheel:
 The Schools, in clouds of learning rolled,
 Arose with war in iron and gold.
- 10 'Thou lazy monk,' they sound afar,
 'In vain condemning glorious war!
 And in thy cell thou shalt ever dwell.
 Rise, War, and bind him in his cell!'
- 15 The blood red ran from the grey monk's side,
 His hands and feet were wounded wide,
 His body bent, his arms and knees
 Like to the roots of ancient trees.
- 20 'I see, I see,' the mother said,
 'My children will die for lack of bread.
 What more has the merciless tyrant said?'
 The monk sat down on her stony bed.
- His eye was dry, no tear could flow;
 A hollow groan first spoke his woe.

iii 1. *Charlemaine*] Originally *Constantine*.

iii 5-8. Two rejected variants to this stanza are written by it:

- (a) Gibbon plied his lash of steel
 Voltaire turned his racking wheel
 Charlemaine & his barons bold
 Stood by & mocked in iron and gold.
- (b) The wheel of Voltaire whirl'd on high
 Gibbon aloud his lash does ply,
 Charlemaine & his clouds of war
 Muster around the polar star.

The present 7 was composed after these variants had been rejected; 3 of (a) originally stood in its place.

iii 9. *1st rdg del.* Seditious Monk said Charlemaine.

- He trembled and shuddered upon the bed;
At length with a feeble cry he said:
- 25 —When God commanded this hand to write
In the studious hours of deep midnight,
He told me that all I wrote should prove
The bane of all that on earth I love.
- My brother starved between two walls,
30 His children's cry my soul appals;
I mocked at the rack and griding chain,
My bent body mocks at their torturing pain.
- Thy father drew his sword in the north,
With his thousands strong he is marched forth;
35 Thy brother has armed himself in steel
To avenge the wrongs thy children feel.
- But vain the sword and vain the bow,
They never can work war's overthrow.
The hermit's prayer and the widow's tear
40 Alone can free the world from fear.
- The hand of vengeance sought the bed
To which the purple tyrant fled;
The iron hand crushed the tyrant's head,
And became a tyrant in his stead.
- 45 Until the tyrant himself relent,
The tyrant who first the black bow bent,
Slaughter shall heap the bloody plain.
Resistance and war is the tyrant's gain.
- But the tear of love and forgiveness sweet,
50 And submission to death beneath his feet—
The tear shall melt the sword of steel,
And every wound it has made shall heal.

iii 44. *1st rdg del.* And usurped the tyrants throne & bed.

iii 45–8. This stanza is omitted in *Jerusalem*, which has at this point two other stanzas (beginning 'When Satan first . . .' and 'Titus! Constantine! Charlemaine!'): both of these are drafted on this MS page, and numbered 5 and 6. The latter is linked to the main draft by the catch, 'A tear is an &c' – i.e. to the second (not the *Jerusalem*) form of 53.

iii 49–52. This stanza was not deleted, but was not used in either the *Jerusalem* or Pickering MS poems. It seems to be a variant of the next stanza; or the similarity of the two may have led to the abandonment of this one.

A tear is an intellectual thing,
 And a sigh is the sword of an angel king,
 55 And the bitter groan of the martyr's woe
 Is an arrow from the Almighty's bow.

IV MORNING

To find the western path,
 Right through the gates of wrath
 I urge my way.
 Sweet mercy leads me on
 5 With soft repentant moan;
 I see the break of day.

 The war of swords and spears
 Melted by dewy tears
 Exhales on high;
 10 The sun is freed from fears,
 And with soft grateful tears
 Ascends the sky.

V

Terror in the house does roar;
 But pity stands before the door.

VI

Mock on, mock on, Voltaire, Rousseau!
 Mock on, mock on—'Tis all in vain!
 You throw the sand against the wind,
 And the wind blows it back again.

 5 And every sand becomes a gem
 Reflected in the beams divine;
 Blown back they blind the mocking eye,
 But still in Israel's paths they shine.

iii 53. *A tear is*] 1st rdg del. 'For the tear'. In the Pickering MS and in *Jerusalem*, the reading is 'For a tear'; see note on 45-8.

iii 55. *of the martyr's*] 1st rdg del. for another.

iv. Notebook p. 12.

iv 1. *western*, especially in B.'s later poetry, does not imply sunset, but freedom, virtue and the gate to Eternity. Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.5.68n.

v. Notebook p. 12.

vi. Notebook p. 7.

vi 1. *Voltaire*, etc.] All associated with rationalism, and attacked especially in the preface to *Jerusalem* ch. 3, pl.52, the plate containing one form of 'The Grey Monk' (iii above) which is drafted on the opposite page of the Notebook to this.

10 The atoms of Democritus
 And Newton's particles of light
 Are sands upon the Red Sea shore,
 Where Israel's tents do shine so bright.

VII

My spectre around me night and day
 Like a wild beast guards my way;
 My emanation far within
 Weeps incessantly for my sin.

vi. 10. *particles of light*] See p. 486, iii 19n.

vii. Notebook pp. 3/2.

vii 1. *spectre*] See *Four Zoas* iv 63n, *Jerusalem* pl.6.1n: the spectre is that part of the personality which is aggressive, ruthless and domineering; B. envisages it as male, and often draws it as a kind of bat-winged evil angel.

vii 3. *emanation*] Ideally a part of the personality which 'emanates' or is sent out – the person's link with others. See *Four Zoas* i 17n. The emanation is feminine; kind by nature, but needing to be controlled by the soul. Otherwise, as here, she tends to develop her own brand of self-will, domineering through insinuation. Thus this poem contains reflections on the internal conflict of the personality, and also on relations between man and woman.

vii 4. After stanza 1, two deleted stanzas; the first numbered 2, the other 4, then 5; after alterations these appeared thus:

Thy weeping thou shall neer give oer
 I sin against thee more & more
 And never will from sin be free
 Till she forgives & comes to me.

 Thou hast parted from my side
 Once thou wast a virgin bride
 Never shalt thou a true love find
 My Spectre follows thee Behind.

Two other stanzas, also deleted, were written to replace these:

A deep winter dark and cold
 Within my heart thou didst unfold
 A Fathomless & boundless deep
 There we wander, there we weep

 When my Love did first begin
 Thou didst call that Love a Sin
 Secret trembling night & day
 Driving all my Loves away.

The first of these was numbered 2, the second 3, then 4. The definitive second stanza was written last of all, at the very end of the draft, using material from the above, but numbered 2.

- 5 A fathomless and boundless deep,
 There we wander, there we weep.
 On the hungry craving wind
 My spectre follows thee behind.
- He scents thy footsteps in the snow
 10 Wheresoever thou dost go,
 Through the wintry hail and rain—
 [*Spec.*] ‘When wilt thou return again?’
- ‘Dost thou not in pride and scorn
 Fill with tempests all my morn,
 15 And with jealousies and fears
 Fill my pleasant nights with tears?’
- ‘Seven of my sweet loves thy knife
 Has bereaved of their life;
 Their marble tombs I built with tears,
 20 And with cold and shuddering fears.
- ‘Seven more loves weep night and day
 Round the tombs where my loves lay,
 And seven more loves attend each night
 Around my couch with torches bright;
- 25 ‘And seven more loves in my bed
 Crown with wine my mournful head,
 Pitying and forgiving all
 Thy transgressions great and small.
- ‘When wilt thou return and view
 30 My loves, and them to life renew?
 When wilt thou return and live?
 When wilt thou pity as I forgive?’
- [*Em.*] ‘Never, never I return:
 Still for victory I burn!
 35 Living, thee alone I’ll have,
 And when dead I’ll be thy grave.’
- ‘Through the heaven and earth and hell
 Thou shalt never, never quell:
 I will fly and thou pursue,
 40 Night and morn the flight renew.’

vii 12. The spectre speaks, but the sequence of pleading and response is an editorial interpretation. B. left no quotation marks.

- [*Spec.*] ‘Till I turn from female love
 And root up the infernal grove,
 I shall never worthy be
 To step into Eternity—
 45 ‘And to end thy cruel mocks
 Annihilate thee on the rocks,
 And another form create
 To be subservient to my fate.
 ‘Let us agree to give up love
 50 And root up the infernal grove;
 Then shall we return and see
 The worlds of happy Eternity,
 ‘And throughout all Eternity
 I forgive you, you forgive me.
 55 As our dear Redeemer said,
This the wine, and this the bread.’
 [‘*Postscript*’]
 [*Spec.*] ‘O’er my sins thou sit and moan;
 Hast thou no sins of thy own?
 O’er my sins thou sit and weep
 60 And lull thy own sins fast asleep!’
 [*Em.*] ‘What transgressions I commit
 Are for thy transgressions fit;
 They thy harlots, thou their slave,
 And my bed becomes their grave.’
 65 [*Spec.*] ‘Poor pale pitiable form
 That I follow in a storm,
 Iron tears and groans of lead
 Bind around my aching head;
 ‘And let us go to the highest downs
 70 With many pleasing wiles.
 The woman that does not love your frowns
 Will never embrace your smiles.’

vii 41. *Till I*] 1st reading del. Till thou.

vii 43. *I shall*] 1st rdg del. Thou shalt.

vii 53–6. This stanza is in pencil; so are the next four, the first two of which are numbered 1, 2, as if to begin a new poem.

vii. ‘*Postscript*’ The spectre speaks. (‘*Postscript*’ is an editorial label.)

vii 57. *my sins thou*] 1st rdg. thy sins I.

vii 58. *Hast . . . own*] 1st rdg. Have I no sins of my own.

vii 59. *my sins thou*] 1st rdg. thy sins I.

vii 60. *thy*] 1st del. my.

VIII

When a man has married a wife, he finds out whether
Her knees and elbows are only glued together

29a Preface to Milton

This Preface, a single page, forms the opening of *Milton* in the two earliest copies, produced about 1810, when B. was at his angriest over the scornful reception of his other work. It was then dropped, perhaps to make space for the plates of text with which B. introduced later editions. He may have regretted its virulence, underlined by the extravagance of its capitals, but its later omission is ironical, since it includes B.'s most famous lyric.

PREFACE

The Stolen and Perverted Writings of Homer & Ovid, of Plato
& Cicero, which all Men ought to condemn, are set up by
artifice against the Sublime of the Bible. But when the New
Age is at leisure to Pronounce, all will be set right, & these
5 grand works of the more ancient, & consciously & profess-
edly Inspired Men, will hold their proper rank, & the
Daughters of Memory shall become the Daughters of
Inspiration. Shakespeare & Milton were both curbed by the
general malady & infection from the silly Greek & Latin
10 slaves of the Sword.

viii. Notebook p. 4.

¶ 29A. *Preface*] This was deleted from the two later copies of *Milton*. See headnote.
1.1. Cp. B.'s *Descriptive Catalogue* to his exhibition in 1809: 'No man can believe
that either Homer's Mythology, or Ovid's, were the production of Greece, or
Latium; neither will anyone believe, that the Greek statues, as they are called,
were the invention of Greek Artists . . . [they] are evidently copies, though fine
ones, from greater works of the Asiatic Patriarchs. The Greek Muses are daugh-
ters of Mnemosyne, or Memory, and not of Inspiration or Imagination, there-
fore not authors of such sublime conceptions.'

1.2-3. *condemn*] despise. *by artifice*] artificially: they are not 'naturally' the chief
writings of the world.

1.7. *Daughters of Memory*] In later Greek mythology, the nine Muses were the
daughters of Mnemosyne, or memory. See pl.1.1*n* for B.'s belief that the Greeks
merely copied from the (Biblical) patriarchs' visions. In *Four Zoas* i 14 (and
iii 65*n*) he says that the heathen gods were the imaginative creations of men,
falsely elevated. See especially 14.29, p. 532 below.

1.10. *slaves of the Sword*] Homer's and Virgil's epics were of war: B.'s pacificism
erupts.

Rouse up, O Young Men of the New Age! Set your fore-
heads against the ignorant Hirelings! For we have Hirelings
in the Camp, the Court & the University, who would, if they
could, for ever depress Mental & prolong Corporeal War.
15 Painters, on you I call! Sculptors! Architects! Suffer not the
fashionable Fools to depress your powers by the prices they
pretend to give for contemptible works or the expensive
advertising boasts that they make of such works. Believe
Christ & his Apostles that there is a Class of Men whose whole
20 delight is in Destroying. We do not want either Greek or Roman
Models, if we are but just & true to our own Imaginations,
those Worlds of Eternity in which we shall live for ever – in
Jesus our Lord.

And did those feet in ancient time
25 Walk upon England's mountains green?
And was the holy Lamb of God
On England's pleasant pastures seen?

And did the Countenance Divine
Shine forth upon our clouded hills?
30 And was Jerusalem builded here
Among those dark Satanic mills?

1.14. *Mental and . . . Corporeal War*] The first is the strife of minds and ideas and so creative; the second of arms and so destructive.

1.16. *fashionable Fools*] Ignorant patrons who admire art because it is fashionable to do so. In a letter to Butts (6 July 1803) B. wrote: 'I regard fashion in poetry as little as I do in painting; so, if both poets and painters should alternately dislike (but I know the majority of them will not) I am not to regard it at all.'

1.19. *a Class of Men*] This is not a direct reference to any passage in the Bible. See B.'s *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 27: 'As there is a class of men, whose whole delight is the destruction of men, so there is a class of artists, whose whole art and science is fabricated for the purpose of destroying art.'

1.21. *Models*] Cp. 17.

1.21–23. *Imaginations . . . Lord*] A careful and deliberate sequence of ideas, containing much of B.'s later thought.

1.24–31. *did those feet*] The first two stanzas are to be understood 'mentally': i.e. there was a golden age before the Fall when Christ, the Divine Humanity, walked about England – 'here' where B. and his reader were, not in a far-off land. So, in *Revelation* xxi, the Lamb is always present in Jerusalem.

1.30–31. Was Jerusalem, the city of God, here, where Satan's mills now are? See note below: B. imagines that before the Fall England was a Holy Land and London a Holy City, the Jerusalem of the Bible: but the Fall has separated them, and reduced London to the state in which we now see it. Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.27.

1.31. *dark Satanic mills*] Milton's Samson was 'eyeless . . . at the mill with slaves' (*Samson Agonistes* 41); this is the source of B.'s use of mill as a place of slavery. The phrase refers not in the first place to the mills built for the new industries, as to Satan's enslavement of the mind, the source of human error. B. would have

Bring me my Bow of burning gold;
 Bring me my Arrows of desire;
 Bring me my Spear—O clouds, unfold!
 35 Bring me my Chariot of fire!

I will not cease from Mental Fight,
 Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
 Till we have built Jerusalem,
 In England's green & pleasant Land.

40 Would to God that all the Lord's people were prophets!
Numbers xi 29.

29 Milton

Date. On the titlepage, 1804; of printing, about 1810–11 (when Blake was 53), with two copies not complete before 1818. The two early copies, A and B, have 45 plates, including the Preface, pl.1, which is absent from copies C and D (see above). Copy C adds pls.3–4, 10, 18, 32. Pl.5 is found only in D, the text printed here. In copies C and D, pls.25–27 are rearranged; hence the dual numbering of these plates.

The Poem. *Milton* was long in the making. It lies between two inspirations, the first in Lambeth before he left to go to Felpham on the Sussex coast near Bognor, in Sept. 1800. There, sponsored by the literary gentleman, William Hayley, he lived in 'a perfect Model for Cottages' (to Flaxman, 21 Sept.). In time, he resented Hayley's 'helpfulness', and the damp cottage made Catherine, his wife, ill (36.31–2), but at first, excited by the new beginning, he was delighted. The first morning, 'the Plowboy said . . . "Father, The Gate is Open"' (to Butts, 23 Sept.).

The first inspiration was a shaft of light that struck B.'s foot as he was fastening his shoe in Lambeth before he left for Felpham (15.47–50, 22.4–14), a challenge to step forward in Los's prophetic mantle as Milton's heir. The second was a moment of profound ecstasy (35.42, 36.16–27), one day when, as a lark sang and the scent of wild thyme filled the air, a 12-year-old girl came into his garden with a message (36.21ff). Recollection of these small, inspiring events make the core of the poem. Through him, the spirit of John Milton, purged of error, could revive the spirit of Britain. And so he wrote *Milton*.

recognized the oppressive aspect of the Industrial Revolution as one more demonstration of the presence of Satan's mills in Albion. For the image, cp. *Jerusalem* 15.14–20.

1.35. *Chariot of fire*] in which Elijah was carried to heaven (2 *Kings* ii 11).

Of all B.'s long poems, *Milton* has the most complete narrative; neither petering out nor requiring continuation. The theme is summarized in pl.2.16–21, Milton is 'unhappy though in heav'n', separated from his Emanation. Enlightened by a Bard's song, he journeys back to earth to find her and redeem himself. In the process, B. himself, newly inspired by the spirit of the new Milton, can begin the unceasing 'Mental Fight' to awaken Albion.

There are four major elements in the narrative: (1) the Bard's Song; (2) Milton's journey to self-renewal; (3) the journey of Ololon in search of him; and (4) Milton's reintegration with his Emanation and his confrontation with Satan. Besides these, (5) the place and works of Los, who, as the inspirer of B.'s work, is fundamental. Within this pattern are various digressions: the works of Los, (22.27–29.65); the 'Songs of Beulah' (31.17–34.7); the four additional plates 3–6; and various passages of material which he could not resist inserting (e.g., 37.19–60).

The Bard's Song. After an almost conventional epic opening, the Bard's Song answers the question, Why did the unhappy Milton make his fearful journey into the unknown?

First the Bard relates the fall of Satan, in B.'s terms. Satan's error is not disobedience, but arrogance, assuming a place not rightly his, responding to challenge with self-righteousness. Like Hayley, B. thought. In the Bard's Song, (as in *Urizen*) Satan then shuts himself out of Heaven.

Just when the Song seems to have ended, Leutha arrives (11.15–13.12), confessing her jealousy of Elynittria, and claiming it to be the beginning of Satan's misbehaviour. Jealousy is a theme dear to B.'s heart, but here it fits awkwardly with his narrative of Milton's regeneration.

Milton's Journey. Milton, now realizing that Satan's errors are his own (14.14–30), and the source of his unhappiness, leaves Heaven, and risks eternal Death, to renew himself. This journey, the heart of the poem, unlike Satan's in *Paradise Lost*, is the most complex part of the poem, for Milton is still an infinite spirit, and can be in many forms and places at once: (i) He takes his journey into the abyss, seen by B. himself 'as a falling star' (15.47–50), then meeting and confronting Urizen. (ii) Simultaneously, being an immortal soul lost in the abyss, Milton lies in a coma, tended by the daughters of Beulah (15.9–14). (iii) Simultaneously, being an immortal soul on a divine errand, his Shadow walks 'though darkened' in Heaven, attended by the Seven Angels of the Presence (15.3ff): until they are all driven out of Heaven and go to 'join the Watchers of the Ulro' (20.50).

Ololon (B.'s creation, not found in the Bible, Milton, or Bunyan), is a heavenly tribe who, having helped to drive Milton out

(20.43–48), in remorse follow him through the abyss (30.1–34.23). They find him in B.'s own cottage garden at Felpham (37.1–15), where they materialize, not as a host of heaven, but as a single person, the girl in the garden (36.16–17), now identified as Milton's Emanation.

The two journeys are complete. The whole climax takes place in that single moment of lark song and wild thyme at Felpham (35.42ff, 42.25–30). Milton himself, now purified, whole, and awakened, can be reunited with her and his Shadow, and defy the confrontations of Satan and Rahab (38.5–31). The poem ends with signs of Albion's awakening.

For the first time since *Asia* in *The Song of Los*, B.'s new poem exudes enthusiasm and a sense of certainty, but B. continues, as in *Urizen* and *Vala*, to grow in subtlety and sensitivity. The primacy of Imagination, and rejection of Law, remain the foundation, but *Milton* has a new centre, the tragedy of Separation and the search for Reunion, as it is in the histories of the Man, and of Los and Enitharmon in *Vala*, and of Albion in *Jerusalem*.

Satan displaces Urizen as B.'s vision of evil; Urizen obstructs Milton, but is no longer to be destroyed; as in *Vala* Night vii, he can be redeemed (18.36ff). A very different Satan from the rebel hero of *Marriage* takes a central place in *Milton*, after a long absence from B.'s poems. His rebellion now is arrogance, not disobedience. In the Bard's Song, and later at the poem's climax, he claims divine power and declares Moral Law (9.19–29; 38.15–27, 50ff), as Urizen once did; but, like the demons of *Marriage* (pls.18–19), when challenged he evaporates. He is a lost shadow.

Los. The role of Los has been much enlarged since *Urizen* and even *Vala*. His appearance to B. himself (22.4–14) is the impetus for the creation of *Milton*. Now the true 'Eternal Prophet', he is the guardian of the beautiful city of inspiration, Golgonooza, and also virtually creator of all creatures in the realm of Time (22.15–25; 24.68–76). His powers lie only in the darker worlds outside Eden, but he works constantly, building and rebuilding Golgonooza, a barrier against chaos and a refuge for souls escaping from darkness and chaos, B.'s among them.

The setting. In *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, the generalized abyss of earlier poems is replaced by a fourfold universe. Eternal, infinite, truly Human beings, the Divine Family, live in Eden, or Eternity, or Heaven. This is not the traditional Heaven, ruled by the God of Hosts on his throne, surrounded by his court. Nor is it a meritocratic republic, but a Brotherhood, where the Divine Vision enfolds them all. Serious decisions are made in a gathering of all Immortals, a Great Solemn Assembly (*Milton* pl.8.46ff), resembling Dissenters' Church Meetings.

Around or beneath Eden is Beulah, a place of rest for weaker spirits from the fiery exhilaration of Eden (30.1-37.7). Even mortals may experience something of Beulah, if only in dreams or visions, but Beulah must not be mistaken for Heaven itself; that error is deadly. Furthest of all from Eden is Ulro, or Chaos, B.'s Hell. Contradicting tradition once again, B. sees Ulro, not as a region of fire, but of dark, cold formlessness and Non-entity.

Between Beulah and Ulro is Generation, the enclosed material universe, its inhabitants caught in the cycle of life and death. It is a sad world, lost to the fires of Eden and Eternity; it cannot survive except by continual new creation, enclosed within the Mundane Shell. Yet this enclosure is also a blessing, giving shelter against the complete annihilation of Ulro. The dangers of Contraction and Opacity are themselves limited (13.20-21*n*), and Vision is not entirely lost. Both Satan's seat and the visions of Golgonooza (17.29, 20.37-9) are within reach of mortal Imagination. We may approach one and find the other, or reach, through dreams, into Beulah, and even glimpse Eden itself.

B. does not stick tightly to his fourfold scheme. He will loosen the strings to insert other features and images that are important to him. In this uncertain realm, perhaps even in Ulro, but close to Beulah, are the 'Couches of the dead', where those asleep to Eternal life (such as Albion), lie in a coma and in danger of the deathly sleep of Ulro, watched over by guardians from Eden and Beulah.

Golgonooza, Los's great city, is by far the most important place not set precisely in the fourfold scheme. It stands on the edge of Ulro; Eden cares even for Ulro, and Los is set there, constantly building and rebuilding this beautiful city, which guards against chaos and is a refuge for souls escaping from chaos, B.'s among them.

Milton begins like an epic, but B. was not concerned to create a neatly-structured whole, and he leaves us with some major problems. The first is his concept of infinity, by which Milton can be in several places at once, and Eternals do not take one single form. Individuals may blend with others into one fuller Human form, so that the Eternal Family may be seen as many, or 'as that One Man / We call Jesus the Saviour' (34.16-21, a key passage).

The second problem comes upon us unawares, as when we are told that 'Rahab & Noah dwell on Windsor's heights' (35.9), is B.'s way of expressing the control held by malevolent spirits over London life. In Southey's mocking phrase, 'Oxford Street is in Jerusalem'. The earthly parallels echoing from the Immortal realm can be bizarre, but at their finest, they represent B.'s special genius for yoking heterogeneous ideas dazzlingly together.

The third is a more human problem, B.'s inability to 'murder his darlings'. Whatever thought, image or belief he feels to be important *must* be retained, however the reader may be confused. As with the biblical Prophets, the original inspiration may be buried within a mass of later accretions, all of which must be retained because they are sacred. The Twenty-Seven Churches, Rahab and Tirzah, the Hermaphrodite, Mystery, the Male-Female Dragon Forms, burst from him, and are not to be excluded. They come upon us unexpected, unexplained, and, without context, they can be very confusing. Had B. disciplined, or rather, to use his own favourite word, articulated his works more clearly, they would have reached a larger audience more quickly. But then, they would not be Blake.

Pl.1

MILTON

*A Poem in 2 Books
To Justify the Ways of God to Men*

Pl.2

BOOK THE FIRST

Daughters of Beulah! Muses who inspire the Poet's Song!
Record the journey of immortal Milton through your realms
Of terror & mild moony lustre, in soft sexual delusions
Of varied beauty, to delight the wanderer and repose
5 His burning thirst & freezing hunger! Come into my hand
By your mild power descending down the nerves of my right arm
From out the portals of my brain, where by your ministry
The Eternal Great Humanity Divine planted his Paradise,

¶ 29. *Titlepage*] 'in 2 Books' first read 'in 12 Books', which, oddly, copies C and D retain.

2.1. *Daughters of Beulah*] Beulah is the land of rest on the borders of Heaven; the daughters of that land have the task of caring for human wanderers in their earthly life (see 30.27).

2.3. *sexual delusions*] Mere shadows and images of reality. In eternity, the human form is one; in lesser, distorted states, it is divided for example, as separate and different sexes. B. is not attacking Beulah for its 'delusions', as long as they are understood to belong to the land of rest and not the land of waking life.

2.4-5. *the wanderer*] Man on earth.

2.8. *Paradise*] Lines 8-10 are an important summary of B.'s view of humanity and its relation to the universe, and to divinity. He rewrites the biblical Creation myths, echoing *Genesis* i. 27 and ii 8, and replacing Jehovah with his vision of the Divine Humanity. But note that he does not represent his picture as an unchangeable, Divine revelation of absolute truth, but as a vision of Beulah in his own brain.

- [2] And in it caused the Spectres of the Dead to take sweet forms
 10 In likeness of himself. Tell also of the False Tongue, vegetated
 Beneath your land of shadows, of its sacrifices and
 Its offerings, even till Jesus, the image of the Invisible God,
 Became its prey—a curse, an offering & an atonement
 For Death Eternal in the heavens of Albion & before the gates
 15 Of Jerusalem, his Emanation, in the heavens beneath Beulah.
- Say first: what moved Milton—who walked about in Eternity
 One hundred years, pondering the intricate mazes of
 Providence;
 Unhappy though in heaven, he obeyed, he murmured not,
 he was silent,
 Viewing his sixfold Emanation scattered through the deep
 20 In torment to go into the deep, her to redeem &
 himself perish?
 What cause at length moved Milton to this unexampled
 deed?
 A Bard's prophetic Song! For sitting at eternal tables,

2.9 *Spectres of the Dead*] For B., the mortal world is not Paradise, but essentially a fallen realm, and we mortals are mere Spectres of our eternal selves.

2.10. *the FALSE TONGUE* expresses the earthly, 'vegetated' misrepresentation of truth. The source is *Psalms* cxx 2–4:

Deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips,
 and from a deceitful tongue.
 What shall be given unto thee?
 or what shall be done unto thee, thou false tongue?
 —sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals of juniper.

The False Tongue speaks through man with the voice of Satan, not the Divine Voice, and demands 'sacrifices and offerings'. In the scheme of *F.Z.* (p. 297 above) Tharmas is associated with the Tongue, and also with the Western Gate which opens from the universe of Man into Eternity. But the Gate of the Tongue is closed (i 98), and the tongue cannot speak of Eternity any more. In *Jerusalem* 98.17, the tongue is the 'parent sense', and the False Tongue is its Satanic imitation, and what professes to be truth is preached by the False Tongue, as shown in 11–15 above. See also 5.25*n* (p. 513) and *Jer.* 14.2–9.

2.10. *vegetated*] One of B.'s key words: see *Vala* ii 121*n*.

2.16. Milton died in 1674.

2.17. *intricate mazes*] Like the fallen angels of *Paradise Lost* ii 561, who 'reasoned high/And found no end, in wandering mazes lost'.

2.18. *he obeyed*] B.'s central theme, that Milton was mistaken in the principle proclaimed in *Paradise Lost*, that God requires obedience above all.

2.19 *sixfold Emanation*] Milton's three wives and three daughters.

2.21–2. The narrative begins here with several plates (to 13.44, interrupted by pls. 3–6) taken up with the Bard's song, which reveals to Milton his own error.

- [2] Terrific among the Sons of Albion in chorus solemn & loud,
A Bard broke forth. All sat attentive to the awful man.

25 *Mark well my words; they are of your eternal salvation.*

Three classes are created by the hammer of Los & woven

[*The next three plates, 3, 4, 5, were not in the earlier copies of Milton. See headnote.*]

- Pl.3 By Enitharmon's looms when Albion was slain upon his mountains
And in his tent, through envy of Living Form, even of the Divine
Vision,
And of the sports of wisdom in the Human Imagination,
Which is the Divine Body of the Lord Jesus, blessed for ever.

5 *Mark well my words; they are of your Eternal Salvation.*

- Urizen lay in darkness & solitude, in chains of the mind locked up.
Los seized his hammer & tongs; he laboured at his resolute anvil
Among indefinite Druid rocks & snows of doubt & reasoning.
Refusing all definite form, the abstract horror roofed stony hard;
10 And a first age passed over, & a state of dismal woe!

Down sunk with fright a red round globe, hot burning; deep,
Deep down into the abyss, panting, conglobing, trembling.
And a second age passed over, & a state of dismal woe.

- Rolling round into two little orbs, & closed in two little caves
15 The eyes beheld the abyss, lest bones of solidness freeze over all.
And a third age passed over & a state of dismal woe.

From beneath his orbs of vision, two ears in close volutions
Shot spiring out in the deep darkness & petrified as they grew.
And a fourth age passed over, & a state of dismal woe.

2.26. *Three classes*] See 7.1-3*n*, when the matter of these lines is resumed, and their sense clarified. Pl.6 reads as an addition (plainly earlier than the added pls.3-5), with its beginning and end made to fit. All four copies contain pl.6, but the new reader will find it simplest at first to read direct from 2.26 to 7.1. Plates 3-5 also break up the narrative, amplifying other themes, the labours of Los and the creation of Satan, but complicating the structure of the Bard's Song excessively.

3.1. This line is intended to continue the sentence begun in 2.26.

3.2. *through envy* . . .] Britain is spiritually dead, having clung to Materialistic ideas and refused to accept imaginative reality.

3.6-27. These lines are an abbreviated version of the appearance of the fallen human form in *Urizen* 196-254.

3.8. *indefinite Druid rocks*] Rocks are hard and unyielding, and the Druids were (in B.'s eyes) the priests of a tyrannical and cruel religion. Indefiniteness was anathema to B. who, as an engraver, liked firm outline, and in person was given to downright judgements. Line 9 further illustrates his feelings.

- [3] Hanging upon the wind, two nostrils bent down into the deep.
 21 And a fifth age passed over, & a state of dismal woe.

In ghastly torment sick, a tongue of hunger & thirst flamed out.
 And a sixth age passed over, & a state of dismal woe.

- Enraged & stifled without & within, in terror & woe, he threw his
 25 Right arm to the north, his left arm to the south, & his feet
 Stamped the nether abyss, in trembling & howling & dismay.
 And a seventh age passed over, & a state of dismal woe.

- Terrified, Los stood in the abyss & his immortal limbs
 Grew deadly pale. He became what he beheld: for a red
 30 Round globe sunk down from his bosom into the deep; in pangs
 He hovered over it, trembling & weeping. Suspended it shook
 The nether abyss in tremblings: he wept over it, he cherished it
 In deadly sickening pain, till separated into a female, pale
 As the cloud that brings the snow. All the while from his back
 35 A blue fluid exuded in sinews, hardening in the abyss,
 Till it separated into a male form howling in jealousy.

- Within labouring, beholding without – from Particulars to Generals
 Subduing his Spectre, they builded the looms of Generation;
 They builded great Golgonooza times on times, ages on ages.
 40 First Orc was born; then the Shadowy Female; then all Los's family.
 At last Enitharmon brought forth Satan, refusing form in vain:
 The Miller of Eternity made subservient to the great harvest,
 That he may go to his own place, Prince of the Starry Wheels

- Pl.4 Beneath the plough of Rintrah & the harrow of the Almighty
 In the hands of Palamabron, where the starry mills of Satan
 Are built beneath the earth & waters of the Mundane Shell.

3.28–36. A variation on the material of *Urizen* 255–315: but here, in addition to the female Emanation, the Los's Spectre grows out of his back.

3.37. *Particulars to Generals*] As in scientific induction. But: 'General Knowledge is Remote Knowledge. It is in Particulars that Wisdom consists & Happiness too' (VLJ 82).

3.38. *the looms of Generation* weave active forms for this material world, which, though fallen, is better than chaos.

3.40. *Orc was born . . .*] Orc was always the child of Los and Enitharmon, but the Shadowy Female, his jailer and lover since *America*, is not normally one of the family.

3.41. Satan tried to 'refuse form': see 9.35.

3.42. *Miller of Eternity*] Satan. He has his place in Eternity, but he must keep to it, for there he fulfils his special character.

4.1. This plate also was designed to read on from 2.26 (see 3.17n), but at an earlier stage in composition, before pl.3 was inserted.

4.3. *Mundane Shell*] This fallen, material world: see 17.21–7 and esp. 34.31.

- [4] Hence the Three Classes of men take their Sexual texture: woven.
 5 The Sexual is threefold the Human is fourfold.
 'If you account it wisdom when you are angry to be silent, and
 Not to show it, I do not account that wisdom, but folly.
 Every man's wisdom is peculiar to his own individuality.
 O Satan, my youngest born, art thou not prince of the starry hosts
 10 And the wheels of heaven, to turn the mills day & night?
 Art thou not Newton's Pantocrator, weaving the woof of Locke?
 To mortals the mills seem everything, & the harrow of Shaddai
 A scheme of human conduct invisible & incomprehensible.
 Get to thy labours at the mills, & leave me to my wrath!'

[*Design*]

- 15 Satan was going to reply, but Los rolled his loud thunders:
 'Anger me not! Thou canst not drive the harrow in pity's paths.
 Thy work is eternal death, with mills & ovens & cauldrons.
 Trouble me no more: thou canst not have Eternal Life!'
 So Los spoke, Satan trembling obeyed, weeping along the way.
 20 Mark well my words; they are of your eternal salvation.
 Between South Molton Street & Stratford Place, Calvary's foot,
 Where the victims were preparing for sacrifice, their cherubim
 Around their loins poured forth their arrows, & their bosoms beam
 With all colours of precious stones, & their inmost palaces
 25 Resounded with preparation of animals wild & tame

4.6-8. Los speaks, in words related to the Blake-Hayley quarrel (see headnote, p. 503). The lines are part of the quarrel between Satan and Palamabron: Los reproves Satan for trying to leave his own task for someone else's.

4.11. *Pantocrator*] The 'Universal Lord'; Newton's description of a 'Urizenic' God in his *Principia*.

4.12. *Shaddai*] 'Almighty' (see note on 13.22); one of the Seven Angels of the Presence. The circling starts are like a turning millstone.

4. *Design*: Trilithons, huge stones with a tiny figure.

4.21. *South Molton Street*] B. lived here (at no. 17) after leaving Felpham in Sept. 1803. It runs at a sharp angle into Oxford Street, opposite *Stratford Place*; and Tyburn Brook (which follows the windings of Marylebone Lane) passes close by, though now underground. (Map, p. 650.) The ground slopes up to the site of Tyburn gallows from the brook, and B. therefore identifies this point with *Calvary's foot*.

4.22. *their cherubim*] Their spiritual guardians: perhaps in one sense B. himself, working nearby at his spiritual tasks.

4.23-5. *Around their loins*] The victims, seen imaginatively, are not dying but full of preparations for a new life.

4.24. *their inmost palaces*] The vision changes; man is seen as a living city – not a rigid, monumental one.

- [4] (Mark well my words! Corporeal friends are spiritual enemies).
Mocking druidical mathematical proportion of length, breadth,
height,
Displaying naked beauty, with flute & harp & song!

[*Design*]

- Pl.5 Palamabron with the fiery harrow in morning returning
From breathing fields: Satan fainted beneath the artillery:
Christ took on Sin in the Virgin's Womb, & put it off on the cross.

All pitied the piteous, & was wrath with the wrathful; & Los
heard it.

- 5 And this is the manner of the Daughters of Albion in their beauty:
Every one is threefold in head & heart & reins, & every one
Has three gates into the three heavens of Beulah which shine
Translucent, in their foreheads & their bosoms & their loins,
Surrounded with fires unapproachable: but whom they please
10 They take up into their heavens in intoxicating delight.
For the Elect cannot be Redeemed, but Created continually
By Offering & Atonement, in the cruelties of Moral Law.
Hence the three classes of men take their fixed destinations:
They are the two contraries & the Reasoning Negative.

4. *Design*: A hill surmounted by three trilithons – symbols of the British druid priesthood, but recalling the three crosses on Calvary; other trilithons in the distance. In the foreground, four female figures, gowned; two spinning with distaff and spindle, two mourning.

Plate 5 is found only in copy D. It provides a rather confused but not unimportant collection of additions to, and comments on, the Bard's story of Palamabron.

5.1. The three acts (of Palamabron, Satan and Christ) are simultaneous and parallel. Satan introduced artillery into the war against heaven (*Paradise Lost* vi 484ff).

5.3. *took on Sin . . . Womb*] According to orthodox tradition, Christ, through being conceived by a virgin, was born free of humanity's burden of sin (tradition holding that sexual activity was inherently sinful), but took on the burden on the cross. B. again inverts this tradition.

5.4. *All . . . was wrath*] The text is clear; perhaps B. rewrote the line and did not spot the anomaly.

5.5. DAUGHTERS OF ALBION] Here simply 'Englishwomen'; but B. sees them imaginatively. Female beauty is a gate to the lesser dream-heaven of Beulah. Cp. *Jerusalem* esp. 86.1–30, and 14.16–24n; the concept is applied to Enitharmon in *Four Zoas* i 275ff.

5.11. *Elect*] B.'s lowest class, the self-righteous, who would take a negative view of female 'intoxicating delight' (cp. 11.17ff). They are those against whom Paul argues in *Galatians* and *Romans*, who cannot feel virtuous without repeatedly fulfilling the earthly rites of blood or money sacrifice. *For* may turn on *whom they please* (9): i.e. they do not please to take the Elect.

5.14. For *contrary* and *negative* see *Jerusalem* 10.7n.

- [5] While the females prepare the victims, the males at furnaces
 16 And anvils dance the dance of tears & pain, loud lightings
 Lash on their limbs as they turn the whirlwinds loose upon
 The furnaces, lamenting around the anvils: & this their song:
- ‘Ah weak & wide astray! Ah! shut in narrow doleful form,
 20 Creeping in reptile flesh upon the bosom of the ground!
 The eye of man, a little narrow orb closed up & dark,
 Scarcely beholding the great light conversing with the void.
 The ear, a little shell in small volutions shutting out
 All melodies, & comprehending only discord and harmony:
 25 The tongue, a little moisture fills, a little food it cloy,
 A little sound it utters & its cries are faintly heard,
 Then brings forth Moral Virtue the cruel Virgin Babylon.
- ‘Can such an eye judge of the stars? & looking through its tubes
 Measure the sunny rays that point their spears on Udan-Adan?
 30 Can such an ear, filled with the vapours of the yawning pit,
 Judge of the pure melodious harp struck by a hand divine?
 Can such closed nostrils feel a joy? or tell of autumn fruits
 When grapes & figs burst their covering to the joyful air?
 Can such a tongue boast of the living waters? or take in
 35 Ought but the vegetable ratio, & loathe the faint delight?
 Can such gross lips perceive? alas! folded within themselves
 They touch not ought, but pallid turn & tremble at every wind!’
- Thus they sing, Creating the Three Classes among druid rocks.
 Charles calls on Milton for atonement: Cromwell is ready.
 40 James calls for fires in Golgonooza, for heaps of smoking ruins
 In the night of prosperity and wantonness which he himself created
 Among the Daughters of Albion, among the rocks of the Druids;
 When Satan fainted beneath the arrows of Elynittria
 And Mathematic Proportion was subdued by Living Proportion.

5.19–26. This passage occurs, rather differently, in *Jerusalem* 49.32–41.

5.25–27. Cp. 33.20, and *Everlasting Gospel* ii 33–34. This passage uses an extended image of conception and birth, characteristic of Blake in its switching from one viewpoint to another. The *tongue* here (in B. often representing all tactile senses) enjoying the sensual pleasures of touch and taste, becomes the mother; sexually sated, crying out (in orgasm? or labour?) before delivering the cruel female babe, guardian of the words of Moral Law.

5.29. *Udan-Adan*] The dark lake of Ulro.

5.35. *vegetable ratio*] The understanding of truth as perceived by material (vegetable) nature. See 29.18n.

5.40–1. Cp. *Song of Los (Asia)* 19–22.

5.43. Cp. Leutha's speech, 11.35ff. esp. 12.42–5.

- Pl.6 From Golgonooza, the spiritual Fourfold London eternal,
 In immense labours & sorrows, ever building, ever falling,
 Through Albion's four forests which overspread all the earth—
 From London Stone to Blackheath east, to Hounslow west,
 5 To Finchley north, to Norwood south; and the weights
 Of Enitharmon's loom play lulling cadences on the winds of
 Albion,
 From Caithness in the north to Lizard Point in the south.
- Loud sounds the hammer of Los, & loud his bellows is heard
 Before London to Hampstead's breadths & Highgate's
 heights, to
- 10 Stratford & old Bow, & across to the gardens of Kensington
 On Tyburn's brook. Loud groans Thames beneath the iron
 forge
 Of Rintrah & Palamabron, of Theotormon & Bromion, to
 forge the instruments
 Of harvest, the plough & harrow to pass over the nations.
- The Surrey hills glow like the clinkers of the furnace.
 Lambeth's vale—
- 15 Where Jerusalem's foundations began; where they were laid
 in ruins,
 Where they were laid in ruins from every nation, & oak
 groves rooted—
 Dark gleams before the furnace-mouth, a heap of burning ashes.

6.1. *the spiritual Fourfold London eternal*] For Golgonooza, see *Four Zoas* viii 25*n*. Los's work is envisaged as a cosmic myth, 'spiritual' and 'eternal'. But the sphere of his activities resembles London: (a) since though the theme is eternal it cannot be envisaged by the mortal mind except in definite earthly forms, (b) since it is worked out in London as fully as anywhere else in the universe. *Fourfold* implies an absolute completeness. Los's work is creative in making living 'human' forms for lost souls whose formlessness would otherwise be non-existence.

6.4. *London Stone*] Traditionally, the milestone used by the Romans as the base from which they measured their roads. See also *Jerusalem* 8.27*n*.

6.5. *weights*] Tensioning weights, to hold the warp stretched on the loom. Their 'lulling cadence' arises from their clinking together as they swing with the shaking of the loom.

6.12. These are the four faithful sons of Los: cp. 24.10–12. Theotormon and Bromion here are not the characters of *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*.

6.14. *clinkers*] The raked-out and glowing slag from a blast-furnace (for details see *Four Zoas* ii 282–9*n*). B. would have seen the glow from such furnaces on the Surrey hills, though they were going out of business.

6.14–17. *Lambeth's vale*] The subject of *gleams* in line 17: cp. 35.10.

6.16. *oak groves*] Where the Druids worshipped; see 20.

- [6] (When shall Jerusalem return & overspread all the nations?
Return, return to Lambeth's vale, O building of human souls!)
- 20 Thence stony Druid Temples overspread the island white,
And thence from Jerusalem's ruins—from her walls of
salvation
And praise—through the whole earth were reared; from
Ireland
To Mexico & Peru west, & east to China & Japan; till Babel,
The Spectre of Albion, frowned over the nations in glory & war.
- 25 (All things begin & end in Albion's ancient Druid rocky shore,
But now the Starry Heavens are fled from the mighty limbs
of Albion.)

[*Design*]

- Loud sounds the hammer of Los, loud turn the wheels of
Enitharmon:
Her looms vibrate with soft affections, wearing the web of life
Out from the ashes of the dead; Los lifts his iron ladles
- 30 With molten ore—he heaves the iron cliffs in his rattling chains
From Hyde Park to the alms-houses of Mile-end & old Bow.

6.19. *building of human souls*] Jerusalem is not a set of buildings, but (as for the prophets of the Bible) a spiritual creation, the sum of the people who make up the community.

6.20. *stony DRUID TEMPLES*] Any modern knowledge of prehistory must be abandoned when considering 18th-century writers. B. was of his time in supposing that the pre-Roman age was a seamless story, a 'heroic' age, when Druids held revered priestly status and power; that they worshipped in oak groves; that the stone circles, etc., large and small, found around the island were temples and places of sacrifice, relics of the primaeval Druid priesthood. The 'Ancient Order of Druids' was founded in London in 1781, and met in London 'Groves'. William Cordiner [*Antiquities* . . . , 1780] saw probable Druid circles in the circular shape of ruined brochs in far northern Scotland. Such objects unsuitable for assembly, such as rocking-stones, were inevitably seen in the same light. William Barclay [*Sketch of a Tour into Derbyshire* . . . , 1783], assuming the rocking-stones in Derbyshire to be man-made, comments on the amazing engineering powers of the Druid age demonstrated in them and at Stonehenge. B. was therefore at liberty to interpret these matters as he chose. See *Europe* 72n; for the sacrifices, 37.11n, and Caesar's *Gallie Wars* vi 16.

6.23. *Babel* is also Babylon, a vision of all that is evil in Albion.

6.25. *All things* . . . *shore*] So in *Jerusalem* pl.27, and 46.15. That the ancient Britons possessed the wisdom of the patriarchs is the 'beginning': the 'end' is that the new age will come when Britain (Albion) wakes up.

6.26. This line closely resembles *Jerusalem* 27.16; 70.32; 75.27.

6. *Design*: This covers half the page. Dominated by a huge Stonehenge-like trilithon, with a rocking-stone in front of it, a tiny traveller on horseback rides through it towards the stone; through the trilithon, a waning moon, clouds and stars are seen.

- [6] Here the Three Classes of mortal men take their fixed
 destinations,
 And hence they overspread the nations of the whole earth,
 & hence
 The web of life is woven & the tender sinews of life created
 35 And the Three Classes of men regulated by Los's hammer
 [& woven
 Pl.7 *By Enitharmon's looms & spun beneath the spindle of Tirzah:*
 The first, the Elect from before the foundation of the world;
 The second, the Redeemed; the third, the Reprobate & formed
 To destruction from the mother's womb.
 Follow with me my plough!
 5 Of the first class was Satan. With incomparable mildness

6.35–7.1. *and woven . . . of Tirzah*] These words were deleted in copy D; the effect is to assign the task to Los's hammer, excluding the textile imagery and any female participation, good or bad.

7.1. *Tirzah*] See *Four Zoas* viii 283*n*. Los and Enitharmon are normally the enemies of Tirzah; they are 'prophetic' and imaginative, she the shadowy queen of 'vegetative' nature. But both, though in hostility, deal with the forms created in this mortal world, and this is probably B.'s way of saying, 'Three classes of souls are found in the fallen world'.

7.2–4. *Elect from before the foundation of the world*] From *Romans* viii 29. B. gives a neat summary of the THREE CLASSES (5.26) of traditional theology but inverts the morality. Predestination (popularly associated with Calvinism, but going back to Augustine) identified the Elect, 'whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son' (*Romans* viii 29). The rest of humanity stood condemned, for Adam's sin and their own; but salvation was still available in Redemption through Christ. Opinion differed as to whether the Reprobate, those who rejected salvation, were, like the elect, predestined to their fate. By 1800 the doctrine was being rapidly swamped by the emotional rather than cerebral appeal of Wesleyanism, that salvation was available to all who accepted it. Predestination was not dead, however, and B. once again inverts orthodoxy by identifying the Elect as the 'unco' guid', and the Reprobate as those who dared to live in the fires, not of Hell, but of the creative, life-giving Imagination.

7.4. *womb. Follow*] These words are on different lines, with two deleted half-lines between them in part conjecturally read by *Erdman* p. 807 as:

'the Reprobate are first
 ? Who . . . by for the ?glorification. . . .'

7.5. The Bard now tells the true story of the fall of Satan (not that of *Paradise Lost*). Satan and Palamabron are sons of Los: see *Four Zoas* viii 345–7, also 356–63, where this story is summarized.

mildness] Pretending to be good-natured, while acting tyrannically. The passage is a reflection of the gentle destruction of B.'s plans by Hayley, B.'s patron of 1800–03. According to B., Hayley should have stuck to the duties assigned to him by his nature, without interfering with B.'s prophetic task. Note line 23.

- [7] His primitive tyrannical attempts on Los—with most
 endearing love
 He soft entreated Los to give to him Palamabron's station;
 For Palamabron returned with labour wearied every evening.
 Palamabron oft refused; and as often Satan offered
 10 His service, till by repeated offers and repeated entreaties
 Los gave to him the harrow of the Almighty—alas, blamable!
 Palamabron feared to be angry lest Satan should accuse him of
 Ingratitude, & Los believe the accusation through Satan's
 extreme
 Mildness. Satan laboured all day; it was a thousand years!
 15 In the evening returning terrified, overlaboured & astonished,
 Embraced soft with a brother's tears Palamabron, who also wept.
- Mark well my words; they are of your eternal salvation.*
- Next morning Palamabron rose. The horses of the harrow
 Were maddened with tormenting fury, & the servants of the
 harrow,
 20 The gnomes, accused Satan, with indignation, fury and fire.
 Then Palamabron, reddening like the moon in an eclipse,
 Spoke, saying, 'You know Satan's mildness and his
 self-imposition,
 Seeming a brother, being a tyrant, even thinking himself a
 brother
 While he is murdering the just. Prophetic I behold
 25 His future course through darkness & despair to eternal death.
 But we must not be tyrants also; he hath assumed my place
 For one whole day, under pretence of pity and love to me.
 My horses hath he maddened and my fellow servants injured.
 How should he—he!—know the duties of another? O foolish
 forbearance!
 30 Would I had told Los all my heart! But patience, O my friends,
 All may be well: silent remain, while I call Los and Satan.'
- Loud as the wind of Beulah that unroots the rocks & hills
 Palamabron called, and Los & Satan came before him,
 And Palamabron showed the horses & the servants. Satan wept
 35 And, mildly cursing Palamabron, him accused of crimes
 Himself had wrought. Los trembled; Satan's blandishments
 almost

7.21. *moon in an eclipse*] At a solar eclipse, the new moon is a black shadow; but when the earth eclipses the moon at full, the moon, instead of totally disappearing, glows a deep coppery colour.

- [7] Persuaded the Prophet of Eternity that Palamabron
 Was Satan's enemy, & that the gnomes, being Palamabron's
 friends,
 Were leagued together against Satan through ancient enmity.
 40 What could Los do? How could he judge, when Satan's self
 believed
 That he had not oppressed the horses of the harrow, nor
 the servants?
- So Los said, 'Henceforth, Palamabron, let each his own station
 Keep; nor in pity false, nor in officious brotherhood, where
 None needs, be active.' Meantime Palamabron's horses
 45 Raged with thick flames redundant, & the harrow maddened
 with fury.
 Trembling Palamabron stood, the strongest of demons
 trembled,
 Curbing his living creatures; many of the strongest gnomes
 They bit in their wild fury, who also maddened like wildest
 beasts.

Mark well my words; they are of your eternal salvation.

- Pl.8 Meanwhile wept Satan before Los, accusing Palamabron,
 Himself exculpating with mildest speech; for himself believed
 That he had not oppressed nor injured the refractory servants.
- But Satan returning to his mills (for Palamabron had served
 5 The mills of Satan as the easier task) found all confusion,
 And back returned to Los, not filled with vengeance but
 with tears,
 Himself convinced of Palamabron's turpitude. Los beheld
 The servants of the mills drunken with wine & dancing wild
 With shouts & Palamabron's songs, rending the forests green
 10 With echoing confusion, though the sun was risen on high.
- Then Los took off his left sandal, placing it on his head,
 Signal of solemn mourning. When the servants of the mills
 Beheld the signal they in silence stood, though drunk with wine.
 Los wept. But Rintrah also came, and Enitharmon on
 15 His arm leaned trembling, observing all these things,

7.45. *thick flames redundant*] Cp. 'these redundant locks' (*Samson Agonistes* 568).
 8.4-10. This may reflect B.'s individualistic treatment of Hayley's prosaic tasks.
 8.11. By this rather unfortunate image, Los probably signifies that the order of
 all things is disturbed; head and foot are confused. The *left* foot has sinister
 connotations.

- [8] And Los said, 'Ye genii of the mills, the sun is on high,
Your labours call you. Palamabron is also in sad dilemma.
His horses are mad, his harrow confounded, his companions
enraged.
Mine is the fault. I should have remembered that pity
divides the soul
- 20 And man unmans; follow with me my plough. This
mournful day
Must be a blank in nature. Follow with me, and tomorrow again
Resume your labours, & this day shall be a mournful day.'
- Wildly they followed Los & Rintrah, & the mills were silent.
They mourned all day, this mournful day of Satan &
Palamabron;
- 25 And all the Elect & all the Redeemed mourned one toward
another
Upon the mountains of Albion among the cliffs of the dead.
They ploughed in tears. Incessant poured Jehovah's rain, &
Molech's
Thick fires, contending with the rain, thundered above, rolling
Terrible over their heads. Satan wept over Palamabron.
- 30 Theotormon & Bromion contended on the side of Satan,
Pitying his youth & beauty, trembling at eternal death.
Michael contended against Satan in the rolling thunder;
Thulloh, the friend of Satan, also reproved him (faint their
reproof).
- But Rintrah, who is of the Reprobate, of those formed to
destruction,
- 35 In indignation for Satan's soft dissimulation of friendship
Flamed above all the ploughed furrows, angry, red & furious,
Till Michael sat down in the furrow, weary, dissolved in tears.
Satan, who drave the team beside him, stood angry & red;
He smote Thulloh & slew him, & he stood terrible over
Michael
- 40 Urging him to arise. He wept! Enitharmon saw his tears,
But Los hid Thulloh from her sight, lest she should die of grief.

8.19. *pity . . . soul*] So in *Urizen* 288.

8.27. *Molech*] A god worshipped in fire (cp. 37.21): but here the rain and fire are simply an imaginative interpretation of a storm.

8.32. '*Michael* the archangel when contending with the devil . . . said, The Lord rebuke thee' (*Jude* 9); also *Paradise Lost* vi *passim*.

8.33. *Thulloh*] A 'friend', not listed among Los's Sons anywhere. The name is apparently B.'s invention, his character undefined.

- [8] She wept; she trembled. She kissed Satan; she wept over Michael;
 She formed a Space for Satan & Michael & for the poor infected.
 Trembling she wept over the Space, & closed it with a tender moon.
- 45 Los secret buried Thulloh, weeping disconsolate over the moony Space.
- But Palamabron called down a Great Solemn Assembly,
 That he who will not defend truth may be compelled to
 Defend a lie, that he may be snared & caught & taken.
- Pl.9 And all Eden descended into Palamabron's tent
 Among Albion's Druids & Bards, in the caves beneath Albion's
 Death Couch, in the caverns of death, in the corner of the Atlantic.
- And in the midst of the Great Assembly, Palamabron prayed:
 5 'O God, protect me from my friends, that they have not
 power over me,
 Thou hast given me power to protect myself from my
 bitterest enemies.'
- Mark well my words; they are of your eternal salvation.*
- Then rose the two witnesses, Rintrah & Palamabron.
 And Palamabron appealed to all Eden & received
 10 Judgement, & lo! it fell on Rintrah & his rage,

8.43. SPACE] A key word in B.'s later vocabulary. A Space, as here, is a place separated from Eternity. Those within cannot imagine the infinite world beyond, and believe that the universe contains nothing but what the Space can contain. But a Space is also like a water-spider's air-bubble, protecting those inside from annihilation and descent into Non-Entity. Enitharmon isolates Satan so that he may not infect the others, placing him in a lower 'sphere' of life, where his now limited faculties may function. See 10.4n; also *Four Zoas* i. 90 and *Jerusalem* 85.1n.

8.46. Assembly] In *Paradise Lost*, God issues judgements from his throne; B.'s Assembly more closely resembles the Dissenters' Church Meeting; all members of the community gather to make decisions.

9.2. *Druids and Bards*] An allusion to the notion that heavenly wisdom and insight have been transmitted from ancient times through the British bardic tradition. See *Jerusalem* pl.27, p. 712.

9.2-3. *Albion's Death Couch*] A constant and central theme in *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, and one added to *The Four Zoas*, is that Albion (personifying England) is asleep as if dead, and that the universe is waiting for him to awake. *Jerusalem* is the story of his death and revival. The action takes place 'in the corner of the Atlantic' which is the heavenly equivalent of England. Cp. 15.36ff.

9.10. A mistaken judgement discussed in 11.15ff.

- [9] Which now flamed high & furious in Satan against
 Palamabron
 Till it became a proverb in Eden: ‘Satan is among the
 Reprobate’.
- Los in his wrath cursed heaven & earth; he rent up nations,
 Standing on Albion’s rocks among high-reared druid temples
 15 Which reach the stars of heaven & stretch from pole to pole.
 He displaced continents, the oceans fled before his face;
 He altered the poles of the world, east, west & north & south—
 But he closed up Enitharmon from the sight of all these things.
- For Satan, flaming with Rintrah’s fury hidden beneath his
 own mildness,
 20 Accused Palamabron before the assembly of ingratitude, of
 malice.
 He created Seven deadly Sins, drawing out his infernal scroll
 Of Moral laws and cruel punishments upon the clouds of
 Jehovah,
 To pervert the Divine Voice in its entrance to the earth
 With thunder of war & trumpets’ sound, with armies of
 disease,
 25 Punishments & deaths mustered & numbered; saying, ‘I am
 God alone,
 There is no other! Let all obey my principles of moral
 individuality.
 I have brought them from the uppermost innermost
 recesses
 Of my eternal mind; transgressors I will rend off for ever,
 As now I rend this accursed family from my covering!’
- 30 Thus Satan raged amidst the Assembly, & his bosom grew
 Opaque against the Divine Vision. The paved terraces of
 His bosom inwards shone with fires, but the stones,
 becoming opaque,
 Hid him from sight in an extreme blackness and darkness.
 And there a world of deeper Ulro was opened, in the midst

9.12. *Satan . . . Reprobate*] Because of his anger (19).

9.21. In this episode B. for the first time equates Satan with the law-giving God, opposing both to Jesus: this Miltonic Satan-Jehovah is a usurper. These lines, apparently out of context, recapitulate Urizen’s actions in *Urizen* 68–84.

9.23. i.e. the earthly notion of God’s voice. See 11.10–14.

9.26. *moral individuality*] i.e. ‘each man for himself’, regarding his own virtue, and not considering the needs of all other humanity.

9.31. *Opaque*] A sign of spiritual death. See *Four Zoas* iv 270*n*; and 13.20*n* below.

9.34. *Ulro*] The abyss of chaos and death; see headnote.

[9] Of the Assembly; in Satan's bosom a vast unfathomable abyss.

- 36 Astonishment held the Assembly in an awful silence; & tears
Fell down as dews of night, & a loud solemn universal groan
Was uttered from the east & from the west & from the south
And from the north: & Satan stood opaque, immeasurable,
40 Covering the east with solid blackness round his hidden heart,
With thunders uttered from his hidden wheels, accusing loud
The Divine Mercy for protecting Palamabron in his tent.

Rintrah reared up walls of rocks and poured rivers & moats
Of fire round the walls; columns of fire guard around
45 Between Satan & Palamabron in the terrible darkness.

And Satan, not having the Science of Wrath but only of Pity,
Rent them asunder and wrath was left to wrath, & pity to pity.
He sunk down, a dreadful death, unlike the slumbers of
Beulah.

The Separation was terrible. The Dead was reposed on his couch
50 Beneath the couch of Albion, on the seven mountains of
Rome,
In the whole place of the Covering Cherub, Rome, Babylon
& Tyre.

His Spectre raging furious descended into its Space;

(I) *Full-plate illustration a male nude on a plinth, agonized amid flames (illustrating Satan; 9.11, 19); a man and woman watch.*

Pl.10 Then Los & Enitharmon knew that Satan is Urizen,
Drawn down by Orc & the Shadowy Female into Generation.

9.43. As in *Urizen* 112–16.

9.45–8. Satan did not understand the good purpose of Rintrah's barriers.

9.46. So in *Four Zoas* viii 380.

9.49. *Separation*] As at 8.46, a term in use among Dissenters, whose groups were prone to division on doctrinal grounds.

9.50. *Rome*, which B. saw as the centre of oppression, both in empire and religion.

9.51. *the Covering Cherub*] See note on 37.8n. *Ezekiel* xxviii 16 denounces Tyre under this name.

Pl.10 is a later addition found in copies C & D. An attempt, continued on pl.18, to fit Orc into *Milton*? Its theme is that the Shadowy Female's pseudo-humanity is a Satanic false covering (37.8n). In *Generation*, this state is represented by Urizen, who attacks Milton (18.51ff) in response to the Shadowy Female. Orc also reacts: 18.31–33, 46–50.

10.1–2] The *Milton* legend of the fall of Satan is an elaboration of the simpler circumstances of the fall of Urizen in *The Book of Urizen*. At this point, B. sets out, with limited success, to fit the two together. The Shadowy Female plays no part in *Urizen*, and Orc's part is very different. Here, Enitharmon creates the Space where Urizen is confined; there, she is not born until later (*Urizen* pl.18).

- [10] Oft Enitharmon entered weeping into the Space, there appearing
 An aged woman raving along the streets (the Space is named
 5 Canaan) then she returned to Los weary, frightened as from dreams.

The nature of a Female Space is this: it shrinks the organs
 Of life till they become Finite, & itself seems Infinite.

- And Satan vibrated in the immensity of the Space! Limited
 To those without, but Infinite to those within, it fell down and
 10 Became Canaan! closing Los from Eternity in Albion's cliffs,
 A mighty fiend against the Divine Humanity, mustering to War!

- 'Satan, ah me, is gone to his own place,' said Los! 'Their God
 I will not worship in their churches, nor King in their theatres.
 —Elynittria! whence is this jealousy running along the mountains?
 15 British women were not jealous when Greek & Roman were jealous.
 Everything in Eternity shines by its own Internal light, but thou
 Darkenest every Internal light with the arrows of thy quiver,
 Bound up in the horns of Jealousy to a deadly fading moon:
 And Ocalythron binds the sun into a jealous globe,
 20 That every thing is fixed, Opaque, without Internal light!'

So Los lamented over Satan, who triumphant divided the nations.

[*Design*]

Pl.II He set his face against Jerusalem, to destroy the Eon of Albion.

10.4–5. *Space . . . Canaan*] This Space is the finite, mortal world: see 8.43*n*. *Canaan* is a puzzling but important identification. This Space is Satan's finite, confined universe; it is also the home of all the spiritual activity and conflict between him and the forces of light; hence B. identifies it with Canaan, biblically the home of false religions, but also Israel's promised land, in a key moment in *Jerusalem* (84.28–85.9). Here in *Milton* a Space is Created [B. habitually capitalizes both words] into which the Children of Albion are segregated. There too it is called *Canaan*, signifying the identity of the spiritual histories of Canaan–Palestine–Israel with Britain.

10.6–7. Thus Satan is so small that the 'Space' in which he is confined, this universe, seems infinite – to himself alone, not to the immortals outside.

10.11. *fiend*] Satan, not Los.

10.12–13. Reflecting B.'s Nonconformism and his anti-hierarchical opinions; he would, for example, object to the practice in theatres of standing up for the National Anthem.

10.14. *Elynittria*] B. anticipates the second part of the account of the fall of Satan, the jealousy of Leutha for Elynittria (see 11.38ff), perhaps forgetting in this added plate that the Bard has not reached it yet.

10.19. *Ocalythron*] Only a name, though perhaps Rintrah's Emanation; cp. *Europe* 49, where the names are linked.

Design: A stone doorway, and an aged woman running (see line 4).

11.1. *Eon*] This word occurs twice in *Jerusalem*: 19.16; and in 36.41, a line also found in *Four Zoas* v 60, where the word *wife* stands in the place of *Eon*. *Jerusalem* is Albion's Emanation.

- [11] But Los hid Enitharmon from the sight of all these things
 Upon the Thames, whose lulling harmony reposed her soul,
 Where Beulah lovely terminates in rocky Albion,
 5 Terminating in Hyde Park, on Tyburn's awful brook.
- And the mills of Satan were separated into a moony Space
 Among the rocks of Albion's temples, and Satan's Druid Sons
 Offer the human victims throughout all the Earth, and Albion's
 Dread tomb, immortal on his rock, overshadowed the
 whole Earth,
- 10 Where Satan, making to himself Laws from his own identity,
 Compelled others to serve him in moral gratitude &
 submission,
 Being called God, setting himself above all that is called God.
 And all the Spectres of the Dead, calling themselves Sons of
 God,
 In his Synagogues worship Satan under the Unutterable Name.
- 15 And it was enquired: Why, in a Great Solemn Assembly,
 The innocent should be condemned for the guilty. Then an
 Eternal rose,
- Saying, 'If the guilty should be condemned, he must be an
 Eternal Death,

11.4. *Beulah* lies between heaven and earth (see 30.2*n*); its contact with earth – doubtless through some personal experience of B.'s – is near Tyburn, not far from B.'s home, after 1803, in South Molton Street. Tyburn, as once the place of execution of criminals, is called 'awful' (but cp. *Jerusalem* 34.55ff, 43.1–4).

11.6–8. With Satan set apart from the Immortals (see 8.43*n*), 'his Druid Sons' pervert with their human sacrifices the divine wisdom they have received.

11.12. See note on 9.21.

11.13. *Spectres of the Dead*] Literally, ghosts: meaning earthbound people who think they are alive, and like good Christians go to church – to worship a false image of God. And see *John* viii 41ff.

11.14. *the Unutterable Name*] In late Jewish tradition, God's name was held to be too holy to speak – a sign of the distance which separated him from humans. But the *Synagogues* here are not only Jewish; the "Spectres of the Dead" are all humankind.

11.15–16. Satan has banished himself, although the blame was laid on Rintrah's wrath (9.10).

11.17–23. This argument has several threads: (a) the need for sacrifice by the innocent, to save others (17–18, 23); (b) the necessity that fallen beings be kept in a continual state of change, so that they may not rigidify (19–20), a theme developed throughout *Jerusalem*; (c) the Three Classes defined (21–2: see 7.1–3*n*). The *Elect* are predestined – not to heaven, but, by their spiritual inertia, to spiritual death. The *Reprobate* are punished – not in Hell, but by their self-sacrificing expiation of the sins of others.

- [11] And one must die for another throughout all Eternity.
 Satan is fallen from his station & never can be redeemed
 20 But must be new Created continually, moment by moment;
 And therefore the Class of Satan shall be called the Elect, &
 those
 Of Rintrah the Reprobate, & those of Palamabron the
 Redeemed—
 For he is redeemed from Satan's Law, the wrath falling on
 Rintrah.
 And therefore Palamabron dared not to call a solemn Assembly
 25 Till Satan had assumed Rintrah's wrath in the day of mourning,
 In a feminine delusion of false pride, self-deceived.'
 So spake the Eternal, and confirmed it with a thunderous oath.
 But when Leutha, a Daughter of Beulah, beheld Satan's
 condemnation
 She down descended into the midst of the Great Solemn
 Assembly,
 30 Offering herself a ransom for Satan, taking on her his sin.
Mark well my words; they are of your eternal salvation.
 And Leutha stood glowing with varying colours, immortal,
 heart-piercing
 And lovely; & her moth-like elegance shone over the Assembly.

11.20. *new Created continually*] CONTINUAL CREATION: an essential element in B.'s late concepts of *Redemption*, and also of *Time*, here specifically related to the narrative of the Bard's Song. Ever since *Marriage*, B.'s problem has been to find an alternative to the conventional notion of Hell. Eternal punishment he will not admit, yet cannot allow evil to go undestroyed; its pervasiveness would ultimately destroy the spiritual life of all creatures. They would fall into Non-Entity, were it not that through Time's decays and rebirths, and through constant reconciliation, they are continually renewed, in some passages by Los's untiring work, in others directly by the Divine Vision. Cp. 5.11–12; *Jerusalem* 52.10–12, (where 'Man . . . requires a New Selfhood continually'); 53.19–23; 58.50–51, and 73.31–34, where he gives a brief, clear summary of the concept: also *Four Zoas* vii 653–54; viii 194–96.

11.28. LEUTHA appears in *Visions* 4, *Europe* 170, and *The Book of Los* 2, but only now is given a definite character as Satan's Emanation (*Four Zoas* 1.17n). She clearly derives from Milton's Sin in *Paradise Lost* ii (see 11.32–3, 12.2–39 below; but already in *Europe* 170–5, ten years earlier, she is 'many-coloured' and 'silken', a 'sweet smiling pestilence'. B. seems not to have determined her precise role, and varies it with the context.

11.32. *varying colours* indicate a deceptive nature; Leutha is not altogether to be trusted.

- [11] At length, standing upon the golden floor of Palamabron,
 35 She spoke: 'I am the author of this sin; by my suggestion
 My parent-power Satan has committed this transgression.
 I loved Palamabron & I sought to approach his tent,
 But beautiful Elynittria with her silver arrows repelled me;
 Pl.12 For her light is terrible to me. I fade before her immortal beauty.
 —O, wherefore doth a dragon-form forth issue from my limbs
 To seize her new-born son? Ah me! the wretched Leutha!
 This to prevent, entering the doors of Satan's brain night
 after night,
 5 Like sweet perfumes I stupefied the masculine perceptions
 And kept only the feminine awake. Hence rose his soft
 Delusory love to Palamabron, admiration joined with envy,
 Cupidity unconquerable. My fault, when at noon of day
 The horses of Palamabron called for rest and pleasant death,
 10 I sprang out of the breast of Satan, over the harrow beaming
 In all my beauty, that I might unloose the flaming steeds
 As Elynittria used to do. But too well those living creatures
 Knew that I was not Elynittria, & they brake the traces.
 But me the servants of the harrow saw not, but as a bow
 15 Of varying colours on the hills; terribly raged the horses.
 Satan, astonished and with power above his own control,
 Compelled the gnomes to curb the horses, & to throw
 banks of sand
 Around the fiery flaming harrow in labyrinthine forms,

11.37. *I loved Palamabron*] As the next lines show, Leutha's dissatisfaction with her lot and jealousy of Elynittria cause Satan's similar dissatisfaction; the result is disastrous.

12.2. *a dragon-form*] Cp. *Paradise Lost* ii 650–3: 'The one seemed Woman to the waist and fair, / But ended foul in many a scaly fold / Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed / With mortal sting . . .' and ii 781–3: 'At last this odious offspring whom thou seest . . . [i.e., *Death*] / Tore through my entrails; that with fear and pain / Distorted all my nether shape thus grew / Transformed . . .'

See also *America* 53; and *Revelation* xii 1–4: 'a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a moon and stars . . . the dragon stood before the woman which was to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.'

12.4. *entering . . . brain*] Cp. *Paradise Lost* iv 799–809, where Satan in the form of a toad tempts the sleeping Eve, 'Assaying by his devilish art to reach / The organs of her fancy, and with them forge / Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams.'

12.9. *pleasant death*] 'Death' in Eden is only rest: there is no death in our sense, except banishment, the kind Satan has forced upon himself.

12.18–19. *labyrinthine . . . brooks . . . to intersect*] Note B.'s dislike of all that is not straightforward. (But note *Four Zoas* viii 27, *Jerusalem* 98.18.).

- [12] And brooks between to intersect the meadows in their course.
 20 The harrow cast thick flames; Jehovah thundered above;
 Chaos & Ancient Night fled from beneath the fiery harrow.
 The harrow cast thick flames & orb'd us round in concave fires,
 A hell of our own making. See, its flames still gird me round!
 Jehovah thundered above; Satan in pride of heart
 25 Drove the fierce harrow among the constellations of Jehovah,
 Drawing a third part in the fires as stubble north & south—
 To devour Albion and Jerusalem, the Emanation of Albion—
 Driving the harrow in pity's paths. 'Twas then, with our
 dark fires
 Which now gird round us (Oh eternal torment), I formed
 the serpent
 30 Of precious stones & gold, turned poisons on the sultry
 wastes.
 The gnomes in all that day spared not; they cursed Satan
 bitterly.
 To do unkind things in kindness! With power armed, to say
 The most irritating things in the midst of tears & love—
 These are the stings of the Serpent. Thus did we by them,
 till thus
 35 They in return retaliated, & the living creatures maddened.
 The gnomes laboured, I weeping hid in Satan's inmost brain;
 But when the gnomes refused to labour more, with
 blandishments
 I came forth from the head of Satan; back the gnomes
 recoiled
 And called me *Sin*, & for a sign portentous held me. Soon
 40 Day sunk & Palamabron returned. Trembling I hid myself
 In Satan's inmost palace of his nervous fine-wrought brain.

12.20–39. These lines show how the effects of Leutha's crime enlarge and increase. Each attempt to calm the horses and gnomes makes them wilder, so that still fiercer measures are taken by the incompetent Satan and Leutha.

12.21. *Chaos and Ancient Night*] Taken from *Paradise Lost* ii 970.

12.29. *I formed the serpent*] Rather a gratuitous introduction, but B. is drawing as many parallels with the fall of Satan in *Paradise Lost* as he can, and he uses the image extensively in the following lines.

12.32–3. Another reflection of the 'irritating things' Hayley used to do.

12.36. *hid . . . brain*] The Emanation is, in Eden, a part of the whole person, not a permanently separate counterpart.

12.37–9. Cp. *Paradise Lost* ii 759–61: 'back they recoiled afraid / At first, and called me Sin, and for a sign / Portentous held me; but familiar grown, / I pleased, and with attractive graces won / The most averse . . .'

- [12] For Elynittria met Satan with all her singing women,
 Terrific in their joy, & pouring wine of wildest power.
 They gave Satan their wine; indignant at the burning wrath,
 45 Wild with prophetic fury, his former life became like a dream.
 Clothed in the serpent's folds, in selfish holiness demanding
 purity
 Being most impure, self-condemned to eternal tears, he drove
 Me from his inmost brain, & the doors closed with thunder's
 sound.
 O Divine Vision, who didst create the female to repose
 50 The sleepers of Beulah, pity the repentant Leutha. My
 Pl.13 Sick couch bears the dark shades of Eternal Death enfolding
 The Spectre of Satan; he furious refuses to repose in sleep.
 I humbly bow in all my sin before the Throne Divine.
 Not so the sick one; alas! what shall be done him to restore,
 5 Who calls the Individual Law, Holy, and despises the Saviour,
 Glorying to involve Albion's body in fires of eternal war?'
 Now Leutha ceased; tears flowed; but the Divine Pity
 supported her.
 'All is my fault! We are the Spectre of Luvah the murderer
 of Albion. O Vala! O Luvah! O Albion! O lovely
 Jerusalem!
 10 The sin was begun in Eternity & will not rest to Eternity,
 Till two Eternities meet together. Ah! lost! lost! lost! for ever!'
 So Leutha spoke. But when she saw that Enitharmon had
 Created a new Space to protect Satan from punishment,
 She fled to Enitharmon's tent & hid herself. Loud raging
 15 Thundered the Assembly dark & clouded, & they ratified
 The kind decision of Enitharmon & gave a Time to the Space,
 Even six thousand years, & sent Lucifer for its guard.

12.42. *Elynittria met Satan* . . .] B. continues with an incident which explains Satan's separation from Leutha. The Emanation's place is with her mate; the events of the day have driven her desire for Palamabron out of her mind; it returns in 13.38.

12.44. *the burning wrath*] i.e. of the contest with the horses and the gnomes.

12.46. *demanding purity*] The moralistic law – see 9.26. Satan has called Leutha 'Sin' (39) and expelled her; whereas she should be an Emanation, to be enjoyed and controlled. Expulsion of an Emanation is a rift in personality.

13.8. *Luvah*] One of the Four Zoas, 'brother' of Los; see *Four Zoas*, headnote and iii 65*n*. The sense of these lines is that Satan (with Leutha) is guilty of the sin of overweening dominating passion that ruined Albion (9.3*n*).

13.17. *six thousand years*] Counting the creation from 4004 B.C. to an imminent end of the world: the Fall will not endure beyond its limit. See *Marriage* iv 64*n*.

13.17–24. The Gods of the earth are given the task of looking after the fallen world, but all are inadequate until Jesus comes. Each has his own fault – pride, impatience, etc., and only Jesus is willing to die. See the similar but shorter narrative in *Four Zoas* viii 374–95.

- [13] But Lucifer refused to die & in pride he forsook his charge,
 And they elected Molech, and when Molech was impatient
 20 The Divine Hand found the two Limits; first of Opacity,
 then of Contraction.
 Opacity was named Satan, contraction was named Adam.
 Triple Elohim came—Elohim wearied, fainted: they elected
 Shaddai.
 Shaddai angry, Pahad descended: Pahad terrified, they sent
 Jehovah,
 And Jehovah was leprous—loud he called, stretching his
 hand to Eternity.
 25 For then the body of death was perfected in hypocritic holiness
 Around the Lamb, a Female Tabernacle woven in
 Cathedron's looms.

13.18. *Lucifer* (here distinguished from Satan) is traditionally proud; he will not descend to the world of death.

13.20–1. Within the Space, Satan could not deteriorate below certain limits. B. repeats the idea in *Jerusalem* 42.29–31, and adds (42.35–7):

But there is no Limit of Expansion! There is no Limit of Translucence!
 In the bosom of Man for ever from Eternity to Eternity!
 Therefore I break thy bonds of righteousness; I crush thy messengers!

13.20. OPACITY and CONTRACTION] In Cartesian cosmology, the three forms of matter range from the luminous (the sun) through the translucent (the ether) to the opaque (the earth). *Expansion* is one of the three 'elements' in the system; with *motion* and *form*, these are the essentials for being. B. endows this theory with moral and religious significance; for him, Opacity is due to sin, and Adam's life is contracted and earthbound. See *Four Zoas* iv 270n.

13.22. ELOHIM] Lit., *Gods*. The word *Triple* is probably an allusion to the Trinity. The name given to the Creator in the first, but not the second, chapter of *Genesis* (B. switches from sing. to plural). In *Four Zoas* viii 389–90, and a famous painting, the (singular) Elohim is creator of Adam, and in *Milton* 13.22 they (plural) are guards, if ineffective, of this fallen natural world. In *VLJ* 81 he is the Angel (both guarding and accounting for Israel) also known as 'the I Am of the Oaks of Albion'. But in *Milton* 29.65 the natural world is only a 'vision' of their deeper science, and in *Jerusalem* 61.1–2 they present a beautiful vision; and in 73.24, 'Los is of the Elohim', perhaps because of the visions of Eternity he and they create. *Shaddai*] In *Exodus* vi 3, 'I appeared unto Abraham . . . by the name of God Almighty', the last two words an approximate translation of El (god) Shaddai. B. converts *Shaddai* and *Pahad* (see next note) into names. Since Abraham's God was Shaddai, he precedes Pahad.

13.23. *Pahad*] *Genesis* xxxi 42: in Jacob's dispute with Laban, 'Except the God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the fear of Isaac, had been with me . . .' The word translated fear is *pahad*, 'dread', which B. uses by a sort of inversion of meaning, for his 'terrified' God.

13.26–34. *Around the Lamb*] The Seventh (see 14.42), the only faithful guardian.

13.26. *a Female Tabernacle . . . looms*] A false, enclosing wrap which could not be escaped. For *tabernacle* see *Jerusalem* 44.34n.

Cathedron] See *Four Zoas* viii 25n; Enitharmon erects her looms on the borders of Ulro, to weave earthly forms for lost souls.

- [13] He died as a Reprobate, he was punished as a transgressor.
 Glory! Glory! Glory to the Holy Lamb of God!
 I touch the heavens as an instrument to glorify the Lord!
- 30 The Elect shall meet the Redeemed: on Albion's rocks they
 shall meet,
 Astonished at the transgressor, in him beholding the Saviour.
 And the Elect shall say to the Redeemed, 'We behold it is
 of Divine
 Mercy alone, of free gift & election that we live.
 Our virtues & cruel goodnesses have deserved eternal death.'
- 35 Thus they weep upon the fatal brook of Albion's river.
- But Elynittria met Leutha in the place where she was hidden,
 And threw aside her arrows & laid down her sounding bow;
 She soothed her with soft words & brought her to
 Palamabron's bed
 In moments new created for delusion, interwoven round about.
- 40 In dreams she bore the shadowy Spectre of Sleep & named
 him Death.
 In dreams she bore Rahab, the mother of Tirezah & her sisters,
 In Lambeth's vales, in Cambridge & in Oxford, places of
 thought—
 Intricate labyrinths of times and spaces unknown that
 Leutha lived
 In Palamabron's tent, and Oothoon was her charming guard.
- 45 —The Bard ceased. All considered, and a loud resounding
 murmur

13.27. *He*] The Lamb.

13.30–4. *Elect . . . Redeemed*] See 7.1–3*n*, and *Romans* v 15–16, saying that by the one 'free gift' coming through Christ, the righteous, has cleared many offences. B. stresses (27) that Christ was judged a transgressor; but declares that fact is the basis of the salvation he brings. B.'s Elect, who believed that obedience to a cruel Moral Law made them and the Redeemed virtuous, now realize that forgiveness is a 'free gift'.

13.35. *fatal brook*] Tyburn Brook, which ran near the place where, until 1784 criminals were executed (see map p. 650).

13.44. *Oothoon*] Cp. *Visions* 198–204, where also Oothoon promises to bring other girls to Theotormon as Elynittria brings Leutha to Palamabron's bed. A favourite fantasy of B.'s: see 33.17–18, *Visions* 191–204, *Jerusalem* 69.14ff.

13.40. *she*] Leutha.

In dreams] Leutha is the mother of all 'feminine' delusions seen by mortal men; as the Emanation of Satan she is linked with him in his fall. Note the terms *delusion*, *interwoven*, *intricate*, *labyrinths*, *unknown*.

13.41. *Rahab*, *Tirezah* and their unholy sisters embody the most sinister of female evils on earth; cp. *Four Zoas* viii 267*n*.

- [13] Continued round the halls, & much they questioned the
immortal
Loud-voiced Bard; & many condemned the high-toned song,
Saying, 'Pity & love are too venerable for the imputation
Of guilt.' Others said, 'If it is true, if the acts have been
performed,
50 Let the Bard himself witness. Where hadst thou this terrible
song?'

The Bard replied: 'I am inspired! I know it is truth, for I sing
Pl.14 According to the inspiration of the poetic genius,
Who is the eternal all-protecting Divine Humanity,
To whom be glory & power & dominion evermore. Amen!'

[*Design*]

- Then there was great murmuring in the Heavens of Albion
5 Concerning Generation & the Vegetative Power, & concerning
The Lamb, the Saviour. Albion trembled to Italy, Greece &
Egypt,
To Tartary & Hindustan & China, & to great America,
Shaking the roots & fast foundations of the earth in
doubtfulness.
The loud-voiced Bard terrified took refuge in Milton's bosom.
10 Then Milton rose up from the Heavens of Albion ardorous.
The whole Assembly wept prophetic, seeing in Milton's face
And in his lineaments divine the shades of Death & Ulro.
He took off the robe of the promise & ungirded himself
from the oath of God.

13.48. *Pity and love*] Both have been criticized by the Bard; the pity of Los and Palamabron for Satan, and Leutha's love for Palamabron, have both produced ill, because they were falsely conceived.

13.51–14.3] For the orthodox, religious truths were incontrovertible because *revealed* by God to the faithful in the Scriptures, and therefore absolute. For B., the divine Imagination provides for each one (willing to accept the Imagination) an individual revelation of absolute truths, fully experienced only in Eternity.

14. *Design*: Between the lines are recumbent figures; one supine, one half-raised, one half-turned to rock.

14.4. *the Heavens of Albion*] The 'heavenly' Albion – which may be seen as one man, or as a world, spread out into hills, valleys, rivers, etc., as well as animals and men. Cp. *Jerusalem* 71.15–19, *Four Zoas* v 121–42. The infinite sight of heaven may 'expand' and see these details, or 'contract' and see one man.

14.13. That is, in an act resembling the tradition of Christ's 'Harrowing of Hell', he was willing to risk his Eternal life in searching the region of Death for his Emanation. This is the decisive act of the poem, prepared in 2.16–20; B. places a full-page illustration of it on the next plate.

- [14] And Milton said, 'I go to Eternal Death! The nations still
 15 Follow after the detestable gods of Priam, in pomp
 Of warlike selfhood, contradicting and blaspheming.
 When will the Resurrection come to deliver the sleeping body
 From corruptibility? O when, Lord Jesus, wilt thou come?
 Tarry no longer: for my soul lies at the gates of death.
 20 I will arise & look forth for the morning of the grave.
 I will go down to the sepulchre to see if morning breaks.
 I will go down to self-annihilation & eternal death,
 Lest the Last Judgement come & find me unannihilate,
 And I be seized & given into the hands of my own Selfhood.
 25 The Lamb of God is seen through mists & shadows, hovering
 Over the sepulchres in clouds of Jehovah & winds of Elohim,
 A disc of blood, distant, & heavens & earths roll dark between.
 What do I here before the Judgement? Without my Emanation?
 With the daughters of memory & not with the daughters of
 inspiration?
 30 I in my Selfhood am that Satan; I am that Evil One,
 He is my Spectre! In my obedience to loose him from my hells
 To claim the Hells my Furnaces, I go to Eternal Death.'
- And Milton said, 'I go to Eternal Death!' Eternity shuddered,
 For he took the outside course, among the graves of the dead
 35 A mournful shade. Eternity shuddered at the image of
 eternal death.

14.14. *I go!* A statement of intention.

14.17–24. 'Death' here is final, spiritual death. 'The morning of the grave' is spiritual resurrection, which the 'sleeping body' must undergo if it is to live eternal life. B. plays upon the two sorts of death – of the earthly body, which is supposed to sleep till Judgement Day; and mortal life, which is itself only a kind of sleep or death. Milton has died from mortal life, but his divided spirit is still not alive in eternal life. For this, he must be 'annihilated' and remade – hence his wish to 'go down to the sepulchre'. For 20 cp. *Four Zoas* ix 116–18.

14.29. Cp. 1.5*n*.

14.30–I. Milton's sin had been that of the usurper Satan of the Bard's song in that he supported tyranny and that his mind was attuned to it. 'That Satan' is the corrupted, dominating part of Milton's own personality, his Spectre (see *Four Zoas* iv 63*n*, *Jerusalem* 6.1*n*). Milton is now able to identify himself with Satan instead of treating him with self-righteous distaste, as he did in *Paradise Lost*.

14.32. 'To claim the Hells (of destruction) as my furnaces (of purification and creation).' Milton is to go down to Hell, as Christ did, in an act of self-sacrifice, to redeem those who were there.

14.34. *the outside course*] Cp. 17.29: 'travellers from eternity pass outward to Satan's seat'.

- [14] Then on the verge of Beulah he beheld his own Shadow—
 A mournful form, double, hermaphroditic, male & female
 In one wonderful body. And he entered into it
 In direful pain; for the dread shadow, twenty-seven-fold,
 40 Reached to the depths of direst Hell, & thence to Albion's
 land,
 Which is this earth of vegetation on which now I write.

The seven Angels of the Presence wept over Milton's shadow.

14.36. *his own shadow*] His spectral form, and fallen, the divided form he inhabited on earth; such a body must be the vehicle of his spirit as he travels in the grosser lower regions where the heavenly spiritual body cannot go.

14.37–8. HERMAPHRODITIC, *male and female . . . body*] A self-contradictory shadow, a 'form' and not real; male and female, yet neither one nor the other (not, as in Eternity, both in unity), and therefore nothing. It is essentially an image of the fallen sexual world, because in Eden, though human beings have no sex, they are both sexes blended in one, mingled far more deeply and fully than is possible in two-sexed mankind. The hermaphrodite, 'self-dividing' (19.33), is in effect a metaphor of the sexual world where male and female are interdependent, yet at odds with one another. The Covering Cherub (37.8n), is a shadowy hermaphrodite, a female 'dragon red and hidden harlot' dominating, from within, a male giant. *Jerusalem* 90.52–5 is a further interesting comment.

14.39. *twenty-seven-fold*] Cp. 17.24, 37.35n.

14.42. SEVEN ANGELS OF THE PRESENCE] Cp. *Four Zoas* i 267, 'They elected seven, called the Seven / Eyes of God and the Seven Lamps of the Almighty'. The word 'elected' identifies the Seven as the guardians of 13.17 above (also *Four Zoas* viii 386ff and *Jerusalem* 55.31), as does the name Lucifer in the list of guardians and among the Seven Angels in 32.8–9. With Milton's 'Sleeping Body' in 15.5 the ideal Eight is completed. At 39.3–13 the Seven defy Satan, Milton's Spectre, but with the redeemed Milton 'the Starry Eight became one Man, Jesus the Saviour' (42.10). Thus the Seven, in general, appear as guardians and advisers of humanity; in *Milton* in particular they are his companions and protectors, who go into the fallen world with him (15.3) in order to maintain his vision of Eternity. See *Exodus* xxxiii 14, and *Isaiah* lxiii 9: 'In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of the presence saved them'. Also *Zechariah* iv 10: 'for who hath despised the day of small things? [*the marginal alternative in A.V. is: since the seven eyes of the Lord shall rejoice*] . . . they are the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth'.

Revelation has many sevens, mostly agents of divine purpose: spirits (i 4, v 6) 'sent forth into all the earth'; candlesticks (i 12, 20; ii 1); stars (i 16, ii 1) – the last two the churches, the emissaries of Christ in the world; in *Revelation* viii 2 and xv iff the seven angels stand before God and scatter calamities on the earth; these belong to the Lamb who (v 6) has 'seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth'. This passage is the basis of B.'s Seven Angels, though his Divine Mercy does not dispense wrath as in *Revelation* (contrast Satan in 38.54–5), but accompanies the souls of individuals for their safety. In 1800, though the roads were safer than they had been, it would still be prudent for travellers to journey in a group rather than alone.

(II) *Full-plate illustration: Milton, throwing off his robe and girdle (4.13), steps on to a dark globe. The sun sets behind, its aura fading.*

Pl.15 As when a man dreams, he reflects not that his body sleeps,
Else he would wake; so seemed he entering his shadow. But
With him the spirits of the Seven Angels of the Presence
Entering, they gave him still perceptions of his Sleeping Body,
5 Which now arose and walked with them in Eden, as an eighth
Image, Divine though darkened, and though walking as one
walks
In sleep. And the Seven comforted and supported him.

[*Designs*]

Like as a polypus that vegetates beneath the deep
They saw his Shadow vegetated underneath the Couch
10 Of Death. For when he entered into his Shadow, himself,
His real and immortal Self, was as appeared to those
Who dwell in immortality, as one sleeping on a couch
Of gold, & those in immortality gave forth their Emanations
Like females of sweet beauty, to guard round him & to feed
15 His lips with food of Eden in his cold & dim repose.
But to himself he seemed a wanderer lost in dreary night.

Onwards his Shadow kept its course among the Spectres,
called
Satan; but swift as lightning passing them, startled the shades
Of Hell beheld him in a trail of light as of a comet
20 That travels into chaos. So Milton went guarded within.

15.1–16. A description of three simultaneous States of being: the Seven with Milton in Eden; their Emanations tending him in Beulah; he travels alone with both unknown to him. Yet all three States are real. Cp. 20.15ff and headn., p. 504. *Designs*. Three small figures at para. breaks, 16, 20, 35.

15.4. *perceptions . . . Body*] See 14.42n. An obscure phrase. Milton is in two states: one active, travelling in his Shadow; and one in the sleeping self left behind. The Angels enable the first to see the second. Lines 10–12 clarify the image. Note also the similarity to Jacob's dream at Bethel (*Genesis* xxviii).

15.8. POLYPUS] See *Four Zoas* iv 265 and a similar use of the image at *Jerusalem* 18.40.

15.9–10. *the Couch of Death*] Albion's (9.3n).

15.17. Here Milton begins a progress which recalls that of *Paradise Lost* ii 629ff 'Satan with thoughts inflamed of highest design, / Puts on swift wings, and toward the Gate of Hell / Explores his solitary flight.'

15.17–18. *Spectres, called / Satan*] Cp. *Four Zoas* vii 626, where B. describes the spectres of the spiritually dead scattering through the abyss: 'in the aggregate they named them Satan.'

- [15] The nature of infinity is this: that everything has its
Own Vortex, and when once a traveller through Eternity
Has passed that Vortex, he perceives it roll backward behind
His path, into a globe itself enfolding like a sun
25 Or like a moon, or like a universe of starry majesty,
While he keeps onwards in his wondrous journey on the
earth—
Or like a human form, a friend with whom he lived benevolent.
As the eye of man views both the east & west, encompassing
Its vortex, and the north & south, with all their starry host,
30 Also the rising sun & setting moon, he views surrounding
His cornfields and his valleys of five hundred acres square.
Thus is the earth one infinite plane, and not as apparent
To the weak traveller confined beneath the moony shade.
Thus is the heaven a vortex passed already, and the earth
35 A vortex not yet passed by the traveller through Eternity.
- First Milton saw Albion upon the Rock of Ages,
Deadly pale, outstretched and snowy cold, storm-covered—
A Giant form of perfect beauty outstretched on the rock
In solemn death; the Sea of Time & Space thundered aloud
40 Against the rock, which was enwrapped with the weeds of death.
Hovering over the cold bosom, in its vortex Milton bent down
To the bosom of death (what was underneath soon seemed
above).
A cloudy heaven mingled with stormy seas in loudest ruin;

15.22. *Vortex*] Descartes proposed in his cosmology that the universe was composed of a continuous range of vortices, each with a star at its centre. Thus a body (e.g. a comet) travelling through one vortex would, on passing beyond it, immediately enter the influence of another. (B. had probably met Descartes' theories indirectly through the writings of Henry More, 1614–87.) B. adds that a person so travelling would see the vortex in which he was, as we see this world partially and outspread. But in our state 'confined beneath the moony shade' (33) he would only see the vortex that had been left behind from the outside, its curved walls rolled up as if into a globe – a separate, distant object. Yet a heaven, an eternal world, lies there; and those unknown, apparently dead worlds are worlds of beauty like our own. Milton (19) travels like a comet. but so fast that he is drawn into the influence of no vortex.

15.23–4. He cannot see the infinite thing itself; he can, for example, see the sun. 15.28–35. Man sees to right and left over 180°; he cannot see the extent and comprehensiveness of infinity, but it is there, just as east and west are there, part of one continuous entity. Both the outside and inside of the vortex exist and are real.

15.41. Milton goes down to Albion; as he comes closer (42) he pierces the clouds and enters the mortal world again (46).

- [15] But as a wintry globe descends precipitant through Beulah
bursting
45 With thunders loud and terrible, so Milton's shadow fell,
Precipitant loud thundering into the sea of time & space.

[*Design*]

Then first I saw him in the zenith as a falling star,
Descending perpendicular, swift as the swallow or swift;
And on my left foot, falling on the tarsus, entered there;
50 But from my left foot a black cloud redounding spread over
Europe.

Then Milton knew that the Three Heavens of Beulah were
beheld
By him on earth in his bright pilgrimage of sixty years

Pl.16 *Full-page illustration* (Plate 11): *The struggle of Milton and Urizen* (19.4–14).

- (III) *Above, in a separate division, the immortals in Eden rejoice, playing various instruments. Below the design is the caption:*
To annihilate the Self-hood of Deceit and False Forgiveness.

Pl.17 [*Design*]

In those three females, whom his wives, & those three
whom his daughters
Had represented & contained, that they might be resumed
By giving up of Selfhood; & they distant viewed his journey
In their eternal spheres, now Human, though their Bodies
remain closed
5 In the dark Ulro till the Judgement. Also Milton knew:
they and

15. *Design*: A star falling on a man's foot, left; a wall in ruins, centre; right, a woman weeping (47–50). It seems to embody a vivid personal experience, which B. relates in 21.12–13. The male figure in this design is enlarged into a full plate and used twice (after pls.29 and 33).

15.51. *Three Heavens*] See 5.51 and 5.5–32 (a later passage). The beauty and delight of female head, heart and loins; Milton had seen, without understanding, the whole range of feminine beauty in his wives and daughters.

17.1. The design at the top of the page shows the six females, three seated, three in a dance. Although interrupted by designs, 15.52–17.1 are continuous.

17.1–3. The eternal nature of the six females (in sum, Milton's Emanation), partially represented on earth by the wives and daughters. By giving up their earthly, self-centred individuality, they would resume their heavenly form and place and combine with Milton.

17.5–7. *they and Himself was*] In eternity they together made up one eternal Human being: hence *was*, not *were*. But on earth he was at odds with them; and they represent all earthly female faults and errors.

- [17] Himself was Human, though now wandering through
 Death's Vale
 In conflict with those Female forms, which in blood & jealousy
 Surrounded him, dividing & uniting without end or number.
- He saw the cruelties of Ulro, & he wrote them down
 10 In iron tablets; and his wives' & daughters' names were these:
 Rahab & Tirzah, & Milcah & Mahlah & Noah & Hoglah.
 They sat ranged round him as the rocks of Horeb round
 the land
 Of Canaan, & they wrote in thunder, smoke & fire
 His dictate; and his body was the rock Sinai—that body
 15 Which was on earth born to corruption. And the six Females
 Are Hor & Peor & Bashan & Abarim & Lebanon & Hermon,
 Seven rocky masses terrible in the deserts of Midian.
- But Milton's Human Shadow continued journeying above
 The rocky masses of the Mundane Shell in the lands
 20 Of Edom & Aram & Moab & Midian & Amalek.
- (The Mundane Shell is a vast Concave Earth: an immense
 Hardened shadow of all things upon our vegetated earth,
 Enlarged into dimensions & deformed into indefinite space,
 In Twenty-seven Heavens & all their Hells, with Chaos

17.9–17. Milton in his journey sees a vision of himself and the meaning of the tainted work he did on earth.

17.11. *Rahab and Tirzah*] See *Four Zoas* viii 267.

Milcah and Mahlah and Noah and Hoglah] *Numbers* xxvi 33 (also xxvii 1 and xxxvi 11: 'Mahlah and Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah' were the daughters of Zelophehad, who were allowed to inherit from him, as he had no sons. B. again associates Britain and Israel. The six here embody the female insinuation into male inheritance – a monstrous regiment of women. (Cp. also *Four Zoas* viii 300ff.) Milton himself had been similarly misled on earth.

17.12. *rocks of Horeb*] Or Sinai, the source of Moral Law. See lines 16–17.

17.13–14. *His dictate*] Milton's daughters are said to have acted as his amanuenses in the blindness of his later life. B. conflates Milton's poetry with its moral source – the Law of Sinai.

17.16. *Hor . . . Hermon*] All are mountains and mountainous regions, from Hor to the south to Hermon north of Palestine's borders. B. sets them all in Midian, the hostile land S.S.E. of biblical Palestine, by a sort of moral ellipsis; all are hostile, threatening, and overhanging. *Hermon* is the highest point of Lebanon. See map, p. 601.

17.17. *Seven*] Milton (Sinai) is the seventh (see 14).

17.19. *the Mundane Shell*] The enclosing universe beneath the firmament, shut off from eternity. See 19.15–24, 34.31*n* and *Jerusalem* 13.33*n*.

17.20. *Edom . . . Amalek*] Tribes bordering on Palestine.

17.24, 26. *Twenty-seven Heavens*] The space between earth and firmament is filled with this range of heavens varying, not in translucence, but in obscurity. See 37.35*n*.

- [17] And Ancient Night & Purgatory. It is a cavernous Earth
 26 Of labyrinthine intricacy, twenty-seven folds of opaqueness,
 And finishes where the lark mounts. Here Milton journeyed
 In that region called Midian, among the rocks of Horeb.
 For travellers from Eternity pass outward to Satan's seat,
 30 But travellers to Eternity pass inward to Golgonooza.)

Los, the vehicular terror, beheld him, & divine Enitharmon
 Called all her daughters, saying, 'Surely to unloose my bond
 Is this man come. Satan shall be unloosed upon Albion.'

- Los heard in terror Enitharmon's words. In fibrous strength
 35 His limbs shot forth like roots of trees against the forward path
 Of Milton's journey. Urizen beheld the immortal Man,

[Design]

[Plate 18 inserted here in later copies]

- Pl.18 And Tharmas, demon of the waters, & Orc, who is Luvah.

The Shadowy Female, seeing Milton, howled in her lamentation,
 Over the deeps outstretching her twenty-seven heavens over Albion.

17.27. *where the lark mounts*] An idea, developed in 35.67ff, that the singing lark rises to a point where it comes to the gate of eternity.

17.29-30. Because the traveller from Eden, coming to this world, leaves heaven for hell and vice versa. 'Outward' because he moves towards a world of superficial, objective appearances; 'inward' he goes to the heart of things. See *Jerusalem* 12.55n.

17.31. *vehicular*] Because he is the form taken, within time and space, of the eternal Urthona, whose personality he 'carries'. This idea, unimportant in *Milton*, is fully developed in *The Four Zoas*.

17.33. *Satan shall be unloosed*] Both Los and Enitharmon misinterpret Milton's new role, as he journeys in his 'shadow' form, for they do not realize that he has renounced his earlier falsehoods. In *Revelation* xx, Satan is first locked up, then unloosed, by an angel, 'to deceive the nations', but also to be annihilated. B. uses the image of unloosing, but has changed the circumstances. This is the selfish Enitharmon of *Jerusalem* 87.12-24, seeing her link with Los as 'bondage'. Los tries to obstruct the Satan that he thinks he sees. But Milton is not Satan. *Design*: Illustrating 17.34-36, Urizen, 'his arms and knees / Like to the roots of ancient trees' (*Jerusalem* poem on pl.52). In *Jerusalem* the image is not derogatory.

Pl.18. Added in copies C & D. The added plates 10 and 18 could be read as one; 18.26ff. make more sense as following pl.10. It may be that the passage as a whole was already written, and line 5 was added in order to make it fit.

18.1. By adding this line to 17.34-36, B. turns Urizen's intervention, added to Los's consternation, into a common act by all Four Zoas.

18.3. *twenty-seven*] See 37.35n.

- [18] And thus the Shadowy Female howls, in articulate howlings:
- 5 'I will lament over Milton in the lamentations of the afflicted!
My garments shall be woven of sighs, & heart-broken lamentations:
The misery of unhappy families shall be drawn out into its border,
Wrought with the needle with dire sufferings, poverty, pain & woe
Along the rocky island, & thence throughout the whole earth.
- 10 There shall be the sick father & his starving family! there
The prisoner in the stone dungeon, & the slave at the mill!
I will have writings written all over it in human words,
That every infant that is born upon the earth shall read
And get by rote as a hard task of a life of sixty years.
- 15 I will have kings enwoven upon it, & counsellors, & mighty men:
The famine shall clasp it together with buckles & clasps,
And the pestilence shall be its fringe, & the war its girdle;
To divide into Rahab & Tirzah, that Milton may come to our tents!
For I will put on the Human Form, & take the Image of God,
- 20 Even Pity & Humanity: but my clothing shall be Cruelty.
And I will put on Holiness as a breastplate & as a helmet,
And all my ornaments shall be of the gold of broken hearts,
And the precious stones of anxiety & care & desperation & death,
And repentance for sin, & sorrow & punishment & fear,
- 25 To defend me from thy terrors, O Orc! my only beloved!
- Orc answered: 'Take not the Human Form, O loveliest! Take not
Terror upon thee! Behold, how I am & tremble lest thou also
Consume in my consummation; but thou mayest take a form
Female & lovely, that cannot consume in Man's consummation.
- 30 Wherefore dost thou create & weave this Satan for a covering?
When thou attemptest to put on the Human Form, my wrath
Burns to the top of heaven against thee in jealousy & fear.

18.4. *the Shadowy Female*] Her lament is revealing and hypocritical. Its theme is the cruelty and misery which she will weave into a mourning garment for the earth. Line 25 shows her true purpose changes, to protect herself from Orc, whom she loves and fears.

18.19–20. Charity that gives with a hard heart, and no urge to dispel poverty.

18.21. *Holiness*] Cp. *Jerusalem* 86.1–32 where B. uses the same biblical material, taken from *Exodus* xxviii, to describe Jerusalem's vestments. The Shadowy Female's clothing is a travesty of holiness. See also *Isaiah* lix 17: 'For he put on righteousness as a breastplate and as helmet of salvation upon his head; and he put on the garments of vengeance for a clothing; and was clad with zeal as a cloak'; and *1 Thessalonians* v 8., *Ephesians* vi 11, 14, 17.

18.26. *Orc* is heroic here, not corrupted as in *Four Zoas* vii. His act in 'rending' the Shadowy Female is constant from *America* to *The Four Zoas*.

18.28. *Consume in my consummation*] See note on *consummation*, *F.Z.* ix 32.

18.29. *Man's*, i.e., the Universal Man's; note that in 34 the Female Form is only one aspect of the Universal Man.

18.32. Her action has the opposite effect to that intended.

- [18] Then I rend thee asunder, then I howl over thy clay & ashes
 When wilt thou put on the Female Form as in times of old,
 35 With a garment of pity & compassion like the garment of God?
 His garments are long-sufferings for the children of men.
 Jerusalem is his garment, & not thy Covering Cherub, O lovely
 Shadow of my delight, who wanderest seeking for the prey!
 So spoke Orc, when Oothoon & Leutha hovered over his couch
 40 Of fire, in interchange of beauty & perfection in the darkness,
 Opening interiorly into Jerusalem & Babylon, shining glorious
 In the Shadowy Female's bosom. Jealous her darkness grew:
 Howlings filled all the desolate places in accusations of Sin,
 In female beauty shining in the unformed void: & Orc in vain
 45 Stretched out his hands of fire, & wooed: they triumph in his pain.
 Thus darkened the Shadowy Female tenfold, & Orc tenfold
 Glowed on his rocky couch against the darkness: loud thunders
 Told of the enormous conflict. Earthquake beneath, around,
 Rent the Immortal Females, limb from limb & joint from joint,
 50 And moved the fast foundations of the earth to wake the Dead.
 Urizen emerged from his Rocky Form & from his snows,
 Pl.19 And he also darkened his brows, freezing dark rocks between
 The footsteps & infixing deep the feet in marble beds,
 That Milton laboured with his journey, & his feet bled sore
 Upon the clay now changed to marble. Also Urizen rose
 5 And met him on the shores of Arnon & by the streams of
 the brooks.

Silent they met, and silent strove among the streams of Arnon
 Even to Mahanaim, when with cold hand Urizen stooped down
 And took up water from the river Jordan, pouring on
 To Milton's brain the icy fluid from his broad cold palm.

18.38. *Shadow*] Not the reality.

19.5. ARNON] A river in a steep valley, flowing into the Dead Sea: to B. it was also a frontier – the border between Moab and the Israelites (specifically Reuben, *Joshua* xiii 15). Milton (*Paradise Lost* i 399) refers to the cruel worship of Moloch as far as Arnon.

19.7. *Mahanaim*'s historical site is uncertain, but it was nowhere near Arnon (see map). The line suggests a struggle over the border area of trans-Jordanian Israel. The angels of God met Jacob at Mahanaim shortly before his struggle at Jabbok (*Genesis* xxxii 1–2). Cp. also *Paradise Lost* xi 213–15: 'Not that more glorious when the angels met Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw / The field pavilioned with his guardians bright . . .' The illustration on pl.16 shows Milton struggling with Urizen beneath a group of singing angels.

19.9. *icy fluid*] This is a sort of pseudo-baptism (to death, not life): the struggle repeats Jacob's struggle with the angel at the ford of the Jabbok, and is one of the critical acts in Milton. Urizen tries to petrify, Milton to redeem (29).

- [19] But Milton took of the red clay of Succoth, moulding it
with care
- 11 Between his palms and filling up the furrows of many years,
Beginning at the feet of Urizen & on the bones
Creating new flesh on the Demon cold and building him,
As with new clay, a Human form in the valley of Beth Peor.
- 15 (Four universes round the Mundane Egg remain chaotic
One to the north, named Urthona; one to the south,
named Urizen;
One to the east, named Luvah; one to the west, named
Tharmas.
- They are the four Zoas that stood around the Throne Divine.
But when Luvah assumed the world of Urizen to the south,
- 20 And Albion was slain upon his mountains & in his tent
All fell towards the centre in dire ruin, sinking down.
And in the south remains a burning fire, in the east a void,
In the west, a world of raging waters, in the north a solid
Unfathomable, without end. But in the midst of these
- 25 Is built eternally the Universe of Los and Enitharmon,
Towards which Milton went—but Urizen opposed his path.)
- The Man and Demon strove many periods. Rahab beheld,
Standing on Carmel; Rahab and Tirezah trembled to behold
The enormous strife, one giving life, the other giving death
- 30 To his adversary. And they sent forth all their sons & daughters
In all their beauty to entice Milton across the river.

19.10. *Succoth*, where Hiram the brass-founder made ornaments and utensils for Solomon's temple, 1 *Kings* vii 46: 'In the plain of Jordan . . . in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan.' The *red clay* alludes to the creation of man from the red earth (*Genesis* ii 7); note the association of the words *Adam*; *adamah* (ground); *adom* (red): and cp. *Marriage* i 13.

19.14. *the valley of Beth Peor* where the Israelites rested before entering the promised land (*Deuteronomy* iii 27–9). Moses was buried there: 'but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day' (*Deuteronomy* xxxiv 6).

19.15–26. An interpolation of material derived from the myth of *The Four Zoas* (q.v. headnote p. 294) and not relevant to Milton's struggle. Perhaps it is intended to 'explain' who Urizen was. Line 26 is an attempt to make it fit. *Jerusalem* 59.10–17 is almost identical, and *Milton* 34.32–9 very similar.

19.19. Luvah's usurpation of dominion over Albion is one of the chief causes of the Fall in *Four Zoas* (i 201).

19.27. *Rahab* is the leading female principle of evil (*Four Zoas* viii 267*n*), with her sister Tirezah. They come to Urizen's aid by trying to distract Milton. B. has identified them with Milton's wives and daughters (17.11), the female influences in his previous life.

19.31. *to entice Milton*] But Milton's task, like that of Moses, lay outside the promised land. *Carmel* (28) is on the coast, and so on the far side of Palestine from the scene of these events, but on a ridge that dominates the area.

- [19] The twofold form hermaphroditic and the double-sexed,
 The female-male & the male-female, self-dividing, stood
 Before him in their beauty, & in cruelties of holiness,
 35 Shining in darkness, glorious upon the deeps of Entuthon,
 Saying, 'Come thou to Ephraim! Behold the Kings of Canaan!
 The beautiful Amalekites! Behold the fires of youth
 Bound with the Chain of Jealousy by Los & Enitharmon!
 The banks of Cam, cold learning's streams, London's
 dark-frowning towers
 40 Lament upon the winds of Europe in Rephaim's vale,
 Because Ahania, rent apart into a desolate night,

19.32. *twofold form hermaphroditic*] The creature which symbolizes the sexual creation, bound to but never satisfied by sex, held together yet 'self-dividing'. The aggressive male form is dominated by an inner female cruelty; the beautiful female by a male lust for power. See 14.37*n*.

19.35. *Entuthon*] The dark forest of evil (cp. *Four Zoas* viii 25*n*).

19.36–20.6. As in lines 15–26, B. interpolates material more closely related to the myth of the later version of *The Four Zoas* and *Jerusalem* than *Milton*. This is one of Blake's compressed passages, where he throws many allusions from different outside sources hastily together. Logically a continuous theme must not be looked for; the meanings of individual phrases are less than the drift of the whole. The passage deals with universal desolation, and 37–8, 39–40, 41–3 are different manifestations of it. Lines 44–62 describe the sadistic pleasure of Tirzah's cruelty in her creation (and malformation) of the fallen 'vegetable' world.

At this point, the Rahab and Tirzah try to lure Milton away from his task, saying that Canaan – the land which he, like Moses, must not yet enter – needs a king. The general idea is that the 'Twofold' speaker claims that Milton believes in a lost dream and is therefore wasting his time; for the world belongs to Rahab and Tirzah, cruel and oppressive, and Albion is in their power. Since Milton's quest is a step towards the awakening of Albion, they wish to dissuade him from continuing.

19.36. *Ephraim*] The holy mountain of the Northern Kingdom, which broke away from the kingdom of Judah, whose capital was Jerusalem (1 *Kings* xii, esp. verses 16–20).

19.37–8. *Amalekites*] The traditional enemies of Israel: *Exodus* xvii 16: 'The Lord will have war with Amalek from generation to generation.'

19.38. *Chain Of Jealousy*] In *Urizen* 37ff and *Four Zoas* v 79–95, 155–72, after the birth of his child Orc, Los was impelled to chain him, denying the child the freedom his fiery nature demands, and which Los himself is unable to break.

19.40. *REPHAIM'S VALE*] A valley S.W. of Jerusalem. The name means 'shades of the dead'; according to tradition the aboriginals were giants, and the Philistines camped there with their giant heroes (2 *Samuel* v 18; xxi 16–20 (NB margin trans. *Rapha*): and xxiii 13). B. therefore associates it with Spectres and evil, and with a variety of places and situations.

19.41–3. *Ahania, Enion and Vala*] In *Four Zoas* (ii 424ff, iii 199–205) Ahania and Enion are Emanations driven into a solitary existence in the abyss; Vala is enslaved by Urizen.

- [19] Laments, & Enion wanders like a weeping inarticulate voice,
 And Vala labours for her bread & water among the furnaces.
 Therefore bright Tirzah triumphs, putting on all beauty
 45 And all perfection in her cruel sports among the victims.
 Come, bring with thee Jerusalem with songs on the Grecian
 lyre!
 In Natural Religion, in experiments on men,
 Let her be Offered up to Holiness! Tirzah numbers her;
 She numbers with her fingers every fibre ere it grow.
 50 Where is the Lamb of God? Where is the promise of his
 coming?
 Her shadowy sisters form the bones, even the bones of Horeb,
 Around the marrow, and the orb'd skull around the brain.
 His images are born for war, for Sacrifice to Tirzah
 To Natural Religion! To Tirzah, the Daughter of Rahab the
 Holy!
 55 She ties the knot of nervous fibres into a white brain,
 She ties the knot of bloody veins into a red-hot heart.
 Within her bosom Albion lies embalmed, never to awake;
 Hand is become a rock, Sinai & Horeb is Hyle & Coban;
 Scofield is bound in iron armour before Reuben's gate.
 60 She ties the knot of milky seed into two lovely heavens,
 Pl.20 Two yet but one, each in the other sweet reflected, these
 Are our Three Heavens beneath the shades of Beulah, land
 of rest.
 Come then to Ephraim & Manasseh, O beloved one!

19.46–7. *the Grecian lyre, Natural Religion, experiments*] All expressions of the cold classical mind, which is mind in error (cp. Preface).

19.46. *bring Jerusalem*] Personified as a captive at the triumph of Babylon (with which Rahab is associated).

19.48. *Tirzah numbers*] An act of impersonal callousness. Cp. *Vala* viii 28ff, *Jerusalem* pls.66–68.

19.51. *form the bones*] Man, the image of Christ, is forced into a misshapen earthly mould (see 53). In a similar passage in *Jerusalem* 80.69–78, Gwendolen petrifies Hand 'against the Lamb of God'.

19.54. *Natural Religion*] See 45–46n.

19.57. *embalmed*] Seeming alive, but dead and in her power.

19.58. *Hand . . . Hyle and Coban*] Three of Albion's Sons, who represent aspects of him (see *Jerusalem* headnote, p. 656). For 'Scofield' see p. xviii.

20.2. *Three Heavens*] See 5.5–10: Tirzah's heavens of brain, heart and loins are mere natural, animal beauties, parodies of the genuine 'Heavens of Beulah' which permit the earthbound brief visions of Eternity.

20.3. *Ephraim and Manasseh*] Born in Egypt (*Genesis* xli 20), the two sons who inherited Joseph's place among the Israelite tribes. Later these tribes were in the northern or renegade kingdom.

- [20] Come to my ivory palaces, O beloved of thy mother,
 5 And let us bind thee in the bands of war & be thou King
 Of Canaan and reign in Hazor where the twelve tribes meet.’

So spoke they as in one voice. Silent Milton stood before
 The darkened Urizen; as the sculptor silent stands before
 His forming image, he walks round it patient labouring,
 10 Thus Milton stood forming bright Urizen, while his Mortal
 part
 Sat frozen in the rock of Horeb, and his Redeemed portion
 Thus formed the clay of Urizen; but within that portion
 His real Human walked above in power and majesty
 Though darkened; and the seven Angels of the Presence
 attended him.

- 15 O how can I, with my gross tongue that cleaveth to the dust,
 Tell of the Fourfold Man, in starry numbers fitly ordered?
 Or how can I, with my cold hand of clay? But thou, O Lord,
 Do with me as thou wilt; for I am nothing, and vanity.
 If thou choose to elect a worm, it shall remove the mountains.
 20 For that portion named the Elect, the spectrous body of
 Milton,
 Redounding from my left foot into Los’s Mundane Space,
 Brooded over his body in Horeb against the Resurrection,
 Preparing it for the great consummation. Red the cherub
 on Sinai
 Glowed, but in terrors folded round his clouds of blood.
- 25 Now Albion’s sleeping Humanity began to turn upon his couch,
 Feeling the electric flame of Milton’s awful precipitate descent.
 Seest thou the little winged fly, smaller than a grain of sand?
 It has a heart like thee, a brain open to Heaven & Hell,
 Withinside wondrous & expansive. Its gates are not closed
 30 I hope thine are not; hence it clothes itself in rich array;
 Hence thou art clothed with human beauty, O thou mortal man.

20.6. *Hazor*] The chief town among the Canaanite kingdoms in N. Palestine before the Israelite invasion. In *Joshua* xi 1–10 the king of Hazor led twelve hostile tribes against the Israelites and was decisively defeated.

20.15–16. *the Fourfold Man*] See *Four Zoas* i 1–15.

20.20. *For that portion*] Milton’s self-righteous ‘elect’ mind, which controlled him when he wrote on earth, was still trying to preserve its corrupt existence; his prophetic soul remained with William Blake.

20.21. *my left foot*] Cp. 15.49.

20.23–4. When Moses received the Law, ‘there were thunders and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount’ (Sinai): *Exodus* xix 16.

20.31. *human*] We would probably say, divine.

- [20] Seek not thy heavenly father then beyond the skies;
 There Chaos dwells & ancient Night, & Og & Anak old:
 For every human heart has gates of brass & bars of adamant,
 35 Which few dare unbar, because dread Og & Anak guard the
 gates
 Terrific! and each mortal brain is walled and moated round
 Within, and Og & Anak watch here; here is the seat
 Of Satan in its webs. For in brain and heart and loins
 Gates open behind Satan's seat to the city of Golgonooza,
 40 Which is the spiritual fourfold London in the loins of Albion.
- Thus Milton fell through Albion's heart, travelling outside
 of Humanity
 Beyond the stars in Chaos, in caverns of the Mundane Shell.
- But many of the Eternals rose up from eternal tables.
 Drunk with the spirit, burning round the Couch of Death
 they stood,
- 45 Looking down into Beulah, wrathful, filled with rage.
 They rend the heavens round the Watchers in a fiery circle,
 And round the shadowy Eighth; the Eight close up the Couch
 Into a tabernacle and flee with cries down to the deeps,
 Where Los opens his three wide gates, surrounded by raging
 fires.
- 50 They soon find their own place & join the Watchers of the
 Ulro.

Los saw them and a cold pale horror covered o'er his limbs.

20.37. OG and ANAK watch here to prevent man from using his Imagination. Og was a king of Bashan, defeated by the Israelites (*Deuteronomy* iii 1): the 'children of Anak' lived at the mountainous region of Hebron, within the promised land: 'And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak . . . and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers' (*Numbers* xiii 33); but, of course, the Israelites overcame them. See 31.49 and 37.50. The giants are fierce guards, but whoever slips past them may enter the gate of Golgonooza. In *VLJ* 77, 'Og, King of Bashan is a figure with a basket emptying out the vanities of riches & worldly honours.' 20.37-9. *the seat / Of Satan . . . Golgonooza*] In 17.29-30 B. has shown the closeness of these two opposed places; the traveller, going, sees one, and returning sees the other. Satan seems to prevent all passage by his power; yet intellectual and sensual joy in earthly things are a passage, which he cannot close, to Golgonooza (*Four Zoas* viii 25n; and *Milton* 26.23-29.65.)

20.43-5. The Eternals, like Los, do not understand Milton's act; they think of it as rejection of Heaven, not realizing that it is Milton's search for redemption through death.

20.47. *the shadowy Eighth* is Milton (15.3-7) in the 'persona' that remains in Heaven. The Eight, expelled from Eden, go down to Golgonooza, where Los keeps watch over Ulro (50).

[20] Pondering, he knew that Rintrah & Palamabron might depart,
 Even as Reuben & as Gad, gave up himself to tears.
 He sat down on his anvil-stock and leaned upon the trough,
 55 Looking into the black water, mingling with it tears.

At last when desperation almost tore his heart in twain
 He recollected an old prophecy in Eden recorded
 And often sung to the loud harp at the immortal feasts—
 That Milton of the land of Albion should up ascend
 60 Forwards from Ulro from the Vale of Felpham, and set free
 Orc from his Chain of Jealousy. He started at the thought
 Pl.21 And down descended into Udan-Adan; it was night,
 And Satan sat sleeping upon his couch in Udan-Adan:
 His Spectre slept, his Shadow woke (when one sleeps the
 other wakes).

But Milton entering my foot, I saw in the nether
 5 Regions of the Imagination, also all men on earth
 And all in Heaven saw in the nether regions of the Imagination,
 In Ulro beneath Beulah, the vast breach of Milton's descent.
 But I knew not that it was Milton, for man cannot know
 What passes in his members till periods of Space & Time
 10 Reveal the secrets of Eternity; for more extensive
 Than any other earthly things are man's earthly lineaments.
 And all this Vegetable World appeared on my left foot,
 As a bright sandal formed immortal of precious stones & gold:
 I stooped down & bound it on to walk forward through
 Eternity.

15 There is in Eden a sweet river, of milk & liquid pearl,

20.52-3. *Reuben* and *Gad* were faithless sons of Los (*Four Zoas* viii 362-4); Los fears that Milton will tempt his remaining sons to flee as Satan tempted the rest. And see *Jerusalem* 30.43n.

20.54. *the trough*] Where the blacksmith cools the red-hot iron on which he is working.

20.61. Cp. 19.38: Los realizes that this longed-for event may be imminent.

21.1. *Udan-Adan*] The dark lake of Ulro, over which Los keeps watch. Here it seems less a lake than a region of darkness – cp. *Four Zoas* viii 215: 'A lake not of waters but of Spaces.'

21.4-11. B. and the whole world feel (perhaps unconsciously), rather than see, the effects of Milton's act.

21.10-11. Man's identity ranges beyond his earthly limitations, and links him with others in ways not understandable on earth.

21.15-16. *a sweet river* . . . *Named Ololon*] A major new phase in the narrative begins. In 41.29-30, Ololon is identified with Milton's separated Emanation, but at this point in the narrative this is not realized or revealed. Ololon is a place, and also the dwellers in that place; and they, as is possible in Eternity, later unite into one person (36.13-20).

- [21] Named Ololon, on whose mild banks dwelt those who
 Milton drove
 Down into Ulro. And they wept in long resounding song
 For seven days of eternity, and the river's living banks,
 The mountains, wailed, & every plant that grew in solemn
 sighs lamented.
- 20 When Luvah's bulls each morning drag the sulphur sun out
 of the deep,
 Harnessed with starry harness, black & shining, kept by
 black slaves
 That work all night at the starry harness: strong and vigorous
 They drag the unwilling orb. At this time all the family
 Of Eden heard the lamentation, and Providence began.
- 25 But when the clarions of day sounded they drowned the
 lamentations;
 And when night came all was silent in Ololon, & all refused
 to lament
 In the still night, fearing lest they should others molest.
 Seven mornings Los heard them, as the poor bird within
 the shell
 Hears its impatient parent bird, and Enitharmon heard them,
- 30 But saw them not, for the blue Mundane Shell enclosed
 them in.
- And they lamented that they had in wrath & fury & fire
 Driven Milton into the Ulro; for now they knew too late
 That it was Milton the Awakener. They had not heard the Bard
 Whose song called Milton to the attempt; and Los heard
 these laments.
- 35 He heard them call in prayer all the Divine Family;
 And he beheld the cloud of Milton stretching over Europe.
 But all the Family Divine collected as four suns
 In the four points of Heaven, east, west & north & south,
 Enlarging and enlarging till their discs approached each other;
- 40 And when they touched, closed together southward in one Sun
 Over Ololon. And as one man, who weeps over his brother
 In a dark tomb, so all the Family Divine wept over Ololon,
 Saying, 'Milton goes to Eternal Death!' So saying they
 groaned in spirit

21.16. *those who Milton drove*] Not 'those whom Milton drove', but 'those who drove Milton' – the Eternals of 20.43.

21.30. *them*] Ololon.

- [21] And were troubled; and again the Divine Family groaned in spirit.
- 45 And Ololon said, 'Let us descend also, and let us give Ourselves to death in Ulro among the transgressors. Is Virtue a Punisher? O no! How is this wondrous thing, This world beneath, unseen before, this refuge from the wars Of great Eternity, unnatural refuge, unknown by us till now? 50 Or are these the pangs of repentance? Let us enter into them.'
- Then the Divine Family said. 'Six thousand years are now Accomplished in this world of sorrow; Milton's angel knew The Universal Dictate, and you also feel this dictate. And now you know this world of sorrow and feel pity. Obey 55 The dictate! Watch over this world, and with your brooding wings
- Renew it to Eternal Life. Lo! I am with you alway; But you cannot renew Milton. He goes to Eternal Death.'
- So spake the Family Divine as One Man, even Jesus, Uniting in one with Ololon, & the appearance of One Man, 60 Jesus the Saviour, appeared coming in the clouds of Ololon.
- Pl.22 Though driven away with the Seven Starry Ones into the Ulro. Yet the Divine Vision remains Everywhere For-ever. Amen. And Ololon lamented for Milton with a great lamentation.
- While Los heard indistinct in fear, what time I bound my sandals
- 5 On to walk forward through Eternity, Los descended to me; And Los behind me stood, a terrible flaming sun, just close Behind my back, I turned round in terror, and behold! Los stood in that fierce glowing fire, & he also stooped down And bound my sandals on in Udan-Adan. Trembling I stood 10 Exceedingly, with fear & terror, standing in the vale

21.45. *Ololon* will take earthly form in the single figure of a girl, uniting with Milton's lost Emanation (36.16): this descent, following Milton's, leads to their meeting in the lower world (48.1-3), their purification and reunion (42.3-15).

21.53. *The Universal Dictate*] The tradition that after 6,000 years the entire creation will feel the coming of the Last Days. See 13.17n.

21.60. Cp. *Matthew* xxvi 64: 'Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man . . . coming in the clouds of heaven.' The whole of Eternity is identified with Ololon's descent, which is a 'Last judgment' - 'Whenever any individual rejects error and embraces truth a Last judgment passes upon that individual' (*VLJ* 84).

22.5. *Los descended to me*] B. is interpreting the personal experience of 15.47-50, 21.4-14. With Los's descent Milton's spirit has entered B., and Los has left Golgonooza for Ulro to find Milton (21.1). Hence his appearance to B., the Milton of his own age. This scene is illustrated in plate IV between pls. 22 and 23.

[22] Of Lambeth, but he kissed me and wished me health
 And I became One Man with him, arising in my strength;
 'Twas too late now to recede. Los had entered into my soul;
 His terrors now possessed me whole. I arose in fury & strength.

15 'I am that shadowy Prophet who six thousand years ago
 Fell from my station in the Eternal bosom. Six thousand years
 Are finished; I return. Both Time & Space obey my will.
 I in six thousand years walk up and down: for not one
 moment

Of Time is lost, nor one event of Space unpermanent,
 20 But all remain; every fabric of six thousand years
 Remains permanent, though on the earth where Satan
 Fell and was cut off all things vanish & are seen no more,
 They vanish not from me & mine; we guard them first & last.
 The generations of men run on in the tide of Time,
 25 But leave their destined lineaments permanent, for ever & ever.'

So spoke Los as we went along to his supreme abode.

Rintrah and Palamabron met us at the gate of Golgonooza,
 Clouded with discontent & brooding in their minds terrible
 things.

They said: 'O Father most beloved, O merciful Parent,
 30 Pitying and permitting evil, though strong & mighty to
 destroy,
 Whence is this Shadow terrible? Wherefore dost thou refuse
 To throw him into the furnaces? Knowest thou not that he
 Will unchain Orc & let loose Satan, Og, Sihon & Anak,
 Upon the body of Albion? For this he is come. Behold it
 written

22.15. Los speaks in B. Lines 15–16 also occur in *Four Zoas* viii 339–40, in another context.

22.17. *Time*] 'The Greeks represent Chronos or Time as a very Aged Man this is Fable but the Real Vision of Time is in Eternal Youth' (*VLJ* 91); see also *Jerusalem* 13.59–14.1. Los as master of Time, with Enitharmon mistress of Spaces, is a constant feature of *Milton* and *Jerusalem*.

22.27. *Golgonooza*] See *Four Zoas* viii 25n.

22.31. *this Shadow terrible*] Milton, who has descended to Ulro in a shadowy (mortal) form, and appears now in the form of B. himself. Los's Sons misunderstood him, as Los once did (17.34–6).

22.33. *SIHON*] An Amorite king of the Heshbon region, across the Jordan E.N.E. of the Dead Sea. The Israelite victories over him and Og became proverbial – 'and what ye did unto . . . Sihon and Og, whom ye utterly destroyed' (*Joshua* ii 10). B. regularly links Sihon, Og and Anak together as threatening giants. For Og and Anak see 20.37n.

- [22] Upon his fibrous left foot black, most dismal to our eyes.
 36 The Shadowy Female shudders through heaven in torment
 inexpressible,
 And all the Daughters of Los prophetic wail – yet in deceit
 They weave a new Religion from new Jealousy of
 Theotormon!
- Milton's Religion is the cause; there is no end to destruction.
 40 Seeing the Churches at their period in terror & despair,
 Rahab created Voltaire, Tirzah created Rousseau,
 Asserting the Self-righteousness against the universal Saviour,
 Mocking the confessors & martyrs, claiming Self-righteousness
 With cruel virtue—making war upon the Lamb's Redeemed,
 45 To perpetuate War & Glory, to perpetuate the Laws of Sin.
 They perverted Swedenborg's Visions in Beulah & in Ulro,
 To destroy Jerusalem as a Harlot & her Sons as Reprobates,
 To raise up Mystery the Virgin Harlot, Mother of War,
 Babylon the great, the Abomination of Desolation.
 50 O Swedenborg, strongest of men, the Samson shorn by the
 Churches,
 Showing the transgressors in Hell, the proud warriors in
 Heaven,
 Heaven as a punisher & Hell as one under punishment,
 With Laws from Plato & his Greeks to renew the Trojan gods
 In Albion, & to deny the value of the Saviour's blood.

22.35. *most . . . eyes*] Probably referring to 'foot': B. has no punctuation mark after 'eyes', but his punctuation is on the whole rhetorical rather than grammatical.

22.36. *The Shadowy Female* appears in every long poem from *A Song of Liberty to Jerusalem*. In *F.Z.* vii 450–62, 548–54 she is identified with Vala, but here is a very shadowy figure indeed, a kind of mother-spirit of mortal nature.

22.40. From this point B. gives way to an outburst of his own feelings. The spirits of evil, Rahab and Tirzah, have been very active in his age. The idea of 'Churches' (i.e. religious eras) is treated in 37.35.

22.41. *Voltaire, Rousseau*] B. vents his hatred against them for their abstract theorizing. He presumably disliked Voltaire's self-assured scepticism (from the pride of Rahab) and Rousseau's rationalistic perfectionism (from Tirzah, Queen of Nature, which Rousseau claimed to follow).

22.46. *Swedenborg's Visions*] Swedenborg described the revelations and angelic interpretations that had come to him when he was carried in the spirit to these places (see *Marriage*, headnote). B. implies that he had only seen Beulah, not Eden, the true heaven; but in any case that the good in him had been perverted by the Churches (50–4), who preferred mystery to sight.

22.48. *Mystery*] The personification of religious evil: cp. 33.20*n*, 33.23, and, on Rahab, *Four Zoas* viii 267*n*.

22.53. *With laws from Plato*] An allusion to the title, rather than the content, of Plato's *Laws*. See pl.1.

- [22] But then I raised up Whitefield, Palamabron raised up Wesley;
 56 And these are the cries of the Churches before the two
 witnesses'
 Faith in God, the dear Saviour, who took on the likeness of
 men,
 Becoming obedient to death, even the death of the Cross:
 "The witnesses lie dead in the street of the Great City;
 60 No faith is in all the Earth; the Book of God is trodden
 under foot.
 He sent his two servants, Whitefield & Wesley. Were they
 prophets
 Or were they idiots or madmen? Show us miracles!"

(IV) *Full-plate illustration. Two nude male figures, illustrating 22.4–8.*

- Pl.23 —Can you have greater miracles than these? Men who devote
 Their life's whole comfort to entire scorn & injury & death?
 Awake! thou sleeper on the Rock of Eternity, Albion, awake!
 The trumpet of Judgement hath twice sounded; all nations
 are awake,
 5 But thou art still heavy and dull. Awake, Albion, awake!
 Lo, Orc arises on the Atlantic. Lo, his blood and fire
 Glow on America's shore. Albion turns upon his couch;
 He listens to the sounds of war, astonished and confounded;
 He weeps into the Atlantic deep, yet still in dismal dreams

22.55. I] B. forgets that Los's Sons are speaking (line 29) until 23.20.

Whitefield, Wesley] The two most famous evangelists of eighteenth-century England. Rintrah, the 'wrathful' brother, sponsors Whitefield, who was a strict Calvinist on matters of salvation (see 7.1–3*n*), while Wesley believed that it was available to all who could accept it.

22.56–7. *witnesses' Faith*] This interpretation is editorial; the plate has no apostrophe. Another possibility is: '... witnesses: Faith . . .', implying that the 'cries' begin at 'Faith . . .' This is unsatisfactory, since the Churches here misunderstand the message and the evidence. The reply may begin at line 61 or at 23.1. See *Philippians* ii 7–8: 'But made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.'

22.59. *the Great City*] B. uses the phrase almost always of Babylon, sometimes of London. Here, the faithful of London are in spiritual exile; the line recalls the fate of the people after Babylon's sack of Jerusalem.

23.6. As in *America*, where Orc is champion of the revolt of the American colonies against a Britain still 'unawakened' by the call.

- [23] Unawakened, and the Covering Cherub advances from the east.
 11 How long shall we lay dead in the street of the great city?
 How long beneath the Covering Cherub give our Emanations?
 Milton will utterly consume us & thee, our beloved father!
 He hath entered into the Covering Cherub, becoming one
 with
 15 Albion's dread Sons; Hand, Hyle & Coban surround him as
 A girdle, Gwendolen & Conwenna as a garment woven
 Of war & religion. Let us descend & bring him chained
 To Bowlahoola, O father most beloved, O mild parent!
 Cruel in thy mildness, pitying and permitting evil
 20 Though strong and mighty to destroy, O Los our beloved
 Father!'

Like the black storm, coming out of Chaos, beyond the stars:
 It issues through the dark & intricate caves of the Mundane
 Shell,

- Passing the planetary visions, & the well-adorned firmament;
 The sun rolls into chaos & the stars into the deserts,
 25 And then the storms become visible, audible & terrible,
 Covering the light of day, &, rolling down upon the
 mountains,
 Deluge all the country round. Such is a vision of Los.
 When Rintrah & Palamabron spake. And such his stormy face
 Appeared, as does the face of heaven when covered with
 thick storms

- 30 Pitying and loving, though in frowns of terrible perturbation.
 But Los dispersed the clouds, even as the strong winds of
 Jehovah,
 And Los thus spoke: 'O noble sons, be patient yet a little.
 I have embraced the falling Death, he is become one with me.
 O Sons, we live not by wrath; by mercy alone we live.
 35 I recollect an old prophecy in Eden recorded in gold, and oft
 Sung to the harp: that Milton of the land of Albion

23.10. *the Covering Cherub*] A powerful shadow, often a 'garment' to a greater figure. See 37.8n.

23.11. *lay*] Considered correct usage in B.'s day.

23.13-14. These are misconceptions, as we know.

23.15-16. *Hand, Hyle and Coban* . . . *Gwendolen and Conwenna*] Sons and Daughters of Albion, representing the perverted nature of the unredeemed English people. See *Jerusalem* headnote, p. 656.

23.17-20. Los's sons wish to attempt to 'redeem' him by force (an impossibility); cp. *Jerusalem* 39.1-10.

23.21. An extended simile in emulation of Milton's epic manner.

- [23] Should up ascend forward from Felpham's vale, & break the Chain
 Of Jealousy from all its roots. Be patient therefore, O my Sons.
 These lovely Females form sweet night & silence & secret
 40 Obscurities to hide from Satan's Watch-fiends Human loves
 And graces, lest they write them in their Books, & in the scroll
 Of mortal life, to condemn the accused who, at Satan's bar,
 Tremble in Spectrous Bodies continually, day & night,
 While on the earth they live in sorrowful Vegetations
 45 Oh when shall we tread our Winepresses in heaven & reap
 Our wheat with shoutings of joy, & leave the earth in peace?
 Remember how Calvin & Luther in fury premature
 Sowed war & stern division between Papists & Protestants!
 Let it not be so now. O go not forth in martyrdoms & wars!
 50 We were placed here by the Universal Brotherhood & Mercy,
 With powers fitted to circumscribe this dark Satanic death,
 And that the Seven Eyes of God may have space for
 Redemption.
 But how this is as yet we know not, & we cannot know
 Till Albion is arisen; then patient wait a little while.
 55 Six thousand years are passed away; the end approaches fast.
 This mighty one is come from Eden; he is of the Elect
 Who died from earth & he is returned before the
 Judgement. This thing
 Was never known; that one of the holy dead should willing
 return.
 Then patient wait a little while, till the Last Vintage is over,
 60 Till we have quenched the sun of Salah in the Lake of
 Udan-Adan.

23.39. *These lovely Females*] The Daughters of Beulah (cp. 30.1–31.7). They safeguard the sacred truths that Los's sons fear will be lost.

23.47. *Calvin and Luther*] In *Four Zoas* viii 350, *Luther* is a Son of Los. Perhaps here B. intends both to be Los's sons. If so, in addition to drawing the obvious moral of these lines, B. is also using them as examples of 'fury premature' – as Rintrah and Palamabron wish to misuse their genuine desire to save Albion from Milton's spectre.

23.60. *the sun of Salah*] An obscure phrase. Salah was the father of Eber (*Genesis* x 24) who was the founder of the Hebrew race. M. J. Tolley has suggested a pun on *son* and *sun*: in any case the sense seems to be that Salah, father of all Hebrews, is thus father of a mistaken religion, which must be 'quenched' in Non-Entity before 'the last vintage' can be complete. In the following lines, Los reminds his sons how the twelve Israelite tribes – also his sons, having his divine task to perform – were faithless to him. For an elaboration of the legend, see *F.Z.* viii 345–65.

- [23] O my dear sons! leave not your father, as your brethren
left me.
Twelve sons successive fled away in that thousand years of
sorrow,
Pl.24 Of Palamabron's harrow, & of Rintrah's wrath & fury.
Reuben & Manazzoth & Gad & Simeon & Levi,
And Ephraim & Judah were Generated, because
They left me, wandering with Tirzah. Enitharmon wept
5 One thousand years, and all the earth was in a watery deluge.
We called him Menasssheh because of the Generations of
Tirzah,
Because of Satan: & the Seven Eyes of God continually
Guard round them. But I, the fourth Zoa, am also set
The Watchman of Eternity; the three are not, & I am preserved.
10 Still my four mighty ones are left to me in Golgonooza:
Still Rintrah fierce, and Palamabron mild & piteous,
Theotormon filled with care, Bromion loving science.
You, O my Sons, still guard round Los. O wander not &
leave me.
Rintrah, thou well rememberest when Amalek & Canaan
15 Fled with their sister Moab into that abhorred void.
They became nations in our sight beneath the hands of Tirzah.
And Palamabron, thou rememberest when Joseph, an infant
Stolen from his nurse's cradle wrapped in needlework

24.1. Referring to the primordial events narrated in the Bard's song.

24.2. *Manazzoth*] This seems to be a Hebrew word, but is unknown to the Bible. B. had been studying Hebrew, and this looks like his own formation of the feminine plural of *Manasseh*. Probably he means 'the female Manassites', united in one figure and taking the place of a male, to remind us of Tirzah and her sisters, from the tribe of Manasseh (17.11n). The names listed are taken from the twelve tribes of Israel (23.62).

24.3. *Generated*] Made to live in this mortal world. One of B.'s key words.

24.4 *wandering with Tirzah*] (They wander, not Los.) Not the historical Tirzah (17.11n), but B.'s derived figure, sister of the Whore of Babylon, and Queen of Nature (*Four Zoas* viii 267n; and 19.28 above).

24.6. *Menasssheh*] Manasseh, in a more strictly Hebraic form (from the Hebrew *nasheh*, 'cause to forget'): so named by his father Joseph (*Genesis* xii 51): 'For God, said he, hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house.' His mother, and Ephraim's, was Asenath, an Egyptian.

24.9-10. *the three . . . my four mighty ones*] 'The three' are the other three Zoas (Urizen, Tharmas, Luvah) whose fall is narrated in *The Four Zoas*. The 'four' are Los's remaining faithful sons, Rintrah, Palamabron, Theotormon and Bromion.

24.14-15. *Amalek and Canaan . . . Moab*] Nearby Gentile nations, traditional enemies of Israel: but originally children of Los.

- [24] Of emblematic texture, was sold to the Amalekite,
 20 Who carried him down into Egypt, where Ephraim &
 Menassheh
 Gathered my Sons together in the sands of Midian.
 And if you also flee away & leave your father's side,
 Following Milton into Ulro, although your power is great,
 Surely you also shall become poor mortal vegetations
 25 Beneath the moon of Ulro. Pity then your father's tears.
 When Jesus raised Lazarus from the grave I stood & saw
 Lazarus (who is the Vehicular Body of Albion the Redeemed)
 Arise into the Covering Cherub who is the Spectre of Albion,
 By martyrdoms to suffer—to watch over the Sleeping Body,
 30 Upon his rock beneath his tomb. I saw the Covering Cherub
 Divide fourfold into four Churches when Lazarus arose:
 Paul, Constantine, Charlemagne, Luther. Behold, they stand
 before us

24.19. *Amalekite*] Joseph was in fact sold to Ishmaelites, a tribe closely related to the Israelites, but, like the Amalekites, generally hostile to them.

24.20. *Ephraim and Menassheh*] Joseph's sons, whose descendants took his place among the twelve tribes. The reference is to the Exodus, but Moses, who gathered the tribes together, was a Levite.

24.21. *sands of Midian*] In the Sinai desert, where the Israelites met the Midianites (*Exodus* xviii 1).

24.26. Los contrasts the fall of his sons into Ulro with the resurrection of Lazarus, which typifies all resurrection, including Milton's.

24.27. *the Vehicular Body*] An 'incarnation', an embodiment, but not more. Cp. 17.31.

24.27ff. Lazarus is the image of the redeemed creation of the future. He returned to this life – i.e. to mortality. This redeemed part of Albion must enter the corrupted empty form (the Spectre of Albion), not run away from it, in order to redeem the whole. (Albion appears here in three forms: line 27, the redeemed, Lazarus; 28, the Spectre, the Covering Cherub; and 29, the sleeping figure on the rock.) The Spectre replies by augmenting his activities through the institution-creating saints of the church. (For the Covering Cherub, see 37.8n: B. also equates Lazarus and the fallen Man (Albion) in *Four Zoas* iv 252ff.)

24.32. *Paul, Constantine, Charlemagne, Luther*] (In *Four Zoas* viii 350 these are Los's Sons, but B. seems not to have had that passage in mind here.) Paul systematized Christian thought; in *Jerusalem* 56.32 B. associates him with the establishment of female domination (which is seen in the 'tidying-up' of life). *Constantine* was chiefly a warrior, but is known as the emperor of Rome who, though no Christian, decreed the toleration of Christianity in the Roman Empire in A.D. 313, having won a battle in 312 after a superstitious adoption of the Christian cross as a battle sign. *Charlemagne* revived the Empire in his own person in 800 and associated it with the church. *Luther* was a reformer of the church, but his reforms brought further wars. Their spirit of aggression and their perversion of Christianity dominate Europe.

- [24] Stretched over Europe & Asia! Come, O Sons, come, come
 away!
 Arise, O Sons, give all your strength against Eternal Death,
 35 Lest we are vegetated, for Cathedron's looms weave only
 Death,
 A web of Death; & were it not for Bowlahoola & Allamanda
 No Human Form, but only a fibrous Vegetation,
 A Polypus of soft affections without thought or vision
 Must tremble in the heavens & earths through all the Ulro
 space!
 40 Throw all the Vegetated mortals into Bowlahoola.
 But as to this Elected Form who is returned again,
 He is the signal that the Last Vintage now approaches,
 Nor Vegetation may go on till all the earth is reaped!'
- So Los spoke. Furious they descended to Bowlahoola &
 Allamanda,
 45 Indignant, unconvinced by Los's arguments & thunders
 rolling.
 They saw that wrath now swayed, & now pity absorbed him;
 As it was, so it remained, & no hope of an end.
- Bowlahoola is named Law by mortals; Tharmas founded it
 Because of Satan, before Luban in the city of Golgonooza.
 50 (But Golgonooza is named Art & Manufacture by mortal men.)

24.35–6. *Cathedron . . . Bowlahoola and Allamanda*] Parts of the city of Golgonooza. Cathedron (*Four Zoas* viii 25) is the place where Enitharmon, Los's Emanation, weaves. When she works with him the work is good; but on its own, Los declares that her work brings only ill. Only he can give it life. She creates 'soft affections', which need the masculine virtues of strength and form if they are not to be corrupted. Los and his sons, in Bowlahoola and Allamanda (see 51–67, and 27.42–63 below), carry out their part of the work.

24.41. *Elected Form*] See 5.11, 20.20, 23.56: Milton is in process of redeeming himself; his 'Elect' form, full of error, still hangs over Europe.

24.47–8. Here the central narrative concerning Milton ends for a time, to be resumed in the Second Book (pl.30). The remainder of the First Book (to 29.64) is a description both of the terrors of Los's work in Golgonooza and (25.66–26.43) of its beauties. *Bowlahoola* is Los's forge (*Allamanda* is his farm; see 27.42ff). The equation with Law is confusing if taken as a definition or allegorical interpretation; it is, rather, an equivalent. Law (B. refers primarily to the profession – cp. 27.55ff) is fierce, firm and heavy-handed; hence the equivalence. But Los's work is greater than Law alone. Tharmas, one of Los's brother Zoas, drove Los to the founding of Golgonooza in *Four Zoas* iv 15ff.

24.49. *Because of Satan*] i.e. because of his sin and fall. *Luban*] Cp. *Four Zoas* v 77: the gate of Golgonooza 'upon the limit of translucence'.

24.50. *Art and Manufacture*] Creative occupations. This is all 'mortal men' can see of the eternal city; cp. 27.55–63.

- [24] In Bowlahoola Los's anvils stand & his furnaces rage;
 Thundering the hammers beat, & the bellows blow loud,
 Living, self-moving, mourning, lamenting & howling
 incessantly.
 Bowlahoola through all its porches feels, though too fast
 founded
- 55 Its pillars & porticoes to tremble at the force
 Of mortal or immortal arm. And softly lilling flutes
 Accordant with the horrid labours make sweet melody.
 The bellows are the animal lungs, the hammers the animal
 heart,
 The furnaces the stomach for digestion—terrible their fury!
- 60 Thousands & thousands labour, thousands play on
 instruments,
 Stringed or fluted, to ameliorate the sorrows of slavery.
 Loud sport the dancers in the dance of death, rejoicing in
 carnage:
 The hard dentant hammers are lulled by the flutes' lula lula;
 The bellowing furnaces blare by the long sounding clarion;
- 65 The double drum drowns howls & groans, the shrill fife
 shrieks & cries;
 The crooked horn melloes the hoarse raving serpent,
 terrible but harmonious.
 (Bowlahoola is the stomach in every individual man.)
- Los is by mortals named Time; Enitharmon is named Space.
 But they depict him bald & aged who is in eternal youth,
- 70 All-powerful, and his locks flourish like the brows of morning.
 He is the spirit of prophecy, the ever-apparent Elias.
 Time is the mercy of Eternity; without Time's swiftness,
 Which is the swiftest of all things, all were eternal torment.
 All the gods of the kingdoms of earth labour in Los's halls.

24.57ff. The essence of Bowlahoola is control; hence B.'s references to Law (48), and the stomach (67) which digests and sorts out very various materials. The two ideas are otherwise separate.

24.58. Cp. 48n on similar imaginative equivalences: B. envisages the power of the physical body.

24.65. *The double drum*] The bass drum, 'double' because struck on both sides.

24.66. *serpent*] A wooden instrument, conical in section, with holes like a flute and a mouthpiece like a trombone. The tube was about seven feet long, and was twisted into a serpent shape to make it manageable. Well played, it had a rich, 'harmonious' tone, but could easily deteriorate into rough, ill-tuned coarseness.

- [24] Every one is a fallen Son of the Spirit of Prophecy;
 76 He is the fourth Zoa, that stood around the Throne Divine.
- Pl.25 Loud shout the Sons of Luvah at the winepresses, as Los
 (26) descended
 With Rintrah & Palamabron in his fires of resistless fury.
 The winepress on the Rhine groans loud, but all its central
 beams
 Act more terrific in the central cities of the nations,
 5 Where human thought is crushed beneath the iron hand of
 power.
 There Los puts all into the press, the oppressor & the
 oppressed
 Together, ripe for the Harvest & Vintage, & ready for the loom.
- They sang at the vintage: 'This is the Last Vintage, & seed
 Shall no more be sown upon earth, till all the Vintage is over,
 10 And all gathered in, till the plough has passed over the nations,
 And the harrow & heavy thundering roller upon the mountains.'
- And loud the souls howl round the porches of Golgonooza
 Crying, 'O God, deliver us to the heavens or to the earths,

24.76. *the fourth Zoa*] *Revelation* iv 6: 'And round about the throne, were four beasts (Gr. *zoa*) full of eyes before and behind.' For B.'s development of the Zoas, see 24.9n, and, in full detail, *Four Zoas* headnote.

Pl.25 (26). In copies A & B, this pl. followed the present pl.27, which then introduced the Winepresses of Los. Hence the dual numbering (see headnote).

25.3. *on the Rhine*] The border between France and Germany. The campaigns of 1800–10 were not centred on the Rhine, but it is an adequate symbol of them.

25.5. Censorship, whether formal or not, was not as effective in Britain as elsewhere in Europe; the notorious Proclamation of May 1792 calling on loyal subjects to denounce their radical neighbours, for example, was next day savagely lampooned with impunity by Rowlandson. But later, dissident political views were often treated as seditious or treasonable, and prosecuted (with mixed success).

25.7. *Harvest and Vintage . . . loom*] An image hard to understand: what has a loom to do with harvest or vintage? The first two are Los's work, the loom Enitharmon's, in their redemptive tasks.

25.12–15. Cp. *Revelation* vi 9–11:

I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God . . . And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? . . . and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.

Los refuses vengeance; and B. expresses his optimism for the new age.

- [25] That we may preach righteousness & punish the sinner with death!’
- 15 But Los refused, till all the vintage of earth was gathered in.
And Los stood & cried to the labourers of the vintage in voice of awe:
‘Fellow labourers! The great vintage & harvest is now upon earth.
The whole extent of the globe is explored; every scattered atom
Of human intellect now is flocking to the sound of the trumpet.
- 20 All the wisdom which was hidden in caves & dens, from ancient Time, is now sought out from animal & vegetable & mineral.
The Awakener is come, outstretched over Europe. The Vision of God is fulfilled:
The Ancient Man upon the rock of Albion awakes,
He listens to the sounds of war, astonished & ashamed;
- 25 He sees his children mock at faith & deny Providence.
Therefore you must bind the sheaves not by nations or families:
You shall bind them in three Classes; according to their Classes
So shall you bind them, separating what has been mixed
Since men began to be wove into nations by Rahab & Tirzah,
- 30 Since Albion’s death & Satan’s cutting-off from our awful fields,
When under pretence to benevolence the Elect subdued all
From the foundation of the world. The Elect is one Class: you
Shall bind them separate; they cannot believe in Eternal Life
Except by miracle & a new birth. The other two Classes—
- 35 The Reprobate who never cease to believe, and the Redeemed,
Who live in doubts & fears perpetually tormented by the Elect,
These you shall bind in a twin-bundle for the consummation—
But the Elect must be saved from fires of Eternal Death,
To be formed into the Churches of Beulah that they
destroy not the earth.
- 40 For in every nation & every family the three classes are born,
And in every species of earth: metal, tree, fish, bird & beast.

25.23. *Albion*] See 9.3*n*, 15.36*ff*.

25.27. *three Classes*] See lines 32–36, and 7.2–4*n*.

25.38. Traditionally, the Elect are safe from Hell. But B.’s fires are purgatorial, and the Elect are saved from them only because they are too corrupt – the flames would destroy, not purify them.

from] Not on the plate, but the sense requires it. There are several slips on this plate; the others involve letters only.

25.39. *Churches of Beulah*] As in 26.20*n*.

- [25] We form the Mundane Egg, that spectres, coming by fury
 or amity
 All is the same, & every one remains in his own energy.
 Go forth, reapers, with rejoicing; you sowed in tears,
 45 But the time of your refreshing cometh; only a little moment
 Still abstain from pleasure & rest, in the labours of Eternity,
 And you shall reap the whole earth from pole to pole, from
 sea to sea,
 Beginning at Jerusalem's inner court, Lambeth ruined and given
 To the detestable gods of Priam, to Apollo, and at the Asylum
 50 Given to Hercules, who labour in Tirzah's looms for bread,
 Who set pleasure against duty, who create Olympic crowns
 To make learning a burden, & the work of the Holy Spirit strife;
 To Thor & cruel Odin, who first reared the polar caves.
 Lambeth mourns, calling Jerusalem; she weeps & looks abroad
 55 For the Lord's coming, that Jerusalem may overspread all
 nations.
 Crave not for the mortal & perishing delights, but leave them
 To the weak, & pity the weak as your infant care; break not
 Forth in your wrath lest you also are Vegetated by Tirzah.
 Wait till the Judgement is past, till the Creation is consumed,
 60 And then rush forward with me into the glorious spiritual
 Vegetation, the Supper of the Lamb & his Bride, and the
 Awakening of Albion, our friend and ancient companion.'
- So Los spoke. But lightnings of discontent broke on all
 sides round,
 And murmurs of thunder rolling, heavy, long & loud over
 the mountains,
 65 While Los called his sons around him to the harvest & the
 vintage.

25.48–9. *Lambeth . . . gods of Priam, to Apollo*] Very near B.'s Lambeth house (1791–1800) in Hercules Buildings was a crossroads, Asylum Cross, dominated by three decaying pleasure gardens – two named 'Flora', the third the 'Apollo Gardens'. Nearby was the Royal Asylum for Female Orphans and a little way off a Charity School, one where the children lived by sweated labour. There may also be a reference to Lambeth Palace, the residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury; one would expect such a district to be a centre of worship, 'Jerusalem's inner court'. See map p. 651 and *SFP* 124–5.

25.51. *Olympic crowns*] An uncertain allusion. The reference is to the crowning of champions at Greek athletic festivals, but the immediate application is not clear; perhaps to academic 'laurels'?

25.53. No allusions similar to those in 48–50 have been traced for this line.

25.58. Probably a warning to himself: do not be carried away by anger or you will become embittered and hardened as the charity children become (50).

- [25] Thou seest the constellations in the deep & wondrous night;
 They rise in order & continue their immortal courses
 Upon the mountains & in vales, with harp & heavenly song,
 With flute & clarion, with cups & measures filled with
 foaming wine.
- 70 Glittering the streams reflect the vision of beatitude,
 And the calm ocean joys beneath & smoothes his awful waves.
- Pl.26 These are the Sons of Los, & these the labourers of the Vintage.
 (27) Thou seest the gorgeous clothed flies that dance & sport in
 summer
 Upon the sunny brooks & meadows; every one the dance
 Knows in its intricate mazes of delight artful to weave,
 5 Each one to sound his instruments of music in the dance,
 To touch each other & recede, to cross & change & return.
 These are the children of Los. Thou seest the trees on
 mountains:
 The wind blows heavy, loud they thunder through the
 darksome sky,
 Uttering prophecies & speaking instructive words to the sons
 10 Of men. These are the Sons of Los, these the Visions of
 Eternity.
 But we see only as it were the hem of their garments
 When with our vegetable eyes we view these wondrous visions.
 There are two Gates through which all souls descend. One
 southward

25.66. The rest of the First Book is taken up with an interpretation of natural beauty seen with the Imaginative (not merely observing) eye.

26.13. *two Gates*] Derived from the *Odyssey* xiii 109–12 (Chapman's translation, Bk xiii, lines 145ff):

There is a port,
 That th' aged sea-God Phorcys makes his fort,
 Whose earth the Ithacensian people own . . .
 . . . from forth the haven's high crest
 Branch the well-brawn'd arms of an olive-tree
 Beneath which runs a cave from all sun free,
 Cool, and delightsome, sacred to th' access
 Of Nymphs whose surnames are the Naiades; . . .
 In which pure springs perpetually ran;
 To which two entries were; the one for man,
 On which the North breathed, th' other for the Gods,
 On which the South; and that bore no abodes
 For earthy men, but only deathless feet
 Had there free way./

- [26] From Dover Cliff to Lizard Point, the other toward the
north—
15 Caithness & rocky Durness, Pentland & John Groat's House.

[*Design*]

The souls descending to the body wail on the right hand
Of Los, & those delivered from the body on the left hand.
For Los against the east his force continually bends
Along the valleys of Middlesex, from Hounslow to Blackheath,
20 Lest those Three Heavens of Beulah should the creation
destroy,
And lest they should descend before the north & south gates.
Groaning with pity, he among the wailing souls laments.

And these the labours of the sons of Los in Allamanda,
And in the city of Golgonooza, & in Luban, & around
25 The Lake of Udan-Adan, in the forests of Entuthon Benython
Where souls incessant wail, being piteous passions & desires
With neither lineament nor form, but like to watery clouds.
The passions & desires descend upon the hungry winds,
For such alone sleepers remain—mere passion & appetite;
30 The Sons of Los clothe them & feed, & provide houses & fields.

And every Generated Body in its inward form
Is a garden of delight & a building of magnificence,
Built by the Sons of Los in Bawlhoola & Allamanda,

The Neo-Platonists gave this a spiritual meaning; the cave was mortal life, the northern gate the entry of souls to the world, the southern their departure, as well as the gate used by transient immortals. (*Raine* i 91f). The Naiads resemble Enitharmon and her daughters, weaving mortal clothing for immortal souls; but there is no Ulro in this scene. Los (16) must be bending his back against the east.

26.14–15. These are all rocky cliffs, at the north and south extremities of Britain (Albion). B. drew them in the spaces below 15 and 43, the two designs perhaps signifying the two gates of 13–17.

26.19. *Hounslow to Blackheath*] From west to east of London; both were 'heaths'.
26.20. *Three Heavens*] These are the female beauties (see 5.6). Beulah is a twilight land, though close to Eden, and though its intentions are good, its acts may result in evil, unless governed by Los's artistic skill; fallen creation is not strong enough to support the force of such beauty when revealed. B. may again be thinking of the Naiads of the Cave of Mortality between the two gates (13).
26.23–30. All the names of 23–5 are place-names round Golgonooza, Los's outpost in Ulro (*Four Zoas* viii 25*n*). There Los and Enitharmon (35–6) take in the lost, disorganized souls and give them definite form, the beginning of life and activity.

26.31. *every Generated Body*] These are fallen bodies, not the immortal forms of Eternity; yet the seed of eternity is within them.

- [26] And the herbs & flowers & furniture & beds & chambers
 35 Continually woven in the looms of Enitharmon's Daughters,
 In bright Cathedron's golden dome with care & love & tears.
 For the various Classes of men are all marked out determinate
 In Bowlahoola, & as the Spectres choose their affinities,
 So they are born on earth, & every Class is determinate
 40 But not by Natural, but by Spiritual power alone, because
 The Natural power continually seeks & tends to destruction
 Ending in death, which would of itself be Eternal Death.
 And all are classed by Spiritual & not by Natural power.

[*Design*]

- (And every natural effect has a spiritual cause, & not
 45 A natural: for a natural cause only seems; it is a delusion
 Of Ulro, & a ratio of the perishing Vegetable memory.)
- Pl.27 But the Winepress of Los is eastward of Golgonooza, before
 (25) the seat
 Of Satan. (Luvah laid the foundation, & Urizen finished it
 in howling woe.)
 How red the Sons & Daughters of Luvah! Here they tread
 the grapes:
 Laughing & shouting, drunk with odours many fall
 o'erwearied;
 5 Drowned in the wine is many a youth & maiden. Those around
 Lay them on skins of tigers & of the spotted leopard & the
 wild ass

26.36. *Cathedron*] In Golgonooza, where Enitharmon weaves spiritual clothing for naked souls (see notes on 13, 19 and 23 above). The limitations of 24.35 are not mentioned; for when in harmony with Los, Enitharmon's work is redemptive.

26. *Design*. See 26.14–15n.

26.44–6. B.'s passing comment.

Plate 27 (25). In copies A and B this plate follows pl.24; hence the number 25 in brackets. It describes the Winepress of Luvah, ready by that arrangement for our 26.1–2. Lines 3–41 are an altered version of *Four Zoas* ix 740–68, with some additions and changes of position. In *The Four Zoas* this is always Luvah's Winepress; in *Milton* it is the Winepress of Los, worked by the children of Luvah; and here, not in *The Four Zoas*, B. (looking for equivalences?) glosses the press as 'call'd War on earth'. B. expands five lines about insects to ten in 13–22.

27.1. *the Winepress* of spiritual re-creation: cp. *Revelation* xiv 19–20:

And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great winepress of the wrath of God. And the winepress was trodden without the city, and blood came out of the winepress, even unto the horse bridles . . .

27.6. *on skins of tigers* . . .] Like Dionysus, god of wine and the vintage, who was torn to pieces by frenzied women followers, the Maenads.

- [27] Till they revive; or bury them in cool grots, making
lamentation.

This Winepress is called War on earth; it is the printing-press
Of Los, and here he lays his words in order above the
mortal brain

- 10 As cogs are formed in a wheel to turn the cogs of the
adverse wheel.

Timbrels & violins sport round the winepresses; the little seed,
The sportive root, the earth-worm, the gold beetle, the wise
emmet

- Dance round the winepresses of Luvah; the centipede is there,
The ground-spider with many eyes, the mole clothed in velvet,
15 The ambitious spider in his sullen web, the lucky golden
spinner,

The earwig armed, the tender maggot, emblem of immortality,
The flea, louse, bug, the tape-worm—all the armies of disease,
Visible or invisible to the slothful vegetating man.

- The slow slug, the grasshopper that sings & laughs & drinks:
20 Winter comes, he folds his slender bones without a murmur.
The cruel scorpion is there, the gnat, wasp, hornet & the
honey bee,

The toad & venomous newt, the serpent clothed in gems &
gold;

They throw off their gorgeous raiment; they rejoice with
loud jubilee

Around the Winepresses of Luvah, naked & drunk with wine.

[*Design*]

- 25 There is the nettle that stings with soft down, and there
The indignant thistle, whose bitterness is bred in his milk,
Who feeds on contempt of his neighbour; there all the idle
weeds

That creep around the obscure places show their various limbs,
Naked in all their beauty dancing round the wine-presses.

27.8. This is an afterthought, added by B. when transcribing the passage from *Four Zoas*. See 30n.

27.10. If the driving wheel goes clockwise, the driven wheel must go anticlockwise. Los's acts are similar in appearance but contrary in effect, to those of warriors on earth.

27.11. *Timbrels*] A biblical instrument, like a tambourine, whereas the violin was a normal dance-instrument in B.'s day.

27.22. *venomous newt*] The venom is a mistaken folk-belief.

27. *Design*. In the paragraph break, several of the creatures of the previous lines are depicted.

- [27] But in the Winepresses the human grapes sing not nor dance:
 31 They howl & writhe in shoals of torment, in fierce flames
 consuming,
 In chains of iron & in dungeons circled with ceaseless fires,
 In pits & dens & shades of death, in shapes of torment &
 woe—
 The plates & screws & racks & saws & cords & fires & cisterns,
 35 The cruel joys of Luvah's daughters, lacerating with knives
 And whips their victims, & the deadly sport of Luvah's sons.
 They dance around the dying, & they drink the howl & groan;
 They catch the shrieks in cups of gold, they hand them to
 one another.
 These are the sports of love, & these the sweet delights of
 amorous play—
 40 Tears of the grape, the death-sweat of the cluster, the last sigh
 Of the mild youth who listens to the luring songs of Luvah.
 But Allamanda (called on earth, Commerce) is the culti-
 vated land
 Around the city of Golgonooza in the forests of Entuthon.
 Here the Sons of Los labour against death eternal; through all
 45 The Twenty-seven Heavens of Beulah, in Ulro, seat of Satan,
 Which is the False Tongue beneath Beulah (it is the sense
 of touch)

27.30. The agony of the winepress in *The Four Zoas* is, as in *Revelation*, part of redemption, pressing out the good juice from the useless skin. Here it is out of context, but 8–10 may imply the same purpose. The winepress of Los redeems; the press of war on earth destroys without redemption, through cruelties which resemble Tirzah's (19.44ff).

27.42. *Allamanda*] Cp. *Bowlahoola*, 24.47–48n. The ref. to 'Commerce' is a little confusing; but cp. 24.58n. Allamanda is the farming area around Golgonooza, which keeps the city supplied – as commerce keeps our own cities alive.

27.43. *Golgonooza . . . Entuthon*] Cp. *Four Zoas* viii 25n. Entuthon is the forest of darkness surrounding Golgonooza.

27.45–6. *Beulah* here (as in 26.20n), is somewhat ambivalent. Though it is on the borders of heaven, and the home of heavenly spirits (30.2n), it is open to corruption. Yet it is not usually said to belong with the 'Twenty-seven Heavens' (cp. 17.23–6) of the 'deformed' mortal universe, being above and beyond crude mortality. B. seems to be inconsistent here, and again in 26.20. The sense is that of line 43: Los's Sons labour in the land of death itself against death. See also 25.39n.

27.46. *the False Tongue beneath Beulah*] See note on 2.10: in *Four Zoas* i 96–8, the fallen Tharmas is associated with the tongue. The idea, scattered in places through *Jerusalem* (e.g. 14.26), is that 'the Gate of the Tongue is closed' (the gate which leads into Eternity). What purports to be that gate is therefore false, a gate to Ulro, 'beneath Beulah'.

- [27] The plough goes forth in tempests & lightnings & the
 harrow cruel
 In blights of the east; the heavy roller follows in howlings
 of woe.
- Urizen's Sons here labour also, & here are seen the mills
 50 Of Theotormon, on the verge of the lake of Udan-Adan.
 These are the starry voids of night, & the depths & caverns
 of earth.
 These mills are oceans, clouds & waters ungovernable in
 their fury;
 Here are the stars created & the seeds of all things planted,
 And here the sun & moon receive their fixed destinations.
- 55 But in Eternity the four arts—poetry, painting, music,
 And Architecture (which is Science)—are the Four Faces of
 Man.
 Not so in Time & Space; there three are shut out. And only
 Science remains through Mercy; by means of Science, the three
 Become apparent in Time & Space, in the Three
 Professions:
- 60 That Man may live upon earth till the time of his awakening;
 And from these three, science derives every occupation of men.
 And science is divided into Bowlahoola & Allamanda.
- Pl.28 Some sons of Los surrounded the passions with porches of
 iron & silver,
 Creating form & beauty around the dark regions of sorrow,
 Giving to airy nothing a name & a habitation
 Delightful—with bounds to the infinite putting off the
 indefinite

27.56. *Science*] At this period, signifying 'learning, study', in general.

27.59–60 Between these lines, a line erased from the plate before the two later copies were printed:

Poetry in religion; Music, law; Painting in physic & surgery,

28.1. *Some sons of Los*] The poets (see note below).

28.3. *Giving . . . habitation*] From *A Midsummer Night's Dream* v 14–17:

And, as imagination bodies forth
 The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
 Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
 A local habitation and a name.

B. alters the emphasis: to him Theseus's 'airy nothing' is the unseen imaginative reality.

- [28] Into most holy forms of thought (such is the power of
inspiration)
- 6 They labour incessant, with many tears & afflictions,
Creating the beautiful house for the piteous sufferer.
- Others, cabinets richly fabricate of gold & ivory,
For doubts & fears unformed & wretched & melancholy.
- 10 The little weeping spectre stands on the threshold of Death
Eternal, & sometimes two spectres like lamps quivering,
And often malignant they combat (heart-breaking, sorrowful
and piteous)—
- Antamon takes them into his beautiful flexible hands,
As the sower takes the seed, or as the artist his clay
- 15 Or fine wax, to mould artful a model for golden ornaments.
The soft hands of Antamon draw the indelible line,
Form immortal, with golden pen, such as the spectre admiring
Puts on the sweet form. Then smiles Antamon bright
through his windows.
- The daughters of beauty look up from their loom & prepare
- 20 The integument soft for its clothing with joy & delight.
- But Theotormon & Sotha stand in the gate of Luban, anxious
(Their numbers are seven million & seven thousand &
seven hundred);
- They contend with the weak spectres; they fabricate soothing
forms—
- The spectre refuses, he seeks cruelty; they create the crested
cock—
- 25 Terrified, the spectre screams & rushes in fear into their net
Of kindness & compassion, & is born a weeping terror.
Or they create the lion & tiger in compassionate thunderings—
Howling the spectres flee; they take refuge in Human lineaments.
- The sons of Ozoth within the optic nerve stand fiery glowing
- 30 (And the number of his sons is eight million & eight);

28.7–20. The spectre, a shadowy unrealized being, is given form and so life by Antamon, who (with Theotormon, Sotha, and Ozoth in 21, 29) is one of Los's sons and works for him.

28.19. *daughters of beauty*] Enitharmon's daughters.

28.21–8. Theotormon and Sotha persuade by making the spectres experience real evil. *Luban* is the porch of Golgonooza facing Ulro.

28.22, 30. Multiples of seven are less perfect than multiples of eight: Theotormon and Sotha dispense fright, Ozoth prepares delight.

28.24. *the crested cock*] Cock-fighting was still a common pastime.

28.29. *The sons of Ozoth*] For Newton's 'particles of light' see letter of 2 Oct. 1800 (p. 485), iii 19n.

- [28] They give delights to the man unknown, artificial riches
 They give to scorn, & their possessors to trouble & sorrow
 & care,
 Shutting the sun, & moon, & stars, & trees, & clouds, & waters,
 And hills, out from the optic nerve & hardening it into a bone
 35 Opaque, & like the black pebble on the enraged beach,
 While the poor indigent is like the diamond which, though
 clothed
 In rugged covering in the mine, is open all within,
 And in his hallowed centre holds the heavens of bright
 Eternity.
 Ozoth here builds walls of rocks against the surging sea,
 40 And timbers cramped with iron cramps bar in the joys of life
 From fell destruction in the spectrous cunning or rage.
 He creates
 The speckled newt, the spider & beetle, the rat & mouse,
 The badger & fox; they worship before his feet in trembling
 fear.
- But others of the Sons of Los build moments & minutes &
 hours,
 45 And days & months & years & ages & periods, wondrous
 buildings!
 And every moment has a couch of gold for soft repose
 (A moment equals a pulsation of the artery);
 And between every two moments stands a Daughter of
 Beulah
 To feed the sleepers on their couches with maternal care.
 50 And every minute has an azure tent with silken veils,
 And every hour has a bright golden gate carved with skill,
 And every day & night has walls of brass & gates of adamant,
 Shining like precious stones & ornamented with appropriate
 signs;
 And every month a silver-paved terrace builded high,
 55 And every year invulnerable barriers with high towers,
 And every age is moated deep with bridges of silver & gold,

28.36–41. *the diamond*, which may look like a common pebble until it is skilfully flaked. Its brilliance is hidden inside it. No man is entirely lost and visionless, though he may repress vision into what we now call the Unconscious. Ozoth protects this vision.

28.41–3. *He creates* . . .] None of these animals is commonly loved, but they also are creatures of Imagination.

28.59. *moment*] B. uses the mathematic sense of *moment*, the infinitely small unit of time; but for him the moment has an infinitely large significance.

- [28] And every seven ages is encircled with a flaming fire.
 Now seven ages is amounting to two hundred years:
 Each has its guard, each moment, minute, hour, day,
 month & year.
- 60 All are the work of fairy hands of the four elements;
 The guard are angels of providence on duty evermore.
 Every time less than a pulsation of the artery
 Is equal in its period & value to six thousand years;
- Pl.29 For in this period the poet's work is done, & all the great
 Events of Time start forth & are conceived in such a period,
 Within a moment, a pulsation of the artery.
- The sky is an immortal tent built by the Sons of Los;
 5 And every space that a man views around his dwelling-place,
 Standing on his own roof, or in his garden on a mount
 Of twenty-five cubits in height, such space is his universe;
 And on its verge the sun rises & sets; the clouds bow
 To meet the flat earth & the sea in such an ordered space.
- 10 The starry heavens reach no further, but here bend & set
 On all sides, & the two poles turn on their valves of gold,
 And if he move his dwelling-place, his heavens also move
 Where'er he goes, & all his neighbourhood bewail his loss.
 Such are the spaces called 'Earth', & such its dimension.
- 15 As to the false appearance which appears to the Reasoner,
 As of a globe rolling through voidness, it is a delusion of Ulro.
 The microscope knows not of this, nor the telescope; they alter
 The ratio of the spectator's organs, but leave objects
 untouched.

28.63. *equal . . . to six thousand years*] According to tradition, equal to all time.
 29.6-7. *a mount Of twenty-five cubits*] Hayley's new house, the 'Marine Turret'
 (still standing) – originally intended to be built as a tower but finally a house
 surmounted by a turret. A cubit is taken as the length of forearm and hand: about
 18 inches.

29.11. *valves*] The original meaning (*OED*) is 'one of the halves or leaves of a
 double or folding door'; Johnson's *Dictionary* simply has 'a folding door'. To
 B. the two poles are not axles, but doors to infinity.

29.12. *his heavens also move*] As a nomad moves his tent (4) and as the wander-
 ing Israelites moved theirs.

29.15. *the false appearance*] The scientific view and explanation of the sun.
 "What," it will be questioned, "when the sun rises, do you not see a round
 disc of fire somewhat like a guinea?" O no, no! I see an innumerable company of
 the Heavenly host crying: Holy Holy Holy is the Lord God Almighty! (*VLJ* 95).

29.18. *RATIO*] In B. not simply a 'proportion', but a variable scale, in proportion
 to the viewer's imaginative vision. In 'fourfold vision', one can perceive in an
 infinite range of scales; in the 'vegetable world', the ratio of vision is fixed.
 See 32.35.

- [29] For every Space larger than a red globule of man's blood
 20 Is visionary & is created by the hammer of Los;
 And every Space smaller than a globule of man's blood opens
 Into Eternity, of which this vegetable earth is but a shadow.
 The red globule is the unwearied sun, by Los created
 To measure Time & Space to mortal men; every morning
 25 Bowlahoola & Allamanda are placed on each side
 Of that pulsation & that globule, terrible their power.
- But Rintrah & Palamabron govern over day & night
 In Allamanda & Entuthon Benython where souls wail,
 Where Orc incessant howls, burning in fires of eternal
 youth,
 30 Within the vegetated mortal nerves; for every man born is joined
 Within into one mighty Polypus, & this Polypus is Orc.
- But in the optic vegetative nerves sleep was transformed
 To death in old time by Satan, the father of Sin & Death
 (And Satan is the Spectre of Orc, & Orc is the generate Luvah).
- 35 But in the nerves of the nostrils, Accident being formed
 Into Substance & Principle, by the cruelties of Demonstration
 It became opaque & indefinite; but the Divine Saviour
 Formed it into a solid by Los's mathematic power.
 He named the opaque 'Satan': he named the solid 'Adam'.
- 40 And in the nerves of the ear (for the nerves of the tongue
 are closed)

29.31. *this Polypus is Orc*] The image is of the 'colonial' organism of polyp creatures (see *Four Zoas* iv 265), in which although the polyps are structurally interconnected they behave as individuals. B. contrasts this 'chained' union with the free mingling of eternal souls (cp. 'mighty and mysterious commingling, enemy with enemy', 38.3 below). Men on earth are associated in an unnatural way, so that they become, not an immortal community, free at heart, but a formless band, striving hopelessly and destructively for freedom from their rivals or enemies, as Orc does.

29.34. Luvah is the passionate Zoa of the Four: he appears as Orc the rebel in this world ('generate'); Satan the rebel and enemy is his perverted form.

29.35-9. *Accident* – the particular form occasionally taken by an Eternal reality – is seen by logical minds on earth as the 'substance and principle' (the reality and the essence) as if the momentary appearance were the sum of the eternal reality. This would be utterly evil and false (opaque and indefinite) but for the divine act which limits such distortions.

29.39. *Satan . . . Adam*] See 13.20-1.

29.40. *tongue*] See 2.10n.

- [29] On Albion's rock Los stands, creating the glorious sun each morning;
 And when unwearied in the evening he creates the moon,
 Death to delude, who all in terror at their splendour leaves
 His prey while Los appoints, & Rintrah & Palamabron guide
 45 The souls clear from the rock of death, that Death himself
 may wake
 In his appointed season when the ends of heaven meet.
- Then Los conducts the spirits to be vegetated into
 Great Golgonooza, free from the four iron pillars of Satan's
 throne
 (Temperance, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, the four pillars
 of tyranny),
 50 That Satan's watch-fiends touch them not before they vegetate.
- But Enitharmon and her daughters take the pleasant charge,
 To give them to their lovely heavens till the great
 Judgement Day.
 Such is their lovely charge; but Rahab & Tirzah pervert
 Their mild influences. Therefore the Seven Eyes of God
 walk round
- 55 The Three Heavens of Ulro, where Tirzah & her sisters
 Weave the black woof of death upon Entuthon Benython,
 In the vale of Surrey where Horeb terminates in Rephaim.
 The stamping feet of Zelophehad's daughters are covered
 with human gore
 Upon the treadles of the loom; they sing to the winged
 shuttle.
- 60 The river rises above its banks to wash the woof;
 He takes it in his arms, he passes it in strength through his
 current.
- The veil of human miseries is woven over the ocean
 From the Atlantic to the great south sea, the Erythrean.

29.48-9. *the four iron pillars* . . .] These are the Four Cardinal Virtues of St Ambrose (A.D. 339-97). Also *Proverbs* ix 1: 'Wisdom . . . hath hewn out her seven pillars'.
 29.57. *the vale of Surrey*] No particular vale seems to be meant (but see 6.14*n*). B., when living in Lambeth, was on the Surrey side of the Thames.
Horeb . . . *Rephaim*] Metaphorically speaking: Horeb is in Sinai, and the Valley of Rephaim (see 19.40*n*) close to Jerusalem (as Lambeth is south of London). Horeb, the place of Law-giving, ends in the Valley of Rephaim, 'Valley of the shades of the dead', a place sometimes occupied by the Philistines. The mountain of Law stretches its malign influence to Jerusalem and London.
 29.58. *Zelophehad's daughters*] Tirzah and her sisters (17.11 and 19.44*ff* above).

- [29] Such is the world of Los, the labour of six thousand years.
 65 Thus nature is a vision of the science of the Elohim.

End of the First Book.

- (V) *Full-plate illustration: An enlargement of the interlinear figure on pl.15. A nude male, startled and throwing himself backwards to the left of the picture, as a star strikes his left foot; he is labelled WILLIAM (Cp. full-pl. illustration VI, after pl.33).*

Pl.30

BOOK THE SECOND

There is a place where Contrarities are equally true.
 This place is called Beulah; it is a pleasant lovely shadow

29.64. *Such*] All the descriptions from 25.66 to 29.63.

29.65. *the science of the Elohim*] The knowledge held by the creator.

Plate 30. The heading of the Second Book is a design of small human figures, which incorporates, in reversed writing, the sayings:

How wide the Gulf and Unpassable! between Simplicity and Insipidity.

Contraries are Positives

A Negation is not a Contrary.

30.1. For *Negations* and *Contraries* see *Jerusalem* 10.7n.

30.2. BEULAH] Another important passage on Beulah is *Four Zoas* i 78–90, stressing the ‘mild and pleasant rest’, its night setting, its flowers and its feminine loveliness, ‘given in mercy to those who sleep’. This passage in *Milton*, and also *Jerusalem* 48.13–17, refers to souls from Eden wishing to rest; the *Four Zoas* passage refers to ‘those who sleep’ in less happy worlds – for them, as in *Milton* 15.12–16, Beulah is a place where they are cared for. Beulah had already passed into the folk-lore of evangelical Nonconformity, not directly from its obscure source in *Isaiah* lxii 4, but from Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, where Christian and Hopeful, having towards the end of their journey

got over the Enchanted Ground, and entering into the country of Beulah, whose air was very sweet and pleasant . . . solaced themselves there for a season. Yea, here they heard continually the singing of birds, and saw every day the flowers appear on the earth, and heard the voice of the turtle in the land. In this country the sun shineth night and day: wherefore this was beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and also out of the reach of Giant Despair . . . Here they were within sight of the city they were going to, also here met them some of the inhabitants thereof, for in this land the Shining Ones commonly walked, because it was upon the borders of heaven.

This differs from B.’s Beulah in only one important feature, that his is a ‘moony’ land of night, love, and sleep. Hence the ‘Shining Ones’ meet yet-earthbound travellers chiefly as watchers and nurses – ‘the Daughters of Beulah’. Nor has B. the linear view of Bunyan’s pilgrimage; the traveller can enter Beulah in vision

- [30] Where no dispute can come, because of those who sleep.
 Into this place the sons & daughters of Ololon descended
 5 With solemn mourning, into Beulah's moony shades & hills,
 Weeping for Milton; mute wonder held the daughters of
 Beulah,
 Enraptured with affection sweet and mild benevolence.
- Beulah is evermore Created around Eternity, appearing
 To the inhabitants of Eden around them on all sides.
- 10 But Beulah to its inhabitants appears, within each district,
 As the beloved infant in his mother's bosom, round encircled
 With arms of love & pity & sweet compassion. But to
 The Sons of Eden the moony habitations of Beulah
 Are from Great Eternity a mild & pleasant rest.
- 15 And it is thus Created: lo, the Eternal Great Humanity—
 To whom be glory & dominion evermore, Amen—
 Walks among all his awful Family, seen in every face
 As the breath of the Almighty. Such are the words of man
 to man
 In the great wars of Eternity, in fury of Poetic Inspiration,
 20 To build the Universe stupendous, Mental forms creating.
- But the Emanations trembled exceedingly, nor could they
 Live, because the life of Man was too exceeding unbounded.
 His joy became terrible to them, they trembled & wept,
 Crying with one voice: 'Give us a habitation, & a place
 25 In which we may be hidden under the shadow of wings.

and dream at any time on his journey, and can look from it into Paradise at any time, for example in dreams, or in sexual ecstasy. B.'s Shining Ones create Beulah as a refuge for Emanations, who are female; Beulah is a feminine world, designed for the creatures who, alone, could not bear the strenuous activity of Eden (21-7). The male being may be seen there (but he must not live there), for it is a place of recreation. Yet the sexes are not irremediably distinguished, for they may return to the united life in Eden at will. See *Jerusalem* 30.34-7, 69.14-29, and especially the passage, 79.73-7, beginning: 'O Vala! Humanity is far above / Sexual organization . . .' It is, therefore, only a place to rest in, and any being who tries to pretend that it is the real life of Humanity – i.e. of Eternity – is committing a serious error. It is a place of 'Threefold' life, not of the highest 'Fourfold' life of Eden.

30.4. This refers back to 20.45-60.

30.8. *evermore Created*] Creation is a continuous process; it must be, to survive and endure. See 11.20; and *Jerusalem* 53.19.

30.10. *Beulah to its inhabitants*] i.e. it surrounds them as a mother's embrace surrounds a child.

- [30] For if we, who are but for a time, & who pass away in winter,
Behold these wonders of Eternity, we shall consume.
But you, O our fathers & brothers, remain in Eternity.
But grant us a Temporal habitation. Do you speak
30 To us; we will obey your words, as you obey Jesus
The Eternal who is blessed for ever & ever. Amen.'

So spake the lovely Emanations, & there appeared a pleasant
Mild shadow above, beneath, & on all sides round.

- Pl.31 Into this pleasant shadow all the weak & weary,
Like women & children, were taken away as on wings
Of dove-like softness, & shadowy habitations prepared for
them.

- But every man returned & went, still going forward through
5 The bosom of the Father in Eternity on Eternity;
Neither did any lack or fall into Error, without
A shadow to repose in, all the days of happy Eternity.

- Into this pleasant shadow Beulah all Ololon descended.
And when the daughters of Beulah heard the lamentation
10 All Beulah wept, for they saw the Lord coming in the clouds.
And the shadows of Beulah terminate in rocky Albion.

And all nations wept in affliction, family by family.
Germany wept towards France & Italy; England wept &
trembled

- Towards America; India rose up from his golden bed,
15 As one awakened in the night. They saw the Lord coming
In the clouds of Ololon with power & great glory.

And all the Living Creatures of the four elements wailed
With bitter wailing; these in the aggregate are named Satan
And Rahab. They know not of Regeneration, but only of
Generation.

- 20 The fairies, nymphs, gnomes & genii of the four elements,

30.26. *pass away*] Emanations 'pass away' and revive again, like Persephone. So with Ahania in *Four Zoas* ix 194–216.

31.10. *the Lord coming*] From *Matthew* xxvi 64: as Jesus prophesies of himself. This is the beginning of the Last Judgment – not of the world, but of Milton. The clouds are 'the clouds of Ololon' (16).

31.13. *wept towards*] Suggests a statuesque composition, similar to that of many of B.'s drawings.

31.17. *the Living Creatures*] See note on 24.76.

31.20. *fairies, nymphs, gnomes & genii*] Respectively of air, water, earth and fire.

- [31] Unforgiving & unalterable—these cannot be regenerated
 But must be Created, for they know only of Generation.
 These are the gods of the kingdoms of the earth—in
 contrarious
 And cruel opposition, element against element, opposed in war
 25 Not Mental, as the wars of Eternity, but a Corporeal strife
 In Los's halls continual labouring, in the furnaces of
 Golgonooza.
 Orc howls on the Atlantic; Enitharmon trembles; all Beulah
 weeps.

- Thou hearest the nightingale begin the song of spring;
 The lark sitting upon his earthy bed, just as the morn
 30 Appears, listens silent; then springing from the waving
 cornfield loud
 He leads the choir of day—trill, trill, trill, trill,
 Mounting upon the wings of light into the great expanse,
 Re-echoing against the lovely blue & shining heavenly shell.
 His little throat labours with inspiration; every feather
 35 On throat & breast & wings vibrates with the effluence divine.
 All nature listens silent to him, & the awful sun
 Stands still upon the mountain looking at this little bird
 With eyes of soft humility & wonder, love & awe.
 Then loud from their green covert all the birds begin their song:
 40 The thrush, the linnet & the goldfinch, robin & the wren
 Awake the sun from his sweet reverie upon the mountain;
 The nightingale again assays his song, & through the day
 And through the night warbles luxuriant, every bird of song
 Attending his loud harmony with admiration & love.

- 45 *This is a vision of the lamentation of Beulah over Ololon.*

Thou perceivest the flowers put forth their precious odours,
 And none can tell how from so small a centre comes such sweets,
 Forgetting that within that centre Eternity expands

31.22. *Created*] i.e. put into generation in our world and given some kind of form.

31.28. *begin the song of spring*] The dawn chorus of birds. They guard the gates of Golgonooza in *Jerusalem* 13.26–9, but here they are mortal elements of the fallen world, with its qualities – evil (as here) in that it is fallen – or hopeful, in the slight vision of eternity which it affords. Erasmus Darwin evokes sylphs, nymphs, gnomes and salamanders in the four cantos of his *Oeconomy of Vegetation* (1792), attributing them to the Rosicrucians.

31.45, 63. The experiences we have of beauty are momentary visions of the greater reality of Eternity.

- [31] Its ever-during doors that Og & Anak fiercely guard.
 50 First, ere the morning breaks, joy opens in the flowery bosoms,
 Joy even to tears, which the sun rising dries; first the wild thyme
 And meadow-sweet, downy & soft waving among the reeds,
 Light springing on the air, lead the sweet dance. They wake
 The honeysuckle sleeping on the oak (the flaunting beauty
 55 Revels along upon the wind); the white-thorn, lovely may,
 Opens her many lovely eyes. Listening the rose still sleeps—
 None dare to wake her; soon she burst her crimson-curtained
 bed

And comes forth in the majesty of beauty: every flower—
 The pink, the jessamine, the wall-flower, the carnation,
 60 The jonquil, the mild lily—opes her heavens: every tree
 And flower & herb soon fill the air with an innumerable dance,
 Yet all in order sweet & lovely. Men are sick with love.

Such is a vision of the lamentation of Beulah over Ololon.

- Pl.32 And Milton oft sat upon the Couch of Death, & oft conversed
 In vision & dream beatific with the Seven Angels of the Presence:
 'I have turned my back upon these Heavens builded on cruelty.
 My Spectre still wandering through them follows my Emanation;
 5 He hunts her footsteps through the snow & the wintry hail & rain.
 The idiot Reasoner laughs at the man of Imagination,
 And from laughter proceeds to murder by undervaluing calumny.'
 Then Hillel, who is Lucifer, replied over the Couch of Death;
 And thus the Seven Angels instructed him, & thus they converse.

31.49. *Its ever-during doors*] Cp. *Paradise Lost* vii 205–7:

Heaven opened wide
 Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound
 On golden hinges moving . . .

Og & Anak] See 20.37*n*. They attempt to deter the soul from imaginative sallies.

31.62. Echoing *Song of Songs* ii 5: 'I am sick of love'.

Plate 32. This plate is not found in copies A and B. In copy C, the order is pls.31–33–32: in copy D, as here, pls.31–32–33. As both pls.32 and 33 are distinct and complete visions (although pl.32 is not a 'Vision of Beulah', but of Milton on his journey), this variation is not important.

32.4–5. *Spectre* and *Emanation*, broken fragments of personality, are at odds: one hunts, the other flees. Cp. 'My spectre around me', p. 498.

32.8. *Hillel*] In *Isaiah* xiv 12, 'O Lucifer, son of the morning', the Hebrew word for *Lucifer* is *Helel*. But Hillel was also a Rabbi living shortly before the time of Christ, whose teaching in many respects resembled Christ's: he may thus he thought of as the true Lucifer – 'light-bearer'.

- [32] We are not individuals but States: combinations of Individuals.
 II We were Angels of the Divine Presence: & were Druids in
 Annandale,
 Compelled to combine into form by Satan, the Spectre of Albion, כ' דב'ים
 Who made himself a God & destroyed the Human Form Divine. as
 But the Divine Humanity & Mercy gave us a Human Form
 15 Because we were combined in freedom & holy brotherhood; multitudes
 While these, combined by Satan's tyranny, first in the blood of war Vox Populi
 And sacrifice, & next in chains of imprisonment, are shapeless rocks
 Retaining only Satan's mathematic Holiness; length, breadth &
 height,
 Calling the Human Imagination—which is the Divine Vision &
 fruition
 20 In which man liveth eternally—madness & blasphemy, against
 Its own qualities, which are servants of Humanity, not gods or lords.
 Distinguish therefore States from Individuals in those States.

32.10–38. The crucial lines in this passage are 22–3. B. wishes to find a way of condemning Sin but not the sinner. This idea of *States* was very important to B., who held the individual dear, as an immortal and precious soul. Cp. *Four Zoas* viii 367–9, *Jerusalem* 31.13n, and esp. 49.65–75, besides 22n below.

32.11. *Annandale*] Iron Age hill forts, the 'Devil's Dyke', and a rocking stone in Annandale would be adequate as druid relics for B. But John Adlard has pointed out that B. may have been thinking of certain oak groves in Annandale, taking them, according to common tradition, to be druidical. See also *Jerusalem* 63.1. 32.12–13. The Hebrew word should read כרבים. The mistake is B.'s, who apparently wanted to write *kerubim*, the Hebrew for 'as multitudes', but instead wrote a word suggesting *Cherubim*, though approximately; the letters as they stand (R to L) are. kh: / r, b, m. The trilingual gloss recalls the three languages in which Christ's accusation was posted on his cross (Greek, Latin, Hebrew. cp. *Luke* xxiii 38). See note on the Covering Cherub, 37.8.

32.18. Cp. 4.27 (another interpolated plate): Mocking druidical mathematical proportion of length, breadth, height.

32.22. *STATES*] A fundamental concept in B.'s later thought. States are only as permanent as the individual in the corporeal world who assumes them. The Individual belongs to Eternity, but in mortal life may pass through various States:

The Characters of Chaucer's Pilgrims . . . compose all Ages & Nations; as one Age falls another rises, different to Mortal Sight but to Immortals only the same, for we see the same characters repeated again and again in Animals in Vegetables in Minerals & in Men. Nothing new occurs in Identical Existence. Accident ever varies ∴ Substance can never suffer change, nor decay (Draft *Prospectus*, NB 119).

These States exist now, Man passes on but States remain for Ever, he passes thro' them like a traveller . . . a Man may suppose that the States he has pass'd thro' Exist no more: Every Thing is Eternal (*VLJ* 80).

But (29, 32) States are mortal, temporary, not eternal. They may absorb whole societies under their power, as when a people is gripped by one attitude or ideology: cp. *Jerusalem* 80.51n; also 31.13n and *F.Z.* viii 369.

- [32] States change: but Individual Identities never change nor cease.
 You cannot go to Eternal Death in that which can never die.
- 25 Satan & Adam are States created into twenty-seven Churches;
 And thou, O Milton, art a State about to be created,
 Called Eternal Annihilation; that none but the living shall
 Dare to enter: & they shall enter, triumphant over death
 And hell & the grave: States that are not, but ah! seem to be.
- 30 'Judge then of thy own Self: thy Eternal Lineaments explore;
 What is Eternal & what Changeable? & what Annihilable?
 The Imagination is not a State: it is the Human Existence itself!
 Affection or love becomes a State, when divided from Imagination.
 The Memory is a State always, & the Reason is a State
- 35 Created to be Annihilated & a new Ratio Created.
 Whatever can be Created can be Annihilated. Forms cannot.
 The oak is cut down by the axe, the lamb falls by the knife;
 But their Forms Eternal exist, for ever. Amen! Hallelujah!
- Thus they converse with the dead, watching round the Couch of
 Death.
- 40 For God himself enters death's door always with those that enter,
 And lays down in the grave with them, in visions of Eternity:
 Till they awake & see Jesus, & the linen clothes lying
 That the females had woven for them, & the gates of their Father's
 house.
- Pl.33 And the Divine Voice was heard in the songs of Beulah, saying:
 'When first I married you, I gave you all my whole soul,
 I thought that you would love my loves, & joy in my delights,
 Seeking for pleasures in my pleasures, O daughter of Babylon.
- 5 Then thou wast lovely, mild & gentle; now thou art terrible
 In jealousy, & unlovely in my sight, because thou hast cruelly
 Cut off my loves in fury, till I have no love left for thee.
 Thy love depends on him thou lovest, & on his dear loves

32.26. A *State about to be created*, i.e., about to be given Mortal form. The word *Create* has generally this special meaning in B.'s late works.

32.35. *Ratio*] See *Milton* 29.18n.

Plate 33. Another 'Song of Beulah', this time made relevant to the narrative of *Milton*, alienated from his Emanation (11-17).

33.2. *you*] Babylon. This is a song of God to fallen femininity, resembling in general the prophetic oracles, 'controversies' of God with the wayward Jews who were about to see Jerusalem enslaved by Babylon (22). But here Babylon herself is a wayward child of God. This is a development of the Rahab myth (*Four Zoas* viii 1 and 335, 399), whereby B. hopes that even Rahab, the harlot of Babylon, may turn out to be a real, redeemable person. Remember that the Emanation is not woman, but the 'feminine aspect' of every human being.

- [33] Depend thy pleasures, which thou hast cut off by jealousy.
 10 Therefore I show my jealousy, & set before you Death.
 Behold Milton descended to Redeem the Female Shade
 From Death Eternal; such your lot, to be continually Redeemed
 By death & misery of those you love, & by Annihilation.
 When the sixfold female perceives that Milton annihilates
 15 Himself—that, seeing all his loves by her cut off, he leaves
 Her also, entirely abstracting himself from female loves,
 She shall relent in fear of death; she shall begin to give
 Her maidens to her husband, delighting in his delight.
 And then, & then alone, begins the happy female joy,
 20 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.’

Such are the songs of Beulah in the lamentations of Ololon.

[*Design*]

33.14. *the sixfold female*] With whom, as appears in 41.29–30, Ololon will identify themselves.

33.17–18. In *Visions 199–204*, Oothoon promises to catch for Theotormon ‘girls of mild silver or of furious gold’ for his bed (see also *Jerusalem 69.14–18*). Note also the stories of Old Testament polygamy, such as *Genesis xxx*, when the barren Rachel, jealous of the child-bearing of Leah, her senior wife, gives her own hand-maid Bilhah to her husband Jacob, to bear children on her behalf. Later Leah likewise lent her maid Zilpah to Jacob. B. sees this as real love, the opposite of ‘Whoredoms’ (20).

33.20. *O Virgin Babylon, Mother of Whoredoms*] Cp. 5.27ff, a conflation of *Isaiah* xlvii 1: ‘Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon’, and the ‘scarlet woman’ of *Revelation* xvii 5: ‘... upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.’ Astarte, Canaanite Queen of the Night and the Moon, fearsome goddess of fertility but always unattainable, was Jehovah’s great rival; hence the fierce denunciation by Old Testament prophets of the ‘harlotry’ of the sexual rites of her worship. See ‘To the Accuser’, p. 894: the evil mind, not promiscuous behaviour, turns the virgin into a harlot. See *F.Z.* viii 267n.

33. *Design*: Beneath the text a diagram, illustrating 34.31–48, showing the four worlds of the Zoas, as four circles meeting at a common centre (and therefore overlapping, being ‘fallen together’). In the centre of this ‘dire ruin’ the Mundane Egg, filled with flames. ‘Milton’s Track’ is marked coming from the S.E. through ‘Satan’ (marked within the egg; the Limit of Opacity) to ‘Adam’ (the Limit of Contraction). This track thus crosses the ‘Urizen’ (S.) and ‘Luvah’ (E.) circles. The whole design is surrounded by flames.

(VI) *Full-plate illustration: This is the mirror-image of plate V between pls. 29 and 30, and is labelled Robert – B.'s brother (d. 1787), with whom B. still conversed.*

- Pl.34 And all the Songs of Beulah sounded comfortable notes
 To comfort Ololon's lamentation, for they said,
 'Are you the fiery circle that late drove, in fury & fire,
 The Eight Immortal Starry ones down into Ulro dark,
 5 Rending the heavens of Beulah with your thunders &
 lightnings?
 And can you thus lament & can you pity & forgive?
 Is terror changed to pity? O wonder of Eternity!'
- And the Four States of Humanity in its repose
 Were showed them. First of Beulah, a most pleasant sleep
 10 On couches soft, with mild music, tended by flowers of
 Beulah—
 Sweet female forms, winged or floating in the air spontaneous.
 The second State is Alla, & the third State Al-Ulro;
 But the fourth State is dreadful; it is named Or-Ulro.
 The first State is in the head, the second is in the heart,
 15 The third in the loins & seminal vessels, & the fourth
 In the stomach & intestines, terrible, deadly, unutterable.
 And he whose Gates are opened in those regions of his body
 Can from those Gates view all these wondrous imaginations.
- But Ololon sought the Or-Ulro & its fiery gates,
 20 And the couches of the martyrs & many Daughters of Beulah
 Accompanying them down to the Ulro with soft melodious
 tears—
 A long journey & dark, through Chaos in the track of
 Milton's course,

34.2. *they*] The daughters of Beulah.

34.3–4. *the fiery circle*] Cp. 20.43ff, when this event happened.

34.4. *Eight*] Milton and the Seven Angels (cp. 14.42ff).

34.8–18. *the Four States*] The repose is the sleep of death, which we call mortal life. The pattern is not used elsewhere, and seems to be invented for this narrative alone, to prepare for Ololon's descent into the most unpleasant of the four choices, the deepest death. The association with parts of the body is an example of B.'s viewing all nature in human terms. The Zoas (p. 297 above) are associated with the same four parts of the body; in which case Ololon chooses the region of Tharmas, the compassionate Zoa. But this is not the sense of lines 13–16.

34.21. *them*] Ololon, who is a collective personality (2.15–17).

- [34] To where the Contraries of Beulah war beneath Negation's banner.

Then viewed from Milton's track they see the Ulro: a vast
Polypus

- 25 Of living fibres down into the Sea of Time & Space growing,
A self-devouring monstrous Human Death, twenty-seven-fold.
Within it sit Five Females & the nameless Shadowy Mother,
Spinning it from their bowels with songs of amorous delight
And melting cadences, that lure the Sleepers of Beulah down
30 The River Storgé (which is Arnon) into the Dead Sea.
Around this Polypus Los continual builds the Mundane Shell.

(Four universes round the universe of Los remain chaotic:
Four intersecting globes, & the egg-formed world of Los
In midst, stretching from zenith to nadir, in midst of chaos.

34.23. Where contrasting but complementary things (called 'contraries' in Beulah – see *Jerusalem* 10.7n) are supposed to be incompatibles, and made mutually exclusive; one must destroy the other.

34.24. *Polypus*] An indefinite, formless being whose ramifications spread its tentacles everywhere. See *Four Zoas* iv 265 and *Jerusalem* 15.2. In *Jerusalem* 66.48, B. alludes to the similarity of the spreading colony of a polypus to the network of veins and nerves in the body. Here the polypus is enclosed in a containing shell by Los (31), as the nerves are contained and given form in the body. B. uses the notion of Ulro as polypus again at 35.19–22, 36.13 and 37.60ff below; and see 29.31n.
34.27. *Five Females*] The five sisters, including Tirzah: cp. 17.11 and 19.30 above. They spin spiderlike, to make web-traps. The 'Shadowy Mother' here seems to be Rahab, not Vala the 'Shadowy Female' of *The Four Zoas*.

34.30. *Storgé (which is Arnon)*] 'parental affection': cp. *Four Zoas* v 113n.

Arnon (cp. 19.5) is the river dividing the Promised Land from heathendom; and, as this line says, it runs into the Dead Sea. The idea is that false, soothing affection is deadly to the soul.

34.31. *the MUNDANE SHELL*] See 19.15–24 and *Jerusalem* 13.33n. The *shell* (or *egg*, 33) is the enclosed and enclosing universe in which we live (see note on design on pl.33), although the Imaginative spirit can break out and take wing. The egg image is originally Platonic, though it also occurs in Swedenborg – the egg is oval, a misshapen form inferior to the perfect sphere. Yet Los can work within its hard enclosing walls, 'for an egg, containing in it the elements of life, was thought no improper emblem of the Ark . . . Noah, and his family; even all mankind, enclosed and preserved!' (Bryant, *New System* ii 321). See *Jerusalem* 13.35. The sixth design in *The Gates of Paradise* shows an infant cherub breaking through an egg (as also 21.28–30 above).

In this passage B. explains the design at the foot of pl.33. The worlds of *The Four Zoas* (34.8n) stretch both within and beyond the Mundane Egg (or Shell). Milton's act in Eternity, the vision of which struck B. (15.47), made a path through the chaotic ruins of the Zoas into our enclosed world.

34.32–9. Cp. 19.15–21 above and note; also *Jerusalem* 59.10–17.

- [34] One of these ruined universes is to the north, named Urthona;
 36 One to the south—this was the glorious world of Urizen;
 One to the east, of Luvah: one to the west, of Tharmas.
 But when Luvah assumed the world of Urizen in the south,
 All fell towards the centre sinking downward in dire ruin.)
- 40 Here in these chaoses the sons of Ololon took their abode,
 In chasms of the Mundane Shell which opens on all sides round.
 Southward, & by the east within the breach of Milton's
 descent
 To watch the time, pitying & gentle, to awaken Urizen;
 They stood in a dark land of death, of fiery corroding waters,
 45 Where lie in evil death the Four Immortals, pale and cold,
 And the Eternal Man, even Albion, upon the Rock of Ages.
 Seeing Milton's Shadow, some daughters of Beulah trembling
 Returned, but Ololon remained before the Gates of the Dead.
- And Ololon looked down into the heavens of Ulro in fear.
 50 They said: 'How are the wars of Man, which in great Eternity
 Appear around, in the external spheres of Visionary Life,
 Here rendered deadly within the life & Interior Vision!
 How are the beasts & fishes, & plants & minerals
 Here fixed into a frozen bulk, subject to decay & death!
 55 Those visions of Human life & shadows of wisdom &
 knowledge
- Pl.35 Are here frozen to unexpansive deadly destroying terrors.
 And war & hunting, the two fountains of the River of Life,
 Are become fountains of bitter Death & of corroding Hell,
 Till Brotherhood is changed into a curse & a flattery
 5 By differences between ideas, that ideas themselves (which are
 The Divine Members) may be slain in offerings for sin.
 O dreadful loom of death! O piteous female forms compelled
 To weave the woof of death! On Camberwell, Tirzah's courts,

34.38. This dispute between Luvah and Urizen (variously told) is the basis of the narrative of *The Four Zoas*.

34.40ff. Ololon is (are) drawing closer to Milton, and begins to see the mortal world (50ff).

34.45. *the Four Immortals*] The Four Zoas.

35.5. *differences*] i.e. arguments, quarrels.

35.6. *Members*] i.e. limbs.

35.8. *woof*] See 25.48–9n.

35.8–13. *Camberwell . . . Shooter's Hill*] In B.'s day. places surrounding London, though now mostly well within the boundaries. See map on p. 601. For Tirzah and her sisters (who hold power in this world), see 17.11n.

- [35] Mahlah's on Blackheath, Rahab & Noah dwell on
 Windsor's heights,
 10 Where once the cherubs of Jerusalem spread to Lambeth's vale.
 Milcah's pillars shine from Harrow to Hampstead, where
 Hoglah
 On Highgate's heights magnificent weaves, over trembling
 Thames,
 To Shooter's Hill, and thence to Blackheath, the dark woof.
 Loud, loud roll the weights & spindles over the whole
 earth, let down
 15 On all sides round to the four quarters of the world,
 eastward on
 Europe to Euphrates & Hindu, to Nile & back in clouds
 Of Death across the Atlantic to America north & south!
- So spake Ololon in reminiscence astonished; but they
 Could not behold Golgonooza without passing the Polypus,
 20 A wondrous journey not passable by Immortal feet, & none
 But the Divine Saviour can pass it without annihilation.
 For Golgonooza cannot be seen, till having passed the Polypus
 It is viewed on all sides round by a Fourfold vision;
 Or till you become Mortal & Vegetable in Sexuality.
 25 Then you behold its mighty spires & domes of ivory & gold.
- And Ololon examined all the Couches of the Dead,
 Even of Los & Enitharmon, & all the Sons of Albion,
 And his Four Zoas terrified & on the verge of Death.
 In midst of these was Milton's couch, & when they saw Eight
 30 Immortal Starry Ones, guarding the couch in flaming fires,
 They thunderous uttered all a universal groan, falling down
 Prostrate before the Starry Eight, asking with tears forgiveness,
 Confessing their crime with humiliation and sorrow.
- Oh how the Starry Eight rejoiced to see Ololon descended—
 35 And now that a wide road was open to Eternity,
 By Ololon's descent through Beulah to Los & Enitharmon.
 For mighty were the multitudes of Ololon, vast the extent
 Of their great sway, reaching from Ulro to Eternity,

35.10. Cp. 6.14–15.

35.14. *weights and spindles (of the looms)*] See 6.5n.

35.24. *Or till you become Mortal*] This does not contradict 20–3. 'Ordinary' spirits are in danger of losing their immortality when faced by such dangers; but the Saviour can pass them – and the fallen inhabitants of the regions are already trapped by them. These see Golgonooza, by imagination.

35.31. *They*] Ololon.

- [35] Surrounding the Mundane Shell outside in its caverns
 40 And through Beulah, and all silent forbore to contend
 With Ololon, for they saw the Lord in the clouds of Ololon.

There is a Moment in each day that Satan cannot find,
 Nor can his watch-fiends find it; but the industrious find
 This Moment & it multiply. And when it once is found
 45 It renovates every moment of the day if rightly placed.
 In this Moment, Ololon descended to Los & Enitharmon,
 Unseen beyond the Mundane Shell southward in Milton's
 track.

Just in this Moment when the morning odours rise abroad
 (And first from the wild thyme), stands a fountain in a rock
 50 Of crystal flowing into two streams; one flows through
 Golgonooza

And through Beulah to Eden, beneath Los's western wall;
 The other flows through the aerial void & all the Churches,
 Meeting again in Golgonooza beyond Satan's seat.

- The wild thyme is Los's messenger to Eden, a mighty demon—
 55 Terrible, deadly & poisonous his presence in Ulro dark—
 Therefore he appears only a small root creeping in grass,
 Covering over the rock of odours his bright purple mantle
 Beside the fount, above the lark's nest in Golgonooza.
 Luvah slept here in death, & here is Luvah's empty tomb.
 60 Ololon sat beside this fountain on the rock of odours.

Just at the place to where the lark mounts is a crystal gate.
 It is the entrance of the first Heaven, named Luther: for
 The lark is Los's messenger through the Twenty-Seven
 Churches,

35.42. *There is a Moment*] One of the critical points in the poem. The rest of the narrative, including the redemption of Milton, takes place in such an infinite moment, bounded by the wild thyme and the song of the lark (35.54, 61; 42.29–30). See headnote and 28.59*n*.

35.59. *Luvah's empty tomb*] In *The Four Zoas*, Luvah is the sufferer identified with Christ; B. often applies to Luvah imagery derived from the crucifixion narrative. Ololon sits by the tomb, as the women watched over Jesus (*Luke* xxiii 49, *John* xix 25).

35.61–2. Cp. 42*n*. The larks penetrate the 'cavernous earth / Of labyrinthine intricacy, twenty-seven folds of opaqueness' (17.25–6). Their flight and their song foil evil. The Twenty-Seven Churches, which thus surround the mortal earth like a fog (37.35*n*), are a sequence of manifestations of religious error, of which Luther (62), the would-be reformer, is the last. The lark penetrates the latest and nearest, and he and his companions work their way back to Eternity (35.67–36.12).

- [35] That the Seven Eyes of God, who walk even to Satan's Seat
 65 Through all the Twenty-Seven Heavens, may not slumber
 nor sleep.
 But the lark's nest is at the gate of Los, at the eastern
 Gate of wide Golgonooza, & the lark is Los's messenger.
- Pl.36 When on the highest lift of his light pinions he arrives
 At that bright gate, another lark meets him, & back to back
 They touch their pinions, tip tip, and each descend
 To their respective Earths, & there all night consult with
 Angels
- 5 Of Providence, & with the Eyes of God all night in slumbers
 Inspired; & at the dawn of day send out another lark
 Into another heaven to carry news upon his wings.
 Thus are the messengers dispatched till they reach the earth
 again
 In the east gate of Golgonooza. And the twenty-eighth bright
- 10 Lark met the female Ololon descending into my garden.
 (Thus it appears to mortal eyes & those of the Ulro heavens,
 But not thus to Immortals: the lark is a mighty angel.)
- For Ololon stepped into the Polypus within the Mundane
 Shell.
 They could not step into Vegetable worlds without becoming
- 15 The enemies of Humanity, except in a female form.
 And as one female, Ololon and all its mighty hosts
 Appeared—a virgin of twelve years. Nor time nor space was
 To the perception of the virgin Ololon; but as the
 Flash of lightning—but more quick—the virgin in my garden
- 20 Before my cottage stood (for the Satanic space is delusion).
- For when Los joined with me he took me in his fiery
 whirlwind.

35.64. *Seven Eyes*] Cp. 14.42n. The angelic guardians of Milton and of humanity. *Satan's Seat*] At the end of the road from Eternity (17.29), yet in the curve of infinity, close to Golgonooza (20.37–9).

36.9. *twenty-eighth*] The number twenty-seven is associated with such groups of fallen and incomplete errors as the twenty-seven Churches and twenty-seven Heavens; twenty-eight is a complete, fourfold number, used, e.g. of the 'Friends of Albion' in Jerusalem. Thus, though the number of Heavens is incomplete, the number of larks is complete.

36.10. *the female Ololon*] The 'multitudes' of 35.37 have united, taking the form of one girl, who will soon be seen as the Emanation of Milton. The explanation of 13–15 below is unconvincing: B. wishes to stress the infinity of Eternal nature, and thus shows Ololon both as multitudes and as one. This passage is the change of aspect. An emanation is always female (*Four Zoas* i 17n). The specific age here, 'twelve years', suggests an actual visit.

- [36] My Vegetated portion was hurried from Lambeth's shades;
 He set me down in Felpham's vale & prepared a beautiful
 Cottage for me that in three years I might write all these visions
 25 To display Nature's cruel holiness, the deceits of Natural
 Religion.
 Walking in my cottage garden sudden I beheld
 The virgin Ololon & addressed her as a daughter of Beulah:
 'Virgin of Providence, fear not to enter into my cottage.
 What is thy message to thy friend? What am I now to do?
 30 Is it again to plunge into deeper affliction? Behold me
 Ready to obey, but pity thou my Shadow of Delight.
 Enter my cottage, comfort her, for she is sick with fatigue.'

[*Design*]

- Pl.37 The virgin answered. 'Knowest thou of Milton who
 descended,
 Driven from Eternity. Him I seek, terrified at my act
 In Great Eternity, which thou knowest. I come him to seek.'
 So Ololon uttered in words distinct the anxious thought.
 5 Mild was the voice, but more distinct than any earthly.
 That Milton's Shadow heard; & condensing all his fibres
 Into a strength impregnable of majesty & beauty infinite
 I saw he was the Covering Cherub; & within him Satan

36.31-2. *my Shadow of Delight . . . is sick*] B.'s letters contain repeated references to his wife Catherine's continual sickness while at Felpham: e.g. to his brother James, 30 Jan. 1803: 'My wife has had Agues and Rheumatisms almost ever since she has been here.'

Design: A drawing labelled 'Blake's Cottage at Felpham', showing B. in his garden, and the virgin Ololon descending (36.10).

37.2. *my act* of driving Milton from Eternity (20.43-8, 21.31).

37.6. *Milton's Shadow heard*] All the evils represented by Milton 'condense' into one figure, as the multitudes of Ololon had also done. The confrontation of Milton, his Emanation and his Shadow is being prepared.

37.8. THE COVERING CHERUB] In pl.18.37 above, the Covering Cherub is described as a *garment*; in 24.28 as a *Spectre*, and in 37.44 it is Milton's *Shadow*; in *Jerusalem* pl.96.17, as a *cloud*; in pl.89.9-10 as 'majestic image / Of Selfhood, Body put off'. Essentially, the Cherub is B.'s image of a power that darkens the vision of the person who enters the cloud, puts on the garment or, like the victim in line 11, is forced into it.

It is B.'s creation, but he found sources throughout the Bible: the Cherub who drove Adam and Eve from Paradise, and guards the gates (*Jerusalem* 14.2, 'the Cherub at the Tree of Life'); the cloud which covered Jesus and his three disciples on the mountain-top at the Transfiguration (*Matthew* xvii 5); and in *Jerusalem* 96.17 he is in the cloud which overshadows Jesus and Albion;

- [37] And Rahab, in an outside which is fallacious, within
 10 Beyond the outline of Identity, in the Selfhood deadly.
 And he appeared the Wicker Man of Scandinavia, in whom
 Jerusalem's Children consume in flames among the stars.
 Descending down into my garden, a Human wonder of God
 Reaching from heaven to earth, a cloud & Human Form
 15 I beheld Milton with astonishment, & in him beheld
 The monstrous Churches of Beulah, the gods of Ulro
 dark—
 Twelve monstrous dishumanized terrors, Synagogues of Satan,
 A double twelve & thrice nine: such their divisions.
 And these their names & their places within the Mundane Shell:
 20 In Tyre & Sidon I saw Baal & Ashtaroth; in Moab, Chemosh;

the two cherubim covering the Mercy-Seat within the Holy of Holies in the Temple and hiding the Divine Presence (1 *Kings* vi 23–28), identified with Tyre and denounced for arrogance – ‘Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee’ (*Ezekiel* xxvii–xxviii). *Jerusalem* pl.89 is B.’s grandest vision of the Cherub’s majesty and terrifying power. See also 37.43n.

In this passage, Satan, in his elaborate and evil magnificence, is found in the Covering Cherub. By contrast, in pl.24. 26–33 Lazarus enters the Cherub to revive the sleeping Albion, but sees the work undone within the cloud. The Covering Cherub, when it appears, brings a fearsome and majestic threat; but it is no more than a covering for those within it, and when challenged it evaporates like a cloud, as in the climaxes of both *Milton* and *Jerusalem*.

37.9. *within*] i.e. within Satan, deep in his selfish heart.

37.10. *the outline of Identity*] Cp. *Jerusalem* 18.2 and 71.6–9. An outline gives form and identifies the creature. The common outline ‘spread without’ marks a thing off from the outer world. The ‘outline spread within’ marks off the inner nature, and identifies its soul.

37.11. *the Wicker Man of Scandinavia*] Caesar’s *Gallie Wars* vi 16, and 17–18th-c. antiquarians, refer to Druid (not Scandinavian) human sacrifice by burning. B. (*Jerusalem* 47.3–7) sees this sadism as an escape of uncontrolled wildness, a savagery which also finds an outlet in war.

37.15ff. B. sees in Milton’s mistaken theology all the idols and false gods denounced by Milton himself in *Paradise Lost* i 392–513.

37.17. *Synagogues of Satan*] The phrase derives from *Revelation* ii 9, a scornful reference to churches that fail in their task. B.’s idea, used chiefly in *Four Zoas* viii 89ff, and *Jerusalem* 89.5–8, is of a religious group devoted to Satan.

37.18. The numbers are explained in 34–5.

37.19. *within the Mundane Shell*] ‘This is the way these infinite powers are revealed in the history of our mortal world.’

37.20–1. *Baal and Ashtaroth*] Respectively the chief male and female deities of the Phoenicians and Canaanites.

Chemosh; Molech] These national deities of Trans-Jordan were each said to be worshipped on occasion by the sacrifice in fire of living children.

- [37] In Ammon, Molech—loud his furnaces rage among the wheels
 Of Og, & pealing loud the cries of the victims of fire.
 And pale his priestesses enfolded in veils of Pestilence,
 bordered
 With War, woven in looms of Tyre & Sidon by beautiful
 Ashtaroath.
- 25 In Palestine Dagon, sea-monster worshipped o'er the sea;
 Thammuz in Lebanon, & Rimmon in Damascus curtained;
 Osiris, Isis, Orus, in Egypt—dark their tabernacles on Nile,
 Floating with solemn songs, & on the lakes of Egypt nightly
 With pomp, even till morning break, & Osiris appear in the sky.
- 30 But Belial of Sodom & Gomorra, obscure demon of bribes
 And secret assassinations, not worshipped nor adored but
 With the finger on the lips & the back turned to the light;
 And Saturn, Jove & Rhea of the isles of the sea remote.
 These twelve gods are the Twelve Spectre Sons of the
 Druid Albion.

37.25. *Dagon*] Commonly supposed, as by Milton, to be 'upward man and downward fish' (*Paradise Lost* i 462–3): a god of the Philistines, found by them on the mainland and altered to their sea-going life (i.e. not brought 'o'er the sea', but worshipped as a sea-god).

37.26. *Thammuz* (biblical Tammuz). A dying-reviving god of vegetation and fertility. Milton mentions the practice of religious ritual prostitution (*Paradise Lost* i 454) and places his worship in Lebanon.

Rimmon] The god of Naaman of Damascus (2 *Kings* v. 18: *Paradise Lost* i 467–8). *curtained*] As befits a hidden, secret god. See 40. The detail is not in the Bible or Milton, but (like *Tabernacle* in 27) indicates the nature of such false gods.

37.27. *Osiris, Isis, Orus*] Osiris was husband and brother of Isis, and father of Orus (Milton's spelling; but usually *Horus*). Like *Thammuz*, he was a god of fertility – in Egypt through the annual Nile flood. Despite 29, he was by no means a sun-god; this idea is not Milton's.

37.30. *Belial*] Not originally a god at all (the word means *wickedness*), and not in the Bible associated with Sodom and Gomorrah. B. takes the clue from *Paradise Lost* i 501–3:

... then wander forth the sons
 Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
 Witness the streets of Sodom . . .

37.33. *Saturn, Jove and Rhea*] See *Paradise Lost* i 512–13; Milton also mentions Crete.

37.34. *Spectre Sons*] Ashtaroath, Isis and Rhea were female: but there are only eleven males besides. Osiris, Isis and Orus count as a trinity, and the whole group is thus twelve. Britain (Albion) worships this kind of divinity, a perversion of the truth once known in the ancient, supposedly prepatriarchal druid tradition.

[37] And these the names of the Twenty-Seven Heavens & their Churches:

- 36 Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch,
Methuselah, Lamech; these are Giants mighty, hermaphroditic.
Noah, Shem, Arphaxad, Cainan the second, Salah, Heber,
Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor, Terah; these are the Female-Males,
40 A Male within a Female hid as in an Ark & Curtains;
Abraham, Moses, Solomon, Paul, Constantine, Charlemagne,
Luther; these seven are the Male-Females, the dragon forms,

37.35. TWENTY-SEVEN HEAVENS AND THEIR CHURCHES] The mantling clouds of religious error that surround our mortal universe (17.27ff). The number is incomplete, one less than the ideal twenty-eight (cp. 36.9n). The imaginative man must penetrate this obscurity before he can see the vision of Eternity. The ensuing lists of patriarchs, fathers and ecclesiastics divides religious history into epochs, each one a 'Church', which pretends to present religious truths, which are truly in error. Lines 35–43, with two extra lines, recur in *Jerusalem* 75.10–20. Swedenborg is the source for such a series of 'Churches' but his scheme is much simpler than B.'s, comprising only five 'Churches'. B. may perhaps also have adopted something of Boehme's scheme of seven Churches, but this is more doubtful. See *Raine* i 325ff.

37.36. *Adam, Seth, Enos*] B. uses the spelling of *Genesis* v. (not 1 *Chronicles* i): but his list (to Abraham) is that of *Luke* iii in reverse – the genealogy of Christ.
37.37. *Lamech*] Last of the patriarchs before Noah and the Flood.

Giants mighty, hermaphroditic] Mighty but self-defeating; see notes to 39, 42.

37.38. *Cainan*] Named in *Luke*, not in *Genesis* or *Chronicles*.

37.39. *Terah*] Father of Abraham, directly descended from Noah.

Female-Males] B.'s own idea; the suggestion is of effeminacy, but see 42n. In the *Four Zoas* fragment (k, p. 481), Tharmas and Enion are similarly described:

Male form'd the demon mild: athletic force his shoulders spread
... but the parts

To love devoted, female ...

Female her form; bright as the summer, but the parts of love

Male ...

37.40. *in an Ark and Curtains*] As God was hidden from the Jews (*Exodus* xxv 10ff, xxvi 1–14, 31–7).

37.41–2. *Abraham ... Luther*] B.'s choice of the most famous religious names in the history of the world, at once in government and religion. *Paul* is the exception, but even he made a point of the Christian necessity for civil obedience. The list omits such reformers as Josiah (2 *Kings* xxii–xxiii) and such thinkers as Augustine: and, most significantly, the key figure – Christ himself – whose nature the rest misinterpreted.

37.42. *the Male-Females*] (See 8–9 and 40.17–22.) An outward appearance of power is inwardly dominated by womanish lusts. In 38.23 Satan is such a person; in *Four Zoas* viii 266–7 Rahab similarly appears in the midst of the male Sanhedrin. Of the three types in 35–43, only this really interested B. It seems he invented the other two for the nonce in order to complete a pattern.

[37] Religion hid in War, a Dragon red & hidden Harlot.

(All these are seen in Milton's Shadow, who is the Covering Cherub,

45 The Spectre of Albion, in which the Spectre of Luvah inhabits,
In the Newtonian voids between the substances of creation.

For the chaotic voids outside of the stars are measured by
The stars, which are the boundaries of kingdoms, provinces
And empires of Chaos, invisible to the Vegetable man.

50 The kingdom of Og is in Orion; Sihon is in Ophiuchus;
Og has twenty-seven districts; Sihon's districts twenty-one.
From star to star, mountains & valleys, terrible dimension
Stretched out, compose the Mundane Shell, a mighty
incrustation

Of forty-eight deformed Human wonders of the Almighty,

37.43. a *Dragon red and hidden Harlot*] The monster of *Revelation* xii 3:

behold a great red dragon . . . and [it] was cast out, that old serpent, called
the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world

– and the Harlot of *Revelation* xvii 3–5 (quoted in 33.20*n*). Satan and Rahab, the dragon and the harlot, brute power and false allure, in a monstrous interwoven alliance of institutionalized war and religion.

37.45. i.e. 'This evil creature is the dominant evil power now controlling Britain – a nation dominated by the Spectre of Luvah (which means, roughly, 'by perverted passions').' This line is an additional comment.

37.46. *Newtonian voids*] Newton's cosmology did not need to suppose the ether, tenuous matter filling the universe, and binding all the heavenly bodies together; still less did it need the 'music of the spheres'. (The mystical numerological speculations of his later years would be unknown to B.) The only links are the distant forces of attraction; otherwise his stars and planets move on their determined paths in everlasting silence, isolation and night. B. envisages the constellations in 47–59 as being the entrances to infinite chasms of chaos stretching away from us.

37.50. *Og . . . Sihon*] See 20.37*n* and 22.33*n*; and especially the note below. The hostile kingdoms are not merely little forgotten princedoms; they manifest a principle that is spread across the stars.

Orion . . . Ophiuchus] The first a spectacular constellation, 'Ophiuchus' ('serpent-bearer') is much less well-known; rather straggling and indeterminate. This concerns B. less than its situation (see 54*n*). Cp. *Paradise Lost* ii 709:

the length of Ophiuchus huge
In th'arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war.

Laocoon, in B.'s engraving, is labelled 'Ophiuchus'.

37.54. *forty-eight*] The total number of constellations in the system traditional since Ptolemy thus reformed it in his *Amagest*, c. A.D. 150. (After 1600, other constellations were added.) Ptolemy has twenty-one 'northern', twelve 'zodiacal' and

- [37] With caverns whose remotest bottoms meet again beyond
 56 The Mundane Shell in Golgonooza; but the fires of Los rage
 In the remotest bottoms of the caves, that none can pass
 Into Eternity that way, but all descend to Los,
 To Bowlahoola & Allamanda, & to Entuthon Benython.
 60 The Heavens are the Cherub, the Twelve Gods are Satan,

(VII) *Full-plate illustration. An eagle hovers over a nude pair (Albion and his Emanation Jerusalem: see Jerusalem 94.1-15) who lie asleep, side by side, on rocks by the sea. Albion, though asleep, has an erection (painted out in later copies), implying unfulfilled desire.*

Pl.38 And the forty-eight Starry Regions are cities of the Levites,
 The heads of the Great Polypus, fourfold twelve enormity
 In mighty & mysterious commingling, enemy with enemy,
 Woven by Urizen into sexes from his mantle of years.)

- 5 And Milton, collecting all his fibres into impregnable strength,
 Descended down a paved work of all kinds of precious stones

fifteen 'southern': B. unites the latter pair under the 'southern' constellation Orion, making his favourite 'evil' number twenty-seven, leaving the rest under the 'northern' Ophiuchus. Orion and Ophiuchus lie in opposite regions on the star sphere. B., for whom the entire universe was Human, sees them as 'deformed' animal or human figures, according to their astronomical names. See also 38.1.

37.59. Souls must enter Golgonooza through Los's hands, and cannot slip through to invade Eternity without meeting his power.

Entuthon Benython] A region of Ulro, but Golgonooza is there; it is the alien centre of Los's redeeming activities.

37.60. *Twelve Gods*] The twelve signs of the Zodiac. In this and the next line B. relates his scheme of Heavens, etc., to biblical figures of evil.

38.1. *cities of the Levites*] Forty-eight cities all over Israel were given, in place of land, to the priestly tribe of Levi. Cp. *Numbers* xxxv 7.

38.2. *fourfold*] Denotes perfection: here the perfection of enormity. See 34.8-18n.

38.4-5. The space here is editorial, not found on the plate, and is meant to indicate the renewal of narrative. Line 5 refers back to 37.6-8.

38.5-14. There is some intentional ambiguity in this figure of Milton. Line 5 clearly echoes 37.6ff, but though 8 may be taken two ways – as indicating the grimness, or the dignity, of puritanism – it contrasts with the 'thunderous' and 'gorgeous' Spectre. But Milton, the Eternal spirit, is within the Spectre, which surrounds or 'covers' him like a garment (see *Covering Cherub*, 37.8n, and 37.43). He entered it in order to return to the mortal world of Generation (14.36), but will soon cast it off.

38.6. *paved work*] From *Exodus* xxiv 10, part of the narrative of the Law-giving, with which the Shadow of Milton is thus associated:

And they saw the God of Israel: and there was under his feet as it were
 a paved work of a sapphire stone.

- [38] Out from the eastern sky—descending down into my cottage
Garden, clothed in black: severe & silent he descended.

The Spectre of Satan stood upon the roaring sea & beheld
10 Milton within his sleeping Humanity. Trembling & shuddering
He stood upon the waves, a twenty-sevenfold mighty demon,
Gorgeous & beautiful; loud roll his thunders against Milton.
Loud Satan thundered, loud & dark upon mild Felpham shore;
Not daring to touch one fibre he howled round upon the sea.

15 I also stood in Satan's bosom & beheld its desolations—
A ruined man, a ruined building of God not made with hands;
Its plains of burning sand, its mountains of marble terrible,
Its pits & declivities flowing with molten ore, & fountains
Of pitch & nitre, its ruined palaces & cities & mighty works,
20 Its furnaces of affliction, in which his angels & emanations
Labour with blackened visages among its stupendous ruins,
Arches & pyramids & porches, colonnades & domes,
In which dwells Mystery, Babylon; here is her secret place;
From hence she comes forth on the Churches in delight;
25 Here is her cup filled with its poisons, in these horrid vales,
And here her scarlet veil woven in pestilence & war.
Here is Jerusalem bound in chains, in the dens of Babylon.

In the eastern porch of Satan's universe Milton stood & said:

'Satan, my Spectre, I know my power thee to annihilate
30 And be a greater in thy place, & be thy tabernacle,
A covering for thee to do thy will—till one greater comes
And smites me as I smote thee, & becomes my covering.
Such are the Laws of thy false Heavens, but laws of Eternity
Are not such. Know thou, I come to Self-Annihilation.
35 Such are the laws of Eternity, that each shall mutually

38.10. *his sleeping Humanity*] *his* means 'his own': see note above; *sleeping Humanity* indicates an eternal soul shut off from heavenly life, as Milton sleeps in 15.10–12, which this echoes. The Spectre realizes that he, belonging as he does to Milton, belongs to life, not death; and although he hates this, he dare not attack it (14 and 39.19), for to do so would be to destroy himself. A shadow cannot exist without the being that casts it (*Jerusalem* 6.1n, para. 2). The essential fact is the confrontation of Milton and his Spectre, Satan; see headnote, p. 503.
38.25. *her cup*] From *Revelation* xvii 4: 'having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations': cp. *Four Zoas* viii 267n.

38.26. *her scarlet veil*] The biblical Harlot is 'arrayed in purple and scarlet' – B.'s detail of the veil reminds us that Rahab is Vala, the 'Shadowy Female' who, in *The Four Zoas*, sought to entrap all creation.

38.28. *Satan's universe*] The Covering Cherub, now envisaged as a world, as in the previous lines.

- [38] Annihilate himself for other's good, as I for thee.
 Thy purpose & the purpose of thy Priests & of thy Churches
 Is to impress on men the fear of death; to teach
 Trembling & fear, terror, constriction, abject selfishness.
- 40 Mine is to teach men to despise death, & to go on
 In fearless majesty annihilating Self, laughing to scorn
 Thy Laws & terrors, shaking down thy Synagogues as webs.
 I come to discover before Heaven & Hell the
 Self-righteousness
 In all its hypocritic turpitude, opening to every eye
- 45 These wonders of Satan's holiness, showing to the earth
 The idol-virtues of the Natural heart, & Satan's Seat
 Explore, in all its Selfish Natural Virtue, & put off
 In Self-annihilation all that is not of God alone:
 To put off Self & all I have, ever & ever. Amen.'
- 50 Satan heard, coming in a cloud, with trumpets & flaming fire,
 Saying: 'I am God, the judge of all, the living & the dead.
 Fall therefore down & worship me; submit thy supreme
 Dictate to my eternal Will, & to my dictate bow.
 I hold the balances of Right & Just, & mine the sword.
- 55 Seven Angels bear my name & in those seven I appear;
 But I alone am God, & I alone in heaven & earth
 Of all that live dare utter this. Others tremble & bow
- Pl.39 Till all things become one great Satan, in Holiness
 Opposed to Mercy; and the Divine Delusion, Jesus, be no
 more.'

Suddenly around Milton on my path the starry Seven
 Burned terrible! My path became a solid fire, as bright

5 As the clear sun, & Milton silent came down on my path
 And there went forth from the starry limbs of the Seven, forms
 Human, with trumpets innumerable, sounding articulate
 As the Seven spake; & they stood in a mighty column of fire,

38.42. *Synagogues*] See 37.17*n*.

38.43. *discover*] i.e., 'display'.

38.46. *the Natural heart*] The heart of man in this world, out of touch with eternity (A Pauline phrase: cp. 1 *Corinthians* xv 39–49, and 'To Tirzah' p. 618).

38.55. *Seven Angels*] A Satanic lie: the Angels of the Presence are not his, the emissaries of fear of *Revelation* xvi, where they 'pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth'; but 'forms human' (39.6–7), and they support Milton, not the Spectre. Cp. 14.42*n*.

39.3. *the starry Seven*] The Angels of the Presence: cp. 38.55*n*.

39.8. *column of fire*] Like the column in which Jehovah led the Israelites (*Exodus* xiii 21–2).

[39] Surrounding Felpham's vale, reaching to the Mundane
Shell, saying:

10 'Awake, Albion, awake! Reclaim thy reasoning Spectre! Subdue
Him to the Divine Mercy; cast him down into the lake
Of Los, that ever burneth with fire, ever & ever. Amen.
Let the Four Zoas awake from slumbers of six thousand years!'

Then loud the furnaces of Los were heard & seen as seven
heavens

15 Stretching from south to north over the mountains of Albion.

Satan heard; trembling round his body, he encircled it;
He trembled with exceeding great trembling & astonishment,
Howling in his Spectre round his body, hungering to devour,
But fearing for the pain; for if he touches a vital

20 His torment is unendurable. Therefore he cannot devour,
But howls round it as a lion round his prey continually.
Loud Satan thundered, loud & dark upon mild Felpham's shore,
Coming in a cloud with trumpets & with fiery flame
An awful form eastward, from midst of a bright paved-work

25 Of precious stones by cherubim surrounded—so permitted
(Lest he should fall apart in his Eternal Death) to imitate
The Eternal Great Humanity Divine, surrounded by
His cherubim & seraphim in ever-happy Eternity.

Beneath sat Chaos. Sin on his right hand, Death on his left;
30 And Ancient Night spread over all the heaven his mantle of
laws.

He trembled with exceeding great trembling & astonishment.

39.11. *the lake*] *Revelation* xx 10: 'And the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone . . . and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.' But this is Los's lake, and the fire is the redeeming fire of divine inspiration and activity. Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.37 illustration.

39.18. *his Spectre round his body*] The spectre is derived from a whole body and personality, but is always in opposition to it. See 'My Spectre around me', p. 498.

39.24-5. *from midst . . . by cherubim surrounded*] Reminiscent of Solomon's temple, 1 *Kings* vi 29-30: 'And he carved the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubims [etc.] . . . And the floor of the house he overlaid with gold . . .'

39.25. *so permitted* to parody true Divinity; so Satan, in *Paradise Lost*, was permitted to seduce Adam.

39.29-30. *Chaos, Sin, Death, Ancient Night*] Reminiscences of the association of Satan, Sin and Death in *Paradise Lost* ii 643ff, much used by B. in 12.36ff. 'Chaos and Ancient Night' *ibid.* ii 970, occurs above: 12.21, 20.33.

- [39] Then Albion rose up in the Night of Beulah on his Couch
Of dread repose, seen by the visionary eye; his face is toward
The east, toward Jerusalem's gates; groaning he sat above
35 His rocks. London & Bath & Legions & Edinburgh
Are the four pillars of his throne; his left foot near London
Covers the shades of Tyburn; his instep from Windsor
To Primrose Hill, stretching to Highgate & Holloway;
London is between his knees, its basements fourfold.
40 His right foot stretches to the sea on Dover cliffs, his heel
On Canterbury's ruins; his right hand covers lofty Wales,
His left Scotland; his bosom girt with gold involves
York, Edinburgh, Durham & Carlisle, & on the front
Bath, Oxford, Cambridge, Norwich; his right elbow
45 Leans on the rocks of Erin's land, Ireland, ancient nation.
His head bends over London; he sees his embodied Spectre
Trembling before him with exceeding great trembling & fear.
He views Jerusalem & Babylon, his tears flow down;
He moved his right foot to Cornwall, his left to the rocks
of Bognor.
50 He strove to rise to walk into the deep, but strength failing
Forbade; & down with dreadful groans he sunk upon his Couch
In moony Beulah. Los, his strong guard, walks round
beneath the moon.

Urizen faints in terror striving among the brooks of Arnon
With Milton's spirit. As the ploughman or artificer or shepherd
55 While in the labours of his calling sends his thought abroad
To labour in the ocean or in the starry heaven, so Milton
Labour'd in chasms of the Mundane Shell—though here
before

39.32ff. *Albion*] The map of Great Britain becomes a giant attempting to rise from sleep.

39.35. *Legions*] Caerleon, the City of Legions, considered by Geoffrey of Monmouth the noblest city in Wales.

39.37–8. *Windsor* is west of Hounslow. See map on p. 649.

39.43–4. *York . . . Norwich*] All cathedral cities, the first four northern, the second southern.

39.48. *Jerusalem and Babylon*] i.e. their history: Cp. 33.21–3, where Jerusalem is oppressed by Babylon.

39.49. *Bognor*] Near Felpham. B. made this 'left foot' move.

39.53. Taken up from 19.6–14.

39.57–9. *though here before / My cottage*] All this had taken place in the single moment (35.42ff) of the girl's appearance (36.16ff). Milton is facing his Spectre in Eternity, while still struggling with Urizen, and appearing to B. in his cottage. The importance of these simultaneous but discrete acts is stated in 20.15ff.

- [39] My cottage 'midst the Starry Seven, where the virgin Ololon
 Stood trembling in the porch. Loud Satan thundered on
 the stormy sea,
 60 Circling Albion's cliffs in which the Fourfold World resides,
 Though seen in fallacy outside—a fallacy of Satan's Churches.

(VIII) *Full-plate illustration: Milton raising the feeble Urizen* (39.53).

- Pl.40 Before Ololon Milton stood & perceived the Eternal Form
 Of that mild vision. Wondrous were their acts—by me
 unknown
 Except remotely; and I heard Ololon say to Milton,
 'I see thee strive upon the brooks of Arnon. There a dread
 5 And awful man I see, o'ercovered with the mantle of years.
 I behold Los & Urizen, I behold Orc & Tharmas,
 The Four Zoas of Albion, & thy spirit with them striving,
 In Self-annihilation giving thy life to thy enemies.
 Are those who condemn religion & seek to annihilate it
 10 Become in their Feminine portions the causes & promoters
 Of these religions? How is this thing, this Newtonian phantasm,
 This Voltaire & Rousseau, this Hume & Gibbon &
 Bolingbroke,
 This Natural Religion, this impossible absurdity?
 Is Ololon the cause of this? Oh, where shall I hide my face?

39.61. *Though seen in fallacy outside*] i.e. though we see only the externals of the land; but it is really a world of humanity (see Letter to Butts, 2 Oct. 1800, p. 485):

Each grain of sand,
 Every stone on the land,
 Cloud, meteor and star
 Are men seen afar.

40.5. *man*] Urizen. Cp. 19.11, 'the furrows of many years'. Ololon does not know him, though recognizing him in another form in the next line.

40.11. *Newtonian phantasm*] Newton's dream-world, which we call 'real'.

40.12. *Voltaire, Rousseau, Hume, Gibbon, Bolingbroke*] All philosophers of the eighteenth century. Voltaire, Hume and Gibbon were strongly rationalistic, the first, however, less so than he seems. Rousseau, a very different figure, was a sentimentalist, but B. always sees him as a part of the same movement, worshipping man as he is (in this world), and seeking his perfection by rational means. Bolingbroke was primarily a politician, but enjoyed some reputation as a philosopher, with for example, his *Reflections concerning Innate Moral Ideas* (1752). B. accuses them all of supporting mysteries.

40.14. *cause*] B. saw, not a single chain of act-and-consequence, but a relation between all wicked acts and all ill effects. This is not as irrational as it seems. The person who is cruel to a child is involved in Cruelty, and partly responsible

- [40] These tears fall for the little ones, the children of Jerusalem,
 16 Lest they be annihilated in thy annihilation.'

No sooner she had spoke but Rahab Babylon appeared
 Eastward upon the paved-work across Europe & Asia,
 Glorious as the midday sun, in Satan's bosom glowing
 20 A female hidden in a male, Religion hidden in War,
 Named 'Moral Virtue'; cruel twofold monster shining bright,
 A Dragon red & hidden Harlot which John in Patmos saw.

And all beneath the nations innumerable of Ulro
 Appeared—the seven kingdoms of Canaan & five Baalim
 25 Of Philistia, into twelve divided, called after the names
 Of Israel, as they are in Eden—mountain, river & plain,
 City & sandy desert intermingled beyond mortal ken.

But turning toward Ololon in terrible majesty, Milton
 Replied: 'Obey thou the words of the inspired man!
 30 All that can be annihilated must be annihilated,
 That the children of Jerusalem may be saved from slavery.
 There is a Negation, & there is a Contrary:
 The Negation must be destroyed to redeem the Contraries.
 The Negation is the Spectre, the reasoning power in man.
 35 This is a false Body, an incrustation over my Immortal

for the continuation of all forms of cruelty in the future; and in the one act justifies other people's cruel acts of the past. Cp. 'Auguries of Innocence' (p. 612), e.g.

A Robin Redbreast in a cage
 Puts all Heaven in a rage.

Ololon's own fault was that of 20.43–50.

40.20. Cp. 37.42–3.

40.23. *beneath*] B. conceives the sight more as one of his own formal paintings of many figures, than as an imaginary scene in the narrative.

40.24. *seven kingdoms*] Those overrun by the Israelites: 'the Hittites, and the Gergashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou' (*Deuteronomy* vii 1).

40.24–5. *five Baalim / Of Philistia*] Cp. *Joshua* xiii 3, 'the five lords of the Philistines' (i.e. of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath and Ekron). These are the enemies of Israel, the biblical 'nations' or heathen, who inhabited Palestine itself. (But *Baalim* is not a word the Bible uses of Philistine gods: the word *lords* above is *seren*: *Baalim* is a Canaanite title.)

40.30. What can be annihilated is unreal, a fantasy, and therefore must be destroyed.

40.32. *Contrary*] That which is different and perhaps sometimes in opposition, but complementary. Cp. 30.1 and especially *Jerusalem* 10.7n.

- [40] Spirit, a Selfhood which must be put off & annihilated away.
To cleanse the face of my spirit by self-examination,

[*Design*]

Pl.41

[*Design*]

- To bathe in the waters of life; to wash off the not-human
I come in Self-annihilation & the grandeur of Inspiration,
To cast off Rational Demonstration by Faith in the Saviour;
To cast off the rotten rags of Memory by Inspiration;
5 To cast off Bacon, Locke & Newton from Albion's covering;
To take off his filthy garments, & clothe him with
Imagination;
To cast aside from Poetry all that is not Inspiration,
That it no longer shall dare to mock with the aspersion of
madness
Cast on the inspired, by the tame high finisher of paltry blots
10 Indefinite, or paltry rhymes, or paltry harmonies;
Who creeps into state government like a caterpillar to destroy;
To cast off the idiot questioner who is always questioning
But never capable of answering, who sits with a sly grin
Silent plotting when to question, like a thief in a cave;
15 Who publishes doubt & calls it knowledge; whose science is
despair,
Whose pretence to knowledge is envy, whose whole science is
To destroy the wisdom of ages to gratify ravenous envy,
That rages round him like a wolf day & night without rest.
He smiles with condescension; he talks of benevolence & virtue;
20 And those who act with benevolence & virtue, they murder
time on time.
These are the destroyers of Jerusalem, these are the murderers
Of Jesus, who deny the faith & mock at Eternal Life;
Who pretend to Poetry, that they may destroy Imagination
By imitation of Nature's images drawn from remembrance.

40. *Design*: Among trees, a snake coils and faces a man. In Copy D, plate IV (p. 551) is placed after p. 41.

41. *Design*: Interlocking figures joining hands in a dance.

41.5. *Bacon, Locke & Newton*] A trio often found in B. as the source of the modern rational thought he hated.

41.8. *the aspersion of madness*] B.'s visionary life called forth this aspersion from a number of people of common – but limited – sense.

41.9–10. *the tame high finisher of paltry blots / Indefinite*] Perhaps Reynolds; but the condemnation goes on to cover all artists who rate technique above inspiration.

41.15. *doubt*] B.'s name for scientific knowledge, or any knowledge based on scepticism, and depending (16–17) on overturning the works of others.

- [41] These are the Sexual garments, the Abomination of Desolation
 26 Hiding the Human Lineaments as with an Ark & Curtains
 Which Jesus rent & now shall wholly purge away with fire,
 Till Generation is swallowed up in Regeneration.’

Then trembled the virgin Ololon & replied in clouds of
 despair:

- 30 ‘Is this our Feminine portion, the sixfold Miltonic Female?
 Terribly this portion trembles before thee, O awful Man!
 Although our Human Power can sustain the severe
 contentions
 Of friendship, our Sexual cannot, but flies into the Ulro.
 Hence arose all our terrors in Eternity, & now remembrance
 35 Returns upon us. Are we Contraries, O Milton, thou & I?
 O Immortal! how were we led to war the wars of death?
 Is this the Void outside of Existence, which if entered into
 Pl.42 Becomes a womb, & is this the death-couch of Albion?
 Thou goest to eternal death, & all must go with thee.’

So saying the virgin divided sixfold, & with a shriek
 Dolorous that ran through all creation, a double sixfold
 wonder,

- 5 Away from Ololon she divided & fled into the depths
 Of Milton’s Shadow, as a dove upon the stormy sea.

Then as a moony ark Ololon descended to Felpham’s vale
 In clouds of blood, in streams of gore, with dreadful
 thunderings

- Into the fires of Intellect that rejoiced in Felpham’s vale
 10 Around the Starry Eight. With one accord the Starry Eight
 became
 One Man Jesus the Saviour, wonderful! Round his limbs

41.25. *Sexual garments*] The clothing of mortal flesh which the soul wears in this world.

41.26. *Ark and Curtains*] The Ark of the Covenant was kept in the Temple, hidden behind curtains: ‘there was nothing in the ark save the two tablets of stone which Moses put there at Horeb’ (1 *Kings* viii 9). When Jesus died, the curtain split (*Matthew* xxvii 51) – symbolizing the end of the old dispensation.

41.32. *Human*] The true Human, known only in Eden. The contentions of friendship are the frank, even fierce disputes which may arise among true friends without destroying the friendship. Cp. *Jerusalem* 91.16–7.

41.34. *our terrors*, which caused Ololon to drive Milton from Heaven (20.43ff).

41.35 *Contraries*] See 40.32.

42.4. *a double sixfold wonder*] This is Ololon’s evil part, which joins the Shadow to be annihilated, as Ololon finally surrenders to Milton.

- [42] The clouds of Ololon folded as a garment dipped in blood,
 Written within & without in woven letters, & the writing
 Is the Divine Revelation in the literal expression—
 15 A garment of war; I heard it named the woof of six thousand
 years.
- And I beheld the Twenty-four Cities of Albion
 Arise upon their thrones to judge the nations of the earth;
 And the immortal Four in whom the Twenty-four appear
 fourfold
 Arose around Albion's body. Jesus wept & walked forth
 20 From Felpham's vale, clothed in clouds of blood, to enter into
 Albion's bosom, the bosom of death, & the Four
 surrounded him
 In the column of fire in Felpham's vale. Then to their
 mouths the Four
 Applied their four trumpets & them sounded to the four winds.
- 25 Terror struck in the vale. I stood at that immortal sound;
 My bones trembled. I fell outstretched upon the path
 A moment, & my soul returned into its mortal state,
 To Resurrection & Judgement in the Vegetable body.
 And my sweet Shadow of Delight stood trembling by my side.
- Immediately the lark mounted with a loud trill from
 Felpham's vale,
 30 And the wild thyme from Wimbledon's green & empurpled
 hills;
 And Los & Enitharmon rose over the hills of Surrey.
 Their clouds roll over London with a south wind; soft
 Oothoon

42.15. *A garment of war*] Of spiritual war.

42.16. *Twenty-four Cities*] In 39.35–44 twelve are named. See *Jerusalem* (headnote), where the twenty-four cities are named, and summed up in 'the immortal Four', Verulam, London, York and Edinburgh (*Jerusalem* 46.23–4). They are Albion's friends and advisers, who stand by him in his trouble.

42.18. *Four . . . Twenty-four*] *Ezekiel* i and *Revelation* iv, where twenty-four elders surround the throne, seven lamps stand before it, and the four beasts are 'in the midst of the throne, and round about' it (*Revelation* iv 6). Also found in *The Four Zoas* ix 278–84; and see note above.

42.29–30. *the lark . . . thyme*] The whole vision from 35.48 has lasted only a moment.

42.30. *Wimbledon*] Then outside London to the south-west, though now part of it.

42.32. *soft*] For 'softly'.



Biblical Palestine

- [42] Pants in the vales of Lambeth, weeping o'er her Human
Harvest.
Los listens to the cry of the poor man, his cloud
35 Over London in volume terrific, low bended in anger.

Rintrah & Palamabron view the human harvest beneath;
Their winepresses & barns stand open; the ovens are prepared,
The wagons ready; terrific, lions & tigers sport & play.
All animals upon the earth are prepared in all their strength
Pl.43 To go forth to the great harvest & vintage of the nations.

Finis

[*Design*]

30 The 'Pickering Manuscript'

Otherwise known as 'the Ballad MS', this MS is so called after a nineteenth-century owner. It can only be dated conjecturally, but in a letter of 16 Aug. 1803 B. quotes a line from 'Mary', with a continuation adapted to his own state (see p. 491). 'Long John Brown' and 'William Bond' are poems with a similar village background, perhaps suggesting a like date within the Felpham period. John Adlard, in *Sports of Cruelty* (1972), notes various folksong parallels which may perhaps derive from B.'s Felpham stay. 'The Grey Monk' is derived from the Notebook (see p. 494), and seems to derive from a combination of circumstances in 1804; it carries 'The Golden Net', in the same group in the Notebook, with it. These details suggest that the Pickering MS is not earlier than 1804 as it stands. The development of thought and imagery of 'The Mental Traveller' to some extent supports this, though this poem may be as early as 1801–02. The other poems provide no clues. These considerations suggest a date for the MS, which is a neat fair copy (with a few alterations, notably in 'The Mental Traveller'), of about 1805: some editors, however, have preferred, partly on subjective grounds, partly on the evidence of 'Mary', a date *c.* 1803; some put it as late as 1807.

42.36. *Rintrah & Palamabron*] Their trials and disputes, narrated in the Bard's Song, are quite forgotten.

Plate 43. The line of text is at the top: a full-plate design of a female figure with arms raised, standing between two winged angels.

42. *Design*: Oothoon flying over a cornfield (42.32).

I THE SMILE

- There is a smile of love,
 And there is a smile of deceit;
 And there is a smile of smiles
 In which these two smiles meet.
- 5 And there is a frown of hate,
 And there is a frown of disdain;
 And there is a frown of frowns
 Which you strive to forget in vain,
- For it sticks in the heart's deep core,
 10 And it sticks in the deep backbone;
 And no smile that ever was smiled,
 But only one smile alone
- That betwixt the cradle and grave.
 It only once smiled can be;
 15 But when it once is smiled
 There's an end to all misery.

II THE GOLDEN NET

- Three virgins at the break of day—
 'Whither young man, whither away?
 Alas for woe! alas for woe!
 They cry, and tears for ever flow.
- 5 The one was clothed in flames of fire,
 The other clothed in iron wire,
 The other clothed in tears and sighs,
 Dazzling bright before my eyes.
 They bore a net of golden twine
 10 To hang upon the branches fine.

¶ 30.ii 1. *Three virgins*] Virginal not for their purity, but because they repel the man whose desire they have encouraged. The tears (4), as so often in B. are artificial. Adlard suggests an affinity with the meetings in folksong of young men and maidens. Cp. also p. 493 above.

ii 9. *a net*] The lover is trapped by his pity for the virgins, who have invited him to come to them, but will grant him only imprisonment where he can see them. The *net* is an image used by B. in *Urizen*, *Four Zoas* vi, and *Jerusalem*; he often calls it Urizen's 'net (or web) of religion', but other characteristics are seen here – it traps a man through his own weakness and is used by the female for her own ends.

Pitying I wept to see the woe
 That love and beauty undergo;
 To be consumed in burning fires
 And in ungratified desires,
 15 And in tears clothed night and day,
 Melted all my soul away.
 When they saw my tears, a smile
 That did heaven itself beguile
 Bore the golden net aloft
 20 As on downy pinions soft,
 Over the morning of my day.
 Underneath the net I stray,
 Now entreating Burning Fire
 Now entreating Iron Wire
 25 Now entreating Tears and Sighs.
 Oh, when will the morning rise?

III THE MENTAL TRAVELLER

I travelled through a land of men,
 A land of men and women too,
 And heard and saw such dreadful things
 As cold earth wanderers never knew.
 5 For there the babe is born in joy
 That was begotten in dire woe,
 Just as we reap in joy the fruit
 Which we in bitter tears did sow;
 And if the babe is born a boy
 10 He's given to a woman old,
 Who nails him down upon a rock,
 Catches his shrieks in cups of gold.

ii 11. *Pitying*] A dangerous emotion for B., as it 'divides the soul, and man unmans' (*Milton* pl.8, 19–20). The speaker pities the virgins for their ungratified desire, and so they capture him.

iii 7–8. *Psalm* cxxvi 5: 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy'.

iii 10. The *woman old* resembles and acts like Vala, as Rahab or Tirzah: see *Four Zoas* viii 287ff, *Milton* pl.19.48ff, *Jerusalem* pl.67.23–4, 40ff, where Tirzah torments man as in 11–19, so as to control him by binding him to this world. B. uses the image of 20 nowhere else.

iii 11. *nails him . . .*] Paley (*Energy and Imagination*, p. 125) quotes Taylor's *Phaedo* (1792): 'Every pleasure and pain, as if armed with a nail, fastens and rivets the soul to the body . . .'

iii 12. *cups of gold*] Deriving from the cup of the Scarlet Woman who, in *Revelation* xvii 4, holds 'a golden cup . . . full of abominations'.

She binds iron thorns around his head,
 She pierces both his hands and feet,
 15 She cuts his heart out at his side
 To make it feel both cold & heat.

 Her fingers number every nerve
 Just as a miser counts his gold;
 She lives upon his shrieks and cries—
 20 And she grows young as he grows old,

 Till he becomes a bleeding youth
 And she becomes a virgin bright;
 Then he rends up his manacles
 And binds her down for his delight.

 25 He plants himself in all her nerves
 Just as a husbandman his mould,
 And she becomes his dwelling-place
 And garden, fruitful seventyfold.

 An aged shadow soon he fades,
 30 Wandering round an earthly cot,
 Full filled all with gems and gold
 Which he by industry had got.

 And these are the gems of the human soul:
 The rubies and pearls of a lovesick eye,
 35 The countless gold of the aching heart,
 The martyr's groan, and the lover's sigh.

 They are his meat, they are his drink:
 He feeds the beggar and the poor
 And the wayfaring traveller;
 40 For ever open is his door.

 His grief is their eternal joy,
 They make the roofs and walls to ring—
 Till from the fire on the hearth
 A little female babe does spring!

 45 And she is all of solid fire
 And gems and gold, that none his hand

iii 13–15. The references to the crucifixion are clear.

iii 23. *he rends up* . . .] So Orc tears himself free and seizes the virgin in the early *America* (Preludium), and also in *Four Zoas* vii 465. But the outcome is different here; her desirability drains the vitality from him and so perpetuates female dominance.

iii 45–8. The woman, as mother, binds the man, as child, in swaddling-bands; no man can do the same to a woman. Thus she dominates him as mother or mistress; and (*st*) causes her new man-subject to drive out the now useless old one.

- Dares stretch to touch her baby form,
Or wrap her in his swaddling-band.
- But she comes to the man she loves,
50 If young or old, or rich or poor;
They soon drive out the aged host,
A beggar at another's door.
- He wanders weeping far away
Until some other take him in;
55 Oft blind and age-bent, sore distressed,
Until he can a maiden win.
- And to allay his freezing age
The poor man takes her in his arms:
The cottage fades before his sight,
60 The garden and its lovely charms;
- The guests are scattered through the land
(For the eye altering, alters all);
The senses roll themselves in fear,
And the flat earth becomes a ball,
- 65 The stars, sun, moon, all shrink away—
A desert vast without a bound,
And nothing left to eat or drink
And a dark desert all around.
- The honey of her infant lips,
70 The bread and wine of her sweet smile,
The wild game of her roving eye
Does him to infancy beguile.
- For as he eats and drinks he grows
Younger and younger every day;
75 And on the desert wild they both
Wander in terror and dismay.
- Like the wild stag she flees away;
Her fear plants many a thicket wild,
While he pursues her night & day,
80 By various arts of love beguiled,

iii 59–60 indicate a Felpham date, as do the references to cottage life and hospitality throughout the poem.

iii 64. *flat earth*] B. believed that the earth was flat, or round, according to the observer's vision. Thus, in *Milton* pl.15.23ff, the 'traveller through eternity' sees the universe he has left rolled up behind him like a ball, while the one he is entering is spread out before him extended and flat. But the whole poem may represent the symbol of infinity, ∞ (Twitchell, *Criticism* 17: 1).

By various arts of love and hate,
 Till the wide desert planted o'er
 With labyrinths of wayward love,
 Where roams the lion, wolf and boar,
 85 Till he becomes a wayward babe
 And she a weeping woman old.
 Then many a lover wanders here,
 The sun and stars are nearer rolled,

 The trees bring forth sweet ecstasy
 90 To all who in the desert roam,
 Till many a city there is built,
 And many a pleasant shepherd's home.

 But when they find the frowning babe
 Terror strikes through the region wide;
 95 They cry, 'The Babe! the Babe is born!'
 And flee away on every side.

 For who dare touch the frowning form
 His arm is withered to its root,
 Lions, boars, wolves, all howling flee
 100 And every tree does shed its fruit;

 And none can touch that frowning form,
 Except it be a woman old;
 She nails him down upon the rock,
 And all is done as I have told.

IV THE LAND OF DREAMS

'Awake, awake! my little boy,
 Thou wast thy mother's only joy.
 Why dost thou weep in thy gentle sleep?
 Awake! thy father does thee keep.'

iii 84. *roams*] So the MS *Erdman* (p. 859) suggests that the 'lion, wolf and boar' are all manifestations of the single man, pursuing the 'stag' of 77.

iii 95. *the Babe is born!*] Heraldng the birth, as Christ's birth was heralded – but here there is fear, not joy, for everyone recognizes the terrible power of this being. This may not be evil, but only dangerous in the vitality of its human force. This is in line with B.'s idea of a heaven of fierce flames and infinite vigour; cp. *Milton* pl.30.21–2: 'Nor could they [the female emanations] live / Because the life of Man was too exceeding unbounded.'

iii 101–2. *none can touch . . . woman old*] Man is a terrible, fierce and vital creature – tamed by the woman.

- 5 'O what land is the land of dreams?
 What are its mountains and what are its streams?
 O father, I saw my mother there
 Among the lilies by waters fair.

 'Among the lambs clothed in white
 10 She walked with her Thomas in sweet delight:
 I wept for joy, like a dove I mourn;
 O when shall I again return?'

 'Dear child, I also by pleasant streams
 Have wandered all night in the land of dreams,
 15 But though calm and warm the waters wide,
 I could not get to the other side.'

 'Father, O father, what do we here
 In this land of unbelief and fear?
 The land of dreams is better far
 20 Above the light of the morning star.'

V MARY

- Sweet Mary, the first time she ever was there
 Came into the ballroom among the fair.
 The young men and maidens around her throng,
 And these are the words upon every tongue:

 5 'An angel is here from the heavenly climes!
 Or again does return the golden times?
 Her eyes outshine every brilliant ray,
 She opens her lips—'tis the month of May!'

 Mary moves in soft beauty and conscious delight
 10 To augment with sweet smiles all the joys of the night,
 Nor once blushes to own to the rest of the fair
 That sweet love and beauty are worthy our care.

 In the morning the villagers rose with delight
 And repeated with pleasure the joys of the night;
 15 And Mary arose among friends to be free—
 But no friend from henceforward thou, Mary, shalt see!

 Some said she was proud, some called her a whore,
 And some when she passed by shut to the door.
 A damp cold came o'er her, her blushes all fled,
 20 Her lilies and roses are blighted and shed.

'O why was I born with a different face,
 Why was I not born like this envious race?
 Why did heaven adorn me with bountiful hand,
 And then set me down in an envious land?

- 25 'To be weak as a lamb and smooth as a dove,
 And not to raise envy is called Christian love;
 But if you raise envy, your merit's to blame
 For planting such spite in the weak and the tame.

- 'I will humble my beauty, I will not dress fine;
 30 I will keep from the ball and my eyes shall not shine;
 And if any girl's lover forsakes her for me
 I'll refuse him my hand, and from envy be free.

- She went out in morning attired plain and neat;
 'Proud Mary's gone mad!' said the child in the street.
 35 She went out in morning in plain neat attire,
 And came home in evening bespattered with mire.

- She trembled and wept, sitting on the bed-side;
 She forgot it was night and she trembled and cried;
 She forgot it was night, she forgot it was morn,
 40 Her soft memory imprinted with faces of scorn—

With faces of scorn and with eyes of disdain
 Like foul fiends inhabiting Mary's mild brain.
 She remembers no face like the human-divine—
 All faces have envy, sweet Mary, but thine.

- 45 And thine is a face of sweet love in despair,
 And thine is a face of mild sorrow and care,
 And thine is a face of wild terror and fear
 That shall never be quiet till laid on its bier.

VI THE CRYSTAL CABINET

The maiden caught me in the wild
 Where I was dancing merrily,
 She put me into her cabinet
 And locked me up with a golden key.

v 21. B. quoted this line, with a different continuation, in his letter to Butts, 16 Aug. 1803 (p. 491).

vi 3-4. This image of love goes as far back as *Poetical Sketches* (pp. 9-10). Was B. also inspired by a triple mirror?

- 5 This cabinet is formed of gold
 And pearl and crystal shining bright,
 And within, it opens into a world
 And a little lovely moony night.
- Another England there I saw,
 10 Another London with its Tower,
 Another Thames and other hills,
 And another pleasant Surrey bower,
 Another maiden like herself,
 Translucent, lovely, shining clear,
 15 Threefold each in the other closed—
 Oh, what a pleasant trembling fear!
 Oh, what a smile, a threefold smile,
 Filled me that like a flame I burned.
 I bent to kiss the lovely maid
 20 And found a threefold kiss returned.
- I strove to seize the inmost form
 With ardour fierce and hands of flame,
 But burst the crystal cabinet
 And like a weeping babe became,
- 25 A weeping babe upon the wild,
 And weeping woman, pale, reclined;
 And in the outward air again
 I filled with woes the passing wind.

VII THE GREY MONK

'I die, I die!' the mother said,
 'My children die for lack of bread—

vi 9. *Another* . . .] The lover sees the world anew with 'other eyes'.

vi 12. *Surrey bower*] Unidentified; not likely to be Lambeth, though that is in Surrey; Felpham is in Sussex.

vi 15. *Threefold*] The female land of Beulah is threefold – one short of four-fold perfection. (See also *Jerusalem* 63.20–22, 69.16–24; and *Milton* 30.2n.) This poem reflects Beulah misused – a use of its female charms, and its pleasant limitations, as if they were all that humanity needs. The image of a pleasant enclosing space created for man to rest in – usually a feminine creation; the 'moony night' of 8, and the 'Translucent' loveliness of 14: all are facets of Beulah developed in the three long epics.

vi 21. *seize the inmost form*] He tries to go beyond the kiss, and beyond the three-fold, and breaks the illusion.

vi 24–6. Cp. 'The Mental Traveller' for the weeping babe and woman.

vii. For draft, see p. 494 above: for its probable origins in early 1804, see head-note, draft and *Jerusalem* pls. 36.61n and 37.1.

What more has the merciless tyrant said?
The monk sat down on the stony bed.

- 5 The blood red ran from the grey monk's side,
His hands and feet were wounded wide,
His body bent, his arms and knees
Like to the roots of ancient trees.

- His eye was dry, no tear could flow;
10 A hollow groan first spoke his woe,
He trembled and shuddered upon the bed;
At length with a feeble cry he said:

- 'When God commanded this hand to write
In the studious hours of deep midnight,
15 He told me the writing I wrote should prove
The bane of all that on earth I loved.

- 'My brother starved between two walls;
His children's cry my soul appals.
I mocked at the rack and griding chain,
20 My bent body mocks their torturing pain.

'Thy father drew his sword in the north;
With his thousands strong he marched forth;
Thy brother has armed himself in steel
To avenge the wrongs thy children feel.

- 25 'But vain the sword, and vain the bow;
They never can work war's overthrow.
The hermit's prayer, and the widow's tear
Alone can free the world from fear.

- 'For a tear is an intellectual thing,
30 And a sigh is the sword of an angel king,
And the bitter groan of the martyr's woe
Is an arrow from the Almighty's bow.'

- The hand of vengeance found the bed
To which the purple tyrant fled;
35 The iron hand crushed the tyrant's head,
And became a tyrant in his stead.

vii 29. *intellectual*] In B.'s vocabulary, this means 'existing in the realms of the mind and of imagination': not merely 'academic'.

vii 32. B. has no quotation marks; the Monk's speech may not end here.

VIII AUGURIES OF INNOCENCE

- To see a world in a grain of sand
 And a heaven in a wild flower,
 Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
 And eternity in an hour.
- 5 A robin redbreast in a cage
 Puts all Heaven in a rage,
 A dove-house filled with doves and pigeons
 Shudders Hell through all its regions.
 A dog starved at his master's gate
- 10 Predicts the ruin of the state.
 A horse misused upon the road
 Calls to Heaven for human blood.
 Each outcry of the hunted hare
 A fibre from the brain does tear.
- 15 A skylark wounded in the wing,
 A cherubim does cease to sing.
 The gamecock clipped and armed for fight
 Does the rising sun affright.
 Every wolf's and lion's howl
- 20 Raises from Hell a human soul.
 The wild deer wandering here and there
 Keeps the human soul from care.
 The lamb misused breeds public strife,
 And yet forgives the butcher's knife.
- 25 The bat that flits at close of eve
 Has left the brain that won't believe.
 The owl that calls upon the night
 Speaks the unbeliever's fright.

viii. These couplets are written down in a fair copy but in no evident order. Different alternative arrangements have been suggested by Sampson (1905) and *Erdman*. Lines 55–62 seem to benefit by rearrangement thus: 59–62, 55–58, so that 'it should be so' (55) has an evident antecedent. But it is not impossible that 55 refers back to 53–4, the sense continuing to 59: then a new sequence begins at 60. The apparent reiteration and looseness of the entire series should not be permitted to obscure its excellence.

viii 5. Adlard (see p. 602) notes the Cornish rhyme: 'Hurt a robin or a wren, / Never prosper, boy or man'.

- He who shall hurt the little wren
30 Shall never be beloved by men.
He who the ox to wrath has moved
Shall never be by woman loved.
The wanton boy that kills the fly
Shall feel the spider's enmity.
35 He who torments the chafer's sprite
Weaves a bower in endless night.
The caterpillar on the leaf
Repeats to thee thy mother's grief.
Kill not the moth nor butterfly,
40 For the Last Judgement draweth nigh.
He who shall train the horse to war
Shall never pass the polar bar.
The beggar's dog and widow's cat—
Feed them and thou wilt grow fat.
45 The gnat that sings his summer's song
Poison gets from slander's tongue.
The poison of the snake and newt
Is the sweat of envy's foot;
The poison of the honey bee
50 Is the artist's jealousy.
The prince's robes and beggar's rags
Are toadstools on the miser's bags.
A truth that's told with bad intent
Beats all the lies you can invent.
55 It is right it should be so;
Man was made for joy and woe,
And when this we rightly know
Through the world we safely go.
Joy and woe are woven fine,
60 A clothing for the soul divine.
Under every grief and pine
Runs a joy with silken twine.
The babe is more than swaddling bands:
Throughout all these human lands
65 Tools were made and born were hands—
Every farmer understands.
Every tear from every eye
Becomes a babe in eternity;
This is caught by females bright
70 And returned to its own delight.
The bleat, the bark, bellow and roar
Are waves that beat on heaven's shore.

The babe that weeps the rod beneath
Writes *Revenge!* in realms of death.
75 The beggar's rags fluttering in air
Does to rags the heavens tear.
The soldier armed with sword and gun
Palsied strikes the summer's sun.
The poor man's farthing is worth more
80 Than all the gold on Afric's shore.
One mite wrung from the labourer's hands
Shall buy and sell the miser's lands;
Or if protected from on high
Does that whole nation sell and buy.
85 He who mocks the infant's faith
Shall be mocked in age and death.
He who shall teach the child to doubt
The rotting grave shall ne'er get out.
He who respects the infant's faith
90 Triumphs over hell and death.
The child's toys and the old man's reasons
Are the fruits of the two seasons.
The questioner who sits so sly
Shall never know how to reply.
95 He who replies to words of doubt
Doth put the light of knowledge out.
The strongest poison ever known
Came from Caesar's laurel crown.
Nought can deform the human race
100 Like to the armour's iron brace.
When gold and gems adorn the plough
To peaceful arts shall envy bow.
A riddle, or the cricket's cry,
Is to doubt a fit reply.
105 The emmet's inch and eagle's mile
Make lame philosophy to smile.
He who doubts from what he sees
Will ne'er believe, do what you please.
If the sun and moon should doubt
110 They'd immediately go out.
To be in a passion you good may do,
But no good if a passion is in you.
The whore and gambler by the state
Licensed build that nation's fate.
115 The harlot's cry from street to street
Shall weave old England's winding sheet;

- The winner's shout, the loser's curse
 Dance before dead England's hearse.
 Every night and every morn
 120 Some to misery are born;
 Every morn and every night
 Some are born to sweet delight.
 Some are born to sweet delight,
 Some are born to endless night.
 125 We are led to believe a lie
 When we see not through the eye,
 Which was born in a night to perish in a night,
 When the soul slept in beams of light.
 God appears and God is light
 130 To those poor souls who dwell in night,
 But does a human form display
 To those who dwell in realms of day.

IX LONG JOHN BROWN AND LITTLE MARY BELL

- Little Mary Bell had a fairy in a nut,
 Long John Brown had the devil in his gut;
 Long John Brown loved little Mary Bell,
 And the fairy drew the devil into the nut-shell.
- 5 Her fairy skipped out and her fairy skipped in,
 He laughed at the Devil saying 'Love is a sin!'
 The Devil he raged and the Devil he was wroth,
 And the Devil entered into the young man's broth.
- He was soon in the gut of the loving young swain,
 10 For John ate and drank to drive away love's pain.
 But all he could do he grew thinner & thinner,
 Though he ate and drank as much as ten men for his
 dinner.
- Some said he had a wolf in his stomach day and night,
 Some said he had the Devil, and they guessed right.
 15 The fairy skipped about in his glory, joy and pride,
 And he laughed at the Devil till poor John Brown died.

ix. As in 'The Fairy' (c. 1792. p. 168) and 'A fairy skip'd' (?1805, p. 618), the fairy is mischievous, and in particular an instigator of flirtations. So in 'William Bond' (p. 616) *long* and *little* were originally *young* and *pretty*. The Devil has a capital initial throughout.

Then the fairy skipped out of the old nutshell—
 And woe and alack for pretty Mary Bell!
 For the Devil crept in when the fairy skipped out—
 20 And there goes Miss Bell with her fusty old nut.

X WILLIAM BOND

I wonder whether the girls are mad,
 And I wonder whether they mean to kill,
 And I wonder if William Bond will die,
 For assuredly he is very ill.

5 He went to church in a May morning
 Attended by fairies, one, two and three;
 But the angels of providence drove them away,
 And he returned home in misery.

He went not out to the field nor fold,
 10 He went not out to the village nor town,
 But he came home in a black, black cloud,
 And took to his bed and there lay down.

And an angel of providence at his feet,
 And an angel of providence at his head,
 15 And in the midst a black, black cloud,
 And in the midst the sick man on his bed.

And on his right hand was Mary Green,
 And on his left hand was his sister Jane,
 And their tears fell through the black, black cloud
 20 To drive away the sick man's pain.

'O William, if thou dost another love,
 Dost another love better than poor Mary,
 Go and take that other to be thy wife
 And Mary Green shall her servant be.'

ix 19–20. The 'Devil' and the 'nut' carry the trad. sexual imagery of folk-song.
 x. The first stanza is almost indistinguishable from a Wordsworthian *Lyrical Ballads* opening. This *may* indicate direct influence from the first or second edition; or, with equal probability, merely that B. was responsive – especially perhaps at Felpham – to the same influences as Wordsworth.

x 6–7. *fairies* . . . *angels of providence*] For *fairies* see ix above. The *angels* are more ambiguous: sometimes B.'s angels are protective (see note on the contemporary 'Angels of the Presence', *Milton* pl.14.42); but they may also be over-prudent guardians. 'Providence' may be read to mean 'prudence'.

- 25 'Yes, Mary, I do another love;
 Another I love far better than thee,
 And another I will have for my wife—
 Then what have I to do with thee?
 'For thou art melancholy pale
 30 And on thy head is the cold moon's shine;
 But she is ruddy and bright as day,
 And the sunbeams dazzle from her eyne.'
- Mary trembled and Mary chilled
 And Mary fell down on the right-hand floor,
 35 That William Bond and his sister Jane
 Scarce could recover Mary more.
- When Mary woke and found her laid
 On the right hand of her William dear,
 On the right hand of his loved bed,
 40 And saw her William Bond so near,
 The fairies that fled from William Bond
 Danced around her shining head;
 They danced over the pillow white,
 And the angels of providence left the bed.
- 45 'I thought love lived in the hot sunshine,
 But oh, he lives in the moony light;
 I thought to find love in the heat of day,
 But sweet love is the comforter of night.'
- Seek love in the pity of others' woe,
 50 In the gentle relief of another's care,
 In the darkness of night and the winter's snow,
 In the naked and outcast, seek Love there.

31 To Tirzah

This poem is in *Songs of Experience*, but in the later copies only. The style of lettering dates the plate after mid-1803, and the poem probably belongs to 1804–05 or after 1809 (i.e. with the writing of *Milton* or the rewriting of *Four Zoas*). Tirzah first appears in *Milton* (see pl.17.11n), and again in *Jerusalem* and *Four Zoas* (especially viii 283ff). She is the cruel queen of earthly life, who torments the soul of man and binds him as a sacrifice to mortal existence. Cp. also *Jerusalem* pls.56.3–43, 64.12–17.

x 32. *eyne*] A word B. would find in ballads.

x 45, 49. The quotation marks are editorial; B. has none.

TO TIRZAH

- Whate'er is born of mortal birth
 Must be consumed with the earth,
 To rise from generation free;
 Then what have I to do with thee?
- 5 The sexes, sprung from shame and pride,
 Blowed in the morn—in evening died.
 But mercy changed death into sleep;
 The sexes rose to work and weep.
- Thou mother of my mortal part,
 10 With cruelty didst mould my heart,
 And with false self-deceiving tears,
 Didst bind my nostrils, eyes and ears,
- Didst close my tongue in senseless clay
 And me to mortal life betray.
- 15 The death of Jesus set me free.
 Then what have I to do with thee?

32 'A fairy skip'd'

Date. Uncertain. The poem is found on the reverse of a pencil drawing of the infant Hercules. There is no external evidence of date, but 11–12 are reminiscent of Beulah (see *Milton* pl.30.2n), and 13–14 of B.'s later development of the idea of self-sacrifice. The matter of

¶ [31.4. *what have I . . . ?*] From *Matthew* xii 46–50, where Christ's mother and brothers came to see him as he was teaching, and having asked 'Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?' he answered by pointing to his followers. The actual words are not found in this passage, but are addressed to Jesus himself by two demon-possessed men (*Matthew* viii 29); 'What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God?'; and by the woman with whom Elijah lodged (1 *Kings* xvii 18), who said when her son died, 'What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God?' – whereupon Elijah revived the child. B. has taken the idea from one place, and the phrase from his memory of several.

7–8. Adam (*Genesis* iv) was sentenced not to death but to work; Eve to *weep* in childbirth.

10. *With cruelty*] See 'Mental Traveller' 10n. Tirzah cruelly constricts the immortal spirit in a mortal body: Swedenborg, in *Doctrine . . . concerning the Lord*, §35: 'The Lord successively put off the Human taken on from the Mother, and put on the Human from the Divine in Himself.'

Design: Below the text two female figures are raising a fallen man; an old man offers him a drink. On the old man's gown is inscribed 'It is raised a spiritual Body' (1 *Corinthians* xv 44, from Paul's discussion of the resurrection of the soul and the body).

the poem – female adornment – may suggest a London rather than a Felpham origin. Keynes dated the poem *c.* 1793, perhaps from the other ‘fairy’ poems in the Notebook and *Europe*, but this would seem far too early. Cp. the previous poem and ‘The Phoenix’, p. 491.

A fairy skip’d upon my knee,
Singing and dancing merrily.
I said, ‘Thou thing of patches, rings,
Pins, necklaces and suchlike things,
5 Disguiser of the female form,
Thou paltry, gilded poisonous worm!’
Weeping he fell upon my thigh
And thus in tears did soft reply:
‘Knowest thou not, O fairies’ lord,
10 How much by us contemned, abhorred,
Whatever hides the female form
That cannot bear the mental storm?
Therefore in pity still we give
Our lives to make the female live,
15 And what would turn into disease
We turn to what will joy and please.’

33 To the Queen

This is the dedication of B.’s drawings to the edition of Blair’s *The Grave*, published by Cromek in 1808. It was intended to accompany B.’s vignette of Queen Charlotte; Cromek returned the vignette with an insulting letter, but printed the verses.

The door of death is made of gold
That mortal eyes cannot behold;
But, when the mortal eyes are closed,
And cold and pale the limbs reposed,
5 The soul awakes and wondering sees
In her mild hand the golden keys.
The grave is heaven’s golden gate,
And rich and poor around it wait;
O Shepherdess of England’s fold,
10 Behold this gate of pearl and gold!

¶ 32.3. *patches* . . .] Like the sylphs attending Belinda in *Rape of the Lock*.

32.5. *Disguiser* . . .] Encouraging women to disguise themselves cosmetically. The fairy replies that women must protect themselves in this world, if not in Eternity, from the overwhelming vitality of ‘mental’ (i.e. spiritual) energy. This the fairy helps them to do by the arts of feminine allurements (15–16).

- To dedicate to England's Queen
 The visions that my soul has seen,
 And, by her kind permission, bring
 What I have borne on solemn wing
 15 From the vast regions of the grave,
 Before her throne my wings I wave,
 Bowing before my Sovereign's feet;
 'The grave produced these blossoms sweet
 In mild repose from earthly strife—
 20 The blossoms of Eternal Life!'

34 Miscellaneous Verses, c. 1807-9

These verses and epigrams are scattered through B.'s Notebook between pp. 21 and 89. David V. Erdman, in his facsimile study of *The Notebook of William Blake* (Oxford, 1973), estimated the dates of these verses on the basis of their association with the Notebook drafts of the *Public Address* and the commentary on *The Vision of the Last Judgement*, and his dating is consulted and largely followed here. In this section, on the whole, are verses dated before the *Public Address* was written. On pp. 634-48 below are further verses probably of later date. They chiefly concern B.'s business and artistic affairs in this period; and some are random explosions with origins we can only guess at.

The affairs referred to are: (a) his quarrel with Cromek over the illustrations to Blair's *Grave*, when B. felt himself swindled in favour of the more fashionable engraver, Schiavonetti; (b) Stothard's exhibition in May 1807 of his *Canterbury Pilgrims*, the painting at the heart of the quarrel; (c) attacks on B. in the *Examiner*, by Leigh and Robert Hunt.

The marginal numbers in square brackets beside the verses show the Notebook pages where they are to be found.

I

- [22] And his legs carried it like a long fork
 Reached all the way from Chichester to York,
 From York all across Scotland to the sea:

¶ 34 i. This poem presents several problems over its composition, for which see Erdman, *Notebook*, pp. 71-2. The main part refers largely to B.'s quarrels with Cromek and Stothard c. 1807, but the 'epitaph' (here in italics) refers to Cromek's death in 1812.

i 1-2. *his legs*] Cromek's; his parents lived in York. B., when at Felpham, was near Chichester.

- This was a man of men as seems to me.
 5 Not only in his mouth his own soul lay,
 But my own soul he would bear away,
 Like as a pedlar bears his weary pack.
 So Steward's soul he buckled to his back.
 But once, alas! committing a mistake
 10 He bore the wretched soul of William Blake
 That he might turn it into eggs of gold;
 But neither back nor mouth those eggs could hold.
 His under-jaw dropped as those eggs he laid
 And Steward's eggs are addled and decayed.
 15 The *Examiner* whose very name is Hunt
 Called Death a madman—trembling for the affront,
 Like trembling hare sits on his weakly paper
 On which he used to dance and sport and caper
 Yorkshire Jack Hemp and gentle blushing Daw.
 20 Clapped Death into the corner of their jaw
 And Felpham Billy rode out every morn,
 Horseback with Death over the fields of corn,
 Who with iron hand cuffed in the afternoon
 The ears of Billy's lawyer and dragoon.
 25 And Cur my lawyer, and Dady, Jack Hemp's parson
 Both went to law with Death to keep our ears on.
 For how to serve Death we had laid a plot
 Against his price; but Death was in the pot—
 He made them pay his price, alack a day!
 30 He knew both Law and Gospel better than they.
 O that I ne'er had seen that William Blake,
 Or could from death Assassinetti wake!

i 6. *my*] Steward's (Stothard's).

i 15. *Examiner* . . . *Hunt*] See headnote, p. 620.

i 17. *weakly*] (sic).

i 19. *Yorkshire Jack Hemp* . . . *Daw*] A punning name for Flaxman; Daw is probably Ann Flaxman his wife, on the association of Jack/Daw. See xi, p. 625.

i 20. *Death*] B. himself – because so many people associated with him had died, as the notes show.

i 21. *Felpham Billy*] William Hayley. It is unlikely that he actually rode through valuable corn.

i 24. *Billy's lawyer and dragoon*] The lawyer retained by Hayley to defend B. in 1803-04 was Samuel Rose, who died very soon after the trial. Schofield, the dragoon (see pp. xx and 656) was, of course, nothing to do with Hayley.

i 25. *Cur, Dady*] Not identified, though Sampson proposed Dr B. H. Malkin, who was a schoolmaster, not a parson.

i 32. *Assassinetti*] Schiavonetti, engaged by Cromeck to engrave B.'s designs to Blair's Grave.

- We thought (alas! that such a thought should be!)
 That Blake would etch for him and draw for me;
 35 For 'twas a kind of bargain Screwmuch made,
 That Blake's designs should be by us displayed,
 Because he makes designs so very cheap.
 Then Screwmuch at Blake's soul took a long leap—
 'Twas not a mouse: 'twas Death in a disguise!
 40 And, I, alas, live to weep out mine eyes,
 And Death sits laughing on their monuments
 On which he's written *Received the Contents*.
 But I have writ, so sorrowful my thought is,
 His epitaph; for my tears are aqua fortis:
- 45 *Come, artists, knock your heads against this stone,
 For sorrow that our friend Bob Screwmuch's gone.
 And now the men upon me smile and laugh
 I'll also write my own dear epitaph,
 And I'll be buried near a dike*
 50 *That my friends may weep as much as they like,
 Here lies Stewhard the friend of all, etc. . .*

II

- [24] The Sussex men are noted fools
 And weak is their brain pan;
 I wonder if H—the painter
 Is not a Sussex man?

III

Grown old in love from seven till seven times seven,
 I oft have wished for hell for ease from heaven.

i 35. *Screwmuch*] Cromeek (died 14 March 1812).

i 42. *Received the Contents*] The tombstones act as invoices which equate 'receipts' with epitaphs.

i 45-51. Cp. the epigrams ¶ 35. xliii and xlv, p. 647.

i 51. *Stewhard*] Stothard. This 'epitaph' is ¶ 35. xlv, p. 647.

ii 1. *Sussex men*] Sussex has long had a reputation, among Londoners, for 'backwardness'.

ii 3. *H—*] The accepted reference is to Samuel Haines (1778-1848), an engraver and painter, as B. was. Work by both is in Boydell's *Shakespeare* (1802) and Hayley's *Life of Romney* (1809).

iii If it is to be taken literally, and B. was forty-nine when he wrote it, this couplet dates from Dec. 1806 or during 1807.

IV

- [23] Was I angry with Hayley who used me so ill,
 Or can I be angry with Felpham's old mill?
 Or angry with Flaxman or Cromek or Stothard,
 Or poor Schiavonetti whom they to death bothered?
 5 Or angry with Macklin or Boydell or Bowyer,
 Because they did not say, 'O what a beau ye are!'
 At a friend's errors anger show,
 Mirth at the errors of a foe!

V

- [87] The caverns of the grave I've seen
 And these I showed to England's Queen:
 But now the caves of hell I view
 Who shall I dare to show them to?
 5 What mighty soul in beauty's form
 Shall dauntless view the infernal storm?
 Egremont's Countess can control
 The flames of hell that round me roll.
 If she refuse I still go on

iv 3-4. See headnote, p. 620. Schiavonetti died on 7 June 1810.

iv 5. *1st rdg del.* Boydell or Bowyer or Basire. All three, as well as Macklin, had employed B. to make engravings; Basire (whose name B. tried to bring into a line now deleted, between 2 and 3) was the master to whom B. had been apprenticed.

iv 6. Written over the erased line: 'Mirths all your sufferings convey sir' (which indicates the pronunciation of Basire, with which this would have rhymed).

v 1-2. Referring to B.'s designs for Blair's Grave, dedicated to the Queen (see p. 619).

v 3-4. B. refers to the painting *A Vision of the Last Judgement*, for which he was at this time preparing a commentary in the Notebook, i.e. in late 1810. The commentary refers to a large painting, but one very similar to that on the same theme which went to the Egremonts' home, Petworth House, for which this poem is a dedication.

v 7. *Egremont's Countess*] Officially, there was no countess; the Earl of Egremont never married, and his mother had died in 1794. But he had had several illegitimate children by Elizabeth Iliff, daughter of a master at Westminster School, whom he later married privately; after the marriage there was one legitimate child, a daughter. Elizabeth died in 1822, the Earl in 1837, and the title passed to a nephew. Having no son to cause him to have the marriage recognized, his wife was never established as Countess, and the peerages ignore her. Nevertheless, B. clearly knew of her, and must have assumed that she was countess. Three drafts exist of a letter to Ozias Humphrey, describing the picture, and all refer to the 'Countess'. Of these, one was found at Petworth; significantly, this copy has *Countess* corrected to *Earl* – but not in B.'s hand (*Letters*, ed. Keynes, 3rd edn (1980), nos. 108-110).

- 10 Till the heavens and earth are gone,
 Still admired by noble minds,
 Followed by envy on the winds.
 Re-engraved time after time,
 Ever in their youthful prime,
 15 My designs unchanged remain;
 Time may rage but rage in vain.
 For above Time's troubled fountains
 On the great Atlantic mountains,
 In my golden house on high,
 20 There they shine eternally.

VI

- [24] . . . old acquaintance we'll renew:
 Prospero had one Caliban and I have two.

VII

- [25] Madman I have been called, fool they call thee:
 I wonder which they envy, thee or me ?

VIII TO H--

- [25] You think Fuseli is not a great painter. I'm glad.
 This is one of the best compliments he ever had.

IX TO F--

- [26] I mock thee not, though I by thee am mocked:
 Thou call'st me madman, but I call thee blockhead.

X

- [27] S-- in childhood on the nursery floor
 Was extreme old and most extremely poor.

v 18. *Atlantic*] i.e., of Atlantis. See *Jer.* 38.68*n.*

vi 1. This line is written over an erasure, which can be partially read: 'Look(?)
 . . . Flaxman & Stothard do' (*NB* p. 24). Thus the identity of the 'two Calibans'
 is clear. B. may have intended to retain the first two words in his new line: *Look?*
how old . . .

viii. *To H--*] Robert Hunt, who decried Fuseli in 1806.

ix. *To F--*] Flaxman, B.'s staunch friend through many years. A very open and
 honest man, he was not put off by B.'s hostility about this time.

x 1. *S--*] Stothard, unlike B., was a successful and influential artist.

He is grown old and rich and what he will;
He is extreme old and extreme poor still.

XI TO NANCY F--

- [27] How can I help thy husband's copying me?
Should that make differences 'twixt me and thee?

XII

- [27] Of H--'s birth this was the happy lot:
His mother on his father him begot.

XIII

- [28] He's a blockhead who wants a proof of what he can't
perceive—
And he's a fool who tries to make such a blockhead
believe.

XIV

- [29] Cr-- loves artists as he loves his meat.
He loves the art; but 'tis the art to cheat.

XV

- [29] A petty sneaking knave I knew—
'O Mr Cr--, how do ye do?'

XVI

- [30] He has observed the golden rule,
Till he's become the golden fool.

XVII TO S--D

- [30] You all your youth observed the golden rule
Till you're at last become the golden fool.
I sport with Fortune, merry, blithe and gay,

xi. *Nancy F--*] Ann Flaxman, the sculptor's wife. See p. 292 above.

xvii. 'Stothard's subservience to accepted standards, not his genius, has brought him wealth.' Lines 3-5 allude to the fable of Æsop.

- Like to the lion sporting with his prey.
 5 Take you the hide and horns, which you may wear;
 Mine is the flesh, the bones may be your share.

[31] XVIII MR STOTHARD TO MR CROMEK

‘For Fortune’s favour you your riches bring,
 But Fortune says she gave you no such thing.
 Why should you be ungrateful to your friends,
 Sneaking and backbiting and odds and ends?’

MR CROMEK TO MR STOTHARD

‘Fortune favours the brave, old proverbs say;
 But not with money; that is not the way,
 Turn back, turn back, you travel all in vain;
 Turn through the iron gate down Sneaking Lane.’

XIX

- [31] I am no Homer’s hero you all know;
 I profess not generosity to a foe.
 My generosity is to my friends
 That for their friendship I may make amends.
 5 The generous to enemies promotes their ends,
 And becomes the enemy and betrayer of his friends.

XX

- [32] The angel that presided o’er my birth
 Said, ‘Little creature formed of joy and mirth,
 Go, love without the help of any king on earth.’

XXI ON F— AND S—

- [34] I found them blind, I taught them how to see,
 And now they know neither themselves nor me.
 ’Tis excellent to turn a thorn to a pin,
 A fool to a bolt, a knave to a glass of gin.

xviii (2) 3. *travel*] A pun? B. never distinguishes *travel* and *travail*.

xviii (2) 4. *iron gate*] Sneaking Alley is in the Tower of London, as was the Mint – ‘Go through the prison gates’ (*Adlard*, p. 110).

xx 3. *king*] Altered probably from *Thing* (as most edns read). See Erdman, *NB* p. 32.

xxi Cp. vi. Lines 1-2 also in *Descriptive Catalogue* (1809), p. 33.

XXII

- [34] P— loved me not as he loved his friends
 For he loved them for gain to serve his ends.
 He loved me and for no gain at all—
 But to rejoice and triumph in my fall.

XXIII

- [34] To forgive enemies H— does pretend.
 Who never in his life forgave a friend.

[35] XXIV TO F—

You call me mad, 'tis folly to do so.
 To seek to turn a madman to a foe:
 If you think as you speak, you are an ass,
 If you do not, you are but what you was.

[35] XXV ON H—Y'S FRIENDSHIP

- When H—y finds out what you cannot do,
 That is the very thing he'll set you to.
 If you break not your neck 'tis not his fault.
 But pecks of poison are not pecks of salt;
 5 And when he could not act upon my wife—
 Hired a villain to bereave my life.

XXVI

- [36] Some men created for destruction come
 Into the world and make the world their home;
 Be they as vile and base as e'er they can,
 They'll still be called the world's honest man.

xxii P—] Probably Richard Phillips, whose portrait of B. was engraved in Cromek's edition of Blair's *Grave* (see headnote).

xxiii. Only narrowly separated from xxii (*NB* p. 34), and perhaps part of it.

xxv. The last line is manifestly unfair; Hayley was B.'s best friend in the Schofield affair (see p. xx). The line comes from 'Fair Elenor' 68 (p. 6), which does not make it less serious. But cp. *Milton* pl.7.23-4, 'Seeming a brother, being a tyrant, even thinking himself a brother / While he is murdering the just . . .' and pl.32.6-7, 'The idiot reasoner laughs at the man of imagination, / And from laughter proceeds to murder by undervaluing calumny. Pl.32 of *Milton* is a late addition, suggesting a late date for this epigram.

xxvi 3-4. *1st rdg del*: 'friend Caiaphas is one, do what he can, / He'll . . .'

[36] XXVII ON S--

You say reserve and modesty he has,
 Whose heart is iron, his head wood and his face brass.
 The fox, the owl, the beetle, and the bat
 By sweet reserve and modesty get fat.

XXVIII

[37] IMITATION OF POPE: A COMPLIMENT
TO THE LADIES

Wondrous the gods, more wondrous are the men;
 More wondrous, wondrous still the cock and hen.
 More wondrous still the table, stool, and chair—
 But ah! more wondrous still the Charming Fair!

XXIX TO H--

[37] Thy friendship oft has made my heart to ache.
 Do be my enemy, for friendship's sake.

XXX

[37] Cosway, Frazer, and Baldwin of Egypt's lake,
 Fear to associate with Blake.
 This life is a warfare against evils,
 They heal the sick, he casts out devils.
 5 Hayley, Flaxman and Stothard are also in doubt,
 Lest their virtue should be put to the rout.
 One grins, t'other spits and in corners hides,
 And all the virtuous have shown their backsides.

XXXI

[38] My title as a genius thus is proved:
 Not praised by Hayley, nor by Flaxman loved.

xxvii 3-4. These lines were quoted, also with reference to Stothard, in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 33, altered by removal of the rhyme:

The fox, the owl, the spider, and the mole
 By sweet reserve and modesty get fat.

xxx 1. *Cosway*] Richard Cosway, a fashionable painter who had taught at Parr's art school (where B. was taught), and a Swedenborgian.

Baldwin] George Baldwin (1743?-1826), a traveller, once consul-general in Egypt, inclined to mysticism.

Frazer] Uncertain; the painter Alexander Fraser has been suggested, but he did not arrive in London till 1813.

xxxi 1. *a genius*] Altered from 'an artist'.

XXXII

- [39] The Hebrew nation did not write it:
Avarice and Chastity did shite it.

XXXIII

- [39] If I e'er grow to man's estate
Oh, give to me a woman's fate.
May I govern all, both great and small,
Have the last word; and take the wall.

XXXIV ON H-- THE PICK-THANK

- [41] I write the rascal thanks till he and I
With thanks and compliments are quite drawn dry.

XXXV CROMEK SPEAKS

- [41] I always take my judgement from a fool
Because his judgement is so very cool,
Not prejudiced by feelings great or small.
Amiable state! he cannot feel at all.

XXXVI ENGLISH ENCOURAGEMENT OF ART

[*First reading*]

- [41] If you mean to please everybody, you will
Set to work both ignorance and skill.
For a great multitude are ignorant
And skill to them seems raving and rant,
5 Like putting oil and water into a lamp:
'Twill make a great splutter with smoke and damp.
For there is no use, as it seems to me,
Of lighting a lamp when you don't wish to see.

xxxvi. Two versions are presented here, separating the two layers of composition. The first was a 'straight' version of B.'s interpretation of Cromek's ideas. Then he added the subtitle, and changed the lines into a parody of Cromek's speech.

xxxvi (1) 6. *damp*] fumes.

[*Final reading*]

ENGLISH ENCOURAGEMENT OF ART

Cromek's opinions put into rhyme

- If you mean to please everybody, you will
 Menny wouwer both bunglishness and skill.
 For a great conquest are bunglery
 And jenous looks to ham like mad rantery,
 5 Like displaying oil and water into a lamp—
 'Twill hold forth a huge splutter with smoke and damp.
 For it's all sheer loss, as it seems to me,
 Of displaying up a light when we want not to see.

XXXVII

- [41] When you look at a picture, you always can see
 If a man of sense has painted he:
 Then never flinch but keep up a jaw
 About freedom and Jenny suck awa',
 5 And when it smells of the lamp we can
 Say all was owing to the skilful man.
 For the smell of water is but small;
 So e'en let ignorance do it all.

XXXVIII

- [42] You say their pictures well painted be,
 And yet they are blockheads, you all agree.
 Thank God, I never was sent to school
 To be flogged into following the style of a fool.

xxxvi (2) 2. *Menny wouwer*] 'Manoeuvre', perhaps; but Morton Paley suggests an allusion to Meynheer Philips Wouwerman (1620-68), a Dutch painter of skill, detail, and high finish.

xxxvi (2) 3. *conquest*] success. A second reading, between *multitude* and *conquest*, was *madjority*, which it is a pity to lose.

xxxvi (2) 4. *jenous*] Genius. *ham*] Them.

xxxvii. Another Cromekian poem.

xxxvii 4. *Jenny suck awa'*] 'Je ne sais quoi'.

xxxvii 5-8. These lines are so written that they might belong to the previous poem, though they probably belong to this one.

XXXIX

- [42] The errors of a wise man make your rule
Rather than the perfections of a fool.

XL

- [43] Great things are done when men and mountains meet:
This is not done by jostling in the street.

XLI

- [46] I give you the end of a golden string—
Only wind it into a ball,
It will lead you in at heaven's gate
Built in Jerusalem's wall.

XLII

- [47] If you play a game of chance, know before you begin,
If you are benevolent you will never win.

XLIII WILLIAM COWPER, ESQUIRE

- [50] For this is being a friend just in the nick;
Not when he's well but waiting till he's sick.
He calls you to his help; be you not moved
Until by being sick his wants are proved.

- 5 You see him spend his soul in prophecy;
Do you believe it a confounded lie,
Till some bookseller, and the public fame
Proves there is truth in his extravagant claim.

- For 'tis atrocious in a friend you love,
10 To tell you anything that he can't prove;
And 'tis most wicked in a Christian nation
For any man to pretend to inspiration!

xli. A draft for the verse at the head of *Jerusalem* pl.77, the Preface to Chapter 3.
xliii. This poem began as 'Epitaph for William Cowper, Esq.', and the first four lines, now almost lost, began 'Here lies the Man'. The word 'Hayley' is legible, showing that the poem is addressed to him. B. accuses Hayley of enthusiasm for Cowper, whose life he wrote, only when his fame was sure – not at the time of his real need, when he might have been saved from depression and insanity. The deletions broaden the accusation to the entire 'Christian nation' (11).

XLIV

- [50] The only man that e'er I knew
 Who did not make me almost spew
 Was Fuseli; he was both Turk and Jew—
 And so, dear Christian friends, how do you do?

XLV

- [56] Why was Cupid a boy?
 And why a boy was he?
 He should have been a girl
 For ought that I can see.
- 5 For he shoots with his bow
 And the girl shoots with her eye,
 And they both are merry and glad
 And laugh when we do cry.
- And to make Cupid a boy
 10 Was the Cupid-girl's mocking plan;
 For a boy can't interpret the thing
 Till he is become a man.
- And then he's so pierced with care
 And wounded with arrowy smarts,
 15 That the whole business of his life
 Is to pick out the heads of the darts.
- 'Twas the Greeks' love of war
 Turned love into a boy,
 And woman into a statue of stone—
 20 And away fled every joy.

XLVI

- [78] To Chloe's breast young Cupid slyly stole;
 But he crept in at Myra's pocket hole.

xliv. This was written over the earlier deleted first stanza of xliii: did B. intend it to replace it, with the word 'Friend' as the link?

xliv 3. *Turk*] i.e. Muslim. Fuseli was neither. (He was Swiss by birth.) The colloquial phrase, 'Christian, Turk or Jew' summed up all mankind. Cp. Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, Vol. VIII, ch. 26.

xlv 19. *a statue of stone*] Pygmalion fell in love with the statue he had made, but Aphrodite turned her into a living woman for him.

XLVII

- [93] A woman scaly and a man all hairy
Is such a match as he who dares
Will find the woman's scales scrape off the man's hairs.

XLVIII

- [79] 'Now art has lost its mental charms
France shall subdue the world in arms'.
So spoke an angel at my birth,
Then said: 'Descend thou upon earth;
5 Renew the arts on Britain's shore
And France shall fall down and adore;
With works of art their armies meet,
And war shall sink beneath thy feet.
But if thy nation arts refuse
10 And if they scorn the immortal Muse,
France shall the arts of peace restore
And save thee from the ungrateful shore.'
Spirit who lov'st Britannia's Isle,
Round which the fiends of commerce smile . . .

XLIX

- [73] Since all the riches of this world
May be gifts from the Devil and earthly kings,
I should suspect that I worshipped the Devil
If I thanked my God for worldly things.

L TO GOD

- [73] If you have formed a circle to go into,
Go into it yourself and see how you would do.

LI

- [79] Nail his neck to the cross, nail it with a nail;
Nail his neck to the cross. Ye all have power over his tail.

xlvi. Is this pencil scribble an uncompleted quatrain?

xlvi. 2. *France shall subdue*] France's ascendancy continued until the Russian disaster of 1812, and was at its height from about 1809. Cp. also ¶ 21 ii n, p. 293; and ¶ 35 v below, p. 636.

xlvi. 12. *thee . . . the ungrateful*] 1st rdg del. *thy works . . . Britain's*.

li. *Paradise Lost* xii 415ff: 'But to the cross he nails thy enemies.' Cp. *VLJ* p. 76: 'Satan is seen falling headlong wound round by the tail of the serpent, whose bulk [is] nail'd to the cross . . .' Cp. Plate 8.

LII

- [89] I rose up at the dawn of day—
 ‘Get thee away get thee away!,
 Pray’st thou for riches? Away, away!
 This is the throne of Mammon grey.’
- 5 Said I, ‘This sure is very odd:
 I took it to be the Throne of God.
 For everything besides I have;
 It is only for riches that I can crave.
- ‘I have mental joy and mental health,
 10 And mental friends and mental wealth;
 I’ve a wife I love and that loves me;
 I’ve all but riches bodily.
- ‘I am in God’s presence night and day,
 And he never turns his face away;
 15 The Accuser of Sins by my side does stand
 And he holds my money-bag in his hand;
- ‘For my worldly things God makes him pay,
 And he’d pay for more if to him I would pray;
 And so you may do the worst you can do,
 20 Be assured, Mr. Devil, I won’t pray to you.
- ‘Then if for riches I must not pray,
 God knows I little of prayers need say.
 So as a church is known by its steeple,
 If I pray it must be for other people.
- 25 ‘He says if I do not worship him for a God
 I shall eat coarser food and go worse shod;
 So as I don’t value such things as these,
 You must do, Mr. Devil, just as God please.’

35 Miscellaneous Verses, 1809–12

These verses fall into the following groups: (A) those printed in the *Advertisement* and *Descriptive Catalogue* of B.’s exhibition, which opened in May 1809. (B) those found in B.’s marginalia to Reynolds’s *Discourses*, where they may be given this late date (cp. p. 292 also). (In 1809 B. was anxious to go into print to defend himself against orthodoxy, and may be supposed to have re-read the *Discourses* to find ammunition for counter-attack.) (C) similar

verses, of about the same date, but found in the Notebook. (D) Notebook verses directly attached to, or arising from, the *Public Address*. (This was eventually left incomplete, and is only known in this draft, belonging to mid-1810.) (E) verses which, either on bibliographical grounds or through allusions, can be shown to be later than the *Address*. The latest datable allusion (the addition to ¶34 i above, p. 622) is to the death of Cromek in 1812.

At the time of writing these verses, the Notebook was beginning to be full. When he wrote the *Last Judgement* commentary and the *Public Address*, B. had to fit passages in wherever he could, and was beginning to write over the fainter sketches. The verses and epigrams are also squeezed in where there is room; within the groups listed above, they are here printed in page order, but this cannot be taken to prove anything concerning the relative dates. For close study of these matters, see *NB*.

(A) *Verses belonging to the Advertisement and the Descriptive Catalogue, May 1809.*

I

In the last battle that Arthur fought, the most beautiful
 was one
 That returned, and the most strong another; with them
 also returned
 The most ugly, and no other beside returned from the
 bloody field.

¶ 35 i. These verses are found in the printed advertisement of B.'s exhibition; it is dated by hand 15 May 1809. The verses are the subject of one of the main pictures in the exhibition, the other being the *Canterbury Pilgrims*. This picture is described as 'Three Ancient Britons overthrowing the Army of armed Romans . . . - From the Welsh Triads'. Triads were 'used as a means of cataloguing stories and a variety of technical information' (Bromwich, *Triocedd ynys Prydein*, 1978, p. lxiii). They were collected by Robert Vaughan (1592-1667), and published, untranslated, by Owen Jones, Edward Williams and William Owen Pughe in *The Myvyrian Archæology* (1801-7). This one is a mediaeval parody or joke, but B. would not know this; Southey guessed that Pughe translated it for him. His verse is a loose paraphrase; in particular, he has changed the Saxons into Romans, whose culture he despised (*Milton* pl.1). I am indebted to Dr Bromwich for a translation of the original: 'Three men who escaped from Camlan . . . Morfran because of his ugliness - everyone avoided him supposing him to be a devil, Sanddef because of his beauty and fairness - no one lifted a hand against him, supposing that he was an angel, and Glewlwyd because of his strength and his size - everyone fled before him.'

- The most beautiful the Roman warriors trembled before
and worshipped;
5 The most strong, they melted before him and dissolved
in his presence:
The most ugly they fled with outcries and contortion of
their limbs.

II

The fox, the owl, the spider and the mole
By sweet reserve and modesty get fat.

III

I found them blind; I taught them how to see,
And now they know me not nor yet themselves.

(B) *Verses written as marginalia to Reynolds's Discourses, c. 1809-10. Cp. the verses in group (C) below, and note. Other verses written in the Discourses c. 1798-1802 are given on p. 292 above.*

IV

Some look, to see the sweet outlines
And beauteous forms that love does wear;
Some look, to find out patches, paint,
Bracelets and stays and powdered hair.

V

When nations grow old, the arts grow cold,
And commerce settles on every tree,
And the poor and the old can live upon gold,
For all are born poor, aged sixty-three.

VI ON THE VENETIAN PAINTER

He makes the lame to walk we all agree;
But then he strives to blind those who can see.

ii and iii are found in B.'s printed *Descriptive Catalogue* of his exhibition.

ii. Taken from ¶ 34 xxvii (p. 628 above), with the rhyme removed.

iii. Taken from ¶ 34 xxi (p. 626 above) and turned to unrhymed verse.

vi. *Venetian*] B. detested the sensuous style of such painters as Titian for its softness of line and rich colouring.

VII

A pair of stays to mend the shape
Of crooked humpy woman
Put on, O Venus! Now thou art
Quite a Venetian Roman.

VIII

Venetian, all thy colouring is no more
Than bolstered plasters on a crooked whore.

IX

O reader, behold the philosopher's grave;
He was born quite a fool—but he died quite a knave.

(C) *Verses on art, artists, and artistic technique, 1809-10.*

Cp. the verses above, on similar topics, found as marginalia to Reynolds's *Discourses*, whereas the following are found in the Notebook. Blake expressed his opinions on colour and line forcefully in the published *Descriptive Catalogue* (May 1809) and the unpublished *Public Address* (1810), which is also in the Notebook. B.'s chief point is that the soul of art is in the outline drawing – with which the painter must start. The sensuousness, subtlety and sweep of colour of the styles of Titian, Rubens and Rembrandt could, he thought, produce only amorphous monstrosities. B.'s prejudices arise from his own profession of engraver, particularly as he adhered to the old hard-lined style which was going out of fashion – one of the causes of his unpopularity in contrast with the softer engraving of Bartolozzi and Schiavonetti (cp. ¶34 iv above, and iv p. xx).

X

- [21] No real style of colouring ever appears
But advertising in the newspapers—
Look, there you'll see Sir Joshua's colouring;
Look at his pictures—all has taken wing!

XI

- [26] Can there be anything more mean,
More malice in disguise,

xi. B. could not understand Reynolds's ability to see the virtues of opposing techniques. For Reynolds on Michelangelo, see *xvii* below.

Than praise a man for doing what
 That man does most despise?
 Reynolds lectures exactly so
 When he praises Michael Angelo.

XII

- [28] Sir Joshua praises Michael Angelo—
 'Tis Christian mildness when knaves praise a foe.
 But 'twould be madness, all the world would say
 Should Michael Angelo praise Sir Joshua.
 5 Christ used the Pharisees in a rougher way.

XIII

- [29] Sir Joshua praised Rubens with a smile
 By calling his the ornamental style,
 And yet his praise of Flaxman was the smartest
 When he called him the 'ornamental artist'.
 5 But sure, such ornaments we well may spare
 As crooked limbs and lousy heads of hair.

XIV FLORENTINE INGRATITUDE

- [32] Sir Joshua sent his own portrait to
 The birthplace of Michael Angelo,
 And in the hand of the simpering fool
 He put a dirty paper scroll,
 5 And on the paper to be polite
 Did *Sketches by Michael Angelo* write.
 The Florentines said "'Tis a Dutch-English boor,
 Michael Angelo's name writ on Rembrandt's door.'
 The Florentines call it an English fetch,
 10 For Michael Angelo did never sketch;
 Every line of his has meaning
 And needs neither suckling nor weaning.
 'Tis the trading English-Venetian cant
 To speak Michael Angelo & act Rembrandt.

xii 3-5. The rhyme implies the old pronunciation of final '-a' and '-ah'.

xiv *Florentine Ingratitude*] Reynolds was elected to the Florentine Academy, and this required him to paint a self-portrait and send it to the Academy.

xiv 9. *fetch*] In Johnson 'a stratagem by which anything is indirectly performed; by which one thing seems intended and another done'.

- 15 It will set his Dutch friends all in a roar
 To write *Mch. Ang.* on Rembrandt's door,
 But you must not bring in your hand a lie,
 If you mean that the Florentines should buy.
 Giotto's circle or Apelles' line
 20 Were not the work of sketchers drunk with wine,
 Nor of the city clerks' merry-hearted fashion,
 Nor of Sir Isaac Newton's calculation;
 Nor of the city clerks' idle facilities,
 Which sprang from Sir Isaac Newton's great abilities.
- 25 These verses were written by a very envious man,
 Who whatever likeness he may have to Michael Angelo
 Never can have any to Sir Jehoshuan.

XV A PITIFUL CASE

- [33] The villain at the gallows tree
 When he is doomed to die,
 To assuage his misery
 In virtue's praise does cry.
- 5 So Reynolds, when he came to die
 To assuage his bitter woe,
 Thus aloud did howl and cry
 'Michael Angelo! Michael Angelo!'

XVI TO THE ROYAL ACADEMY

- [33] A strange erratum in all the editions
 Of Sir Joshua Reynolds's Lectures
 Should be corrected by the young gentlemen
 And the Royal Academy's directors:
- 5 Instead of Michael Angelo
 Read Rembrandt; for it is fit
 To make mere common honesty
 In all that he has writ.

xiv 19. *Giotto*] (1266-1337) Said to have been able to draw a perfect circle freehand. *Apelles*] (fourth century B.C.) He challenged his friend Protogenes to the free-hand drawing of straight lines.

xiv 21-24. Are lines 23-24 an alternative to 21-22?

xv, xvi. Inspired by the closing words of the fifteenth and last of Reynolds's Discourses to the Royal Academy (Dec. 1790): 'I should desire that the last words which I should pronounce in this Academy, and from this place, might be the name of MICHAEL ANGELO.' Reynolds died in 1792.

XVII

- [38] I Rubens am a statesman and a saint—
Deceptions? O no—so I'll learn to paint.

XVIII TO ENGLISH CONNOISSEURS

- [38] You must agree that Rubens was a fool
And yet you make him master of your school,
And give more money for his slobberings
Than you will give for Raphael's finest things.
5 I understand Christ was a carpenter
And not a brewer's servant, my good sir.

XIX

A Pretty Epigram for the Entertainment of
those who have Paid Great Sums in the
Venetian and Flemish Ooze

- [38] Nature and art in this together suit:
What is most grand is always most minute.
Rubens thinks tables, chairs and stools are grand,
But Raphael thinks a head, a foot, a hand.

XX

- [38] These are the idiot's chiefest arts—
To blend and not define the parts.
The swallow sings in courts of kings—
That fools have their high finishings.
5 And this the prince's golden rule—
The laborious stumble of a fool.
To make out the parts is the wise man's aim,
But to lose them the fool makes his foolish game.

XXI

- [39] Raphael, sublime, majestic, graceful, wise—
His executive power must I despise?
Rubens, low, vulgar, stupid, ignorant—
His power of execution I must grant!

xvii. *statesman* . . . *saint*] Rubens carried out several diplomatic missions from Antwerp, c. 1626-33; he was a devout Catholic, but not a saint.

- 5 Learn the laborious stumble of a fool
 And from an idiot's actions form my rule?
 Go send your children to the slobbering school!

XXII

- [39] The cripple every step drudges & labours,
 And says, 'Come learn to walk of me, good neighbours'.
 Sir Joshua in astonishment cries out:
 'See what great labour pain him, & modest doubt!'
 5 Newton and Bacon cry, being badly nursed,
 'He is all experiments from last to first'—
 He walks and stumbles as if he crept'
 And how high laboured is every step!

XXIII ON THE GREAT ENCOURAGEMENT

given by English Nobility and Gentry to Correggio, Rubens,
 Rembrandt, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Catalani,
 DuCrowe and Dilberry Doodle.

- [40] As the ignorant savage will sell his own wife
 For a sword or a cutlass, a dagger or knife,
 So the taught savage Englishman spends his whole fortune
 On a smear or a squall to destroy picture or tune.
 5 And I call upon Colonel Wardle
 To give these rascals a dose of caudle.

XXIV

- [40] All pictures that's painted with sense and with thought
 Are painted by madmen, as sure as a goat:
 For the greater the fool, in the pencil more blest,
 And when they are drunk they always paint best.
 5 They never can Raphael it, Fuseli it, nor Blake it;

xxiii. *Correggio* (1489-1534) was related to the sensuous Venetian school. *Catalani* may be one of several Italian painters. *DuCrowe* is B.'s spelling of Pierre Ducros (1748-1810), a Swiss water-colourist and engraver who (unlike B.) successfully published his *Aquatinta* of Rome. '*Dilberry Doodle*' is a flippancy label for any bad pretender to art.

xxiii 5. *Colonel Wardle* gained great popularity (Feb.-March 1809) by attacking, in the Commons, the corruptions of the Duke of York in the army.

xxiii 6. *caudle*] A medicinal potion.

xxiv 1-2. *thought* / *groat*] Such a rhyme is not unknown in this period; cp. the rhyme *hot* / *thought* in the letter to Butts, 22 Nov. 1802, p. 490.

If they can't see an outline, pray how can they make it?
 When men will draw outlines, begin you to jaw them;
 Madmen see outlines and therefore they draw them.

XXV

- [40] Give pensions to the learned pig,
 Or the hare playing on a tabor.
 Anglus can never see perfection
 But in the journeyman's labour.

XXVI

- [40] The Cunning-sures and the Aim-at-yours.

XXVII

- [43] When I see a Rubens, Rembrandt, Correggio,
 I think of the crippled Harry and slobbering Joe,
 And then I question thus, 'Are artists' rules
 To be drawn from the works of two manifest fools?'
 5 Then God defend us from the arts, I say,
 Send battle, murder, sudden death, oh pray!
 Rather than be such a blind human fool
 I'd be an ass, a hog, a worm, a chair, a stool.

XXVIII

- [46] Delicate hands and heads will never appear
 While Titian's (etc., as in the Book of Moonlight, p. 5).

XXIX

- [63] Great men and fools do often me inspire;
 But the greater fool the greater liar.

xxv 3. *Anglus can never see*] Lines 3-4 appear in the draft of the *Public Address*, a prose addition, with this phrase reading: 'Can Anglus never discern . . .'
Anglus means 'the typical Englishman'.

xxvi. A parody of 'the connoisseurs and amateurs', a phrase which occurs in the *Public Address*, on p. 63 of the Notebook.

xxviii. The *Book of Moonlight* is lost.

(D) *Verses from the period of drafting the Public Address, mid-1810.*

XXX

- [21] And in melodious accents I
Will sit me down and cry, *I! I!*

XXXI BLAKE'S APOLOGY FOR HIS CATALOGUE

- [62-3, Having given great offence by writing in prose,
65] I'll write in verse as soft as Bartolloze.
Some blush at what others see no crime in,
But nobody sees any harm in rhyming.
5 Dryden in rhyme cries 'Milton only planned';
Every fool shook his bells throughout the land.
Tom Cooke cut Hogarth down with his clean graving;
Thousands of connoisseurs with joy ran raving.
Thus Hayley on his toilette seeing the soap
10 Cries, 'Homer is very much improved by Pope!'
Some say I've given great provision to my foes,
And that now I lead my false friends by the nose.
Flaxman and Stothard smelling a sweet savour
Cry, 'Blakified drawing spoils painter and engraver!'
15 While I, looking up to my umbrella,

xxx. This follows the declaration: 'I demand therefore of the amateurs of art the encouragement which is my due. If they continue to refuse, theirs is the loss, not mine, and theirs is the contempt of posterity. I have enough in the approbation of fellow-labourers; this is my glory and exceeding great reward. I go on and nothing can hinder my course.' The verse seems to depict B. as a public speaker; *I* in 2 standing for *Aye*.

xxxi. *Blake's Apology* . . .] This exists in a first, much revised draft on pp. 62-3; the text here is that of the fair copy on *NB* p. 65. The draft on p. 62 arises from a passage in the *Public Address*, which it immediately follows on the page (Keynes in fact considered it a part of the text of the *Address*): 'Nor can an original invention exist without execution, organized and minutely delineated and articulated, either by God or Man. I do not mean smoothed up and niggled and poco-piu'd, (and all the beauties picked out and blurred and blotted) but drawn with a firm (and decided) hand at once like Fuseli and Michael Angelo and Shakespeare and Milton.'

xxxi 2. *Bartolloze*] *1st rdg del.* feather pillows. Bartolozzi (1727-1815) was a successful Italian engraver, who settled in England and was popular for his style of 'softening' the lines. B. proudly continued to use the old and unfashionable style of hard-lined engraving.

xxxi 5. *Milton only planned*] i.e., 'Only Milton planned'. No Dryden source has been found; did B. refer to Marvell's laudatory poem on *Paradise Lost*?

xxxi 7. *Tom Cooke* 'engraved after Hogarth' and 'wished to give to Hogarth what he could take from Raphael; that is, outline and mass and colour, but he could not . . .' (*Public Address* p. 60).

Resolved to be a very contrary fellow,
 Cry, looking quite from 'skumference to centre,
 'No one can finish so high as the original inventor.'
 Thus poor Schiavonetti died of the Cromek,
 20 A thing that's tied around the Examiner's neck.
 This is my sweet apology to my friends,
 That I may put them in mind of their latter ends.

XXXII FROM CRATETOS

[64] Me time has crook'd. No good workman
 Is he. Infirm is all that he does.

(E) *Verses later than the Public Address, late 1810 to c. 1812.*

XXXIII TO VENETIAN ARTISTS

[60–61] That God is colouring Newton does show,
 And the Devil is a black outline all of us know.
 Perhaps this little fable may make us merry:
 A dog went over the water without a wherry.
 5 A bone which he had stolen he had in his mouth,
 He cared not whether the wind was north or south,
 As he swam he saw the reflection of the bone—
 'This is quite perfection, one generalizing tone.
 Outline? There's no outline, there's no such thing—
 10 All is chiaroscuro, poco piu; it's all colouring!'

xxx1 19–20. *Schiavonetti* . . . *Cromek* . . . *Examiner*) See headnote to ¶ 34, p. 620. There was no relationship between *The Examiner* and Cromek's firm. The deleted lines following in the draft give B.'s notions of *The Examiner's* attack: 'Who cries, All art is a fraud and genius a trick / And Blake is an unfortunate lunatic.' The title was then crowded in above this addition, 'Blake's Apology' being directed against *The Examiner*.

xxxii. A translation of a Greek epigram, attributed to Crates of Thebes, a Cynic philosopher (fl. c. 325 B.C.). B.'s translation is not perfect; the meaning of the original is, 'For time has bent me; though a skilled craftsman, yet he makes all things weaker'. This is an interesting reflection on the limitation of B.'s Greek; he knew enough to translate, but not enough to translate faultlessly. He also misunderstood the ascription by Stobaeus, in whose anthology the epigram is found, reading the genitive κρατήτος ('of Crates') as a nominative.

xxxiii *To Venetian Artists*] Artists of the school of Titian and Correggio. Above the poem, a note, 'To come in *Barry a Poem*'; this too is lost.

xxxiii 10. *chiaroscuro*] The technique of light and darkness. *poco piu* (or *poco meno*)] A cliché, 'a little more or less': B. parodies the affectations of the 'cunning-sures' (Morris Eaves: see *Erdman* pp. 873, 882).

Snap! Snap! he has lost shadow and substance too;
 He had them both before: now how do ye do?
 ‘A great deal better than I was before:
 Those who taste colouring love it more and more.’

XXXIV

- [66] Call that the public voice which is their error?
 Like as a monkey peeping in a mirror—
 Admires all his colours brown and warm,
 And never once perceives his ugly form.

XXXV

- [70] Some people admire the work of a fool,
 For it's sure to keep your judgment cool;
 It does not reproach you with want of wit—
 It is not like a lawyer serving a writ!

XXXVI

- [21] You don't believe, I won't attempt to make ye.
 You are asleep, I won't attempt to wake ye.
 Sleep on, sleep on, while in your pleasant dreams
 Of reason you may drink of life's clear streams.
 5 Reason and Newton, they are quite two things!
 For so the swallow and the sparrow sings.
 Reason says *Miracle*; Newton says *Doubt*—
 Aye, that's the way to make all Nature out:
 Doubt, doubt and don't believe without experiment!
 10 That is the very thing that Jesus meant
 When he said 'Only believe'; believe and try,
 Try, try and never mind the reason why!

xxxiv. This follows the statement in the *Public Address*: 'England will never rival Italy while we servilely copy what the wise Italians Raphael and Michael Angelo scorned – nay abhorred – as Vasari tells us.' After the verse B. adds only the sentence: 'What kind of intellects must he have who sees only the colours of things and not the forms of things?'

xxxvi ii. *said*] After this word, B. first wrote 'Rich'; he must have had in mind the advice of Jesus to the rich man to give up all his possessions and follow him, with the later comment, 'With God all things are possible' (*Matthew* xix 21–6).

XXXVII THE WASHER-WOMAN'S SONG

- [42] I washed them out and washed them in—
And they told me it was a great sin.

XXXVIII

- [23] Anger and wrath my bosom rends—
I thought them the errors of friends:
But all my limbs with warmth glow—
I find them the errors of the foe.

XXXIX

- [38] Swelled limbs, with no outline that you can descry,
That stink in the nose of a stander-by,
But all the pulp washed, painted, finished with labour
Of an hundred journeymen's—how d'ye do, neighbour?

XL

- [60] I asked my dear friend Orator Prigg
‘What’s the first part of oratory?’ He said, ‘A great wig.’
‘And what is the second?’ Then dancing a jig
And bowing profoundly, he said ‘A great wig.’
5 ‘And what is the third?’ Then he snored like a pig
And puffing his cheeks, he replied, ‘A great wig.’
So if a great painter with questions you push—
‘What’s the first part of painting?’ He’ll say ‘A paint brush.’
‘And what is the second?’ With modest blush,
10 He’ll smile like a cherub and say, ‘A paint brush.’
‘And what is the third?’ He’ll bow like a rush,
With a tear in his eye he’ll reply, ‘A paint brush.’
Perhaps this is all a painter can want—
But look yonder! That house is the house of Rembrandt.

XLI

- [61] ‘O dear Mother Outline, of knowledge most sage,
What’s the first part of painting?’ She said, ‘Patronage.’
‘And what is the second to please and engage?’
She frowned like a fury and said, ‘Patronage.’

xl, xli. For B., the ‘first part of painting’ was *outline*; brushwork lacking a basis in outline was anathema: see xxiv, xxxiv and xxxiii above.

'And what is the third?' She put off old age,
And smiled like a siren, and said, 'Patronage.'

XLII

- [65] If men will act like a maid smiling over a churn
They ought not, when it comes to another's turn,
To grow sour at what a friend may utter,
Knowing and feeling that we all have need of butter.
False friends! Fie! Fie! Our friendship you shan't sever:
In spite, we will be greater friends than ever.

XLIII AN EPITAPH

- [37] Come, knock your heads against this stone,
For sorrow that poor John Thompson's gone.

XLIV ANOTHER

- [37] I was buried near this dike—
That my friends may weep as much as they like.

XLV ANOTHER

- [37] Here lies John Trot, the friend of all mankind;
He has not left one enemy behind.
Friends were quite hard to find, old authors say,
But now they stand in everybody's way.

XLVI

- [33] If it is true what the prophets write,
That the heathen gods are all stocks and stones,
Shall we for the sake of being polite
Feed them with the juice of our marrow bones?
5 And if Bezaleel and Aholiab drew
What the finger of God pointed to their view,

xlvi 1-4. A milkmaid expects favours and flattery; men also expect the same (note the pun on *butter*). Why then are they angry (another pun on *sour*) when someone else is flattered, resenting the praise one of their friends gives another?

xlvi. Erdman (*NB*, p. 58, N33) rates this poem as written alongside *The Everlasting Gospel*.

xlvi 5. *Bezaleel and Aholiab*] The two master craftsmen who (in *Exodus* xxxi 2, 6) directed the manufacture of the Tabernacle, its furniture and ornaments, according to the instructions which Moses received on Sinai.

xlvi 8. *them*] The classics.

Shall we suffer the Roman and Grecian rods
To compel us to worship them as gods?
They stole them from the Temple of the Lord
10 And worshipped them that they might make inspired art
abhorred.
The wood and stone were called the Holy Things,
And their sublime intent given to their kings:
All the atonements of Jehovah spurned,
And criminals to sacrifices turned.

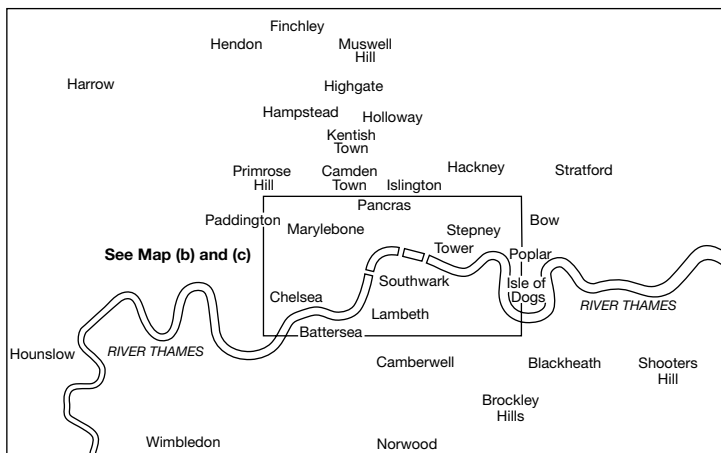
36 Jerusalem, the Emanation of the Giant Albion

Date. In process, from 1803–4; of printing, *c.* 1820. Five copies are known; only copy E, completed perhaps in 1827, is fully coloured. The titlepage in its first state announced twenty-eight chapters, but this was reduced to four. Each chapter, of 23 or 24 pages, is closed by a full-page design, so that, with frontispiece and titlepage, the total is exactly 100 plates.

The titlepage (pl.2) gives a date of 1804, when B. was 46. He had left Felpham, but *Jerusalem* was not printed complete before 1820, his 63rd year. By mid-1807 he had made some proofs; George Cumberland reports ‘60 Plates of a new Prophecy!’ In the *Descriptive Catalogue* for his exhibition of May–Sept. 1809, B. promises the work soon: ‘Mr Blake has in his hands poems of the highest antiquity . . .’, but the ‘Public Address’, drafted in his Notebook in 1809–10, when, now in his fifties, his hopes of fame had faded, shows the work still a promise: ‘I have routed out the nest of villains . . . in a Poem . . . which I will soon publish’. These ‘villains’ are the three Hunt brothers, whose *Examiner* attacked B. savagely in 1808 and 1809, and who appear in *Jerusalem* as the three-headed giant Hand, leader of the sons of Albion.

When B.’s ambitions failed, *Jerusalem* was not discarded, but it would bring him no advantage, and there was no haste. Perhaps it lay by for years, with neither resources nor incentive for printing, until, about 1818, a group of young disciples encouraged him, now 60, to proceed.

On 12 April 1827, four months before his death, in a letter to George Cumberland, he refers to *Jerusalem* as a poem now finished and coloured, but it is an expensive book; he prices it at 20 guineas, and does not expect to sell it. This was probably the last work he completed before his death on 12 August.



Map (a) Blake's London c. 1810

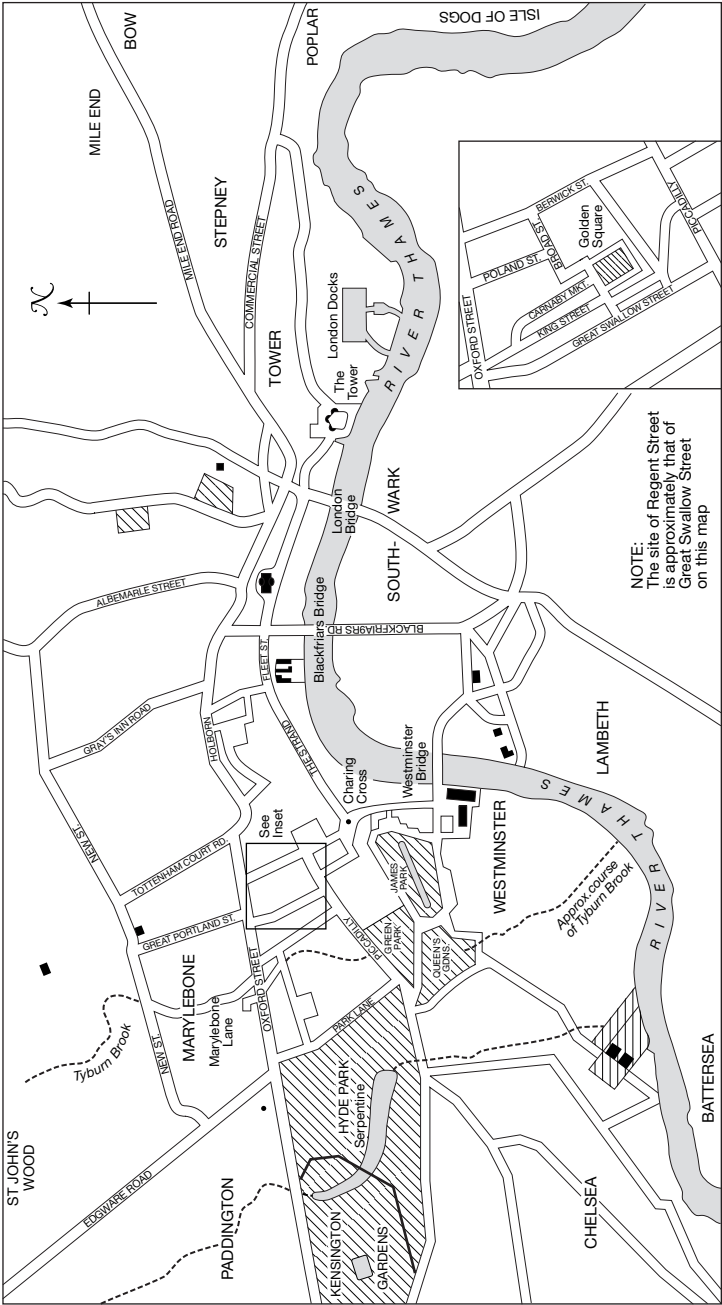
The poem. The passage of years made *Jerusalem* a much darker poem than *Milton*, and very different from all his other poems, though it is not impenetrable. Both poems are journeys, but while *Milton* is driven by hope, in *Jerusalem* the new age dawns only after long and weary struggle to hold the Vision in trust for 'the time of renovation' (12.52). *Jerusalem* is for the most part a heartfelt lament for the plight of Albion, B.'s home country:

I behold Babylon in the opening Streets of London: I behold
 Jerusalem in ruins wandering about from house to house . . .
 I walk up and down in Six thousand Years: their Events are
 present before me.

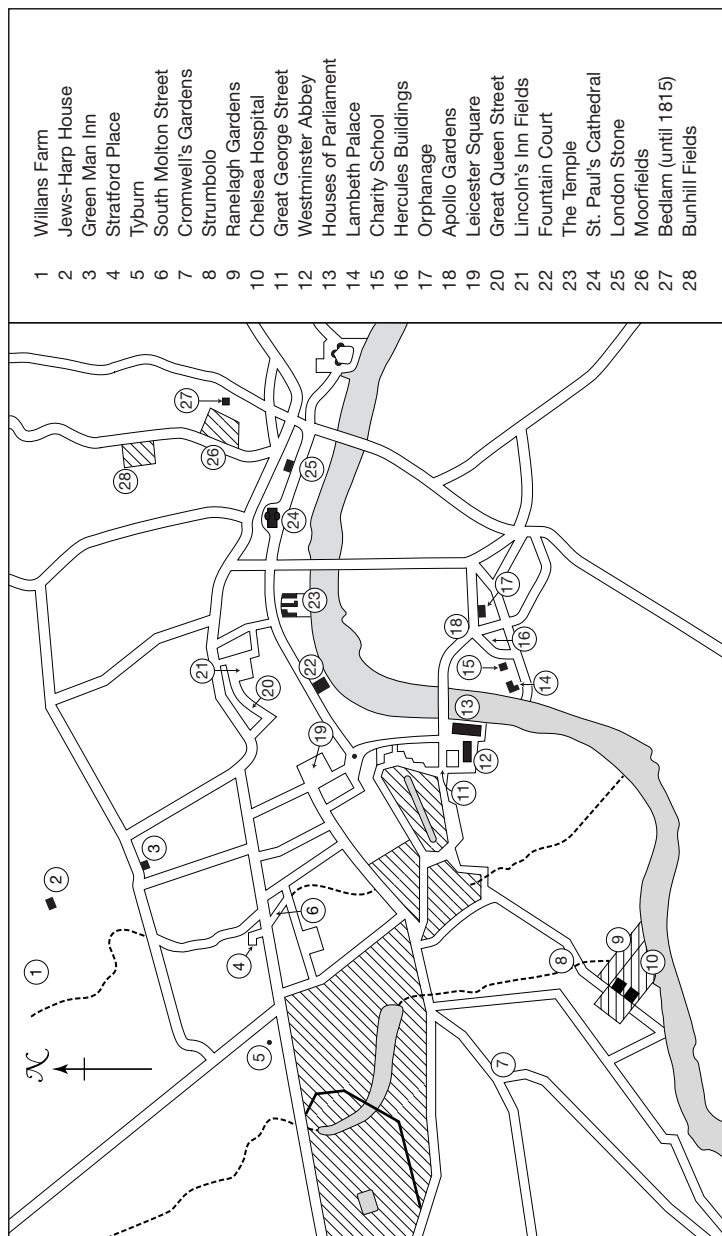
Jerusalem 74.16–19

These lines go far to epitomise *Jerusalem*: a town that might be Jerusalem and is Babylon; the kind of poem it is; and, most important, what it means to B.

Jerusalem names this poem. She is the Bible's image of the ideal city; for B., therefore, the Emanation, the ideal counterpart, of Albion, his beloved country, depicted in splendid angelic form on the titlepage. Yet here she is a wandering beggar-woman. This is the essence of B.: the incorrigibly lateral thinker, always the artist. His unexpected connections and leaps of thought must be expressed in visual images. To see Jerusalem both as a woman wandering, yet a city in ruins, simply echoes the familiar first verse of *The Lamentations of Jeremiah*: 'How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! How is she become as a widow!' In that context it is not



Map (b) Blake's London c. 1810



Map (c) Blake's London c. 1810

surprising that Jerusalem is seen begging from house to house. This is not all; there are two further imaginative leaps. We are also in Babylon; and yet in London. The 'opening streets', the increasingly grand thoroughfares of London, are – at the same time – seen as Babylon, the symbol of moral corruption in *Revelation*, and as the great city of ancient times who destroyed Jerusalem and took her people captive. And there is yet more: all these echoes are encapsulated in the one image of a lost and wandering beggar. As so often, B.'s visionary insight is shaped by his angry compassion for the poor. (See also pl.84.IV: 'London, blind and age-bent, begging through the Streets / of Babylon'.)

Such vivid scenes, children of B.'s visual imagination, are the atoms of which *Jerusalem* is composed. In the opening lines it seems to declare itself an epic, setting out most of its themes in the first three plates. But the narrative thread is tenuous: the spiritual disease which befalls Albion (ch. 1), from which he falls into a deathly coma (ch. 2), and whose workings are shown in chs. 3–4, until the promised awakening late in ch. 4. *Jerusalem* is really a poem on the apocalyptic model of *Revelation*, a series of visionary images, large and small, in often disjointed sequences, bound together (unlike *Revelation*) by that tenuous thread, but deriving its power from the accumulation of these images.

There is no boundary in B. so finite that it cannot be made to vanish in a moment. Anyone might say that a small event has endless repercussions, but B. goes further. The Imaginative mind, in Los (pl.75.7) and B., 'walks up and down in Six thousand Years'. The uniting of 1800s London with 600 B.C. Jerusalem, for us separated in space and time, is essential to *Jerusalem*. His concept of *States* depends on it.¹ Hand, Hyle and Schofield are not merely B.'s contemporaries, Hunt, Hayley and Schofield, in disguise; they are *States*, types found in all ages. Hunt/'Hand' dispenses his sneers in every generation. The Sons and Daughters of Albion, the people of this island, are travelling through history, always present, always recognizable. As with Time, so with Space. 'Auguries of Innocence' insists on this again and again: 'Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand, / and Eternity in an hour'. So Erin, in pl.48.30–41, draws out a moment of time into eight thousand years. Every moment, B. says, has infinite significance, and indeed, infinite existence (pl.13.39ff.): 'every fabric of six thousand years / Remains permanent' (*Milton* 22.18–19).

In *Jerusalem* there are two forms of being. We must distinguish, as in the poem to Satan (p. 894), between 'the garment' and 'the

¹ See *Milton* 32.22n; p. 577.

man': 'Every harlot was a virgin once, Nor canst thou ever change Kate into Nan', for these two women are each real Individuals, while for one to be a harlot means only that she is in a certain State, which can change or disappear. She remains an immortal soul. In *Jerusalem*, Satan and Rahab are not Individuals; they are States. They are represented in living individuals in all ages, but they are not those Individuals. They have no life of their own. States are often dangerous, and may be powerful, when the Individual puts on the garment, or steps into the shadow, taking on its nature. So B. himself believes he has taken on the garment of Los – for the States we inhabit may be good as well as evil. But only with our consent; in the end, they are all transient shadows; it is the Immortal who is one of the Divine Family.

This is not mystical fantasy. B. cares for the people, those who suffer with Jerusalem, 'going from door to door'; those seduced by Rahab into stifling moral blindness; even those stupid enough to be sucked into the model of Hyle or Hand. As in *Milton* pl.15, every moment is a vortex opening into Eternity. In amalgamating images of Britain and Israel, the age of Druids and Amalekites with the age of Napoleon, the navvies at Paddington and the builders of Golgonooza, B. is trying to represent the belief that 'all that has existed . . . [is] / Permanent and not lost' (13.59–60; also *Milton* 22.16–21). When he achieves this, the strangeness becomes magical.

Themes, images and figures

In a poem to Thomas Butts (p. 485), B. rejects the materialist view of the universe as composed of Newton's hard, lifeless, indivisible fragments, and declares that every particle of matter is a minute human form. All living beings are composed of such Human particles, and are in turn parts of the greater universal Human Form, blended together in one perfect, universal Divine Humanity, his concept of Jesus, in a wholeness unknown in our 'world of Vegetation'.

Central to *Jerusalem* is Albion's sleep of spiritual death, caused by his trust in unimaginative, cold, rigid Reason, and the inevitable Despair² arising from Reason's only solution to human conflict: implacable Accusations of Sin under Moral Law. For B., release from that sleep and spiritual Death lies in exercise of the fiery, free Imagination.

B. thus disposes of the threat of Sin, his great bugbear. Sin is done away, Salvation is found from the penalties of wrong-doing, and injuries are healed and forgotten, not by reparation, ransom or revenge,

² Capitals are used here, as Blake commonly uses them, for words important to him.

or by giving in to one another, but by 'severe contentions of Friendship' and by Mutual Forgiveness within the Brotherhood of the Universal Family. In this way, B. allows moral freedom while admitting that there will be offence and injury, yet dismissing the necessity for Hell. *Jerusalem* calls to the people of 'this land in which I write' to seize this new, free and greater life of Imagination.

Albion and Jerusalem

The Giant Albion was a familiar personification of Britain and its history, and his Sons and Daughters represent the individuals who make up the nation, now and throughout history. The original inhabitants of these islands were widely believed to be giants (*Genesis* vi 4 claims that 'There were giants in the earth in those days'), and so B.'s *Jerusalem* is peopled by giants – Albion himself, Hand, Gwendolen, Reuben, and the rest, striding across the landscape from Britain to Canaan. B. sees Albion, not in a heroic light, but as a confused individual, falling into moral despair under the influence of Satan's tempting Rationality, and seeing no hope in the world around him. It is a struggle, not as in *A Song of Liberty*, against external powers, but against internal despair: 'Hope is banished from me' (24.59). Around him, other figures – Vala, Jerusalem, Los, the cities (who, like his Children and all things, are Human entities in themselves) dispute helplessly about him, his fate, and the validity of Satan's declarations. He sees forgiveness, but scorns Jerusalem's love and joy as sin; yet his true destiny can only be found in them. At last, at the end of ch. 2, Albion gives way, dipping into a coma, placed on the Couch of Death by the figure of Jesus, lamented and nursed by the careful Erin.

B.'s Albion is greater than an image of merely grand political entity (see pl.27 and notes). His fate is the fate of all Humanity. His distorted dreams of war and conquest are traps set by mistaken laws of 'Demonstration' and 'Righteousness'. B.'s task is to awaken him, through his Sons and Daughters, to this truth.

Now Albion's personality is divided; his Emanation, his feminine spiritual counterpart, Jerusalem, image, both as woman and city, of every ideal, personal and social, cannot accept his surrender, and is inevitably separated from him (48.47–52). Her restoration to Albion will be the climax and dénouement of the poem, when Satan is revealed for the illusion that he is. She is his destiny. The poem is named after her, not after Albion.

Albion is the personification of Britain, but Jerusalem, his Emanation, an essential part of him, is more than British. She is the Bride of *Revelation*, 'which John in Patmos saw' (*Milton* 40.22), the longed-for Holy City of God, whose achievement would be the

consummation of the biblical quest. B.'s contemporaries would recognize this vision of a New Jerusalem in Albion – an image dear to nonconformists, religious and political. The eternal spirit of Jerusalem must be realized at home, 'in the kennels of the streets and lanes'. In the *Preface* to Chapter 3, B. proudly places himself in the tradition of 'Guide me, O thou great Jehovah', which hoped to found 'Jerusalem the golden' in England's green and pleasant land. But she is a vision greater than any nation, whether Albion or Israel. Like the biblical Jerusalem, she is seen as both city and bride. Jerusalem the city is beset by enemies; as a woman, she is led astray and captive by Babylon, and redeemed to become a bride in Eternity – Christ's bride in *Revelation*, and Albion's in *Jerusalem*. *Los* is the only one of all the male figures of the 'Bible of Hell' series and *The Four Zoas* to retain his stature in *Jerusalem*. Urizen and Orc, Luvah and Tharmas are mere shadows of themselves. *Los* remains faithful, the vital spirit of true Human and Eternal creativity, struggling against the perverted visions of Albion's children. In his creative powers he is much more than the guardian prophet of *Urizen*. He is a builder, the preserver and guard of the great city of Golgonooza, where the lights of Imaginative life must be kept burning even on the edge of Ulro. Little of good happens, but he is present when it does. All the wonders of mortal Creation are his. The strange movements of Reuben are directed by him. His creative force can turn even activities corrupted by false vision into forms that keep some Vision alive, as in the face of Cambel's trickery (pls.82–3).

In *Jerusalem*, Satan is a powerful enemy, and in the Fourth Chapter, the devious Daughters of Albion constantly threaten his work. All he can do is to watch the walls of Golgonooza day and night, guard them and rebuild broken defences. He cannot hasten the day of Albion's awakening (pl.94), but his faithfulness holds the promise and the vision alive, expressing it in a multitude of forms, until that divinely chosen time comes.

Enitharmon, his Emanation, virtually absent from *Milton*, reappears by his side in *Jerusalem*. They are the reconciled pair of *The Four Zoas* vii. The Female Will that B. found so frustrating is more often represented by the Daughters of Albion; only in pl.86 does *Enitharmon* challenge him, an unexpected reversion to earlier quarrels, but it may have its purpose. *Enitharmon* repents in a sequence when, though all the powers of darkness gather in strength, *Los*'s creative force begins to see promise of renewal in Albion (93.17ff).

The Sons and Daughters of Albion

Albion interacts with his own elements, the British people – in a kind of biblical usage, the 'Sons' or 'Daughters' of Albion, and the

state of Albion is seen in their individual actions. As with the sons of Israel, there are twelve Sons of Albion, and twelve Daughters (see pl.71: the details vary slightly). As he falls into his coma, his personality disintegrates, and, now separated, they rebel against him. Reflecting his great error, they have become servants of mindless Rationalism and Moral Law.

The names of the Sons are constant, but the Daughters, who represent British women through the ages, vary slightly. Nine of the daughters are queens and princesses of British legend. The exceptions are *Gwinefred*, an Anglo-Saxon saint; *Mehetabel*, a shadowy Edomite (i.e. alien) queen named in *Genesis* xxxvi 39; *Cambel* is a mystery. *Camber*, in Milton's *History of Britain*, is a man, and no closer name has been found. *Boadicea* is the only other queen not from pre-Roman legend. Together, the Daughters, ruled by the suffocating earth-mother Tirzah, misuse their female nature to drive their males by sexual frustration to war, and to bring up their children to despise Imagination and worship Moral Law.

The Daughters are *historic* figures; the Sons are seen in *contemporaries* of B.'s. *Scofield* leads a gang of prowling hooligans. He is Schofield, was his antagonist in the quarrel which led to B.'s indictment on 12 August 1803, for 'assault and seditious words'. The Hunt brothers, whose editorials in 1808-09, signed in their *Examiner* with the symbol of a hand, sneered at B.'s work, appear as the triple-headed *Hand*, enemy of Los. *Kox* is Cock, who supported Schofield, and *Huttn* is Hulton, an officer who was involved. Slayd is often paired with him, and may have been another officer. *Peachey*, *Brereton* and *Quantoct* were justices at B.'s trial; *Bowen* was a local lawyer who may have been involved. *Hylé* is Hayley, disguised by Cockney pronunciation (and the word is Greek for *matter*). *Coban* may be 'Cockburn', or Cromeck, who swindled B. (see p. xviii); or, anagrammatically, 'Bacon', whom he also attacks by name. *Kotope* may be Courthope. Together, they represent the Children of Albion who, now and always, keep the nation blind and asleep. Yet they are not inherently evil. They are children of Albion, B.'s compatriots, partaking of his error, in the State of Satan or Rahab.

Satan, far from the heroic rebel of *Marriage*, is now the bully who claims power and authority through Reason and the logic of Moral Law (29.5-16). For him both God and Law now insist that Man is a creature of Sin, which can be expiated only by punishment. Albion has been seduced by this doctrine, a summary of contemporary orthodoxy, into moral despair which leaves him comatose and in danger of spiritual death. When Albion can at last accept the gross

Error of this belief, and turn back to the Divine Family, Satan may threaten, but when challenged (as in pl.96), he is seen for what he is, an illusion. He is a monstrous Shadow, a State of mind; and, like the monsters of *Marriage* pls.18–19, he evaporates.

Finally, *Jerusalem* shows the end of the process of B.'s attitude to **Urizen**. In *A Song of Liberty*, Urizen was the monster being destroyed by the irresistible forces of time and revolt. In *Milton*, he can be remodelled; at the end of *Vala* vii, he is redeemed. In *Jerusalem*, he is a mere shadow.

Vala. Vala is a major figure in *Jerusalem*, as in *The Four Zoas*. **Luvah** is not. There, Vala was Luvah's Emanation; here, Jerusalem is the true and innocent Emanation of Albion; Vala is her shadow, Albion's 'bad angel' to Jerusalem's 'good angel', constantly insisting on the demonstrable reality of Satan's Rationalism. As Jerusalem's scornful partner in ch. 1, Vala tries through jealousy to win Albion for herself, covering Albion with her Veil of deceit and temptation, and imprisoning Jerusalem in Satan's mental and moral dungeon of obsession with Sin and expiatory punishment (21.50, 24.60–2).

Vala appears in several guises. As Babylon, she takes Jerusalem captive and exiles her inhabitants, as did the historical city. She is also B.'s Rahab, Queen of Mystery, developed from the Babylon of *Revelation* xvii, the Harlot Mystery. Tirzah is another realization of Vala's evil manifestation, and the errant twelve Daughters of Albion are together identified with her. In B.'s terminology, Babylon, Rahab and Tirzah are 'States' of Vala. In spite of all this, she is Jerusalem's sister, who might be won over to her sister's innocence. They are temporary personae, led into error by lack of hope; in Eternity they will be annihilated. Vala is the real person, who in Albion's resurrection is purified and re-united with Jerusalem in Albion.

Reuben, the firstborn of Judah, disinherited for his weakness (*Genesis* xlix 3,8), is one of the most difficult motifs in *Jerusalem*, as B. identifies the struggles of Israel and Britain in their search for Jerusalem. Biblical and British names and stories (16.28ff, 71.1ff.) are interwoven in the 'rolling apart' of Albion and Canaan (63.41–3), as B. uses the imaginative food of many Britons to show the war-torn Biblical history of Israel and the legendary ancient history of Britain as broken parts of the story of one spiritual Holy Land, divided as an earthly manifestation of Albion's division, and his diseased dreams on the Couch of Death. Both the ancient Israelites, led by 'the wandering Reuben', and contemporary Britons, led by Hand and Scofield, have failed to see the Divine vision, and are as one in suffering from symptoms of the one universal disease.

The four Prefaces

Having addressed the reading public at large in the Preface to the First Chapter, B. addresses three religious groups in turn: first the Jews, bearers of the original message from God; then the Deists, who reject it; and finally the Christians, who (as B. sees it) clearly find it difficult to recognize. The material of the different chapters is not exclusively related to the object of their Prefaces, though there is a good deal about Reuben in ch. 2, and about Voltaire and Rousseau in ch. 3. The Prefaces simply allow B. to speak in his own voice.

JERUSALEM

Pl.1 [*Frontispiece*]

(Top of page)

There is a Void, outside of Existence, which if entered into
Englobes itself and becomes a Womb; such was Albion's Couch,
A pleasant Shadow of Repose called Albion's lovely Land.

His Sublime and Pathos become two rocks fixed in the Earth.

5 His Reason, his Spectrous Power, covers them above:

Jerusalem his Emanation is a Stone laying beneath.

O Albion behold! Pitying behold the Vision of Albion!

(On right side of arch)

Half Friendship is the bitterest Enmity, said Los

As he entered the Door of Death for Albion's sake inspired.

10 The long-sufferings of God are not for ever; there is a
judgement.

(On left side of arch, in reversed writing)

Everything has its Vermin, O Spectre of the Sleeping Dead!

Pl.2: *Titlepage*

¶ 36. *Frontispiece*. A man, wearing hat and overcoat, carrying a globe-like lantern, enters a dark doorway with a pointed arch. No text. Round and above the arch, in a proof copy, these lines, deleted by engraving in all extant copies of the poem.

1.1-3 resemble *Milton* 41.36-42.2.

1.7. *Albion behold Pitying*] A somewhat conjectural reading (the exclamation mark is editorial).

Pl.2. *Titlepage*. The title written in large, ornamented 'copperplate' script, surrounded by flying figures with butterfly wings. One, right, hovers with hands over face as if in despair; across the foot of the page, beneath another winged female figure resting, lies Jerusalem, asleep or in a swoon – a nude female figure, whose limbs and wings are 'vegetating' into the form of a leaf. At the very foot, the words: '1804 / Printed by W. Blake Sth Molton St', incised (i.e. added to the plate). The words 'In XXVIII Chapters' were del.

JERUSALEM The Emanation of The Giant Albion

[Design]

1804 Printed by W. Blake Sth Molton S^t.

Pl.3 SHEEP **To the Public** GOATS

After my three years' slumber on the banks of the ocean, I again display my Giant forms to the public: my former Giants & Fairies having received the highest reward possible, the [*love*] and [*friendship*] of those with whom to be connected
5 is to be [*blessed*]: I cannot doubt that this more consolidated & extended work will be as kindly received.

The enthusiasm of the following poem, the author hopes [*no reader will think presumptuousness or arrogance when he is reminded that the Ancients acknowledged their love to their*
10 *deities, to the full as enthusiastically as I have who acknowledge mine for my Saviour and Lord, for they were wholly absorbed in their gods.*] I also hope the reader will be with me, wholly one in Jesus our Lord, who is the God [*of Fire*] and Lord [*of Love*] to whom the Ancients looked and saw his day afar off,
15 with trembling and amazement.

The spirit of Jesus is continual forgiveness of Sin: he who waits to be righteous before he enters into the Saviour's kingdom, the Divine Body, will never enter there. I am perhaps the most sinful of men; I pretend not to holiness. Yet I pretend
20 to love, to see, to converse with daily, as man with man, & the more to have an interest in the Friend of Sinners. Therefore [*dear*] reader, [*forgive*] what you do not approve, & [*love*] me for this energetic exertion of my talent.

Reader, [*lover*] of books, [*lover*] of heaven,
25 And of that God from whom all books are given,

Pl.3. *Sheep / Goats*] Doubtless implying that *Jerusalem* will divide the people in a Last Judgement.

3.1. *my three years' slumber*: B.'s residence in Felpham, 1800–03. The 'former Giants and Fairies' are presumably the figures in the Lambeth books.

3.4–5. The words printed in italics were erased from the plate, but have been recovered by D. V. Erdman (*Studies in Bibliography*, 1964, pp. 1–54). B. thus left the text with large gaps, in the sense as well as in the appearance.

3.13–14. The deletions *of Fire* and *of Love*, unlike the others, leave the text making sense, and may not have been made with the same apparent rashness as the others.

- [3] Who in mysterious Sinai's awful cave
 To Man the wondrous art of writing gave.
 Again he speaks in thunder and in fire—
 Thunder of thought, & flames of fierce desire.
 30 Even from the depths of Hell his voice I hear,
 Within the unfathomed caverns of my ear.
 Therefore I print, nor vain my types shall be;
 Heavens, Earth & Hell henceforth shall live in harmony.

Of the measure in which the following poem is written

- 35 We who dwell on earth can do nothing of ourselves; every-
 thing is conducted by spirits, no less than digestion or sleep.
 [To note the last words of Jesus, Εδοθη μοι πασα εξουσια εν ουρανω
 και επι γης.]

- When this verse was first dictated to me I considered a
 40 monotonous cadence like that used by Milton & Shakespeare
 & all writers of English blank verse, derived from the modern
 bondage of rhyming, to be a necessary and indispensable part
 of verse. But I soon found that in the mouth of a true orator
 such monotony was not only awkward, but as much a bondage
 45 as rhyme itself. I therefore have produced a variety in every line,
 both of cadences & number of syllables. Every word and every
 letter is studied and put into its fit place: the terrific numbers
 are reserved for the terrific parts, the mild & gentle for the
 mild & gentle parts, and the prosaic for inferior parts: all are
 50 necessary to each other. Poetry Fettered, Fetters the human
 Race. Nations are Destroyed, or Flourish, in proportion as Their
 Poetry, Painting and Music are Destroyed or Flourish. The
 Primeval State of Man was Wisdom, Art and Science.

3.26. *Sinai's awful cave* and the giving of writing there is B.'s reading of *Exodus* xxiv 4, 7, 12–15, where Moses went up Sinai, was hidden in a cloud, and was given the Law: in verse 4 Moses writes; in verse 12 he is 'given the Law'. Note B.'s typical inversion; his book is given in a *cave*, not a mountain top.

3.34. *Of the measure*] Cp. Milton's justification of the use of blank verse in his note *The Verse* at the head of *Paradise Lost*.

3.37. The deleted Greek means: 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth' (Matthew xxviii 18). They are the first words of Christ's last speech (in *Matthew*) before ascending to heaven. B. wrote the Greek as shown, and without accents or breathings.

3.40. *monotonous*] Regular. The following explanation distinguishes between the *inspiration* B. received, and the care and skill which, as he recognized, was necessary in setting it down.

3.41–42. *modern bondage of rhyming*] Milton's phrase (see 3.34n).

3.50–53. The sudden burst of capitals is Blake's, often a mark of his enthusiasm or exasperation.

Chapter 1

Pl.4 sums up the theme and basis of the poem. Albion refuses the offer of life in the Divine Vision, and rejects Jerusalem as a sinful partner; his depression deepens into sickness, and his corrupted Sons take control of him in spite of his Friends. The evil spreads; but Los, the faithful guardian, building Golgonooza against the darkness, watches and struggles untiringly, to contain the evils resulting from Albion's state. Los, Albion's Sons, Albion himself, Vala and Jerusalem, all speak of their visions, but at the end of the chapter, Albion declares his hopelessness, and Beulah prays for deliverance.

After the *Epic introduction* 4.1-5, three themes develop, with interjections. The ALBION Theme: (i) 4.6-5.15. Albion is presented in a state of wretchedness. *Interjection* 5.16-45. B. speaks of his own writing, and the visions that surround him. (ii) 5.46-65. Albion's twin Emanations, Vala and Jerusalem, are shown, the first drawing the second away from their true home in Beulah, into the land of chaos, Ulro. The LOS Theme. (iii) 5.66-11.7. Los, seeing and hearing this, sets to work, but is bedevilled by his spectre, his evil self, whom he must subdue. (iv) 11.8-12.20. Los creates Erin, who will guard Albion. (v) 12.21-14.34. Los builds Golgonooza, the beautiful city of guard against chaos; it is fully described. *Interjection* 15.1-16.27. B. again describes the confused visions of the state of Albion and Europe as they appear to him. (vi) 16.28-17.62. Los ties Albion to biblical history; and continues to seek out and expose the evil done by Albion's children. The ALBION Theme. (vii) 18.1-19.35. Albion is incited by his Sons to reject Jerusalem. (viii) 19.36-25.16. Albion disputes with Jerusalem and Vala. He believes his love for Jerusalem is an unforgivable sin, and he rejects her in spite of her entreaties, and her declaration that no sin is unforgivable and that love is not sin. Vala casts her veil over Albion, and thus gains power over both the others.

Pl.4 [*Design*]

Jerusalem: Chap. 1

Of the Sleep of Ulro! and of the passage through
Eternal Death, and of the awaking to Eternal Life!

Pl.4. *Design*: At the top of this plate, between moon and stars, *Μονος ο Ιεσους* (*sic*) 'alone Jesus' is written in the heavens. The words are found in *John* viii 9, but a likelier source is the Transfiguration narrative in *Luke* ix 36 where Jesus is seen to be alone after the vision and the cloud have passed. (There the words are 'ο' *Ιησους μόνος*.) The Transfiguration becomes important at the final climax of *Jerusalem*, pl.96.

- [4] This theme calls me in sleep, night after night, & every morn
Awakes me at sunrise; then I see the Saviour over me,
5 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;
Fibres of love from man to man through Albion's pleasant land.
In all the dark Atlantic vale, down from the hills of Surrey,
10 A black water accumulates. Return, Albion, return!
Thy brethren call thee; and thy fathers and thy sons,
Thy nurses and thy mothers, thy sisters and thy daughters
Weep at thy soul's disease, and the Divine Vision is darkened.
Thy Emanation that was wont to play before thy face,
15 Beaming forth with her daughters into the divine bosom.
Where hast thou hidden thy Emanation, lovely Jerusalem,
From the vision and fruition of the Holy One?
I am not a God afar off, I am a brother and friend;
Within your bosoms I reside, and you reside in me.
20 Lo! we are one, forgiving all evil, not seeking recompense.
Ye are my members, O ye sleepers of Beulah, land of shades!'

But the perturbed Man away turns down the valleys dark;

'Phantom of the overheated brain, shadow of immortality,
Seeking to keep my soul a victim to thy Love, which binds
25 Man the enemy of man into deceitful friendships.
Jerusalem is not; her daughters are indefinite.
By demonstration man alone can live, and not by faith.

4.1. *Ulro*] The region of non-entity (see introduction to *Milton*, p. 506). The sleeper is Albion, representing both England and mankind as a whole.

4.6. *Awake!*] The song is addressed to Albion.

expand] Cp. 34.17-18.

4.8. *Fibres . . .*] i.e. 'fibres of love run . . .' At the end of the line is the word 'Where!!' (*del.*).

4.9-10. *black water*] John Adlard suggests flood water.

4.16. *thy Emanation, lovely Jerusalem*] See headnote.

4.17. *fruition*] Perhaps suggesting jealousy in Albion, and that he is hiding Jerusalem where she may not have visions and then give birth to them?

4.21. *Beulah*] The region, just outside the highest heaven but in contact with it, where spirits weary, or injured, or sick, may rest. In our material world we can, in dreams and visions, enter Beulah (cp. 48.20 and especially *Milton* 30.21).

4.22. After this line, a deleted line: 'Saying: "We are not One; we are Many, thou most simulative" . . .'

4.23. From *Macbeth* II i 38-9: 'a false creation / Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain'. In fact, Albion is rejecting truth by confusing it with error, which he accepts (26-7).

- [4] My mountains are my own, and I will keep them to myself:
The Malvern and the Cheviot, the Wolds, Plinlimmon &
Snowdon
30 Are mine! Here will I build my Laws of Moral Virtue.
Humanity shall be no more, but war & princedom & victory.’
- So spoke Albion in jealous fears, hiding his Emanation
Upon the Thames and Medway, rivers of Beulah, dissembling
His jealousy before the throne divine, darkening, cold!
- Pl.5 The banks of the Thames are clouded, the ancient porches of
Albion are
Darkened; they are drawn through unbounded space,
scattered upon
The void in incoherent despair. Cambridge & Oxford &
London
Are driven among the starry wheels, rent away and dissipated,
5 In chasms & abysses of sorrow, enlarged without dimension,
terrible.
- Albion’s mountains run with blood, the cries of war & of tumult
Resound into the unbounded night, every Human perfection
Of mountain & river & city, are small & withered & darkened.
Cam is a little stream, Ely is almost swallowed up,
10 Lincoln & Norwich stand trembling on the brink of Udan-Adan,
Wales and Scotland shrink themselves to the west and to the
north,
Mourning for fear of the warriors in the vale of Entuthon
Benython.

4.30. *Here will I build . . .*] Perhaps thinking of the ‘druid temples’ spread across England and Wales, signs of priestly oppression.

4.33. These are rivers of Beulah in being representative of places in the spiritual imagination. Albion is hiding Jerusalem within his own domain and not letting her out (16–17).

5.1–6. Albion is thrown into a tumult by his selfish withdrawal. Albion is, in common usage, the land of Britain and, in B.’s usage, also a person in Eternity. B. associates the two usages and describes how the parts of Albion (places in Britain as we know them) are dispersed in Eternity. Albion can be a land and a human figure, and can take other forms as well – hence the porches (1).

5.4 *starry wheels*] The stars here (as often, though not without exception) connote the Newtonian universe, which B. saw as a formless abyss. The wheels are complex, calculated, mindless and irresistible devices of the devil. Cp. 15.18–20.

5.6. War is one result of Albion’s apostasy; but the line should be understood imaginatively.

5.9. *Cam . . . Ely*] See 35.12n.

5.10. *Udan-Adan*] The dark lake of Ulro, a sinister lake in a black forest, a place of indefinite form, B.’s Acheron and Styx. Cp. 13.38ff.

5.12. *Entuthon Benython*] The forest in which Udan-Adan is found.

- [5] Jerusalem is scattered abroad like a cloud of smoke through
Non-Entity:
Moab & Ammon & Amalek & Canaan & Egypt & Aram
15 Receive her little ones for sacrifices and the delights of cruelty.
Trembling I sit day and night; my friends are astonished at me.
Yet they forgive my wanderings, I rest not from my great
task—
To open the Eternal worlds, to open the immortal eyes
Of Man inwards into the Worlds of Thought—into Eternity
20 Ever expanding in the bosom of God, the Human
Imagination.
O Saviour, pour upon me thy spirit of meekness & love;
Annihilate the Selfhood in me, be thou all my life.
Guide thou my hand which trembles exceedingly upon the
Rock of Ages,
While I write of the building of Golgonooza, & of the
terrors of Entuthon;
25 Of Hand & Hyle & Coban, of Kwantok, Peachey, Brereton,
Slayd & Hutton;
Of the terrible Sons & Daughters of Albion and their
generations.
Scofield, Kox, Kotope and Bowen revolve most mightily upon
The Furnace of Los, before the eastern gate bending their fury.

5.14. B. names tribes surrounding, and mostly hostile to, Israel. He accuses them, among their pagan rites, of human sacrifice – a practice condemned several times in the Old Testament (e.g. Ahaz in 2 *Kings* xvi 3 ‘made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen’; see also *Ezekiel* xvi 21, xx 26).

5.24. *Golgonooza*] The city built by Los in the midst of Ulro as a bastion of light against the power of darkness. See 12.25ff.

5.25. *Hand & Hyle*] ‘Sons of Albion’ (see headnote), that is, lesser extensions of Albion’s fallen personality, who, in the course of Jerusalem, enact in particular ways the evil that has come into his mind. All twelve are named at 19.18.

5.27–33. The four Sons try to destroy Los’s work, which, as will be seen, is to maintain the remnants of eternity in Ulro by the building of Golgonooza and his work at the anvil. (Cp. note on *Milton* pl.26.13. In Neo-Platonic imagery a southern entry is for eternal spirits and the northern is the gate of mortal birth (see *Raine*, ch. 9); the Sons of Albion may thus be described as assaulting the spiritual gate and being driven out through the mortal gate: but it is not certain that this was in B.’s mind). The division into male and female is a sign of fallen, imperfect nature.

revolve, here and in 46 is an image of malevolence hard to visualize from these lines; it may be seen in the massive black cogs at the foot of pl.22.

5.28. *The FURNACE of Los*] An important image. Three kinds of furnace are imagined: (a) Los, as blacksmith, has a hot, bellows-driven fire in which to heat the iron that he holds in his tongs and shapes with his hammer; (b) as iron-master,

- [5] They war to destroy the furnaces, to desolate Golgonooza,
 30 And to devour the sleeping Humanity of Albion in rage & hunger.
 They revolve into the furnaces southward & are driven forth northward,
 Divided into Male and Female forms time after time.
 From these Twelve all the families of England spread abroad.
- The Male is a furnace of beryl; the Female is a golden loom.
 35 I behold them, and their rushing fires overwhelm my soul
 In London's darkness, and my tears fall day and night
 Upon the Emanations of Albion's Sons, the Daughters of Albion,
 Names anciently remembered but now contemned as fictions,
 Although in every bosom they control our Vegetative powers.
- 40 These are united into Tirzah and her sisters, on Mount Gilead
 Cambel & Gwendolen & Conwenna & Cordella & Ignoe.

he uses a blast-furnace to smelt iron from ore (using the process summarized at *Four Zoas* ii 282, though here the process is purifying and not formative as in (a); (c) B. recalls the 'burning fiery furnace' of *Daniel* iii, where men walked in the midst of the fire (cp. 31.5*n*). B. may combine these images, as in 11.8–12, where Los looks into the furnace as Nebuchadnezzar might have looked at Daniel; yet Erin, whom he sees there, is a creation of his furnace as in different ways iron is manufactured in the two kinds of furnace mentioned above. B.'s images often depart from a simple depiction of either process in the search for imaginative expression. Los is not simply B. personified, but Los's archetypal struggles are reflected in B.'s.

5.34. *The Male . . . the Female*] So in 90.27, where the context clearly indicates that these are furnaces and looms inimical to those of Los and Enitharmon. The men and women of England that B. envisages are immortal forms, intended to do Los's work, but only parodying it for evil.

beryl] Chosen for its beauty, and hardness (cp. 'beryl and emerald immortal', in a similar passage, 53.9).

5.37. *Upon*] For or on behalf of.

5.38. The names of the Daughters of Albion are drawn from the legendary history of Ancient Britain (see headnote, p. 655). B. saw these legends, as he saw the druids, as imaginative realities. As against the rationalist, the imaginative eye can see through and past such myths to the eternal verities which they reveal. *contemned*] Despised.

5.39. *our Vegetative powers*] The powers by which we live this mortal, earthly life, as distinct from the imaginative, eternal life.

5.40–5. *Tirzah* and *Rahab* are the two female powers of evil whom B. derived from the Bible. Both are cruel, Tirzah like an oppressive mother, Rahab like a domineering mistress. B. says, in effect, that the Daughters of Albion – the womanhood of Britain – are marked by the evil principles figured in his Rahab and Tirzah. See *Four Zoas* viii 267*n*, 283*n*. For the Covering Cherub (42), see *Milton* pl.37.8*n*.

- [5] And these united into Rahab in the Covering Cherub on
Euphrates:
Gwineverra & Gwinefred, & Gonorill & Sabrina beautiful,
Estrild, Mehetabel & Ragan, lovely Daughters of Albion;
45 They are the beautiful Emanations of the Twelve Sons of
Albion.
- The Starry Wheels revolved heavily over the furnaces,
Drawing Jerusalem in anguish of maternal love
Eastward, a pillar of a cloud with Vala upon the mountains,
Howling in pain, redounding from the arms of Beulah's
Daughters,
50 Out from the furnaces of Los above the head of Los,
A pillar of smoke writhing afar into Non-Entity, redounding
Till the cloud reaches afar, outstretched among the starry
wheels
Which revolve heavily in the mighty void above the furnaces.
- O what avail the loves & tears of Beulah's lovely Daughters?
55 They hold the Immortal form in gentle hands & tender tears;
But all within is opened into the deeps of Entuthon Benython,
A dark and unknown night, indefinite, unmeasurable,
without end—
Abstract Philosophy warring in enmity against Imagination
(Which is the Divine Body of the Lord Jesus, blessed for ever).
60 And there Jerusalem wanders with Vala upon the mountains,
Attracted by the revolutions of those wheels, the cloud of
smoke
Immense. And Jerusalem & Vala weeping in the cloud
Wander away into the Chaotic Void, lamenting with her
shadow
Among the Daughters of Albion, among the Starry Wheels,

5.46–53. These lines follow on from 27–8. In the following lines B. is using an image derived from watching the smoke emerging from the chimney of a blast furnace. He imagines Vala riding in the cloud, as the roaring of the furnace in 7.35–6 becomes Luvah's voice. The biblical pillar of cloud (*Exodus* xiii 21, etc.) was a daytime sign of divine guidance; here it is a vehicle of terror. Once again, evil influences from Albion are seeking to destroy the good that remains in Albion at his heart – in his Emanation Jerusalem, carrying her *eastward* to Non-entity (see 5.68n).

5.47. *anguish of maternal love*] For its negative implications, see *Four Zoas* v 113n.

5.54. *Beulah's lovely Daughters*] They have the task, nurse-like, of caring for the souls of the lost, or those in danger of being lost, who sleep a deathly sleep. But their powers are limited, and they can only tend the sleeper; they cannot heal. See *Milton* pl.30.1n. They see Albion's outward appearance as an immortal form; but all 'within' is a world of corruption.

- [5] Lamenting for her children, for the Sons & daughters of Albion.
- 66 Los heard her lamentations in the deeps afar. His tears fall
Incessant before the furnaces, and his Emanation divided in
pain,
Eastward toward the starry wheels. But westward, a black horror
- Pl.6 His Spectre driven by the Starry Wheels of Albion's Sons,
black and
Opaque, divided from his back; he labours and he mourns.

5.66. The first part of the action proper begins: Los disputes with his Spectre who wishes to dominate him.

5.68. In *Jerusalem* the west is the direction of freedom and imagination; but Albion's Western gate is closed (40.3,17) except in a few people (40.33). The east is the direction in which lay the reactionary kingdoms of Europe, and the war (45.56); further away lay Babylon (82.36). The 'current of Creation' (77.38-9) runs with the sun from east to west. The north is the direction of ice and darkness, and the bloody religions of the old days (83.19), to which the south is the opposite, the direction of sun and light. Thus western and southern places, whether in London or Europe or the world, are associated with beauty and imagination; northern and eastern places with evil and death. In 12.45ff Eden is west, Beulah is south, Generation is north and Ulro is east: B.'s scheme of the cardinal points normally follows this pattern. The arrangement of *The Four Zoas* (Urthona/Los north, Luvah east, Urizen south, Tharmas west; cp. vi 277-8 and 261n) is found also from time to time in *Jerusalem*, and does not quite fit, though here also the west remains ideal and Luvah is in the east. But of the other two, 'strong Urthona' in the north is less corrupt than 'bright Urizen' in the south. In *Ezekiel* xlv, however, the eastern gate is shut. See 12.52n.

See also the note on the *false tongue* (Milton pl.2.10). Much depends on the west – the 'parent' sense or power (98.17; *Four Zoas* i 16), which is closed in this fallen world. In Eternity, the fourfold completeness of the cardinal points makes them, with the four rivers of paradise and the four Zoas, a mark of perfection and wholeness (98.24-7).

6.1. The SPECTRE (see design at foot of plate) first appeared in *The Four Zoas* iv 62ff, torn from Los when Tharmas separated him and Enitharmon. At first B. uses this *Spectre* only as a ghost of the Los who had been a 'dolorous shadow'. But the image caught his imagination, and he used it and developed it throughout *The Four Zoas*, *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, as well as in 'My spectre around me' (p. 498). It is important that the idea did develop, and that it does not hold one meaning at all times. It is an image with many connotations, rather than an exact symbol.

There are a number of elements in the image. (a) The ordinary meaning – 'ghost', phantom of a person once alive. Spectres were common in the 'Gothic' horror-romances of the time. The Spectre is essentially *not real*; the shape of a person, a divided part of him, his copy, bodiless but unspiritual. B. often referred to it as a 'shadow', which hovers round the person, never able to leave, but never touching (e.g. 'My spectre around me'). It is an empty imitation of Humanity, not a real self – and so tragedy follows when a person depends on the shadow instead of the reality. Since the physical world is unreal, those who live only there

- [6] For as his Emanation divided, his Spectre also divided
 In terror of those starry wheels: and the Spectre stood over Los
 5 Howling in pain, a blackening shadow, blackening, dark &
 opaque,
 Cursing the terrible Los, bitterly cursing him for his friendship
 To Albion, suggesting murderous thoughts against Albion.
- Los raged and stamped the earth in his might & terrible wrath.
 He stood and stamped the earth. Then he threw down his
 hammer in rage and

are entirely dependent on an unreal mortal body – they are in spectrous form. (b) There is a further development of this, where the hovering Spectre wishes to bite but dare not (11.6–7; *Milton* pl.39.16–21). This is derived from the *spectre*, or *vampire-bat* mentioned by J. G. Stedman in his *Travels*, publ. 1796, in which edition B. illustrated this bat; and he often gives bat-wings to his own Spectres. The vampire bat sucks blood, and B.'s Spectre is also vicious; but the shadow cannot destroy the person without destroying itself. (c) Yet another element, though less important in the image, may be the Epicurean notion that creatures exhaled a sort of image of themselves 'composed of a very subtle matter' (Reid, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, 1785 – where the word 'spectre' is used for this 'image', the earliest *OED* reference to the use of the word in this way). By this 'spectre' men were said to perceive each other; B. may have had this in his mind, thinking that only in Eden do persons truly meet, not through spectral forms, but with nothing intervening.

In narrative use, there are two aspects of the Spectre, one good, the other evil. In *The Four Zoas* the good is often uppermost, in *Milton* chiefly the evil. The Spectre in power is evil, a 'Hyde' figure, a corruption of a person's real and complete 'Jekyll' self. It seeks to dominate by force, and is a creature of darkness – hence the bat-wings with which it is shown, e.g. in the illustration to *Jerusalem* pl.6. It is male, aggressive and domineering, as against both the gentler female Emanation, and the subtle corruption of Rahab; and as against the true Human personality which contains and balances both male and female in itself. Sometimes B. uses the image of the hermaphrodite (e.g. *Milton* pl.14.37), which is a spectral form most strikingly seen in *Milton* pl.38.15–27, where the magnificent desolation of the male Satan is ruled by the hidden interior power of the female Rahab. This perpetuates the sexual division, yet is effectively neither male nor female.

When controlled for good, however, as in Los's building (*Four Zoas* iv 194ff, *Jerusalem* 8.30–60), the Spectre may be a valued and necessary aid, although often reluctant. In *The Four Zoas* vii 631ff the Spectre of Los, with its dim memories of a higher state in another life, is instrumental in reconciling Los and Enitharmon. But there are no Spectres in Eden; the Spectre is unreal, a shadow, and must be annihilated, or absorbed, in the end.

6.2. *he*] Los.

6.6. The Spectre wishes to strengthen Albion's desire for death (4.31). B. in passages such as this identifies himself with Los, who works for the good of Albion, in spite of the spectral forces of those (such as Hayley) who try to prevent him, and in spite of the evil tendencies he sees within himself, which make him afraid to act because of the corruptions of Albion.

- [6] In fury; then he sat down and wept, terrified! Then arose
 II And chanted his song, labouring with the tongs and hammer.
 But still the Spectre divided, and still his pain increased.
 In pain the Spectre divided, in pain of hunger and thirst,
 To devour Los's Human perfection, but when he saw that Los

[*Design*]

- Pl.7 Was living, panting like a frightened wolf and howling
 He stood over the immortal in the solitude and darkness,
 Upon the darkening Thames, across the whole island westward,
 A horrible shadow of death among the furnaces, beneath
 5 The pillar of folding smoke. And he sought by other means
 To lure Los: by tears, by arguments of science & by terrors,
 Terrors in every nerve, by spasms & extended pains,
 While Los answered unterrified to the opaque blackening fiend.

[*Design*]

- And thus the Spectre spoke: 'Wilt thou still go on to
 destruction,
 10 Till thy life is all taken away by this deceitful Friendship?
 He drinks thee up like water; like wine he pours thee
 Into his tuns. Thy Daughters are trodden in his vintage,
 He makes thy Sons the trampling of his bulls, they are
 ploughed
 And harrowed for his profit. Lo! thy stolen Emanation
 15 Is his garden of pleasure. All the Spectres of his Sons mock thee.
 Look how they scorn thy once admired palaces, now in ruins
 Because of Albion, because of deceit and friendship! For lo!
 Hand has peopled Babel & Nineveh; Hyle, Asshur & Aram;

6. *Design*: Filling over half of the page: Los in front of his furnace, leaning on his hammer, and looking up to argue with his Spectre, a bat-winged spirit who hovers over him. See front cover and inside back cover.

7.3. The shadow of night as it spreads across England from east to West.

7.5. *The pillar of folding smoke*] Cp. 5.48.

7.9. The Spectre speaks with the voice of worldly wisdom, saying that Los is working for Albion, who only scores his labour and misappropriates it.

7.14. *thy stolen Emanation*] Apparently a reference to someone else's enjoyment of advantages derived from a work of B.'s – perhaps Hayley, or Cromek, both specified as Sons of Albion. Emanations are stolen in *The Four Zoas*, e.g., ii 512–52, iv 56.

7.15. *his garden of pleasure*] The phrase is not biblical, although in the Bible gardens are places of pleasure. The pleasure gardens of London were notorious haunts of prostitutes, as in Fanny Burney's *Evelina* (1778): see 8.2.

7.18–26. The great cities of the ancient world have been taken over and corrupted by the wicked Sons of Albion, and the patriarchs themselves have also become vehicles of their evil will. These lines are based chiefly on *Genesis* x, where Noah's descendants are listed. But B. is not consistent with *Genesis*, in which Cush is

- [7] Coban's son is Nimrod; his son Cush is adjoined to Aram
 20 By the daughter of Babel in a woven mantle of pestilence & war.
 They put forth their spectrous cloudy sails, which drive their
 immense
 Constellations over the deadly deeps of indefinite Udan-Adan.
 Kox is the father of Shem & Ham & Japheth; he is the Noah
 Of the flood of Udan-Adan. Huttu is the father of the seven
 25 From Enoch to Adam; Skofield is Adam who was new—
 Created in Edom. I saw it indignant, & thou art not moved!
 This has divided thee in sunder, and wilt thou still forgive?
 O, thou seest not what I see—what is done in the furnaces.
 Listen, I will tell thee what is done in moments to thee
 unknown.
 30 Luvah was cast into the furnaces of affliction and sealed,
 And Vala fed in cruel delight the furnaces with fire.
 Stern Urizen beheld, urged by necessity to keep
 The evil day afar, and if perchance with iron power
 He might avert his own despair. In woe & fear he saw
 35 Vala encircle round the furnaces where Luvah was closed.
 With joy she heard his howlings, & forgot he was her Luvah,
 With whom she lived in bliss in times of innocence & youth.
 Vala comes from the furnace in a cloud, but wretched Luvah
 Is howling in the furnaces, in flames among Albion's Spectres,

Nimrod's father and is not linked with Aram. The descent is: *Adam* to *Enoch* (seven, inclusive; cp. 24) and Enoch was *Noah's* great-grandfather. Of Noah's three sons *Shem*, *Ham* and *Japheth* (23), Ham's son *Cush* was father of *Nimrod*, who reigned in *Babel* and *Nineveh* (18). Shem's children included *Asshur* and *Aram* (assigned to Hyle, 18). Thus the spectrous Sons of Albion are associated with each stage in the patriarchal lineage, down to the founding of the tribes known to the Bible in the warlike history echoed in 20.2.

7.19. Cush's son Nimrod founded Babel, which is near Aram, both being on the Euphrates. Incidentally, the Cushites of the historical books were Ethiopians.

7.25. Edom was a traditional enemy of Israel; the 'Adam new created in Edom' is an image of man falsely made, deceiving later generations.

7.28. *thou seest not*] Blast-furnaces, once started, burnt non-stop for months on end. One could see the smoke and flame of their chimneys, and hear the roar, but not the changes the materials inside were undergoing, until they emerged.

7.30–7. These lines repeat *Four Zoas* ii 282–9. There they refer to Urizen's revenge on Luvah while the building of Urizen's palace was in progress. Here the passage is a sudden digression into another of B.'s worlds. In the idiom of *Jerusalem*, this is a vision to be seen inside Los's furnace. It shows how, in yet another way, evil is hanging over Los.

7.39–40. See 5.46*n* above. The sense is obscure. Who is 'forming' and 'preparing'? – Luvah, it seems; yet he is also the unwilling sacrifice. He is 'among Albion's Spectres' as if they were in the same plight as his; yet in 4.1 he seems to be 'forming' them. What is clear is that through the agency of Luvah, the passionate one, whose passion is here turned to evil use, the 'Spectre Sons of Albion' are turning against Los.

- [7] To prepare the Spectre of Albion to reign over thee, O Los,
 41 Forming the Spectres of Albion according to his rage—
 To prepare the Spectre sons of Adam, who is Scofield, the ninth
 Of Albion's sons, & the father of all his brethren in the
 Shadowy

Generation. Cambel & Gwendolen wove webs of war & of
 45 Religion to involve all Albion's sons, and when they had
 Involved eight, their webs rolled outwards into darkness,
 And Scofield the Ninth remained on the outside of the Eight,
 And Kox, Kotope, & Bowen, one in him, a Fourfold Wonder,
 Involved the Eight. Such are the Generations of the Giant Albion,
 50 To separate a Law of Sin to punish thee in thy members.'

Los answered: 'Although I know not this, I know far worse
 than this.

I know that Albion hath divided me and that thou, O my Spectre,
 Hast just cause to be irritated. But look steadfastly upon me,
 Comfort thyself in my strength; the time will arrive
 55 When all Albion's injuries shall cease, and when we shall
 Embrace him tenfold bright, rising from his tomb in immor-
 tality.

They have divided themselves by Wrath; they must be united by
 Pity. Let us therefore take example & warning, O my Spectre.
 Oh, that I could abstain from wrath! O that the Lamb
 60 Of God would look upon me and pity me in my fury,
 In anguish of regeneration, in terrors of self-annihilation.
 Pity must join together those whom wrath has torn in sunder,
 And the Religion of Generation, which was meant for the
 destruction

Of Jerusalem, become her covering till the time of the end.

7.43. *the father of all his brethren*] Of all his own brothers (not Albion's); an echo of Milton's phrase. 'fairest of all her daughters, Eve' (*Paradise Lost* iv 324). Skofield, the trooper who accused B. of sedition, is the great enemy, and from him may be derived all the evil to be found partially in the rest.

7.43-4. *the Shadowy / Generation*] This mortal life.

7.47. *outside*] The outside is the shell, the superficial appearance (see 12.55*n*). Skofield sums up the rest, and their evils are seen in his form.

7.48. *one in him*] An anti-Trinity.

7.50. *To separate a Law of Sin*] Separation is usually evil in B. — man's manifold interrelated activities are now to be divided, analysed, subjected to moral law.

7.54-5. *a time*] When it will come is hidden, determined only by the Divine Vision, as we shall see.

7.56. *tenfold*] A perfect number, one more than Skofield's nine (*Four Zoas* i 169*n*).

7.63-4. The religions known in this world ('Generation') are formed in a temporal mould; they are earthly, not divine. Yet, since nothing better is available, it is they who must preserve the divine truth, till the time of the End.

- [7] Oh holy Generation, [*image*] of Regeneration!
 66 O point of Mutual Forgiveness between enemies,
 Birthplace of the Lamb of God incomprehensible!
 The Dead despise & scorn thee, & cast thee out as accursed:
 Seeing the Lamb of God in thy gardens & thy palaces,
 70 Where they desire to place the Abomination of Desolation.
 Hand sits before his furnace; scorn of others & furious pride
 Freeze round him to bars of steel & to iron rocks beneath
 His feet. Indignant self-righteousness like whirlwinds of the north
 Pl.8 Rose up against me thundering from the brook of Albion's river,
 From Ranelagh & Strumbolo, from Cromwell's Gardens &
 Chelsea,
 The place of wounded soldiers; but when he saw my mace
 Whirled round from heaven to earth trembling he sat; his cold
 5 Poisons rose up, & his sweet deceits covered them all over
 With a tender cloud. As thou art now, such was he, O Spectre.

7.65. *holy Generation*] The phrase expresses the paradox of GENERATION, the finite, enclosed mortal world we inhabit. Eden and Beulah are places of immortality; Ulro, the place of eternal Non-Entity. Only in the world of Generation the constant cycle of birth and death is to be found, 'continually building, continually decaying' (pl.72 *design*). Viewed from Eden, it is a place almost of Death, since its inhabitants cannot partake of the unbounded life of Eternity; but its existence is a mercy, for glimmers of Eternity are visible to mortals willing to exercise Imagination. Los's constant task is to keep these possibilities open to the world of Generation; B. repeatedly stresses the paradox of its restricted but redeeming vision. Cp. 13.44-45.

image] Deleted, but inked in again in two of the five copies. Perhaps B. was dissatisfied with a word implying a solid object rather than a living process.

7.68. *The Dead*] The spiritually dead.

7.70. *Daniel* xii 11, and especially *Matthew* xxiv 15: 'When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place . . .' The Holy Place is the heart of the Temple in Jerusalem, hence B.'s allusion. (In *Matthew*, also *Mark* xiii 14 and *Luke* xxi 20, the exact allusion varies, but relates to the unrest which culminated in the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70. All three N.T. passages allude to *Daniel*, and the setting up of the statue of Zeus in the Temple. The added phrase in *Matthew* and *Mark*: 'whoso readeth, let him understand' gives latitude to the reader's interpretation.)

7.71. *Hand*] B. says what he thinks of Robert Hunt and the *Examiner*, who in 1808 had scornfully criticized him (see pp. xix and 656).

8.1. *the brook*] Tyburn, which flowed near the place of public execution.

8.2. *Ranelagh & Strumbolo, Cromwell's Gardens*] Popular places of entertainment; Chelsea Hospital, the home for invalided soldiers, was next to Ranelagh. All these places are in the west; they are seen here as places of licentious, not innocent, amusement, and they blemish the virtue of the west. See 7.15 and *n*; and map, p. 651.

8.6. B. sees in himself the beginnings of the same faults that corrupted Hand or Hunt.

- [8] I know thy deceit & thy revenges, and unless thou desist
I will certainly create an eternal hell for thee. Listen!
Be attentive! Be obedient! Lo! the furnaces are ready to
receive thee.
- 10 I will break thee into shivers & melt thee in the furnaces of
death;
I will cast thee into forms of abhorrence & torment if thou
Desist not from thine own will, & obey not my stern command.
I am closed up from my children; my Emanation is dividing
And thou my Spectre art divided against me. But mark:
- 15 I will compel thee to assist me in my terrible labours. To beat
These hypocritic Selfhoods on the anvils of bitter death
I am inspired. I act not for myself; for Albion's sake
I now am what I am, a horror and an astonishment,
Shuddering the heavens to look upon me. Behold what cruelties
- 20 Are practised in Babel & Shinar, & have approached to Zion's
hill!

While Los spoke, the terrible Spectre fell shuddering before him,
Watching his time with glowing eyes to leap upon his prey.

Los opened the furnaces in fear. The Spectre saw to Babel &
Shinar,

Across all Europe & Asia; he saw the tortures of the victims.

- 25 He saw now from the outside what he before saw & felt
from within.

He saw that Los was the sole, uncontrolled Lord of the Furnaces.
Groaning he kneeled before Los's iron-shod feet on London
Stone,

8.15. Los, the imaginative man, makes even his evil tendencies work for him; if he does not, they will destroy him. Cp. 30ff; and, for the Spectre's submission, *Four Zoas* vii 642-6.

8.20. *Babel and Shinar*] The region from which the Babylonians, and Assyrians, who caused so much destruction, came; 23-4 point out that their spirit now governs the modern world.

8.22. A characteristic of the Spectre; one's evil self, although subdued, remains dangerous and must always be watched. B. may have seen a trained lion or similar beast.

8.26. The furnaces, though terrible, are constructive, a part of the iron-maker's essential equipment.

8.27. *London Stone*] An ancient relic, supposed to have been set as the datum-point for milestones along the Roman roads. It had stood for centuries on the south side of Cannon Street, but was moved in 1742, and in 1798 was built into the wall of the church of St Swithun (destroyed in 1941) on the north side. (It survives on the same site, now built into the wall of the Bank of China.) It was popularly supposed to be a stone where druid victims were slaughtered, and for B. it was a 'Druid monument', along with 'the caverns in Cornwall, Wales, Derbyshire, and Scotland' (*Descriptive Catalogue*, v).

- [8] Hungering & thirsting for Los's life, yet pretending obedience,
While Los pursued his speech in threatenings loud & fierce.
- 30 'Thou art my Pride & Self-righteousness; I have found thee out.
Thou art revealed before me in all thy magnitude & power;
Thy uncircumcised pretences to Chastity must be cut in sunder.
Thy holy wrath & deep deceit cannot avail against me,
Nor shalt thou ever assume the triple form of Albion's Spectre,
- 35 For I am one of the living. Dare not to mock my inspired fury,
If thou wast cast forth from my life, if I was dead upon the
mountains,
Thou mightest be pitied & loved, but now I am living. Unless
Thou abstain ravening I will create an eternal hell for thee.
Take thou this hammer, & in patience heave the thundering
bellows;
- 40 Take thou these tongs, strike thou alternate with me; labour
obedient.
Hand & Hyle & Koban, Skofeld, Kox & Kotope labour
mightily;
In the wars of Babel & Shinar, all their Emanations were
Condensed. Hand has absorbed all his brethren in his might;
All the infant loves & graces were lost, for the mighty Hand

[*Design*]

- Pl.9 Condensed his Emanations into hard opaque substances,
And his infant thoughts & desires into cold, dark, cliffs of death.
His hammer of gold he seized, and his anvil of adamant;
He seized the bars of condensed thoughts to forge them
- 5 Into the sword of war, into the bow and arrow,
Into the thundering cannon and into the murdering gun.
I saw the limbs formed for exercise contemned, & the beauty
of
Eternity looked upon as deformity, & loveliness as a dry tree.
I saw disease forming a body of death around the Lamb
- 10 Of God, to destroy Jerusalem, & to devour the body of
Albion,
By war and stratagem to win the labour of the husbandman;

[*Design*]

8.34. *the triple form*] Cp. 7.48n. Los will not permit his Spectre to go the way of Albion's.

8.41ff. Los describes the enemy he has to work against.

8.42. *Emanations*] The sources of his imaginative life are hardened into rigid forms. See *Four Zoas* i 17n.

8. *Design*: A woman drags a crescent moon, harnessed to her breast and thighs, through the clouds.

9. *Design*: Right a shepherd piping to his sheep, while left wild animals lie in wait; a kneeling, praying figure is interposed between them and the sheep.

- [9] Awkwardness armed in steel, folly in a helmet of gold,
Weakness with horns & talons, ignorance with a ravening beak.
Every emanative joy forbidden as a crime,
15 And the Emanations buried alive in the earth with pomp of
religion;
Inspiration denied, genius forbidden by laws of punishment.
I saw terrified; I took the sighs & tears & bitter groans;
I lifted them into my furnaces to form the spiritual sword
That lays open the hidden heart; I drew forth the pang
20 Of sorrow red-hot; I worked it on my resolute anvil.
I heated it in the flames of Hand, & Hyle, & Coban
Nine times. Gwendolen & Cambel & Gwineverra

[*Design*]

- Are melted into the gold, the silver, the liquid ruby,
The chrysolite, the topaz, the jacinth, & every precious stone.
25 Loud roar my furnaces and loud my hammer is heard.
I labour day and night, I behold the soft affections
Condense beneath my hammer into forms of cruelty,
But still I labour in hope, though still my tears flow down,
That he who will not defend truth may be compelled to defend
30 A lie—that he may be snared and caught and snared and taken,
That enthusiasm and life may not cease. Arise, Spectre, arise!’

Thus they contended among the furnaces with groans & tears.
Groaning, the Spectre heaved the bellows, obeying Los’s
frowns,
Till the Spaces of Erin were perfected in the furnaces
35 Of affliction, and Los drew them forth, compelling the harsh
Spectres

[*Design*]

- Pl.10 Into the furnaces & into the valleys of the anvils of death,
And into the mountains of the anvils & of the heavy hammers,

9.21. The Sons and Daughters of Albion are shown in two situations; as opposing Los (5.27) and as subject to his power in the furnaces. Thus, for example, an artist may be obstructed and frustrated by philistinism, but hopes in his turn to use even the philistine for the purposes of art.

9. *Design*: A bowed figure left; centre, a strip showing a woman fondling and feeding a serpent.

9.23–4. *gold . . . jacinth*] Biblical jewellery, featured particularly in Aaron’s vestments (*Exodus* xxviii) and the building of New Jerusalem (*Revelation* xxi 19–21).
9.34. *the Spaces of Erin*] See 11.8*n*; and for Spaces – an important concept – 85.1 and *Milton* pl.10.4.

9. *Design*: A group of women lament over the dead body of a man (Albion?). Plate 10. This is an added plate, later than pls.9 and 11, and made to fit between them: pl.9 has the catchword *To* (leading to 11.1).

- [10] Till he should bring the Sons & Daughters of Jerusalem to be
 The Sons & Daughters of Los, that he might protect them from
 5 Albion's dread Spectres. Storming, loud, thunderous & mighty,
 The bellows & the hammers move, compelled by Los's hand.

And this is the manner of the Sons of Albion in their
 strength:

They take the two Contraries which are called Qualities, with
 which

Every substance is clothed; they name them Good & Evil.

- 10 From them they make an Abstract, which is a Negation
 Not only of the Substance from which it is derived,
 A murderer of its own body, but also a murderer
 Of every Divine member. It is the Reasoning Power,
 An Abstract objecting power that Negatives everything.
 15 This is the Spectre of Man: the Holy Reasoning Power;
 And in its Holiness is closed the Abomination of Desolation.

Therefore Los stands in London, building Golgonooza,
 Compelling his Spectre to labours mighty; trembling in fear
 The Spectre weeps, but Los unmoved by tears or threats
 remains.

- 20 'I must Create a System, or be enslaved by another man's;
 I will not Reason & Compare; my business is to Create.'

So Los, in fury & strength, in indignation & burning wrath.
 Shuddering the Spectre howls; his howlings terrify the night:
 He stamps around the anvil, beating blows of stern despair;

- 25 He curses heaven & earth, day & night & sun & moon;
 He curses forest, spring & river, desert & sandy waste,
 Cities & nations, families & peoples, tongues & laws,
 Driven to desperation by Los's terrors & threatening fears.

10.7–16. B. distinguishes between CONTRARIES and NEGATIONS. *Negations*, such as *good and evil*, *beautiful and ugly*, affirm one quality and simultaneously deny the other. *Contraries*, such as *elegant and grotesque*, are contrasting but complementary qualities. B. says that the analysis which insists that opposites must be exclusive destroys not only what it denies, but also what it affirms. See 17.32ff; B.'s fullest exposition of the concept.

10.17. *Golgonooza*] The city built by Los in the heart of Ulro, an outpost of artistic integrity which by his continual labour he maintains and guards so that evil may not be absolutely triumphant.

in London] Not that London is Golgonooza – far from it – but that even in London, the scene of B.'s common life, with all its evils, Golgonooza is being, and must be, built.

10.20–1. These lines have been much quoted. Note that the important word is *Create*, not *System*. B.'s is an artistic, not a rational system; for him, Creation means continual renewal as well as continual new invention. See 58.15–18.

[10] Los cries: 'Obey my voice & never deviate from my will,
 30 And I will be merciful to thee. Be thou invisible to all
 To whom I make thee invisible, but chief to my own children.
 O Spectre of Urthona, reason not against their dear approach,
 Nor them obstruct with thy temptations of doubt & despair.
 O Shame, O strong & mighty Shame, I break thy brazen
 fetters!

35 If thou refuse, thy present torments will seem southern breezes
 To what thou shalt endure if thou obey not my great will.'

The Spectre answered: 'Art thou not ashamed of those thy sins
 That thou callest thy children? Lo! the Law of God commands
 That they be offered upon his altar. (O cruelty & torment,
 40 For thine are also mine!) I have kept silent hitherto,
 Concerning my chief delight; but thou hast broken silence;
 Now I will speak my mind. Where is my lovely Enitharmon,
 O thou my enemy, where is my Great Sin? She is also thine!
 I said: "Now is my grief at worst, incapable of being
 45 Surpassed", but every moment it accumulates more & more,
 It continues accumulating to eternity. The joys of God
 advance,

For he is Righteous; he is not a being of pity & compassion,
 He cannot feel distress; he feeds on Sacrifice & Offering,
 Delighting in cries & tears & clothed in holiness & solitude.

50 But my griefs advance also, for ever & ever without end.
 O that I could cease to be! Despair: I am Despair,
 Created to be the great example of horror & agony; also my
 Prayer is vain. I called for compassion: compassion mocked,
 Mercy & pity threw the gravestone over me & with lead
 55 And iron bound it over me for ever. Life lives on my
 Consuming, & the Almighty hath made me his contrary,
 To be all evil, all reversed & for ever dead, knowing
 And seeing life, yet living not. How can I then behold
 And not tremble? How can I be beheld & not abhorred?

10.32. *Spectre of Urthona*] Cp. *Four Zoas* iv 76ff, the beginning of the servant-spectre of Los. In *The Four Zoas* Los is the temporal name and form of the eternal Urthona; the Spectre of Urthona is thus the Spectre of Los.

10.37-8. To the dull earthly mind, the products of an imaginative mind are dangerous and sinful.

10.42-3. The Spectre is Los's shadow; he is an image of Los (not the real Los). Thus Enitharmon, as counterpart or Emanation of Los, stands in the same relation as Los does to the Spectre who thinks himself real, and Los false. But the Spectre reveals himself by the description of his love as Sin.

10.47. A false, spectrous view of God. The Spectre's misery in the following lines derives from this false notion.

- [10] So spoke the Spectre shuddering, & dark tears ran down his
shadowy face,
61 Which Los wiped off, but comfort none could give, or beam
of hope,
Yet ceased he not from labouring at the roarings of his forge,
With iron & brass building Golgonooza in great contendings
Till his Sons & Daughters came forth from the furnaces
65 At the sublime labours; for Los compelled the invisible Spectre

Pl.II

[*Design*]

- To labours mighty, with vast strength, with his mighty chains,
In pulsations of time, & extensions of space, like urns of
Beulah
With great labour upon his anvils, & in his ladles the ore
He lifted, pouring it into the clay ground prepared with art;
5 Striving with Systems to deliver Individuals from those
Systems,
That, whenever any Spectre began to devour the dead,
He might feel the pain as if a man gnawed his own tender
nerves.

Then Erin came forth from the furnaces, & all the Daughters
of Beulah

10.61. *comfort none could give*] Los will not comfort the Spectre in spectrous terms: and the Spectre does not understand Los's terms.

11. *Design*: A creature with woman's body and legs, and swan's wings, neck and head, rests its head on the surface of the lake it floats in (perhaps drinking). The design at the foot may be related. Much discussion on the symbolism of this figure has so far failed to explain it.

11.2 *urns of Beulah*] Funeral urns (as stated in 53.28). In Beulah the ashes of the spiritually 'dead' are carefully tended, so that their existence is prolonged in some form, however reliquary, and this 'extension' of the pause between life and annihilation gives time for the renewal of the spirit.

11.3. Los is blacksmith and also ironfounder, preparing sand moulds on the ground, into which the molten metal pours.

11.5. *with*] i.e. 'against', or 'among'.

11.7. *He*] The Spectre, whose nature is partly delineated by this line. See also 48.33–50.22.

11.8. ERIN] One of the leaders of the Daughters of Beulah, now created by Los for Albion's sake. As B. visualizes the map of the island of Britain as the giant Albion, stretched out in sleep, so he sees the neighbouring island Ireland as a beautiful woman, Erin, who sits by him, watches over the sleeping form, shielding him from the full force of the destructive Atlantic waves. She appears in *Jerusalem* only, composed in the years after the Irish rebellion of 1798. The suffering of the weak always raised his anger, but Blake seems not to reflect this

- [11] Came from the furnaces, by Los's mighty power for
Jerusalem's
10 Sake, walking up and down among the Spaces of Erin,
And the Sons and Daughters of Los came forth in perfection
lovely.
And the Spaces of Erin reached from the starry height to the
starry depth.
- Los wept with exceeding joy & all wept with joy together.
They feared they never more should see their father, who
15 Was built in from Eternity in the cliffs of Albion.
- But when the joy of meeting was exhausted in loving embrace,
Again they lament. 'O what shall we do for lovely Jerusalem,
To protect the Emanations of Albion's mighty ones from
cruelty?
Sabrina & Ignoge begin to sharpen their beamy spears
20 Of light & love; their little children stand with arrows of
gold.
Ragan is wholly cruel; Scofield is bound in iron armour;
He is like a mandrake in the earth before Reuben's gate.
He shoots beneath Jerusalem's walls to undermine her
foundations.
Vala is but thy Shadow, O thou loveliest among women,
25 A shadow animated by thy tears, O mournful Jerusalem!

[*Design*]

unrest in *Jerusalem*; he nowhere shows any interest in strictly constitutional issues. See especially her appearance at Albion's bier, and her long lament (48.26-43; 48.53-50.22), the list at 72.17-27, and the 'heavenly light' over Ireland in 71.50-54.

The Daughters of Beulah operate in limited 'Spaces' (12) where their beatific influence is best felt.

11.12. *Spaces*] See 85.1n, and *Milton* 8.43n.

11.14. *their father*] Albion.

11.17-21. These lines are a lament for the souls of Sabrina, etc.

11.22. *mandrake . . . before Reuben's gate*] Mandrakes supposedly induce in others desire for the person who eats them. In *Genesis* xxx 14 Reuben brings some to his mother Leah, to rekindle Jacob's love for her. The allusion may be to the family discord which this action brought, when Leah quarrelled with Jacob's younger wife Rachel.

11.23-25. Jerusalem is imagined first as a city, then as a woman. Vala, who in *The Four Zoas* was the evil female spirit eventually (in Night ix) redeemed and brought back to a state of Jerusalem-like innocence, is made in *Jerusalem* into a shadowy 'other side' of Jerusalem herself.

11. *Design*: An evil-seeming female figure, bejewelled, swims through the water (beneath the swan-woman at the top of the page).

- Pl.12 'Why wilt thou give to her a Body whose life is but a Shade,
Her joy and love a shade (a shade of sweet repose)?
But animated and vegetated, she is a devouring worm.
What shall we do for thee, O lovely mild Jerusalem?'
- 5 And Los said: 'I behold the finger of God in terrors!
Albion is dead; his Emanation is divided from him!
But I am living, yet I feel my Emanation also dividing.
Such thing was never known! O pity me, thou all-piteous one!
What shall I do, or how exist, divided from Enitharmon?
- 10 Yet why despair? I saw the finger of God go forth
Upon my furnaces, from within the wheels of Albion's Sons,
Fixing their Systems permanent, by mathematic power
Giving a body to Falsehood that it may be cast off for ever,
With Demonstrative Science piercing Apollyon with his own
bow.
- 15 God is within & without; he is even in the depths of Hell.'
Such were the lamentations of the labourers in the furnaces.
- And they appeared within & without, encircling on both sides
The Starry Wheels of Albion's Sons, with Spaces for Jerusalem,
And for Vala the shadow of Jerusalem, the ever-mourning
shade,
- 20 On both sides, within & without beaming gloriously.
- Terrified at the sublime wonder, Los stood before his furnaces.
And they stood around, terrified with admiration at Erin's Spaces,
For the Spaces reached from the starry height to the starry depth;
And they builded Golgonooza, terrible eternal labour.
- 25 What are those golden builders doing? Where was the
burying-place

12.1-4. Vala is not 'real': she lives in the unimaginative, dead, dream-world. Would it not be kinder to leave her so, both for her own sake and that of all creation? Los, in 5ff (especially 13), says not.

12.3. *animated and vegetated*] in mortal form, not in true 'life' (1).

12.7. *dividing*] Not 'dividing in two', but 'dividing from me' – as in the previous line.

12.12. The hand of God acts even in the most godless places; error is made unchangeable and rigid, so that its lifelessness will reveal it to be error.

12.14. *Apollyon*] 'The angel of the bottomless pit' in *Revelation* ix 11, who was in command of the creatures that tormented the godless for a limited time. Apollyon is more famous as the demon in *Pilgrim's Progress* who attacks Christian in the Valley of Humiliation. The name is Greek ('Destroyer').

12.17. *they*] The labourers: who, Los sees, are active in the midst of the works of evil, ensuring that Jerusalem and even Vala are given spaces – 'room to breathe' – so that they are not crushed in the wheels.

12.25. Cp. 27.43. *Milton* 27.23ff is another sequence on Los in Golgonooza.

- [12] Of soft Ethinthus? Near Tyburn's fatal tree? Is that
Mild Zion's Hill's most ancient promontory, near mournful
Ever-weeping Paddington? Is that Calvary & Golgotha
Becoming a building of pity & compassion? Lo!
- 30 The stones are pity and the bricks well-wrought affections,
Enamelled with love & kindness, & the tiles engraven gold,
Labour of merciful hands. The beams & rafters are forgiveness;
The mortar & cement of the work, tears of honesty; the nails
And the screws & iron braces are well-wrought blandishments,
- 35 And well-contrived words, firm fixing, never forgotten,
Always comforting the remembrance; the floors, humility,
The ceilings, devotion; the hearths, thanksgiving.
Prepare the furniture, O Lambeth, in thy pitying looms!
The curtains, woven tears & sighs, wrought into lovely forms
- 40 For comfort. There the secret furniture of Jerusalem's
chamber
Is wrought; Lambeth! the Bride, the Lamb's wife loveth thee:
Thou art one with her & knowest not of self in thy supreme
joy.
Go on, builders in hope, though Jerusalem wanders far away
Without the gate of Los among the dark Satanic wheels.
- 45 Fourfold the Sons of Los in their divisions: and fourfold
The great city of Golgonooza: fourfold toward the north

12.26. *Ethinthus*] A name only: cp. *Europe* 158 and *Four Zoas* viii 352.

Tyburn] Once the place of public execution, (Connaught Sq. was built on the site: see map, p. 651). In the next lines, B. associates the Holy Land, and Calvary in particular, with London and Tyburn. Los's labourers (here builders of Golgonooza, not at the furnace) are creating beauty even there by their pity and compassion.

12.27. *Zion's . . . promontory*] 'We say that Calvary and Adam's tree / Stood in one place' (Donne, 'Hymn to God . . . in my sickness'); also 'anciently' linked with Abraham's offering of Isaac on Moriah (*Genesis* xxii). (Tolley, *BQ* 4:3.)

12.28. *Paddington*] Then on the fringe of London, a mile or so N.W. of B.'s South Molton St home; a sad place, notorious shanty-town in his childhood. New building – the creation of real houses – revealed bones and relics of old Tyburn executions [Ackroyd, *London* (2001) pp. 291–2].

12.38. *Lambeth*] Where B. had lived from 1791 to 1800 and written much of his early work. Cp. also *Milton* 25.48n, where B. refers to the sweated labour in orphan-age workshops in Lambeth.

12.45. Here begins an elaborately stylized description of the environment of B.'s mythical world: the grand design of Golgonooza and the works of Los's Sons, contrasted with the chaotic dark world that surrounds it; the sequence continues until 16.69. Its strict formality echoes the temple plan in *Ezekiel* xl–xliii (in particular in its pattern of fourfold completeness), and the vision of Jerusalem, 'the Lamb's wife', as glorious city, where 'there shall be no more death', in *Revelation* xxi 9–27. Cp. 13.6n.

- [12] And toward the south fourfold, & fourfold toward the east
 & west,
 Each within other toward the four points—that toward
 Eden, and that toward the world of Generation,
 50 And that toward Beulah, and that toward Ulro.
 (Ulro is the space of the terrible starry wheels of Albion's Sons.)
 But that toward Eden is walled up till time of renovation;
 Yet it is perfect in its building, ornaments & perfection.

[*Marginal Design*]

- And the four points are thus beheld in great Eternity:
 55 West, the circumference; south, the zenith; north,
 The nadir; east, the centre, unapproachable for ever.
 These are the Four Faces towards the Four Worlds of
 Humanity
 In every man; Ezekiel saw them by Chebar's flood.
 And the Eyes are the south, and the Nostrils are the east,
 60 And the Tongue is the west, & the Ear is the north.

And the North Gate of Golgonooza toward Generation
 Has four sculptured bulls terrible, before the gate of iron,

12.52 See 5.68*n* and 13.6. In *Ezekiel* xlii 1–2 the gate 'which looketh toward the east' (through which, in a vision, Ezekiel had seen God enter), was shut. 'And the Lord said unto me; This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened . . . because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it': but for B., this is a false image of a despotic God.

Pl.12. *Marginal Design*: A gowned female supports a large globe marked with a latitude & longitude grid; a nude male, diving down, measures it with dividers; above, a gowned angel, with halo but also bat-wings.

12.55–6. CIRCUMFERENCE . . . CENTRE] B. is rather inconsistent, in that 'outside', 'without', often refer to corrupt superficiality, and 'inside', 'within' to the deeper realities of the individual heart. But 'the centre' is a traditional name for Hell, and the circumference here is the bounding line, the outline which shows a visible living form. Cp. 18.2, and *Milton* 37.9, which seem to represent a moral reversal of this image: the outside is 'fallacious', and truth lies in the heart. The two notions are reconciled at 71.6–8: 'What is above is within, for everything in Eternity is translucent: / The circumference is within: without is formed the selfish centre, / And the circumference still expands, going forward to Eternity.'

12.58ff. Cp. *Ezekiel* i 1: ' . . . as I was among the captives by the river of Chebar, that the heavens opened, and I saw visions of God'; and verses 5–6, ' . . . came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man. And every one had four faces, and every one had four wings.' Ezekiel does not refer to eyes, nostrils, tongue and ears but to the four faces of a man, a lion, an ox and an eagle.

12.61. i.e. 'has four bulls facing Generation, northwards'; Ulro is the evil east, Eden, the closed gate, is west, and Beulah is the golden south. The bulls and lions suggest the monumental reliefs of the Assyrians.

- [12] And iron the bulls. And that which looks toward Ulro,
 Clay-baked & enamelled, eternal glowing as four furnaces,
 65 Turning upon the Wheels of Albion's Sons with enormous power.
 And that toward Beulah four—gold, silver, brass, & iron.
 Pl.13 And that toward Eden four, formed of gold, silver, brass, &
 iron.

The South, a golden Gate, has four lions, terrible, living;
 That toward Generation four, of iron carved wondrous;
 That toward Ulro four, clay-baked, laborious workmanship;
 5 That toward Eden four, immortal gold, silver, brass & iron.

The Western Gate fourfold is closed, having four cherubim
 Its guards, living, the work of elemental hands, laborious task!
 Like men hermaphroditic, each winged with eight wings.
 That towards Generation, iron; that toward Beulah, stone:
 10 That toward Ulro, clay; that toward Eden, metals.
 But all closed up till the Last Day, when the graves shall
 yield their dead.

The Eastern Gate fourfold, terrible & deadly its ornaments,
 Taking their forms from the Wheels of Albion's Sons, as cogs
 Are formed in a wheel to fit the cogs of the adverse wheel.

- 15 That toward Eden, eternal ice, frozen in seven folds
 Of forms of death. And that toward Beulah, stone
 (The seven diseases of the earth are carved, terrible).
 And that toward Ulro, forms of war, seven enormities.
 And that toward Generation, seven generative forms.
 20 And every part of the city is fourfold, & every inhabitant
 fourfold.

And every pot & vessel & garment & utensil of the houses,
 And every house, fourfold; but the third gate in every one
 Is closed as with a threefold curtain of ivory & fine linen &
 ermine.

12.66. B's four favourite metals: cp. *America* 75; pl.c.15; *Four Zoas* vi 309–13n; and *Daniel* ii 32–3, the image of gold, silver, brass, iron and clay.

13.6. FOURFOLD] Cp. the foursquare measuring of the Temple in Ezekiel chs. xl–xlii, and the closing lines of the letter to Butts (22 Nov. 1802), p. 488 above. Fourfold is the form of perfection. In the following lines, *sixty-four thousand* is the cube of four multiplied by a thousand. Similarly, in *Revelation* vii 4 the number 'one hundred and forty-four thousand' is made up of the perfect number twelve, squared and multiplied by a thousand. The squaring or cubing of the number completes its mystic perfection; the thousand indicates the hosts of spirits. G. H. Harper shows in a comprehensive essay in *W.B.: Essays presented to S. Foster Damon* (1969) the importance of B.'s constant usage of the numbers 4, 8, 16, 32, 64 as indicating wholeness, and of 3, 7, 12, 27 as numbers of incomplete, broken, sexual mortality.

- [13] And Luban stands in middle of the city; a moat of fire
 25 Surrounds Luban, Los's palace & the golden looms of
 Cathedral.

And sixty-four thousand genii guard the Eastern Gate;
 And sixty-four thousand gnomes guard the Northern Gate;
 And sixty-four thousand nymphs guard the Western Gate;
 And sixty-four thousand fairies guard the Southern Gate.

- 30 Around Golgonooza lies the land of Death Eternal, a land
 Of pain & misery & despair & ever-brooding melancholy,
 In all the Twenty-seven Heavens, numbered from Adam to
 Luther,
 From the blue Mundane Shell, reaching to the Vegetative
 Earth.

The Vegetative Universe opens like a flower from the earth's
 centre,

- 35 In which is Eternity. It expands in stars to the mundane shell

13.24. *Luban, Cathedral*] See *Four Zoas* v 77n, viii 25n, 30n for Luban, the gate opening outwards from Golgonooza; in vii 726 it is 'a place of many porches' surrounding the Tree of Mystery. Here it is in the centre of the city, but this does not, in Blake's terms, contradict either of these earlier pictures, though the present scheme of fourfold gates is a later development than Luban. *Cathedral* is the name of the looms which Enitharmon erected 'in Luban's gate' to give the Spectres of lost souls 'bodies of vegetation' when they escaped from Ulro, in order to save them from annihilation.

13.26-9. Cp. *Milton* 31.20: 'the fairies, nymphs, gnomes and genii of the four elements'. They are servants of the four Zoas, and are attached thus: fairies (air) to Urizen; nymphs (water) to Tharmas; gnomes (earth) to Urthona (Los); genii (fire) to Luvah. The compass points here are appropriate to their Zoas, a good example of B.'s liking for patterns.

13.32. *the Twenty-seven Heavens*] Cp. *Milton* 37.35. These are the labyrinthine clouds of error which surround the mortal world, manifest particularly in the religious errors which have beset it. Note the contrast between the glories of Golgonooza and 'the land of Death Eternal'.

13.33 *the blue MUNDANE SHELL*] In *Urizen*, the physical universe was separated from Eternity when Urizen encased himself in rocks to hide from the eternal flames. This casing became our universe, which is bounded by the earth and by the arching firmament above our heads. The image is continued here, though B. no longer describes it as Urizen's formation. There are two simultaneous images; the encasing Shell (or Egg; cp. *Milton* 34.31n), and the flower. The first emphasizes the face of the earth from eternity; the second describes the face of the earth within the shell. It is a vortex, opening to eternity at two points – the wide, open mouth, and the infinitesimally small centre. In *Milton* 17.29-30 the open mouth spreads towards the heavens and is the entry to earth past 'Satan's seat' (whence, in *Paradise Lost* iv, Satan views the earth – and the twenty-seven heavens (32) are in layers above the earth); the second entry is the re-entry to eternity by Golgonooza.

- [13] And there it meets Eternity again, both within and without,
And the abstract voids between the stars are the Satanic
Wheels.

[*Marginal Design*]

- There is the cave, the rock, the tree, the lake of Udan-Adan,
The forest, and the marsh, and the pits of bitumen deadly,
40 The rocks of solid fire, the ice valleys, the plains
Of burning sand, the rivers, cataract & lakes of fire,
The islands of the fiery lakes, the trees of malice, revenge,
And black anxiety, and the cities of the salamandrine men.
(But whatever is visible to the Generated Man
45 Is a Creation of mercy & love from the Satanic Void.)
The land of darkness flamed but no light & no repose;
The land of snows, of trembling, & of iron hail incessant;
The land of earthquakes and the land of woven labyrinths;
The land of snares & traps & wheels & pit-falls & dire mills,
50 The voids, the solids; & the land of clouds & regions of waters
With their inhabitants in the Twenty-seven Heavens beneath
Beulah—
Self-righteousnesses conglomerating against the Divine Vision,
A concave earth, wondrous, chasmal, abyssal, incoherent,
Forming the Mundane Shell above, beneath, on all sides
surrounding
55 Golgonooza. Los walks round the walls night and day.

He views the city of Golgonooza & its smaller cities,
The looms & mills & prisons & work-houses of Og & Anak,
The Amalekite, the Canaanite, the Moabite, the Egyptian,
And all that has existed in the space of six thousand years,
60 Permanent, & not lost, not lost nor vanished, & every little act,

13. *Marginal Design*. A gowned figure, waving a large leaf, reaches up to grasp the wing of a huge bat. Upwards, tendrils and spiky leaves fill the text spaces, up to a large moth at the top.

13.38. *There*] In the vegetative universe. For the cave where Orc is bound, the rock where Urizen sits brooding, and the Tree of Mystery which sprang up under his foot, see *Four Zoas* vii 5–32.

13.43. *salamandrine men*] An unexplained phrase; salamanders are associated with fire.

13.46. *flamed*] The undoubted *rdg*, but odd: one would expect ‘flames’, either as present tense or noun.

13.53. *A concave earth*] A universe like the inside of an egg.

13.57–8. *The looms . . . of Og and Anak . . . Egyptian*] These are not Golgonooza’s looms, but are built by surrounding enemies. The nations named were all enemies of the Israelites (and therefore of Jerusalem), as were Og and Anak (see 48.63*n*).

- [13] Word, work, & wish, that has existed, all remaining still
 In those Churches ever consuming & ever building, by the
 Spectres
 Of all the inhabitants of earth wailing to be created—
 Shadowy to those who dwell not in them, mere possibilities,
 65 But to those who enter into them they seem the only substances.
 For everything exists, & not one sigh nor smile nor tear,
 Pl.14 One hair nor particle of dust, not one can pass away.
- He views the Cherub at the Tree of Life, also the Serpent
 Orc the first-born, coiled in the south; the Dragon Urizen;
 Tharmas the Vegetated Tongue, even the devouring Tongue:
 5 A threefold region, a false brain, a false heart,
 And false bowels, altogether composing the False Tongue.
 Beneath Beulah, as a watery flame revolving every way,
 And as dark roots and stems, a forest of affliction, growing
 In seas of sorrow. Los also views the Four Females:
 10 Ahania, and Enion, and Vala, and Enitharmon lovely.
 And from them all the lovely beaming Daughters of Albion.
 Ahania & Enion & Vala are three evanescent shades;
 Enitharmon is a vegetated mortal wife of Los,
 His Emanation, yet his wife till the sleep of death is past.
- 15 Such are the buildings of Los & such are the woofs of
 Enitharmon.

And Los beheld his Sons, and he beheld his Daughters:

13.62. *Churches*] The stages of error (cp. 32*n* above) created by the deluded Spectres who inhabit the fallen, mortal world. They go on building and rebuilding as their creations crumble. So does Los; but his continual creation of Golgonooza is a creation of an image of eternal beauty.

consuming . . . building] in modern usage, 'being consumed, etc. '; a construction not found before the mid-19th century.

14.2. *the Cherub*] The angel (called by B. the Covering Cherub); see *Milton* 37.8*n*) who drove, and keeps, Adam and Eve out of Paradise (*Genesis* iii 24).

14.2–6. The references here are to the narrative of *The Four Zoas* as in 13.38 above: they exemplify the ruinous state of the universe. In *The Four Zoas* the universe is seen as the 'Universal Man'; hence the anatomical allusions. Cp. *Milton* 2.10*n*.

14.6. The point after *Tongue* may be a comma, but best sense seems to be made by a full stop, ending the sentence, and reading 7–9 as 'a forest [*is*] growing beneath Beulah'.

14.10. These are the Emanations of the Zoas – of Urizen, Tharmas, Luvah and Los respectively. They are (11) the 'mothers' of all the different kinds of women in England – of the 'Daughters of Albion'.

14.16–24. *his Daughters . . . a universe within . . .*] A description of the three 'gates' of female beauty which are approaches to Beulah – i.e. to the verge of Paradise – even to the earthbound man. Similar passages occur in pls.86 and 89; also *Four Zoas* i 274–80 and *Milton* 5.5–10.

- [14] Every one a translucent wonder, a universe within,
 Increasing inwards, into length and breadth, and height,
 Starry & glorious, and they every one in their bright loins
 20 Have a beautiful golden gate which opens into the
 Vegetative World;
 And every one a gate of rubies & all sorts of precious stones
 In their translucent hearts, which opens into the vegetative world;
 And every one a gate of iron dreadful and wonderful,
 In their translucent heads, which opens into the vegetative world.
 25 And every one has the three regions; Childhood, Manhood,
 & Age.
 But the gate of the tongue, the western gate, in them is closed,
 Having a wall builded against it, and thereby the gates
 Eastward & southward & northward are encircled with
 flaming fires.
 And the north is breadth, the south is height & depth;
 30 The east is inwards, & the west is outwards every way.

 And Los beheld the mild Emanation Jerusalem, eastward
 bending
 Her revolutions toward the starry Wheels in maternal anguish,
 Like a pale cloud arising from the arms of Beulah's Daughters.
 In Entuthon Benython's deep vales beneath Golgonooza.

[Design]

- Pl.15 And Hand & Hyle rooted into Jerusalem by a fibre
 Of strong revenge, & Skofield Vegetated by Reuben's Gate
 In every nation of the earth till the twelve Sons of Albion
 Enrooted into every nation: a mighty Polypus growing
 5 From Albion over the whole earth: such is my awful vision.

14.25. *regions*] In all there are four regions; see 18.1; 25.14; 42.70; 65.4; and 98.32. Three is the number of mortal incompleteness, and requires the fourth for absolute wholeness. 25.14 and 98.31-4 suggest that the fourth is the age beyond mortality – death; or eternity.

14.30. *inwards . . . outwards*] Cp. 12.55*n*: the east is evil, the west good.

14. *Design*: Albion sleeps by the waterside; within a rainbow an angelic female (Jerusalem?: see 14.31-4) hovers over him (the starry heavens are beyond and up the R margin). This adapts a common artistic convention, as when Iris descends to awaken Morpheus beside Lethe (Ott, *BQ* 17:149). Above this, the words *End of the 1st Chap*: are deleted.

15.2. *Skofield Vegetated by Reuben's Gate*] Reuben (see 30.43*n*) was the eldest son of Israel, and is thus identified with the leader of Albion's sons. Skofield besets him 'in every nation' – i.e. the same evil influence may be seen, *mutatis mutandis*, in every nation, affecting its weak point (for Reuben was a weak character). B. develops a myth of Reuben in 30.43*ff*. The word *Vegetate* here refers to the ramifying growth of the polypus (see *The Four Zoas* iv 265*n*), which might spread over everything and into every corner. See also 18.40 and 69.1-3.

- [15] —I see the fourfold Man, the Humanity in deadly sleep
 And its fallen Emanation, the Spectre & its cruel Shadow.
 I see the past, present & future, existing all at once
 Before me; O Divine Spirit, sustain me on thy wings,
 10 That I may awake Albion from his long & cold repose!
 For Bacon & Newton, sheathed in dismal steel, their terrors
 hang
 Like iron scourges over Albion; reasonings like vast serpents
 Enfold around my limbs, bruising my minute articulations.
- I turn my eyes to the schools & universities of Europe
 15 And there behold the loom of Locke whose woof rages dire,
 Washed by the water-wheels of Newton. Black the cloth
 In heavy wreaths folds over every nation; cruel works
 Of many wheels I view, wheel without wheel, with cogs
 tyrannic
 Moving by compulsion each other: not as those in Eden,
 which
 20 Wheel within wheel in freedom revolve, in harmony & peace.
- I see in deadly fear in London Los raging round his anvil
 Of death, forming an axe of gold: the four Sons of Los
 Stand round him cutting the fibres from Albion's hills,
 That Albion's Sons may roll apart over the nations
 25 While Reuben enroots his brethren in the narrow Canaanite
 From the Limit Noah to the Limit Abram, in whose loins
 Reuben in his twelfefold majesty & beauty shall take refuge,
 As Abraham flees from Chaldea shaking his gory locks.
 But first Albion must sleep, divided from the nations.
- 30 I see Albion sitting upon his Rock in the first winter,
 And thence I see the Chaos of Satan & the World of Adam

15.15–16. *Locke, Newton*] The two most popular great seventeenth-century English rationalists. Locke rationalized thought and freedom; Newton rationalized the stars.

15.18. *without*] Outside. These lines illustrate very neatly B.'s notion of wheels, which he often uses as an image of callousness.

15.22. *the four Sons of Los*] Rintrah, Palamabron, Theotormon and Bromion: according to *the Four Zoas* viii 344–66, he had many, but only these remained faithful (see also *Milton* 24.10).

15.24–5. This is B.'s reading of the patriarchal history from Noah to Abraham. He envisages Albion and Canaan as one Holy Land in Eternity; but Albion's despair and fear have corrupted him, and his sons separate themselves. Reuben (the eldest son of Israel) 'enroots' his brethren, the twelve tribes, a separated people, into the narrow 'little and dark land' of Canaan (*F.Z.* ii 266). For the distinction of Abram and Abraham, see *Genesis* xvii 5. *Reuben* is developed in ch. 3; cp. also pl.27.1n. See also *Four Zoas* ii 266n, and pls.63–64 and 71. Cp. also *Limits*, at *Four Zoas* iv 270.

- [15] When the Divine Hand went forth on Albion in the mid-winter
And at the place of death, when Albion sat in Eternal Death
Among the furnaces of Los in the valley of the Son of
Hinnom.—

[*Design*]

- Pl.16 Hampstead, Highgate, Finchley, Hendon, Muswell Hill rage
loud
Before Bromion's iron tongs & glowing poker reddening fierce.
Hertfordshire glows with fierce vegetation; in the forests
The oak frowns terrible, the beech & ash & elm enroot
5 Among the spiritual fires; loud the cornfields thunder along
The soldier's fife; the harlot's shriek; the virgin's dismal groan;
The parent's fear; the brother's jealousy: the sister's curse
Beneath the storms of Theotormon; & the thundering bellows
Heaves in the hand of Palamabron, who in London's darkness
10 Before the anvil watches the bellowing flames. Thundering
The hammer loud rages in Rintrah's strong grasp, swinging loud
Round from heaven to earth, down falling with heavy blow
Dead on the anvil, where the red-hot wedge groans in pain.
He quenches it in the black trough of his forge: London's river
15 Feeds the dread forge, trembling & shuddering along the
valleys.

Humber & Trent roll dreadful before the seventh furnace,
And Tweed & Tyne anxious give up their souls for Albion's
sake.
Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire,
From Oxfordshire to Norfolk on the lake of Udan-Adan
20 Labour within the furnaces, walking among the fires
With ladles huge & iron pokers over the Island White.

15.34. *the Son of Hinnom*] In 2 *Chronicles* xxxiii 6, King Manasseh, the idolater, 'caused his children to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom', i.e. sacrificed them – among other evil practices. In xxviii 3, Ahaz is also said to have burnt his children there. But the 'furnaces of Los' are not those furnaces: the idea is that Los's struggle to create continues everywhere, even there.

15. *Design*: A running giant, with spiky hair and outstretched arms, is obstructed by a smaller figure on the ground, whose fingers are 'enrooting' into the ground. Erdman, in *IB*, identifies the giant as Abraham fleeing from Ur, and notes that the giant is in the same posture as Christian in B.'s *Pilgrim's Progress* series, no. 4.

16.1. Continuing the blacksmith's labours of Los and his sons, now in London and England. (The place names are all suburbs of North London.) In the turmoil, Los's Sons struggle at their work, obstructed (as in 3–4) by the Vegetative world, or aided (as in 17).

16.19. B. insists that the 'known' world is close to that of the Imagination.

16.21. *the Island White*] Albion.

- [16] Scotland pours out his sons to labour at the furnaces;
 Wales gives his Daughters to the looms; England, nursing
 mothers
 Gives to the children of Albion & to the children of Jerusalem,
 25 From the blue Mundane Shell even to the Earth of Vegetation
 Throughout the whole Creation which groans to be delivered.
 Albion groans in the deep slumbers of death upon his rock.
- Here Los fixed down the fifty-two counties of England & Wales,
 The thirty-six of Scotland, & the thirty-four of Ireland
 30 With mighty power, when they fled out at Jerusalem's gates
 Away from the conflict of Luvah & Urizen, fixing the gates
 In the twelve counties of Wales; & thence gates looking
 every way
 To the four points conduct to England & Scotland & Ireland,
 And thence to all the kingdoms & nations & families of the
 earth.
- 35 The gate of Reuben in Carmarthenshire: the gate of Simeon in
 Cardiganshire; & the gate of Levi in Montgomeryshire;
 The gate of Judah, Merionethshire: the gate of Dan, Flintshire:

16.26. *Creation . . . delivered*] *Romans* viii 22–23: 'the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together until now . . . waiting for . . . the redemption of our body'. The allusion is to the pains of childbirth. Albion's sleep, however, is like the legendary sleep of King Arthur, waiting for the call to rescue Britain.

16.28–58. Before the Fall, Albion was the Holy Land; cp. 27.1–3nn; 38.68–70n. B. therefore identifies counties of Wales, England and Scotland with the lands of the twelve tribes of Israel, though the associations are quite arbitrary. The tribes are listed in order of seniority (*Genesis* xxx 31ff), but there is, for example, no geographical equivalence since, e.g., the southernmost tribe (Simeon) is given Cardigan (on the Welsh west coast), three northerly English counties and three middle Scottish counties. The purpose seems to be formal and rhetorical: to recollect the Old Testament passages where boundaries are carefully delineated (e.g. *Joshua* xii–xxi), and to attempt the solemnity which absolute formality can bring, as in *Paradise Lost* i 407–11:

From Aroer to Nebo and the wild
 Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
 And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
 The flow'ry vale of Sibma, clad with vines.
 And Elealè to th'Asphaltic Pool.

But Milton does not equal B.'s strictness, which owes more to Old Testament 'legal prose'.

16.26. *the whole . . . delivered*] From *Romans* viii 22.

16.30–1. Cp. *Four Zoas* viii 25ff where Los and Enitharmon care for the lost souls who escape from the war of Urizen and Orc, who is Luvah.

16.31–4. B. imagines gates opening from the eternal world into Wales, land of the bards; thence the influence spreads throughout Britain and so to the whole world. Note also the numerology of *four* and *twelve*.

- [16] The gate of Naphtali, Radnorshire: the gate of Gad,
Pembrokeshire:
The gate of Asher, Carnarvonshire. the gate of Issachar,
Brecknockshire:
- 40 The gate of Zebulun, in Anglesey & Sodor: so is Wales
divided.
The gate of Joseph, Denbighshire: the gate of Benjamin,
Glamorganshire,
For the protection of the twelve Emanations of Albion's Sons.
And the forty counties of England are thus divided: in the gates
Of Reuben; Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex. Simeon; Lincoln, York,
Lancashire.
- 45 Levi; Middlesex, Kent, Surrey. Judah; Somerset, Gloucester,
Wiltshire.
Dan; Cornwall, Devon, Dorset. Naphtali; Warwick, Leicester
Worcester.
Gad; Oxford, Bucks, Hertford. Asher; Sussex, Hampshire,
Berkshire.
Issachar; Northampton, Rutland, Nottingham. Zebulun;
Bedford, Huntingdon, Cambridge.
Joseph; Stafford, Shropshire, Hereford. Benjamin; Derby,
Cheshire, Monmouth;
- 50 And Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmorland & Durham
are
Divided in the gates of Reuben, Judah, Dan & Joseph.
And the thirty-six counties of Scotland; divided in the gates
Of Reuben; Kincardine, Haddington, Forfar. Simeon; Ayr,
Argyll, Banff.
Levi; Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Ross. Judah; Aberdeen,
Berwick, Dumfries.
- 55 Dan; Bute, Caithness, Clackmannan. Naphtali; Nairn,
Inverness, Linlithgow.
Gad; Peebles, Perth, Renfrew. Asher; Sutherland, Stirling,
Wigtown.
Issachar; Selkirk, Dunbarton, Glasgow. Zebulun; Orkney,
Shetland, Skye.
Joseph; Elgin, Lanark, Kinross. Benjamin; Cromarty, Moray,
Kirkcudbright.

16.48. *Huntingdon, Cambridge*] The plate has *Huntgn Camb*; the abbreviations are doubtless due to cramped space. So with certain other names.

16.52. B., the Londoner, wanting a multiple of twelve, adapted an alphabetical list of the 33 Scottish counties. Cromarty was distinct from Ross until 1889; but he has left out 'the Kingdom of Fife', and has divided Orkney and Shetland, added Glasgow and Skye, and duplicated Moray (as Moray and Elgin).

- [16] Governing all by the sweet delights of secret amorous glances
 60 In Enitharmon's halls builded by Los & his mighty children.
- All things acted on earth are seen in the bright sculptures of
 Los's halls; & every age renews its powers from these works,
 With every pathetic story possible to happen, from hate or
 Wayward love, & every sorrow & distress is carved here.
- 65 Every affinity of parents, marriages & friendships are here
 In all their various combinations wrought with wondrous art:
 All that can happen to man in his pilgrimage of seventy years.
 Such is the Divine Written Law of Horeb & Sinai:
 And such the Holy Gospel of Mount Olivet & Calvary.
- Pl.17 His Spectre divides & Los in fury compels it to divide:
 To labour in the fire, in the water, in the earth, in the air,
 To follow the Daughters of Albion as the hound follows the
 scent
 Of the wild inhabitant of the forest, to drive them from his own:
 5 To make a way for the children of Los to come from the furnaces.
 But Los himself against Albion's Sons his fury bends—for he
 Dare not approach the Daughters openly lest he be consumed
 In the fires of their beauty & perfection, & be Vegetated beneath
 Their looms, in a Generation of death, & resurrection to
 forgetfulness.
- 10 They woo Los continually to subdue his strength; he
 continually
 Shows them his Spectre, sending him abroad over the four
 points of heaven,
 In the fierce desires of beauty & in the tortures of repulse!
 He is
 The Spectre of the Living pursuing the Emanations of the Dead.
 Shuddering they flee: they hide in the Druid Temples in cold
 Chastity,

16.59. This is an unexpected line, implying as it does 'female secret delusion' rather than Los's saving strength; but cp. 69.14–22.

16.62. *Los's halls*] B. returns to Golgonooza; there the 'fixing' is done.

16.68. *Divine Written Law*] An irony: the true Law and Gospel are not legislated rules, but an imaginative vision of all living goodness.

17.7ff. Los's masculinity is not proof against feminine wiles; he can only turn the angry side of his nature against them.

17.10. As Delilah wooed Samson (*Judges* xvi).

17.13. *The Living*] Los, *the Dead*] Albion.

17.14. *Druid Temples in cold Chastity*] B. sees the 'Druid Temples' (cp. *Europe* 72n) as cruel sites of an evil religion. After 6–12, 'Chastity' may seem a strange attribute for the Daughters of Albion: but here it is a device: cold heartlessness encouraged by a patriarchal, oppressive religion, which represses honest erotic desires into prudery and disguise.

- [17] Subdued by the Spectre of the Living & terrified by
undisguised desire.
- 16 For Los said. 'Though my Spectre is divided, as I am a living man
I must compel him to obey me wholly, that Enitharmon may
not
Be lost, & lest he should devour Enitharmon. Ah me,
Piteous image of my soft desires & loves: O Enitharmon,
20 I will compel my Spectre to obey; I will restore to thee thy
children.
No one bruises or starves himself to make himself fit for
labour.
- 'Tormented with sweet desire for these beauties of Albion,
They would never love my power if they did not seek to
destroy
Enitharmon. Vala would never have sought & loved Albion
25 If she had not sought to destroy Jerusalem; such is that false
And generating love—a pretence of love to destroy love,
Cruel hypocrisy, unlike the lovely delusions of Beulah,
And cruel forms, unlike the merciful forms of Beulah's night.
- 'They know not why they love nor wherefore they sicken & die,
30 Calling that Holy Love which is envy, revenge & cruelty;
Which separated the stars from the mountains, the mountains
from man,
And left man, a little grovelling root, outside of himself.
Negations are not Contraries; Contraries mutually exist;
But Negations exist not. Exceptions & objections & unbeliefs
35 Exist not; nor shall they ever be organised for ever & ever.
If thou separate from me, thou art a Negation, a mere
Reasoning & derogation from me, an objecting & cruel spite
And malice & envy; but my Emanation, alas! will become
My Contrary. O thou Negation, I will continually compel
40 Thee to be invisible to any but whom I please, & when

17.16. *divided*] i.e. 'divided away from me'. Cp. 12.6–7. *Four Zoas* vii 636–9ff develops in full the theme of the triple interdependence of Los, Spectre, and Emanation.

17.20. i.e. he will not deprive Enitharmon of her joy (in her children) since there is no purpose in doing so, and only loss to her. If the sense is reflexive, it implies also that Enitharmon's weakness is his also, since she is a part of him. This deprivation of her children is not developed elsewhere.

17.24. Vala's desire to supplant Jerusalem in Albion's love is the theme of pls.20–3.

17.33. *Negations . . . Contraries*] Cp. 10.7*n*.

17.36. *thou*] Los speaks to his Spectre (as line 42 shows): in spite of 48, for his Spectre is part of himself.

- [17] And where & how I please, and never, never shalt thou be
Organized
But as a distorted & reversed reflection in the darkness
And in the Non-Entity. Nor shall that which is above
Ever descend into thee, but thou shalt be a Non-Entity for ever.
- 45 And if any enter into thee, thou shalt be an unquenchable fire,
And he shall be a never-dying worm, mutually tormented by
Those that thou tormentest, a Hell & Despair for ever & ever.'
- So Los in secret with himself communed, & Enitharmon heard
In her darkness & was comforted, yet still she divided away
- 50 In gnawing pain from Los's bosom in the deadly night—
First as a red globe of blood trembling beneath his bosom.
Suspended over her he hung: he enfolded her in his garments
Of wool; he hid her from the Spectre, in shame & confusion of
Face. In terrors & pains of Hell & Eternal Death, the
- 55 Trembling globe shot forth self-living; & Los howled over it,
Feeding it with his groans & tears day & night without
ceasing.
- And the spectrous darkness from his back divided in
temptations,
And in grinding agonies, in threats, stiflings, & direful
strugglings.
- 'Go thou to Skofield: ask him if he is Bath or if he is
Canterbury.
- 60 Tell him to be no more dubious: demand explicit words.
Tell him: I will dash him into shivers, where & at what time
I please. Tell Hand & Skofield they are my ministers of evil
To those I hate; for I can hate also as well as they!'

Pl.18 From every one of the four regions of Human Majesty

17.41. *Organized*] B. distinguishes between the killing restraint of regulated system, and the 'organization' of an organism, a living creature whose organization is part of its nature, not imposed from outside.

17.45–6. *fire . . . worm*] *Mark* ix 42–3: 'Into hell . . . where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.'

17.51. Cp. 6.2. In *Urizen* 286–323 Enitharmon appears from a globe of blood drawn from Los by his pity for Urizen. The growth of the Spectre from his back is not in Urizen, but appears in *Milton* 3.34–6 (p. 510).

17.59. Another unexpected switch; Bath and Canterbury feature later in the poem (pls.41–6), but this seems to be a rhetorical question. Skofield is an evil demon and a dissembler, neither east nor west – 'dubious' and not 'explicit'. Canterbury, in the east, is the centre of the Church of England; Bath, in the west, near Bristol, is a stronghold of Baptism, and home of their College. Perhaps B. means to ask Skofield which side he is on: traditional or Evangelical.

18.1. A new section, though connected to the previous lines in that both concern the Sons of Albion.

- [18] There is an Outside spread without & an Outside spread
 within,
 Beyond the Outline of Identity both ways, which meet in
 one—
 An orb'd void of doubt, despair, hunger, & thirst & sorrow.
 5 Here the Twelve Sons of Albion, joined in dark Assembly,
 Jealous of Jerusalem's children, ashamed of her little ones
 (For Vala produced the Bodies. Jerusalem gave the Souls)
 Became as three immense Wheels, turning upon one another
 Into Non-Entity, and their thunders hoarse appal the dead,
 10 To murder their own souls, to build a kingdom among the Dead:

[*Design*]

- 'Cast! Cast ye Jerusalem forth! The Shadow of delusions,
 The harlot daughter, mother of pity and dishonourable
 forgiveness,
 Our father Albion's sin and shame! But father now no more,
 Nor sons, nor hateful peace & love, nor soft complacencies
 15 With transgressors meeting in brotherhood around the table,
 Or in the porch or garden. No more the sinful delights
 Of age and youth, and boy and girl, and animal and herb,
 And river and mountain, and city & village, and house &
 family
 Beneath the oak & palm, beneath the vine and fig-tree
 20 In self-denial—but war and deadly contention between
 Father and son, and light and love! All bold asperities
 Of haters met in deadly strife, rending the house & garden,
 The unforgiving porches, the tables of enmity, and beds
 And chambers of trembling & suspicion: hatreds of age &
 youth,
 25 And boy & girl, & animal & herb, & river & mountain,

18.2. Cp. 71.6–9: the inner world leads to Eternity, the outside is the superficial edge of things only.

18. *Design*: Symmetrically, two winged figures float apart from one another: a man, left, with lilies in his hair; a woman, right, with roses in hers. From their outstretched arms two smaller figures (a male from the woman's arm, and vice versa) fly together, to embrace and kiss. All against a night sky, with two crescent moons turned into boats with a simple square sail. (Cp. Los's lament, 56.18–19: 'the moon, a ship / In the British ocean!')

18.11. The Sons of Albion speak: their attitudes are all wrong. They suspect (as in 12: cp. 7) anything that is not earthly, and delight in war.

18.19. *vine and fig-tree*] *Micah* iv 4: 'They shall sit every man under his vine, and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid.' B. links *oak* and *palm*, here as at *F.Z.* ii 206, as the Bible naturally does not; one is a forest tree, the other lives on marginal soils.

- [18] And city & village, and house & family. That the Perfect
 May live in glory, redeemed by sacrifice of the Lamb
 And of his children before sinful Jerusalem, to build
 Babylon, the city of Vala, the Goddess Virgin-Mother.
 30 She is our Mother! Nature! Jerusalem is our harlot sister
 Returned with children of pollution, to defile our house
 With sin and shame. Cast! Cast her into the potter's field!
 Her little ones she must slay upon our altars, and her aged
 Parents must be carried into captivity, to redeem her soul,
 35 To be for a shame & a curse, and to be our slaves for ever!
- So cry Hand & Hyle, the eldest of the fathers of Albion's
 Little ones—to destroy the Divine Saviour, the Friend of Sinners,
 Building castles in desolated places, and strong fortifications.
 Soon Hand mightily devoured & absorbed Albion's twelve Sons;
 40 Out from his bosom a mighty Polypus, vegetating in darkness,
 And Hyle & Coban were his two chosen ones, for emissaries
 In war. Forth from his bosom they went and returned
 Like wheels from a great wheel reflected in the deep.
 Hoarse turned the Starry Wheels, rending a way in Albion's loins
 45 Beyond the night of Beulah. In a dark & unknown night,
 Outstretched his Giant beauty on the ground in pain & tears:

Pl.19

[*Design*]

His children exiled from his breast pass to and fro before him;
 His birds are silent on his hills, flocks die beneath his branches,

18.26. *the perfect*] 'Perfect', that is, according to Moral Law; the sacrifice is a tribute demanded and taken, not a self-sacrifice.

18.27. The *glory* is ironic; B. entirely rejected the traditional doctrine of expiatory atonement, that Jesus by his death paid off the sins of mankind: 'First God Almighty comes with a Thump on the Head. Then Jesus Christ comes with a balm to heal it' (VLJ p. 95). Cp. 27.76, 35.16–26; F.Z. vii 682n.

18.29. *Babylon*] See 5.41, and *Milton* 33.20, 38.23–27.

18.32. *the potter's field*] *Matthew* xxvii 7: the field bought 'to bury strangers in' with the bribe-money thrown back by Judas when he went to hang himself; i.e. a place to bury the outcast.

18.33. *she must slay*] i.e. herself offer her children in human sacrifice – not merely suffer in having them taken from her – as renegade kings of Judah sacrificed their children. Cp. note on 15.34. Besides, these are children of inspiration and love, and must not be allowed to live.

18.40. *Polypus*] An image of Hand's pervasive and poisonous insinuation throughout Britain (Hunt was a journalist): see 15.2n and *Four Zoas* iv 265n.

18.44–5. The *night of Beulah* is for renewal and loving passion. Albion's life is destroyed, and his night is a time of spiritual misery and death.

19 *Design*: At the foot of the page, in the setting sun, Albion lies on his rock, with mourning figures round him and others ascending round and above the text, with the weariness of slaves.

19.1–7, 9–14. These lines, with minor alterations, occur in *Four Zoas* ix 98–103, 105–11.

- [19] His tents are fallen, his trumpets and the sweet sound of his harp
 Are silent on his clouded hills, that belch forth storms & fire.
 5 His milk of cows, & honey of bees, & fruit of golden harvest,
 Is gathered in the scorching heat, & in the driving rain.
 Where once he sat he weary walks in misery and pain,
 His Giant beauty and perfection fallen into dust;
 Till from within his withered breast, grown narrow with his woes,
 10 The corn is turned to thistles & the apples into poison,
 The birds of song to murderous crows, his joys to bitter
 groans,
 The voices of children in his tents to cries of helpless infants.
 And, self-exiled from the face of light & shine of morning,
 In the dark world, a narrow house! he wanders up and down,
 15 Seeking for rest and finding none; and hidden far within
 His Eon weeping in the cold and desolated earth.
- All his affections now appear withoutside: all his Sons—
 Hand, Hyle & Coban, Gwantok, Peachey, Brereton, Slayd &
 Hutton,
 Scofeld, Kox, Kotope & Bowen, his twelve Sons—Satanic mill,
 20 Who are the Spectres of the Twenty-Four, each
 double-formed—
 Revolve upon his mountains, groaning in pain beneath
 The dark incessant sky, seeking for rest and finding none;
 Raging against their Human natures, ravening to gourmandize
 The Human majesty and beauty of the Twenty-Four—
 25 Condensing them into solid rocks with cruelty and abhorrence.
 Suspicion & revenge, & the seven diseases of the soul,

19.16. *Eon*] Emanation: a form also used in 36.41 below, and *Milton* 11.1. *Eon* is used of Jerusalem only, and is probably borrowed from the Gnostic word *aeon*, an Emanation of the Supreme Being.

19.17. *Withoutside*] Separated and alienated from him; and perhaps superficial too. Cp. 12.55n.

19.19. *Satanic mill*] A place of mental slavery (cp. *Milton* 1.28n).

19.20. *the Twenty-Four* 'Friends of Albion', the cathedral cities of Britain (named in 36.48–61 and 41.1–19), specimens of good influence, who in pls. 36ff try to save Albion. At 41.23–4 there are four more, in whom the twenty-four are summed up – a total of twenty-eight. B. therefore sometimes refers to *Twenty-Four* and sometimes to *Twenty-Eight*. The Sons of Albion are the false side of him, the 'Friends' the good. Both are sides of the same coin.

19.23. *Human natures*] Traditional theology regarded 'natural man' as sinful, even savage, in contrast with the 'redeemed'. For B., *true* Human nature is incapable of savagery.

19.26. *seven diseases*] B. will not speak of 'sins', but of a more organic failing. Britain is corrupted by their poisons.

- [19] Settled around Albion and around Luvah in his secret cloud.
 Willing the Friends endured, for Albion's sake, and for
 Jerusalem his Emanation shut within his bosom,
 30 Which hardened against them more and more, as he builded
 onwards
 On the gulf of Death in self-righteousness, that rolled
 Before his awful feet in pride of virtue for victory.
 And Los was roofed in from Eternity in Albion's cliffs
 Which stand upon the ends of Beulah, and withoutside all
 35 Appeared a rocky form against the Divine Humanity.
 Albion's Circumference was closed; his Centre began darkening
 Into the Night of Beulah, and the moon of Beulah rose
 Clouded with storms. Los his strong guard walked round
 beneath the moon,
 And Albion fled inward among the currents of his rivers.
 40 He found Jerusalem upon the river of his city, soft reposed

19.27. *Luvah in his secret cloud*] Cp. 43.33ff; especially 37–42 and 55–7. This passage is best seen in its original context, in *Four Zoas* iii 41ff. There Vala, conspiring with Luvah, seduced the Eternal Man (here Albion), who then began to worship the image of Luvah seen in a cloud; for in falling under Vala's influence he had in part also fallen under Luvah's. Yet Luvah, as his enemy, tried to subdue him. B. later adds Jerusalem as the Emanation of Albion to this myth: so that in turning to Vala exclusively, Albion dethrones Jerusalem. But note that elsewhere (e.g., 7.30ff above) Luvah is victim, even identified with the persecuted Christ (e.g., *Four Zoas* viii 53–4), and B. in *Jerusalem* sometimes alludes to Luvah in one form, sometimes in the other.

19.28. *Friends*] The twenty-four cities: see 36.3–4n, and 34.45n.

19.29–30. *shut . . . hardened . . . builded*] Images of close confinement, always to be dreaded in B.

19.33–4. Albion is connected with Beulah, but outside it, 'a rocky form' separated from the worlds of Eternity.

19.36–7. *Circumference*] See 12.55n. Because Albion was cut off from the eternal world, his 'heart' began to weaken. The centre would retain its life longer than the circumference, but in time even the centre loses contact with eternity, and the only contact it retains is through 'the night of Beulah', through dreams. *Centre and circumference* belong not to a circle, but to a vortex (see *Milton* 15.21), in which the centre can reach the outside without crossing the circumference – by going 'down the whirlpool'.

19.39–40. *his rivers . . . the river of his city*] The first could be rivers of Paradise (*Genesis* ii 10); but Albion is turning *inward* – an error – and *his city* is most likely London, its river the Thames. In either case, he is deluded by Vala's lotus charms, to 'melt his giant beauty'. See 42n.

19.40ff. A new sequence begins: Albion's feeling of despair over his love for Vala and Jerusalem; the two females seem to be in their unfallen state, united and complementary to one another. The *sweet moony night* (43) is the restful night of Beulah, inhabited by the feminine Emanations when the full vigour of Eden is too much for them – cp. *Milton* pls.30–31.

- [19] In the arms of Vala, assimilating in one with Vala,
 The lily of Havilah; and they sang soft through Lambeth's vales,
 In a sweet moony night & silence that they had created,
 With a blue sky spread over with wings, and a mild moon,
 45 Dividing & uniting into many female forms—Jerusalem
 Trembling; then in one commingling in eternal tears,
 Sighing to melt his Giant beauty on the moony river.

[*Design*]

Pl.20

[*Design*]

- But when they saw Albion fallen upon mild Lambeth's vale
 Astonished, terrified, they hovered over his Giant limbs.
 Then thus Jerusalem spoke, while Vala wove the veil of tears,
 Weeping in pleadings of love in the Web of Despair:
- 5 'Wherefore hast thou shut me into the winter of Human life,
 And closed up the sweet regions of youth and virgin
 innocence
 Where we live, forgetting error, not pondering on evil,
 Among my lambs & brooks of water, among my warbling birds,
 Where we delight in innocence before the face of the Lamb,
 10 Going in and out before him in his love and sweet affection?'
 Vala replied weeping & trembling, hiding in her veil:

[*Design*]

19.42. *The lily of Havilah*] Cp. *Four Zoas* vii 238: 'Vala, the lily of the desert'. Havilah is mentioned half a dozen times in the Bible, as a tribe or a place, but this particular phrase does not appear. B. probably knew that the Hebrew means 'sand', and seems to have realized that Havilah was desert land; this phrase thus implies beauty in the midst of desolation. In *Genesis* ii 11, Havilah, 'where there is gold', is watered by one of the four rivers of Paradise.

19. *Design*: Illustrates the lines above it.

20. *Design*: Two figures float towards one another, symmetrically: the Vala and Jerusalem of these lines?

20.1. *Lambeth*] B.'s home from 1791–1800, a suburb of London on the south of the Thames; but this allusion may not be fundamental here. Albion has fallen so that he lies along the Thames, in this fallen material world. But see also 12.38 and note.

20.11. Whereas Jerusalem tries to remind Albion of happy days, Vala dwells on their present unhappiness, and 'hides in her Veil'. As yet, however, Vala is not fallen and evil, though 20 shows impatience and refusal of sympathy. Jerusalem is innocent; Vala is *prudent*.

20. *Designs*: Below lines 13 and 26, figures dragging ploughs like flaming stars, or sowing starry seed in the furrows. Between 11 and 12, rising from the upper scene: the sky, with three moons, stars and a comet. Between lines 20 and 21, flames rise from the lower scene.

- [20] 'When winter rends the hungry family and the snow falls
Upon the ways of men, hiding the paths of man and beast,

[*Design*]

- Then mourns the wanderer; then he repents his wanderings
& eyes
15 The distant forest; then the slave groans in the dungeon of stone,
The captive in the mill of the stranger, sold for scanty hire.
They view their former life; they number moments over and
over,
Stringing them on their remembrance as on a thread of
sorrow.
Thou art my sister and my daughter; thy shame is mine also.
20 Ask me not of my griefs; thou knowest all my griefs.'

Jerusalem answered with soft tears over the valleys:

- 'O Vala, what is Sin, that thou shudderest and weepst
At sight of thy once-loved Jerusalem? What is Sin but a little
Error & fault that is soon forgiven? But mercy is not a sin,
25 Nor pity nor love nor kind forgiveness. Oh, if I have sinned
Forgive & pity me! Oh, unfold thy Veil in mercy and love!

[*Design*]

- Slay not my little ones, beloved Virgin Daughter of Babylon,
Slay not my infant loves & graces, beautiful daughter of Moab!
I cannot put off the human form; I strive but strive in vain.
30 When Albion rent thy beautiful net of gold and silver twine—
Thou hadst woven it with art, thou hadst caught me in the bands
Of love; thou refusedst to let me go. Albion beheld thy beauty,
Beautiful through our love's comeliness, beautiful through
pity,
The Veil shone with thy brightness in the eyes of Albion,
35 Because it enclosed pity & love, because we loved one another.
Albion loved thee; he rent thy Veil, he embraced thee, he
loved thee.

20.27. Vala is still not quite lost, but falling under the spell of the cruelly self-righteous Rahab, 'Virgin Babylon, mother of Whoredoms' (*Milton* 33.20; see also pl.70.17 below). Moab was an alien tribe on the eastern borders of Judah, presumably included here as another enemy of Jerusalem.

20.29. *the human form*] The perfect form of divine humanity.

20.30. Vala had woven a net (or Veil) which cut Jerusalem and herself off from Albion: but Albion, for love of Vala, broke through it. The sexual imagery is clear, suggesting an unquestioned and innocent free love, Albion and the 'Lamb', sharing Vala and Jerusalem, echo the 'virgin loveliness' of Oothoon in *Visions*.

- [20] Astonished at his beauty & perfection, thou forgavest his
furious love.
I redounded from Albion's bosom in my virgin loveliness.
The Lamb of God received me in his arms; he smiled upon us;
40 He made me his Bride & Wife, he gave thee to Albion.
Then was a time of love. Oh, why is it passed away?'
Then Albion broke silence and with groans replied:
Pl.21 'O Vala, O Jerusalem, do you delight in my groans?
You, O lovely forms, you have prepared my death-cup.
The disease of shame covers me from head to feet. I have no
hope;
Every boil upon my body is a separate & deadly sin.
5 Doubt first assailed me, then shame took possession of me.
Shame divides families: shame hath divided Albion in sunder.
First fled my Sons, & then my Daughters, then my wild
animations,
My cattle next, last even the dog of my gate. The forests fled,
The cornfields, & the breathing gardens outside separated,
10 The sea, the stars, the sun, the moon—driven forth by my
disease!
All is Eternal Death, unless you can weave a chaste
Body over an unchaste mind! Vala! Oh that thou wert pure!
That the deep wound of Sin might be closed up with the
needle
And with the loom, to cover Gwendolen & Ragan with
costly robes
15 Of Natural Virtue, for their Spiritual Forms without a Veil
Wither in Luvah's sepulchre. I thrust him from my presence,

21.3ff. There are many echoes of *Job*, in matter and style, in this passage. *Job* ii 7: [Satan] 'smote Job with sore boils from the sole of his foot unto his crown'. Albion has fallen into the major error of judging by standards of Righteousness and Sin. All the elements of his being have been 'driven forth' – i.e. have become separate entities – and he blames Vala, not for causing him to judge wrongly, but for her 'Sin' (13); these are now the only terms he can understand.

21.13–14. *needle and loom*] Luvah wants to escape from sin by mechanical means, by covering himself with a mere appearance of chastity, and by hiding from sin – not by repudiating it.

21.14. *Gwendolen & Ragan*] See 5.40n, and headnote. They are 'Daughters of Albion'.

21.15. *Natural Virtue*] The virtue of the natural world – not real virtue.

21.16. *Luvah's sepulchre*] Luvah, the passionate Zoa (see p. 297), is associated with Christ in *The Four Zoas* viii 250 and is crucified and laid in a sepulchre (vii 491–2). The events of the present passage do not fit those of *The Four Zoas*; but the idea is clear. Albion has pushed the Luvah within himself out of the way, and complains of the results. But he is unwilling to restore Luvah to his proper place and thus regain his own spirituality.

- [21] And all my children followed his loud howlings into the deep.
 Jerusalem, dissembler Jerusalem, I look into thy bosom,
 I discover thy secret places. Cordella, I behold
 20 Thee, whom I thought pure as the heavens in innocence & fear,
 Thy tabernacle taken down, thy secret cherubim disclosed.
 Art thou broken? Ah me, Sabrina, running by my side
 In childhood what wert thou? Unutterable anguish!
- Conwenna,
 Thy cradled infancy is most piteous. O hide, O hide!
 25 Their secret gardens were made paths to the traveller;
 I knew not of their secret loves with those I hated most,
 Nor that their every thought was sin & secret appetite.
 Hyle sees in fear, he howls in fury over them. Hand sees
 In jealous fear: in stern accusation with cruel stripes
 30 He drives them through the streets of Babylon before my face.
 Because they taught Luvah to rise into my clouded heavens,
 Battersea and Chelsea mourn for Cambel & Gwendolen.
 Hackney and Holloway sicken for Estrild & Ignoge.
 Because the Peak, Malvern & Cheviot reason in cruelty,
 35 Penmaenmawr & Dhinas-bran Demonstrate in unbelief.
 Manchester & Liverpool are in tortures of doubt & despair,
 Maldon & Colchester Demonstrate. I hear my children's
 voices,
 I see their piteous faces gleam out upon the cruel winds

21.19. *Cordella*] Another of the twelve Daughters of Albion: so also Sabrina (22) and Conwenna (23).

21.21. *tabernacle . . . cherubim*] The tabernacle was the Israelites' portable temple during their desert wanderings; the gold cherubim rested on the Mercy Seat, the seat of God, protecting the ark of the Covenant beneath it (*Exodus* xxv 17–23). Again, as in 44.34–7, and the extended passage 69.15–28, the inferences are sexual; but Albion cannot now (26–7) understand (as in innocence he once did) that his daughters are not now children, and their joys are not Sin.

21.25. *Their*] His daughters'.

21.28–49. These place-names, as related to the Daughters, seem to have no specific significance; they imply that every part of England and Wales has suffered its own particular loss.

21.32–3. *Cambel, Gwendolen, Estrild, Ignoge*] See headnote, pp. 655–6.

21.34. *the Peak*] Long important for lead-mining, but already well known as a beauty-spot and spa. In one of its vast limestone caverns was a village of poor people. Mam Tor (see 80.66, 82.45), with the prehistoric encampment on its summit, was regarded as a place of special wildness and terror.

21.35. *Penmaenmawr*] A mountain surrounded by ancient fortifications. Dhinas-bran is the site of a medieval castle. Thus both are places of war in Wales, the home of the Druids.

Demonstrate] 'prove by experimental Demonstration'.

21.37. *Maldon & Colchester*] B. has *Malden*, but all his allusions indicate Maldon on the east coast. See 27.65*n*, 90.62*n*.

- [21] From Lincoln & Norwich, from Edinburgh & Monmouth;
 40 I see them distant from my bosom scourged along the roads,
 Then lost in clouds; I hear their tender voices! clouds divide,
 I see them die beneath the whips of the captains; they are taken
 In solemn pomp into Chaldea across the breadths of Europe.
 Six months they lie embalmed in silent death: worshipped,
 45 Carried in arks of oak before the armies in the spring,
 Bursting their arks they rise again to life, they play before
 The armies. I hear their loud cymbals & their deadly cries.
 Are the dead cruel? Are those who are enfolded in Moral Law
 Revengeful? O that Death & Annihilation were the same!
 50 Then Vala answered, spreading her scarlet Veil over Albion:

[*Design*]

Pl.22 [*Design*]

- 'Albion, thy fear has made me tremble; thy terrors have
 surrounded me.
 Thy Sons have nailed me on the gates, piercing my hands &
 feet,
 Till Skofield's Nimrod, the mighty huntsman Jehovah, came
 With Cush his son, & took me down. He in a golden ark
 5 Bears me before his armies, though my shadow hovers here.
 The flesh of multitudes fed & nourished me in my childhood;
 My morn & evening food were prepared in battles of men.
 Great is the cry of the hounds of Nimrod along the Valley
 Of Vision; they scent the odour of war in the Valley of Vision!
 10 All love is lost—terror succeeds & hatred instead of love,

21.43. *Chaldea*] Of which Babylon was the capital.

21.44–7. A reference to the fertility religions which worshipped the lying god who was resurrected in spring: and to the similar legend of Persephone or Proserpine (a woman): and to the use of religion to hallow war. *Oak* is associated with the Druids. The allusion seems to be a conflation of these rather than a direct reference to one rite.

21.48. *Are the dead cruel?*] The spiritually dead are (note next line).

21.50. *scarlet*] Vala is becoming the 'Scarlet Woman'.

21. *Design*. Illustrates 40–3.

22. *Design*: A female figure, perhaps Vala casting her veil.

22.1, 10–15, 20–24, adapt the dialogue of Enion and Tharmas in *Four Zoas* i 27–43.

22.1–15. Vala is the deluded shadow of Jerusalem. Here she presents a false view of the Crucifixion, and of the O.T. history of Jerusalem and Israel.

22.3. Although the names are biblical, the reference is not. B. uses the biblical story of the ark, a sacred mystery, which was carried before the Israelites when they set out from Sinai (*Numbers* x 33): but the details (e.g. the gold) are his own.

- [22] And stern demands of right & duty instead of liberty.
Once thou wast to me the loveliest son of heaven; but now
Where shall I hide from thy dread countenance & searching
eyes?

I have looked into the secret soul of him I loved,

- 15 And in the dark recesses found sin & can never return.'

Albion again uttered his voice beneath the silent moon:

'I brought love into light of day, to pride in chaste beauty;
I brought love into light, & fancied innocence is no more.'

- Then spoke Jerusalem. 'O Albion, my father Albion,
20 Why wilt thou number every little fibre of my soul,
Spreading them out before the sun like stalks of flax to dry?
The infant joy is beautiful, but its anatomy
Horrible, ghast & deadly: nought shalt thou find in it
But dark despair & everlasting brooding melancholy.'

- 25 Then Albion turned his face toward Jerusalem & spoke:

'Hide thou, Jerusalem, in impalpable voidness, not to be
Touched by the hand nor seen with the eye! O Jerusalem,
Would thou wert not & that thy place might never be found!
But come, O Vala, with knife & cup, drain my blood

- 30 To the last drop, then hide me in thy scarlet tabernacle.
For I see Luvah whom I slew, I behold him in my Spectre
As I behold Jerusalem in thee, O Vala, dark and cold.'

Jerusalem then stretched her hand toward the moon & spoke:

'Why should Punishment weave the Veil with iron Wheels of
War,

- 35 When Forgiveness might it weave with Wings of Cherubim?'

Loud groaned Albion from mountain to mountain & replied:

[*Design*]

- Pl.23 'Jerusalem, Jerusalem, deluding shadow of Albion,
Daughter of my fantasy, unlawful pleasure, Albion's curse!

22.15. But she should have forgiven any fault she might have found.

22.20-4. So in *Four Zoas* i 28-32, where *number* reads *examine*, and *dark* reads *death*.

22.29-30. This self-torment is characteristic of the fallen soul, though the imagery is of temple sacrifice.

22.34-5. These lines are illustrated at the foot of the page, where cherubim hover over three huge iron gear-wheels (cp. 18.8-10).

23.1-7. Albion's speech is confused by his error; he does not understand the nature either of Jerusalem or of the Veil.

23. *Design*: Between 13 and 14, a female angelic figure with large eagle's wings, and feathers growing down from her limbs, reclines and sleeps.

- [23] I came here with intention to annihilate thee; but
 My soul is melted away, enwoven within the Veil.
 5 Hast thou again knitted the Veil of Vala, which I for thee
 Pitying rent in ancient times? I see it whole and more
 Perfect, and shining with beauty!
 —‘But thou, O wretched father!’
 Jerusalem replied, like a voice heard from a sepulchre:
 ‘Father, once piteous! Is Pity a Sin? Embalmed in Vala’s
 bosom
 10 In an Eternal Death for Albion’s sake, our best beloved.
 Thou art my father & my brother; why hast thou hidden me
 Remote from the Divine Vision, my Lord and Saviour?’
 Trembling stood Albion at her words in jealous dark despair.

[*Design*]

- He felt that Love and Pity are the same—a soft repose,
 15 Inward complacency of soul, a Self-annihilation.
 ‘I have erred! I am ashamed, and will never return more;
 I have taught my children sacrifices of cruelty. What shall I
 answer?
 I will hide it from Eternals! I will give myself for my children!
 Which way soever I turn, I behold Humanity and Pity!’
 20 He recoiled, he rushed outwards, he bore the Veil whole away;
 His fires redound from his Dragon Altars in errors returning.
 He drew the Veil of Moral Virtue, woven for cruel laws,
 And cast it into the Atlantic deep, to catch the souls of the Dead.

23.14ff. Albion misinterprets love and pity. *Pity* is intended for the unfortunate, but is a dangerous emotion, for it inhibits remedial action (‘pity . . . man unmans’, *Milton* 8.19–20). *Love* leads a person to understanding another’s needs, and to acting thereon, even though the action may be unpleasant in its immediate effects. Los, according to the Bard’s Song in *Milton*, once forgot this, with disastrous results. Albion believes he will be condemned for his error, and cannot accept the forgiveness of the Eternals. His only wish is to hide his error, not to admit it and so end it; he is afraid and too ashamed to return to truth.

23.20. *outwards*] Towards the superficial, outward appearance of things, accepting Vala’s Veil whole and unchallenged. Thus in 28 he speaks ‘from the Circumference into Eternity’ against the inner life. Cp. 12.55.

23.21. *Dragon Altars*] The altars of the ‘Dragon Temples’ of the Druids: cp. Europe 72n and *Milton* pl.6.20n.

23.23. *the Atlantic deep*] Connotes evil to B., for it overwhelmed the beautiful land of Atlantis. The *Veil* becomes a fishing-net: an allusion to the sailors’ superstition, that mackerel eat drowned seamen, to eat mackerel is to eat the souls of men?

- [23] He stood between the Palm tree & the Oak of Weeping
 25 Which stand upon the edge of Beulah: and there Albion sunk
 Down in sick pallid languor. These were his last words,
 relapsing,
 Hoarse from his rocks, from caverns of Derbyshire & Wales
 And Scotland, uttered from the Circumference into Eternity:

[*Design*]

- ‘Blasphemous sons of Feminine delusion, God in the dreary void
 30 Dwells from Eternity, wide separated from the Human soul.
 But thou, deluding image—by whom imbued, the Veil I
 rent—
 Lo! here is Vala’s Veil whole, for a law, a terror & a curse,
 And therefore God takes vengeance on me; from my
 clay-cold bosom
 My children wander, trembling victims of his Moral Justice.
 35 His snows fall on me and cover me, while in the Veil I fold
 My dying limbs. Therefore, O Manhood, if thou art aught
 But a mere fantasy, hear dying Albion’s curse:
 May God who dwells in this dark Ulro & voidness,
 vengeance take
 And draw thee down into this abyss of sorrow and torture,
 40 Like me thy victim. O that Death & Annihilation were the same!

[*Design*]

Pl.24

[*Design*]

‘What have I said? What have I done? O all-powerful Human
 words!
 You recoil back upon me in the blood of the Lamb slain in
 his children.
 Two bleeding Contraries, equally true, are his witnesses
 against me.

23.24. See *Four Zoas* ii 204, and 206*n*; there also Albion is on the point of lapsing into a deathly sleep.

Oak of Weeping] see *F.Z.* ii.206*n*.

23.27. *caverns*] See 21.34*n*.

23. *Design* (in one with that at foot of the plate): Struggling figures; above trapped in caves and roots of trees, below in rocks beneath the earth’s surface.

23.31. *the Veil I rent*] An allusion to 20.30–41: Albion now regards his love as ‘delusion’. Yet the Veil is delusion, and if he ceased to believe in it, it would dissolve.

23. *Design*: See note on design above.

24. *Design*: A crescent moon floats on the waves, cradling a figure.

24.2. *recoil*] Albion has wished that the Divine Humanity be drawn ‘down into this abyss’ (23.39): then has a glimpse of the truth – that though Christ has been crucified, this has glorified him, not destroyed him. But Albion cannot accept the implications.

- [24] We reared mighty stones; we danced naked around them,
 5 Thinking to bring love into light of day, to Jerusalem's shame
 Displaying our Giant limbs to all the winds of heaven. Sudden
 Shame seized us, we could not look on one another for
 abhorrence: the blue
 Of our immortal veins & all their hosts fled from our limbs,
 And wandered distant in a dismal night clouded & dark;
 10 The sun fled from the Briton's forehead, the moon from his
 mighty loins;
 Scandinavia fled with all his mountains filled with groans.

[*Marginal Design*]

- 'Oh, what is life & what is Man? Oh, what is Death?
 Wherefore
 Are you, my children, natives in the grave to where I go?
 Or are you born to feed the hungry ravengings of destruction,
 15 To be the sport of accident, to waste in wrath & love a weary
 Life, in brooding cares & anxious labours that prove but chaff?
 O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, I have forsaken thy courts,
 Thy pillars of ivory & gold, thy curtains of silk & fine
 Linen, thy pavements of precious stones, thy walls of pearl
 20 And gold, thy gates of thanksgiving, thy windows of praise,
 Thy clouds of blessing, thy cherubims of tender mercy,
 Stretching their wings sublime over the little ones of Albion.
 O Human Imagination, O Divine Body I have crucified,
 I have turned my back upon thee into the wastes of Moral Law.
 25 There Babylon is builded in the waste, founded in human
 desolation.
 O Babylon, thy watchman stands over thee in the night;
 Thy severe judge all the day long proves thee, O Babylon,
 With provings of destruction, with giving thee thy heart's
 desire.
 But Albion is cast forth to the potter, his children to the builders

24.4. Perhaps a version of the Fall, when Adam and Eve found their nakedness to be sinful. There may also be a double reference here to the erection of the 'druid temples' such as Stonehenge, and to supposed orgiastic dances there, attributed to sisterhoods of witches. Neither ritual succeeded in destroying Jerusalem; they only succeeded in bringing shame to Albion.

24.7-8. *the blue Of our immortal veins*] Blue blood? The apparent allusion to aristocratic blood is very unexpected.

24.17-22 recall the glories, specified in detail in *Exodus* chs. xxv-xxvii, xxxvi-xxxix, of the Tabernacle, and later of the Temple in Jerusalem itself; and contrast with the cruel buildings of Babylon in lines 31ff.

24. *Marginal Design*: Mourning figures carried by the waves of the design above, which continues down the margin.

24.29. Albion is shapeless clay, to be moulded against his will.

- [24] To build Babylon, because they have forsaken Jerusalem.
31 The walls of Babylon are souls of men, her gates the groans
Of nations, her towers are the miseries of once happy families.
Her streets are paved with destruction, her houses built with
death,
Her palaces with hell & the grave, her synagogues with
torments
35 Of ever-hardening despair, squared & polished with cruel skill.
Yet thou wast lovely as the summer cloud upon my hills
When Jerusalem was thy heart's desire in times of youth & love.
Thy sons came to Jerusalem with gifts, she sent them away
With blessings on their hands & on their feet, blessings of gold
40 And pearl & diamond; thy Daughters sang in her courts;
They came up to Jerusalem; they walked before Albion.
In the Exchanges of London every nation walked
And London walked in every nation, mutual in love &
harmony.
Albion covered the whole earth, England encompassed the
nations,
45 Mutual within each other's bosom in visions of Regeneration.
Jerusalem covered the Atlantic mountains & the Erythrean,
From bright Japan & China to Hesperia, France & England.
Mount Zion lifted his head in every nation under heaven,
And the Mount of Olives was beheld over the whole earth.
50 The footsteps of the Lamb of God were there: but now no more,
No more shall I behold him; he is closed in Luvah's sepulchre.
Yet why these smittings of Luvah, the gentlest mildest Zoa?
If God was merciful this could not be. O Lamb of God,
Thou art a delusion, and Jerusalem is my sin. O my children,
55 I have educated you in the crucifying cruelties of
demonstration,

24.36. As Jerusalem is both city and woman, so Babylon the city is Vala the woman; cp. 19.40-1. In the following lines the friendship of the two is seen in terms of the cities.

24.42. *Exchanges*] Cp. 27.107. B. sees the commercial exchanges as places designed for fraternal and international commerce, not mere money-making.

24.46. i.e. before the ocean had overwhelmed Atlantis. The Erythrean is the Red Sea; to B. the farthest eastern ocean, equivalent to the Atlantic in the west. Lines 46-7 therefore mean that Jerusalem enfolded the whole earth.

24.47. *Hesperia*] 'Land of the west' - i.e., Italy.

24.50-2. In *The Four Zoas*, Luvah in his 'robes of blood' is often identified with Christ, and is not always the usurper of Nights i-ii (cp. 25.6). Here he is said to suffer beatings as Christ did. The constant element here is that Albion's fall has perverted Luvah, but Albion will not see his own fault, and instead denies the mercy of God.

[24] Till you have assumed the Providence of God & slain your father.

Dost thou appear before me who liest dead in Luvah's sepulchre?

Dost thou forgive me, thou who wast dead & art alive?

Look not so merciful upon me, O thou slain Lamb of God!

60 I die, I die in thy arms, though Hope is banished from me!

Thundering the Veil rushes from his hand, Vegetating knot by Knot, day by day, night by night: loud roll the indignant Atlantic Waves & the Erythrean, turning up the bottoms of the deeps.

Pl.25 And there was heard a great lamenting in Beulah. All the regions Of Beulah were moved as the tender bowels are moved; & they said:

'Why did you take vengeance, O ye Sons of the mighty Albion, Planting these Oaken Groves, erecting these Dragon Temples?

5 Injury the Lord heals, but vengeance cannot be healed.

As the Sons of Albion have done to Luvah, so they have in him Done to the Divine Lord & Saviour, who suffers with those that suffer.

For not one sparrow can suffer, & the whole Universe not suffer also,

In all its regions, & its Father & Saviour not pity and weep.

10 But Vengeance is the destroyer of Grace & Repentance in the bosom

Of the injurer—in which the Divine Lamb is cruelly slain.

Descend, O Lamb of God, & take away the imputation of Sin

By the Creation of States & the deliverance of Individuals evermore, Amen!'

Thus wept they in Beulah over the four regions of Albion.

15 But many doubted & despaired, & imputed Sin & Righteousness

To Individuals & not to States; and these slept in Ulro.

[*Design*]

24.57. i.e. 'thou . . . who liest'.

25.1. It is the duty of Beulah to watch over sufferers in other worlds.

25.4. The Druids were said to worship in oak groves, and (with less evidence) to have built great stone temples and made human sacrifices there.

25.8. *not one sparrow*] *Luke* xii 6: 'Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God?' and *Auguries of Innocence*, 5–40.

25.13. *States*] Cp. *Milton* 32.22 and note: also *Jerusalem* 31.13n.

25. *Design* (covering most of the plate): Albion, tormented by three of his Daughters. His body is covered with sun, moon, and the stars of Orion and of the Pleiades; one of the females is twisting the umbilical cord.

Pl.26

[*Full-page Design*]

Such visions have appeared to me
as I my ordered race have run.

Jerusalem is named Liberty
Among the Sons of Albion.

Chapter 2

This chapter shows the nature of Albion's weakness, its effects, and the ineffectiveness of different kinds of outside help, culminating in his repetition at 47.17 of the cry, 'Hope is banished from me' (24.6). His strength fails and he is laid on a beautifully-ornamented couch as if dead. He can only be saved by responding on his own to the Divine Mercy, and the time is not yet ripe for this. There is no predestination here – the Mercy is eternally available, and only his own error can doom him to the Ulro.

The chapter comprises a number of sequences, often self-contained – disputations among differing groups of figures; declarations; episodic incidents; and some narrative, which seems to lead nowhere until pl.48. Meanwhile, certain passages have special importance. (i) In *Reuben* (30.36, 43–58, 32.1–24), Albion is identified with Israel, the Sons of Albion with the Israelites, and (30.36) their leader Hand with Reuben. After Albion's fall, his eldest son, Reuben, is driven out of the 'Holy Land' of Eternity, into the world of Mortality. (ii) Lines 33.1–45.39 consist of a number of distinct passages; as a whole, these relate Los's attempts to save Albion, first with exhortation, then by calling on the 'Friends of Albion' to help. They fail when they try to use force, and Bath, one of the Friends, teaches that they must wait for the Divine Vision. Los searches London but fails to find the cause of Albion's error. (iii) Between 45.40 and 47.15, Vala asserts her control over Albion, and his Sons determinedly compose him to sleep.

The opening of Pl.48 is a requiem for Albion, one of B.'s tenderest pieces of writing. Albion, all hope lost, has fallen into a coma, and is laid by the Divine Hand on a richly ornamented bier. At this crucial moment in the narrative, B. develops two beloved themes. First, separation: Albion's Emanation, Jerusalem, unable to live in his hopeless world, breaks away, from him, (47–51), a separated, lost spirit till the end of the epic. Second: love in a lost world. In a beautiful series of images, Erin creates an infinite rainbow world within

26. *Full-page Design*: Hand, encircled by flames, with a serpent coiling round his outstretched arms. Jerusalem watches in fear; the figures are labelled *Hand* and *Jerusalem*. The words, in block capitals, are dispersed over the design.

a world of death. She and the Daughters of Beulah end the chapter with their mourning.

There are two different arrangements of the plates of this chapter. That given here was used in the earliest two copies; B. then altered it for two copies, and returned to the original order for the fifth and last copy. Both arrangements seem to have given him some satisfaction. Plates 29–46 are therefore given double numbers, thus: Pl.29(33): the number in brackets indicating the place of the plate in the alternative order. Since the material is so digressive, the different orders do not affect the thread of thought very seriously. In the footnote references the first number only is given.

Pl.27

To the Jews

Jerusalem the Emanation of the giant Albion! Can it be? Is it a truth that the learned have explored? Was Britain the primitive seat of the patriarchal religion? If it is true, my

27.1. *Jerusalem . . . Albion!*] This idea is central to *Jerusalem*: cp. 38.68*n*. For *Emanation*, see *Four Zoas* i 17*n*; here Jerusalem is: (a) the essential counterpart of Albion's being, as wife is to husband, as the New Jerusalem is to Christ in *Revelation* xxii 2; (b) his creation – as, in Neo-Platonic thought, an Emanation is an ethereal spirit, externalized from the person, but existing only as a reflection of that person. Jerusalem, the Holy City of the Bible, is thus an Emanation, not of a distant land in a mysterious past, but of Britain, the nation to whom B. was addressing himself. This Preface is dedicated 'To the Jews': B. wishes to identify his nation and its history with theirs (5–13). Hence he also feels the need to describe the separation of the two lands, which he envisages were once literally one (e.g. 38.69–70, 63.41–2).

The *Giant Albion* is B.'s development of the idea of Adam Kadmon, the Universal Man referred to in 13–14; the idea may have come to B. through Swedenborg, but he could have found it in various writings on the Jewish mystical tradition (although, as Harold Bloom points out (*Erdman* 934), they would be appalled at B.'s earthly concerns; their Adam Kadmon was of pure spiritual essence). The Universal Man is the basis of *The Four Zoas*, but in *Jerusalem* the Man is specifically seen as Albion, Britain, on his island-rock, and at the same time as an ancestor of the Jews (see the next note).

27.2–3. *Was Britain . . . religion?*] B. is drawing on a long tradition of respected if unscientific thought, based on the Bible's chronology, which assumed that all other prehistory had to be fitted into it. One school (as in Bryant's *New System*, which B. knew) wished to demonstrate a universal source for all myths. Edward Davies, e.g., held that the Celts descended from Noah's grandson Gomer (*Gomerii* = *Cymri*), and claimed that the Titans of the Orphic myth were 'the original and primitive race of mankind', were the patriarchs, and 'parents of the Celtæ'. The Druids thus held an ancient, divinely-taught tradition lost to the rest of the world after the Flood, until the coming of Christ. B.'s is only a similar conjecture in poetic form. In *VLJ* 80 B. depicts 'Albion our ancestor,

- [27] title-page is also true – that Jerusalem was & is the Emanation
 5 of the Giant Albion. It is true: and cannot be controverted.
 Ye are united, O ye inhabitants of earth, in one religion,
 the Religion of Jesus – the most ancient, the eternal, & the
 Everlasting Gospel. The wicked will turn it to wickedness, the
 righteous to righteousness. Amen! Huzza! Selah!
 10 ‘*All things begin & end in Albion’s ancient Druid rocky shore.*’

Your ancestors derived their origin from Abraham, Heber, Shem, and Noah, who were Druids, as the Druid Temples (which are the patriarchal pillars & oak groves) over the whole earth witness to this day.

- 15 You have a tradition, that Man anciently contained in his mighty limbs all things in heaven & earth: this you received from the Druids.

‘*But now the starry heavens are fled from the mighty limbs of Albion.*’

patriarch of the Atlantic continent, whose history preceded that of the Hebrews . . .’, and hence he sites patriarchal activity in Albion, reiterating throughout *Jerusalem* his identification of the histories of Albion and Israel. The learned (line 2) were a series of earnest if unscientific antiquaries who, since the 17th c., had associated the druids with the patriarchs, and often associated all ancient religions with one another. (In George Eliot’s *Middlemarch*, set c. 1830, Casaubon is a late proponent of such a system, by then long discredited.) B. adds that, as the patriarchal religion was corrupted so also were the druids, with all Albion, building their stone temples (as B. and his age thought) for human sacrifice. But Albion was always an immortal.

Descriptive Catalogue v: ‘Mr. B. has in his hands poems of the highest antiquity. Adam was a Druid, and Noah; also Abraham was called to succeed the Druidical age, which began to turn allegoric and mental signification into corporeal command, whereby human sacrifice would have depopulated the earth. All these things are written in Eden . . . 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. Antiquity preaches the Gospel of Jesus’s (*Des. Cat.*, p. 41). See also *Marriage* iv 38–40.

27.9. *Amen! Huzza! Selah!*] B. unites Jewish and British ejaculations. (*Selah* is not an ejaculation, but was commonly supposed to be.)

27.10. So in *Milton* 6.25 (the plate is a late addition) and *Jerusalem* 46.16. It appears to be a kind of slogan with B.

27.18–19. So in *Milton* 6.25 and see *Jerusalem* 30.20–1, 70.32, 75.27. The Universal Man, who contained all nature in his own being, is disintegrated; the universe is turned into a host of separated entities.

[27] Albion was the parent of the Druids; & in his chaotic state
 21 of sleep Satan & Adam & the whole world was created by the
 Elohim.

The fields from Islington to Marybone,
 To Primrose Hill and Saint John's Wood,
 25 Were builded over with pillars of gold,
 And there Jerusalem's pillars stood.

Her little ones ran on the fields,
 The Lamb of God among them seen
 And fair Jerusalem his bride,
 30 Among the little meadows green.

Pancras & Kentish Town repose
 Among her golden pillars high,
 Among her golden arches which
 Shine upon the starry sky.

35 The Jews-Harp House & the Green Man,
 The ponds where boys to bathe delight,
 The fields of cows by Willan's farm,
 Shine in Jerusalem's pleasant sight.

She walks upon our meadows green,
 40 The Lamb of God walks by her side,
 And every English child is seen
 Children of Jesus & his Bride,

Forgiving trespasses and sins,
 Lest Babylon with cruel Og,

27.21–2. *Satan and Adam*] The two 'Limits' (cp. *Four Zoas* iv 270n) of the Fall; man was divinely prevented from deteriorating beyond them.

created by the Elohim] Creation is the fixed state of being in this mortal world; better than chaos, but fallen from eternity. In *Genesis* i, the name of God who creates is *Elohim*. In 2.4 another narrative begins (but B., like all his age, would read only one continuous story): this includes the specifically earthly creation of man ('out of the dust'); the separation of woman from him; the prohibition, and the fall. In this part, God is called *Jah*, or *Jehovah*. B. often distinguishes the creating Elohim from the law-giving Jehovah, taking his cue from Neo-Platonism, directly or indirectly. See *Milton* 13.22n.

27. *Poem*. This, as far as 86, is almost a summary of ch. 1. For the London placenames, see map on p. 651.

27.23. *The fields*] Now almost inner London, but then real fields, skirting the northern rim of London.

27.36. *boys*] B. himself would have known these places as a child.

27.44–6. i.e. lest the enemies of true religion should set up their false laws of cruelty. In *Four Zoas* viii 89, 261ff, the synagogue of Satan is set against Los and the Council of God, and seen as the religious forces that crucified Christ.

- [27] With Moral & Self-righteous Law
46 Should crucify in Satan's Synagogue!
- What are those golden builders doing
 Near mournful ever-weeping Paddington,
 Standing above that mighty ruin
50 Where Satan the first victory won,
- Where Albion slept beneath the fatal tree
 And the Druid's golden knife
 Rioted in human gore,
 In offerings of human life?
- 55 They groaned aloud on London Stone,
 They groaned aloud on Tyburn's brook;
 Albion gave his deadly groan,
 And all the Atlantic mountains shook.
- Albion's Spectre from his loins
60 Tore forth in all the pomp of war,
 Satan his name; in flames of fire
 He stretched his Druid pillars far.
- Jerusalem fell from Lambeth's Vale,
 Down through Poplar & Old Bow,
65 Through Maldon & across the sea,
 In war & howling, death & woe.
- The Rhine was red with human blood,
 The Danube rolled a purple tide;
 On the Euphrates Satan stood
70 And over Asia stretched his pride.

27.47. Cp. 12.25ff. These are the builders of Golgonooza, working in the midst of ruinous slums. The *mighty ruin* may be the gallows of Tyburn.

27.55–6. *London Stone . . . Tyburn*] Places of execution or sacrifice in ancient times; Tyburn ceased to be a place of execution only after 1783. For London Stone as a 'Druid monument', see 8.27*n*.

27.59. B., in a typical compression, relates war, brutal sexuality, and false religion. Cp. 47.3.

27.63–5. B. follows the direct road (Poplar is slightly out of the way) eastward from Lambeth to the coast, up the Rhine, down the Danube, to the lands of war and superstition, where Jerusalem is now embedded. Maldon, on the East Coast, was supposed (since Camden) to be the site of the Roman Camulodunum: Aylett Sammes, in *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata* (1676), identifies a god Camulus with Mars; 'Camalodunum' is 'Mars-Hill, now Maldon in Essex; the goddess Venus Adraste also had a temple there' (where orgiastic rituals took place, he says).

27.67–8. As in Napoleon's campaigns of 1805–06.

27.69–70. Cp. 8.19–24.

- [27] He withered up sweet Zion's hill,
 From every nation of the earth;
 He withered up Jerusalem's gates
 And in a dark land gave her birth.
- 75 He withered up the Human Form
 By laws of Sacrifice for Sin
 Till it became a Mortal worm—
 But oh, translucent all within!
- 80 The Divine Vision still was seen,
 Still was the Human Form Divine
 Weeping in weak & mortal clay;
 O Jesus, still the form was thine!
- 85 And thine the Human face & thine
 The Human hands & feet & breath,
 Entering through the gates of Birth
 And passing through the gates of Death.
- 90 And, O thou Lamb of God, whom I
 Slew in my dark self-righteous pride,
 Art thou returned to Albion's land?
 And is Jerusalem thy Bride?
- Come to my arms & never more
 Depart, but dwell for ever here.
 Create my spirit to thy love,
 Subdue my Spectre to thy fear.
- 95 Spectre of Albion, warlike fiend,
 In clouds of blood & ruin rolled,
 I here reclaim thee as my own,
 My Selfhood, Satan! armed in gold.
- 100 Is this thy soft family love,
 Thy cruel patriarchal pride?
 Planting thy family alone,
 Destroying all the world beside?
- 105 A man's worst enemies are those
 Of his own house & family;
 And he who makes his law a curse,
 By his own law shall surely die.

27.72. What is true of Albion is true of all nations.

27.103. Cp. *Matthew* x 36: 'And a man's foes shall be they of his own household.' B. does not speak of actual strife, but of the hindering of a man by family influences. He uses the same words in 41.25-6.

- [27] In my Exchanges every land
 Shall walk, & mine in every land
 Mutual shall build Jerusalem:
 110 Both heart in heart & hand in hand.

If Humility is Christianity, you, O Jews, are the true Christians. If your tradition that Man contained in his limbs all animals is true, and they were separated from him by cruel sacrifices, and when compulsory cruel sacrifices had brought
 115 Humanity into a Feminine Tabernacle, in the loins of Abraham & David, the Lamb of God, the Saviour, became apparent on earth as the prophets had foretold! The return of Israel is a return to Mental Sacrifice & War. Take up the Cross, O Israel, & follow Jesus!

Pl.28 *Jerusalem: Chap. 2*

[*Design*]

Every ornament of perfection, and every labour of love,
 In all the Garden of Eden, & in all the golden mountains
 Was become an envied horror, and a remembrance of jealousy;
 And every act a crime, and Albion the punisher & judge.

- 5 And Albion spoke from his secret seat and said:

‘All these ornaments are crimes, they are made by the labours
 Of loves, of unnatural consanguinities and friendships
 Horrid to think of when enquired deeply into, and all
 These hills & valleys are accursed witnesses of Sin.

- 10 I therefore condense them into solid rocks, steadfast,
 A foundation and certainty and demonstrative truth,
 That man be separate from man; & here I plant my seat.’

27.107. Cp. 24.42.

27.112. *your tradition*] See 27.111.

27.115. *Feminine Tabernacle*] The womb? – the place of Generation into the mortal world: see ‘To Tirzah’, p. 618 above. The tabernacle was the place of worship set up under Moses (*Exodus* xxv–xxvii). Feminine domination is usually seen by B. as cruel; the religion of Rahab and Tirzah, as chs. 2–3 repeatedly show, is characterized by a kind of vicious, perverted sexuality.

28. *Design*: The upper half of the page shows a couple embracing on a floating lily – perhaps referring to 1–2. As in *Song of Songs* ii 6, ‘His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me’; her arms embrace him likewise. Erdman has shown (see *IB*, and *Erdman* p. 810), that an original scene of simple copulation has been altered; who is now who, and of what sexes, has been variously debated.

- [28] Cold snows drifted around him; ice covered his loins around.
 He sat by Tyburn's brook, and underneath his heel shot up
 15 A deadly tree—he named it Moral Virtue, and the Law
 Of God who dwells in Chaos hidden from the Human sight.

The Tree spread over him its cold shadows (Albion groaned).
 They bent down, they felt the earth and again enrooting
 Shot into many a tree; an endless labyrinth of woe.

- 20 From willing sacrifice of self, to sacrifice of (miscalled) enemies
 For Atonement, Albion began to erect twelve altars,
 Of rough unhewn rocks, before the Potter's Furnace.
 He named them Justice, and Truth. And Albion's sons
 Must have become the first victims, being the first transgressors;
 25 But they fled to the mountains to seek ransom, building a strong
 Fortification against the Divine Humanity and Mercy,
 In shame & jealousy to annihilate Jerusalem.

- Pl.29 Turning his back to the Divine Vision, his Spectrous
 (33) Chaos before his face appeared, an unformed memory.

Then spoke the Spectrous Chaos to Albion, darkening cold,
 From the back & loins where dwell the Spectrous dead:

- 5 'I am your Rational Power O Albion & that Human Form
 You call Divine is but a Worm seventy inches long
 That creeps forth in a night & is dried in the morning sun

28.13. Albion has behaved as Urizen does in the myth of *Urizen* and *The Four Zoas*: the effects are the same – cp. *Four Zoas* vii 28–35.

28.15 *A deadly tree*] B. uses the same image in the 'Tree of Mystery' in *Four Zoas*, q.v. vii 31n. See also 'A Poison Tree' note, p. 219.

28.20–7. Albion's family disintegrates: it was a single entity, but now he is hostile to his sons, who in turn attack Jerusalem.

28.22. *rough unhewn rocks*] As in *Joshua* viii 30–2, after Joshua had annihilated the people of Ai, and hanged their king on a tree, he raised an altar to God in the presence of all the twelve tribes. This altar, in obedience to the command in *Deuteronomy* xxvii 5, was 'an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lift up any iron . . . And he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses. *Potter's Furnace*] B.'s use of the image seems inconsistent: in 53.27–9, the furnace is in Beulah.

28.24. *Must*] i.e. 'would inevitably'.

28.25. *ransom*] A reference to the 'substitutionary theology', that a stern, unyielding God demanded a ransom for sin, which was provided by Christ as a scapegoat. Albion's first error is reinforced and multiplied in his Sons' reaction. Pls.29–30 (33–34) are a distinct sequence marked by an unusual script. In the alternative numbering, pl.43 follows 28.

29.1–2 *his Spectrous/Chaos*] His spectre; nihilistic, chaos-making creature.

29.4. *back and loins*] The Spectre grows from his back (17.56) – not his heart, and his message is the logical conclusion of materialism.

- [29] In fortuitous concourse of memories accumulated & lost
 It ploughs the Earth in its own conceit, it overwhelms the Hills
 10 Beneath its winding labyrinths, till a stone of the brook
 Stops it in midst of its pride among its hills & rivers
 Battersea & Chelsea mourn, London & Canterbury tremble
 Their place shall not be found as the wind passes over
 The ancient Cities of the Earth remove as a traveller,
 15 And shall Albion's Cities remain when I pass over them
 With my deluge of forgotten remembrances over the tablet'

[*Design*]

- So spoke the Spectre to Albion. (He is the Great Selfhood,
 Satan, worshipped as God by the mighty ones of the earth,
 Having a white dot called a Centre from which branches out
 20 A Circle in continual gyrations. This became a heart,
 From which sprang numerous branches varying their motions,
 Producing many heads—three or seven or ten, & hands & feet
 Innumerable at will of the unfortunate contemplator,
 Who becomes his food. Such is the way of the Devouring Power.)
 25 And this is the cause of the appearance in the frowning Chaos:
 Albion's Emanation, which he had hidden in jealousy,
 Appeared now in the frowning chaos, prolific upon the chaos,
 Reflecting back to Albion in Sexual Reasoning
 Hermaphroditic.

- Albion spoke. 'Who art thou that appearest in gloomy pomp,
 30 Involving the Divine Vision in colours of autumn ripeness?
 I never saw thee till this time, nor beheld life abstracted,
 Nor darkness immingled with light on my furrowed field.

29.8. *fortuitous concourse*] A well-known phrase of Cicero's, referring to the random atoms of Democritus' theory. See *OED* 'Concourse' 3. B.'s punctuation of lines 5–16 is as shown.

29.10. *a stone of the brook*] So David took 'five smooth stones out of the brook' (1 *Samuel* xvii 40) and killed Goliath in his pride.

Design: A man ploughs with two man-headed lions: cp. 9 and 32; or perhaps ploughing history under (13)?

29.19. *a white dot*] B. parodies the 'contemplator's' notion of a heart and of life. Note the resemblance of this image to the polypus image (see 66.48, and *Four Zoas* iv 265n).

29.23–4. The 'contemplator' who worships (18) this metaphysical creation of his own is nevertheless devoured by it.

29.26. *Albion's Emanation*] Here, Vala: she is 'the cause' of the Satanic Spectre's appearance.

29.28. Sexual reasoning is *hermaphroditic* because it is sterile. The sexual world is the world after the Fall, when humans can no longer live together in true unity and love, but can only struggle for a sexual imitation of it.

- [29] Whence camest thou? Who art thou, O loveliest? The Divine
Vision
Is as nothing before thee; faded is all life and joy.'
- 35 Vala replied in clouds of tears, Albion's garment embracing:
'I was a City & a Temple built by Albion's Children.
I was a Garden planted with beauty; I allured on hill & valley
The River of Life to flow against my walls & among my trees.
Vala was Albion's bride & wife in great Eternity,
40 The loveliest of the daughters of Eternity, when in day-break
I emanated from Luvah over the towers of Jerusalem
And in her courts, among her little Children offering up
The sacrifice of fanatic love. Why loved I Jerusalem?
Why was I one with her embracing in the Vision of Jesus?
45 Wherefore did I loving create love, which never yet
Immingled God & Man—when thou & I hid the Divine
Vision
In cloud of secret gloom which behold involve me round
about,
Know me now, Albion: look upon me. I alone am Beauty;
The Imaginative Human Form is but a breathing of Vala.
50 I breathe him forth into the heaven from my secret cave,
Born of the Woman to obey the Woman, O Albion the
mighty.
For the Divine appearance is Brotherhood, but I am Love
Pl.30 Elevate into the region of Brotherhood with my red fires.'
- (34) 'Art thou Vala?' replied Albion, 'image of my repose?
O how I tremble, how my members pour down milky fear!
A dewy garment covers me all over, all manhood is gone;

29.36ff. In these lines Vala is Babylon, the city opposing Jerusalem. Babylon was a great city and religious centre, famous for its artificial gardens; the great river Euphrates ran by it. In *Revelation* Babylon is the great and evil city which is supplanted by the holy Jerusalem, on the true River of Life; and Jerusalem, not Babylon, is the Bride. Hence Vala is deluded: her memory of Eternity (39–46) is embittered and distorted.

29.41. *I emanated from Luvah*] Vala was Luvah's 'child' and became Albion's wife (ignoring Jerusalem's position, described in ch. 1, as 'co-wife'). This amends the myth of *The Four Zoas* (where she is Luvah's emanation and wife, but set out to seduce Albion, thus causing his ruin), making it more suitable for *Jerusalem*. B. maintains this fairly consistently (in spite of passages borrowed from *The Four Zoas*), e.g. 7.36–7, 'her Luvah, / With whom she lived in bliss', and 43.33ff, and in spite of Vala's position as Jerusalem's shadow – an integral but lesser part of her.

30.2–16. Albion is overwhelmed, and takes Vala at her own valuation (7–9), losing his masculine strength under her influence.

- [30] At thy word & at thy look death enrobes me about
 6 From head to feet, a garment of death & eternal fear.
 Is not that sun thy husband & that moon thy glimmering veil?
 Are not the stars of heaven thy children? Art thou not
 Babylon?
 Art thou Nature, mother of all? Is Jerusalem thy daughter?
 10 Why have thou elevate inward, O dweller of outward
 chambers,
 From grot & cave beneath the moon, dim region of death
 Where I laid my plough in the hot noon, where my hot team
 fed,
 Where implements of war are forged, the plough to go over
 the nations,
 In pain girding me round like a rib of iron in heaven? O Vala!
 15 In Eternity they neither marry nor are given in marriage:
 Albion the high cliff of the Atlantic is become a barren land.’
 Los stood at his anvil; he heard the contentions of Vala—
 He heaved his thundering bellows upon the valleys of
 Middlesex.
 He opened his furnaces before Vala; then Albion frowned in
 anger
 20 On his rock ere yet the starry heavens were fled away
 From his awful members. And thus Los cried aloud
 To the sons of Albion, & to Hand, the eldest son of Albion.
 ‘I hear the screech of childbirth loud pealing, & the groans
 Of death, in Albion’s clouds dreadful uttered over all the earth.

30.9. Both statements are false: Nature is not an eternal spirit, being a limited Creation; and Jerusalem is daughter of neither Nature nor Vala. Vala has veiled Albion’s sight so that he accepts the physical universe as the total reality, elevating Vala to be queen of the universe.

30.10. *Why have thou*] A grammatical oddity, unwittingly displaying the archaism of the poetic *thou*. ‘Why has your outgoing turned to ingoing: why have you reversed the true order?’

30.15. A glimmer of truth: taken from *Matthew* xxii 30, where Jesus says: ‘In the resurrection they . . .’

30.19. Los opens his furnaces to show Albion the visions revealed within it (cp. 8.23). Albion resents what he sees.

30.20 *starry heavens*] Refers to Albion’s containing – in his eternal state – all things within him. When the fallen world was formed, he disintegrated (24.6–10) and the heavens etc. fell away from him to assume independent existences. As yet, this catastrophe is not quite complete. Cp. 27.18*n*, 107–8; 70.32, and 75.27, the last line of ch. 3.

30.23ff. By childbirth the woman becomes the mother of the man – cp. ‘The Mental Traveller’, p. 604; he comes under female domination in this fallen world, first from mother, then from wife or mistress.

- [30] What may man be? Who can tell? But what may Woman be
 26 To have power over Man from cradle to corruptible grave?
 There is a throne in every Man; it is the Throne of God.
 This, Woman has claimed as her own & Man is no more.
 Albion is the tabernacle of Vala & her temple,
 30 And not the Tabernacle & Temple of the Most High!
 O Albion, why wilt thou create a Female Will,
 To hide the most evident God in a hidden covert, even
 In the shadows of a woman & a secluded Holy Place,
 That we may pry after him as after a stolen treasure
 35 Hidden among the dead, & mured up from the paths of life?
 Hand, art thou not Reuben enrooting thyself into Bashan,
 Till thou remainest a vaporous shadow in a void? O Merlin,
 Unknown among the dead where never before existence came,
 Is this the Female Will, O ye lovely Daughters of Albion? To
 40 Converse concerning weight & distance in the wilds of
 Newton & Locke?

So Los spoke, standing on Mam Tor, looking over Europe &
 Asia;

The graves thunder beneath his feet from Ireland to Japan.

30.31. FEMALE WILL] For all B.'s longing for free love (e.g., *Visions*, passim; 69.14ff), he expresses very traditional views on the hierarchy of male and female partners: 'In Eternity Woman is the Emanation of Man; she has No Will of her own. There is no such thing in Eternity as a Female Will, & Queens' (VLJ 85). The theme is given full treatment in 68.11–70, where: 'I am drunk with unsatiated love;/I must rush again to War; for the Virgin has frowned & refused': and in ch. 4, pls.80–82 and 87–8. See also 56.41–3, and for *Holy Place* (line 33 above), 44.34n, 69.9–44.

30.36. *Reuben enrooting* . . .] This prepares for 43ff, q.v. note. In ch. 4, 79.74 and pls.80ff, Reuben is again part of a narrative of the Daughters of Albion attempting to control their menfolk. Hand is the spirit of such enemies of imagination as the carping critics of the *Examiner*, the Hunt brothers, who scorned visionaries like B. But such critics represent forces far greater than themselves. See also 15.24–5n.

30.37. Merlin] A British magician of King Arthur's court, and so associated with the Druids: but Merlin fell under the seductive, Vala-like powers of Nimue, or Vivien. He is the type of the wise man who allowed his supernatural, imaginative powers to be swamped by female wiles. In 32.23 he is again linked with Reuben, in 88.18 with King Arthur, his legendary ward who was also a victim of woman. For his Prophecy, see p. 167.

30.40. Not a self-evident relationship, but B. is connecting two pet hatreds: that of materialism and that of the Female Will.

30.41. *Mam Tor*] A hill in the Peak District of Derbyshire (see 21.34ff). The 'graves' are the natural underground caverns in the limestone. Here their thunder is ominous, and worldwide. At this point a new theme begins: Los's treatment of Reuben.

- [30] Reuben slept in Bashan like one dead in the valley,
 Cut off from Albion's mountains & from all the earth's
 summits,
 45 Between Succoth & Zaretan beside the Stone of Bohan,
 (While the Daughters of Albion divided Luvah into three
 bodies.)

30.43. The theme of Reuben interposes, 30.43–58 and in pl.32, interleaved with the story of Albion. REUBEN is a strange figure. As Jacob's first-born, he represents the whole nation. Historically, however, he is not a heroic figure: given to dubious love-adventures (finding a love-potion for his mother, *Genesis* xxx 14; lying with Bilhah his father's concubine, xxxv 22), and showing little enthusiasm for invading the 'promised land'. He chose (*Numbers* xxxii) to settle east of Jordan (though not in Bashan). At last, he was disinherited, as 'unstable as water' (xlix 3–4), and so he seems. B's phrase for him is 'wandering Reuben'. He reappears in a number of unexpected settings.

Here and in pl.32 we see Reuben 'vegetating' for love of Tirzah. Left to himself, he would go into a deathly sleep, but Los drives him to activity, limiting his perceptions (30.47ff) to the scope they can use whilst in Vala's limited world, and so he becomes the first earthly man. He then disappears, to return, briefly in 63.41–4, and in ch.4, 81.10. ff (see also the next note). Yet he is essential to B.'s scheme, outlined in pl.27.

At the heart of B.'s vision is the poem's title: Jerusalem, not London, is Albion's Emanation. The two cities, and the two nations, are identified in their great Spiritual and Imaginative destiny. The biblical ideal of the Great City, whether London or the heavenly Jerusalem, had a powerful grip on this Londoner, as did the threat of the other Great City, Babylon. Yet both nations have lost the vision, and are alienated from one another. Reuben's wanderings are a sign of this separation. The Sons and Daughters of Albion represent one half, the British half, of the divided Albion; Reuben represents the Hebrew half, lost and wandering.

30.43–5. *Bashan . . . Succoth . . . and Zaretan . . . Stone of Bohan*] See map, p. 601. B.'s Reuben sleeps in the land of Og, a place hostile to true religion, and 'cut off' from the promised land (44). *Succoth* and *Zaretan* are respectively east and west of Jordan (see 32.5), in the region where Joshua took the Israelites across Jordan. In addition (32.5), B. associates both allusively with the creation of Adam. (N.B. 'the *clay of Succoth*', *Milton* 19.6–14, is not alluded to here). The *Stone of Bohan*, 'the son of Reuben' is much further south. In none of these does B. follow the Bible's records; he wishes only to characterize Reuben, not to relate history, departing from the biblical story for his own purposes, as Milton does in *Paradise Lost*. To B., any stone implies rigidity, death and often sacrifice, but as Mark Smith shows (*B&B* p. 165), the *Stone of Bohan* occurs twice specifically as a *border* stone (*Joshua* xv 6, xviii 17): 'the Reuben episodes concern themselves with the nature of borders and limits . . .' In 74.34 Reuben sleeps on London Stone (see 8.27n), both a boundary and a (supposed) place of sacrifice.

30.46, 52, 55–8. The brackets are editorial.

30.46. An obscure and unconnected allusion. In ch. 4, 82.22–5, the Daughters themselves are divided into three, identified with regions hostile to Israel, in a plan to separate Albion from his spiritual Promised Land.

- [30] Los bended his nostril down to the earth, then sent him over
Jordan to the land of the Hittite. Everyone that saw him
Fled; they fled at his horrible form, they hid in caves
50 And dens, they looked on one another & became what they
beheld.

Reuben returned to Bashan; in despair he slept on the Stone.
(Then Gwendolen divided into Rahab & Tirzah in twelve
portions.)

Los rolled his eyes into two narrow circles, then sent him
Over Jordan. All terrified fled: they became what they beheld.

- 55 (If perceptive organs vary, objects of perception seem to vary.
If the perceptive organs close, their objects seem to close also.
'Consider this, O mortal Man, O worm of sixty winters,'
said Los:
'Consider Sexual Organization & hide thee in the dust!')

Pl.31 [Design]

- (35) Then the Divine Hand found the two Limits, Satan and Adam,
In Albion's bosom: for in every human bosom those Limits stand.

30.47. This is the first of three similar acts: Los forms a physical organ—nostril, eyes, tongue—in Reuben and sends him out of the Holy Land. On each occasion he infects all he meets. (The third occasion is on pl.32, being interrupted by pl.31.)

30.48. *land of the Hittite*] The first of the Gentile nations Reuben is sent into; the others are not named ('over Jordan', 54 and 32.13).

30.50. *they . . . became what they beheld*] The first instance of a repeated phrase: cp. 32.9, 14, etc. It is a constant theme in *Urizen*, where humanity were 'bound down to earth by their narrowing perceptions' (*Urizen* 493–4).

30.52. This contradicts 5.40ff, where Rahab and Tirzah are divided into the twelve Daughters of Albion, including Gwendolen. It is difficult to see B.'s exact meaning in this line, except that it parallels the equally obscure line 46.

30.55–8. The story of Reuben is interrupted (resuming at 32.1) by a comment on the previous line. Reuben's perceptions are being restricted by Los so that he can see the material world only. B. points out that Reuben's state means only that what he – and the others who 'became what they beheld' – can see is limited; it does not mean that Eternity beyond those limits does not exist. See *Gates of Paradise* 47n. For *sexual organization* see 29.28n.

31. *Design*: This plate is really one design with the text superimposed. The design shows the creation of Eve. The Creator hovers above the text against a background of flames; below, Adam lies asleep, while Eve, looking up at the Creator, has risen out of Adam's body as far as her waist. But the Creator is Jesus, for the nail-marks are clear on his hands and feet. The design and text are integral (note 9–16), but the text is an interpolation between 30.57 and 32.1.

31.1. *the two Limits*] See 27.21 above, and *Four Zoas* iv 270n.

- [31] And the Divine Voice came from the furnaces, as multitudes
without
Number, the voices of the innumerable multitudes of Eternity.
5 And the appearance of a Man was seen in the furnaces,
Saving those who have sinned from the punishment of the Law,
In pity of the punisher, whose state is eternal death,
And keeping them from sin by the mild counsels of his love.

'Albion goes to Eternal Death: in me all Eternity
10 Must pass through condemnation, and awake beyond the
grave.
No individual can keep these Laws, for they are death
To every energy of man, and forbid the springs of life;
Albion hath entered the State Satan. Be permanent, O State.
And be thou for ever accursed, that Albion may arise again!
15 And be thou created into a State. I go forth to Create
States, to deliver Individuals evermore: Amen.'

So spoke the voice from the furnaces, descending into
Non-Entity.

[*Design*]

Pl.32 [Design]
(36)

Reuben returned to his place; in vain he sought beautiful
Tirzah,

31.3-5. As Nebuchadnezzar saw a fourth man 'like the Son of God' walking in the furnace with the three faithful Jews (*Daniel* iii 25. But note the 'multitudinous' nature of B.'s Divine Voice. The reference to *furnaces* may have caused the plate to be inserted here, following 30.17.

31.11. *these Laws*] In 6-8, 'punishment of Law' is explicitly contrasted with 'counsels of Love'. The Biblical Jehovah (who is shown in the plate) was the Law-giver, and therefore had earned B.'s fiercest condemnation. Now he says that Jehovah, wishing to redeem Albion, so restricted his life that he would have to turn to God for redemption, instead of wandering, forever lost, in Chaos. Note B.'s changed attitude to Jehovah in *The Ghost of Abel*, his last poem.

31.13. *the State Satan*] For STATES see the text of 49.65-75, and Milton, pl.32.22n. 'Satan' is Albion's name – and personality – at the moment: he is 'in the State of' being Satanic. But he is an individual, and so cannot remain in the same State for ever. Satan, rather like a familiar spirit, may dwell in many men at many times and always be the same; but he is an illusion and will die, while the individual Personality, once redeemed, will live – even the 'punisher' of line 7. Therefore do not say that a Person 'is evil': but that he 'is in an evil state'. 'The oak dies as well as the lettuce, but its eternal image and individuality never dies' (*VLF* 69).

31.17. Beneath this line, the deleted line (see *Erdman* p. 810; the italicized words are uncertain): 'To govern the evil by good; and States abolish Systems.'

32. *Design*: An illustration of 4.

32.1. *Tirzah*, mother of deceptively beautiful but mortal Nature ('To Tirzah', p. 618), is an evil vision, not an eternal reality: Reuben would not find her here.

- [32] For his eyelids were narrowed, & his nostrils scented the ground;
 And sixty winters Los raged in the divisions of Reuben,
 Building the moon of Ulro, plank by plank & rib by rib.
 5 Reuben slept in the cave of Adam, and Los folded his tongue
 Between lips of mire & clay, then sent him forth over Jordan.
 In the love of Tirzah he said, 'Doubt is my food day & night.'
 All that beheld him fled howling and gnawed their tongues
 For pain; they became what they beheld. In reasonings
 Reuben returned
 10 To Heshbon; disconsolate he walked through Moab, & he stood
 Before the furnaces of Los in a horrible dreamful slumber,
 On Mount Gilead looking toward Gilgal, and Los bended
 His ear in a spiral circle outward, then sent him over Jordan.
 The Seven Nations fled before him; they became what they
 beheld.
 15 Hand, Hyle & Coban fled; they became what they beheld.
 Gwantok & Peachey hid in Damascus beneath Mount
 Lebanon,
 Brereton & Slayd in Egypt. Hutton & Skofeld & Kox
 Fled over Chaldea in terror, in pains in every nerve.

32.3-4. Los laboured sixty years at the task of giving Reuben his material, saving form. The moon may not seem to be directly connected with Reuben, but the process is the same – that of creating a shapely material universe (Generation) in order to save living creatures from the chaos of Ulro. B. was 60 in 1817-8.

32.5. *cave of Adam*] Perhaps 'the cave of mortality where Adam lived': but also with a verbal allusion to the city of Adam near Zaretan, where the waters of Jordan miraculously parted to allow the invading Israelites under Joshua to cross (*Joshua* iii 16).

32.7. *In the love of Tirzah*] For *Tirzah* see *Four Zoas* viii 267n. Reuben is now a lost wanderer; he infects all mankind, and this passage, to 42, describes the devastation this causes among mankind. Reuben is sent abroad, but repeatedly returns.

32.9. *reasonings*] Which require doubt.

32.10. *Heshbon*] A city on the northern boundary of Reubenite land, and assigned to Reuben, but later taken over by the tribe of Gad. It originally belonged to Sihon. Moab was the tribe living south of Reuben; in a sense, therefore, Moab is 'home' to Reuben. Bashan (30.43-51) strictly speaking, is not. Or Moab may simply be, as often in the Bible, a foreign land, sometimes hostile, sometimes not.

32.12. Reuben is looking into the Promised Land; Gilgal was the Israelites' first camp after crossing Jordan. Note that Reuben is already 'across' Jordan this time, but Los sends him further abroad. His motif returns in ch. 3, 63.41-4.

32.14. *Seven Nations*] Seven tribes occupied the promised land before the Israelite invasion. cp. *Milton* pl.40.24n. They are scattered, losing their community and cohesion, and carry Reuben's disease with them over the earth, as do the sons of Albion (15-20) who are identified with the tribes of Israel.

- [32] Kotope & Bowen became what they beheld, fleeing over the
earth;
20 And the Twelve Female Emanations fled with them agonising.
Jerusalem trembled, seeing her children driven by Los's
hammer
In the visions of the dreams of Beulah on the edge of
Non-Entity.
Hand stood between Reuben & Merlin, as the Reasoning
Spectre
Stands between the Vegetative man & his immortal
Imagination.
- 25 And the Four Zoas clouded rage, east & west & north & south;
They change their situations in the Universal Man.
Albion groans; he sees the Elements divide before his face,
And England, who is Britannia, divided into Jerusalem & Vala.
And Urizen assumes the east, Luvah assumes the south
30 In his dark Spectre ravaging from his open sepulchre,
And the Four Zoas who are the Four Eternal Senses of Man
Became four Elements, separating from the limbs of Albion
(These are their names in the Vegetative Generation): . . .
And Accident & Chance were found hidden in length,
breadth & height,
35 And they divided into four ravaging deathlike forms,
Fairies & Genii & Nymphs & Gnomes of the Elements.

32.22. i.e. Jerusalem is in Beulah on the verge of Non-Entity, and sees the visions. Hand, Hyle, etc., though corrupted, are still Jerusalem's, and Albion's, Sons.

32.23. See notes on *Hand* and *Merlin* at 30.36–7; Hand is the leader of the sons of Albion, and thus another manifestation of Reuben, first-born of the Israelites under the vision of the identity of Albion and Israel in pl.27. Merlin was the prophet of Albion (see p. 167, xxxiin) in the legends of Arthur. Hand stands where? – perhaps in opposition to Jerusalem. Both Merlin and Reuben fell through desire for a woman: B. implies that the philistine enemies of imagination in this world are of the same kind.

32.25. These lines are another indication of cosmic disruption. In their rightful place (cp. *Four Zoas* vi 277–8), Urizen has the south, and Luvah the east.

32.32. *separating*] Albion once contained all elements in himself (cp. 27.18n).

32.33. *These*] Referring to the Zoas (31). The deleted line between 33 and 34 has been conjecturally restored by *Erdman* (p. 810): 'West weighing, east & north dividing Generation, south bounding.'

32.34. In Eternity, *length, breadth and height* are infinite, without fixed dimensions. Now, in the disintegration of the Zoas, they come under the control of dangerous spirits. But the Divine Vision of the Imaginative Creator (55), returns them to the infinity of Imagination. See 14.17–18, Milton 4.27, 5.44.

- [32] These are States permanently fixed by the Divine Power.
 The Atlantic continent sunk round Albion's clifty shore,
 And the sea poured in amain upon the giants of Albion,
 40 As Los bended the senses of Reuben. Reuben is Merlin
 Exploring the three states of Ulro: Creation, Redemption, &
 Judgement.

And many of the Eternal Ones laughed after their manner:

- 'Have you known the judgement that is arisen among the
 Zoas of Albion, where a man dare hardly to embrace
 45 His own wife, for the terrors of Chastity that they call
 By the name of Morality? Their daughters govern all
 In hidden deceit; they are vegetable, only fit for burning.
 Art & Science cannot exist but by Naked Beauty displayed.'

- Then those in Great Eternity who contemplate on Death
 50 Said thus: 'What seems to Be, Is: To those to whom
 It seems to Be; & is productive of the most dreadful
 Consequences to those to whom it seems to Be, even of
 Torments, Despair, Eternal Death. But the Divine Mercy
 Steps beyond and redeems Man in the body of Jesus. Amen!
 55 And length, breadth, height again obey the Divine Vision.
 Hallelujah!'

Pl.33 [Design]

- (37) And One stood forth from the Divine Family, & said:

32.38-41. *The Atlantic continent*] An old theme of B.'s – the deluge which drowned the land of Atlantis and the giants who inhabited Albion. Returning to Reuben (cp. 24), B. says that he has fallen into the theological error of believing that Redemption is a process following a Law, beginning with Creation and ending with Judgement – whereas, in B.'s belief, all these are continually repeated, and involved in one another. Creation is a form of Redemption, Redemption a form of Judgement. Line 41 ironically inverts traditional theology.

32.42-8. An irascible insertion which would be relevant to any sequence describing the chaos in mankind. 49-55 then comments on 31-41.

32.50-55. *What seems to Be, Is*] (The capitalization is B.'s.) Apparently an allusion to the Idealist philosophy of Bishop Berkeley, who disputed Locke's materialism: see 38.19-23 and note.

33. *Design*: The two designs, above and below, complement each other. Above, a scene supported on a winged globe: Albion, under an oak tree, faints into the arms of a radiant figure.

33.1 This line was added by incising after the plate was completed. The phrase 'Divine Family' is distinguished from the rest by being written in copperplate, not B.'s usual italic. Albion becomes once more the subject of the verse. The opening line was perhaps added to relate it to 'the Eternal Ones' of 32.42; but the scene returns to that of pl.29; Los arguing with the somnolent Albion, trying to stop him falling asleep.

- [33] 'I feel my Spectre rising upon me. Albion, arouse thyself!
 Why dost thou thunder with frozen Spectrous wrath against us?
 The Spectre is, in Giant Man, insane and most deformed.
 5 Thou wilt certainly provoke my Spectre against thine in fury!
 He has a sepulchre hewn out of a rock ready for thee,
 And a death of eight thousand years, forged by thyself, upon
 The point of his spear, if thou persistest to forbid with Laws
 Our Emanations, and to attack our secret supreme delights.'

- 10 So Los spoke: but when he saw blue death in Albion's feet,
 Again he joined the Divine Body, following, merciful;
 While Albion fled more indignant, revengeful, covering

Pl.34 [Design]

(38) [Marginal Design]

His face and bosom with petrific hardness, and his hands
 And feet, lest any should enter his bosom & embrace
 His hidden heart. His Emanation wept & trembled within him,
 Uttering not his jealousy, but hiding it as with

- 5 Iron and steel, dark and opaque, with clouds & tempests
 brooding.
 His strong limbs shuddered upon his mountains high and
 dark.

Turning from Universal Love, petrific he went,
 His cold against the warmth of Eden raged, with loud
 Thunders of deadly war (the fever of the human soul),

- 10 Fires and clouds of rolling smoke. But mild the Saviour
 followed him,
 Displaying the Eternal Vision, the Divine Similitude,

33.4. So in *Four Zoas* i 93 and vii 300-01.

33.10. *blue*] The plate had *pale*, but B. altered it: in one of the five copies he altered it back again.

33.12. *fled*] The image contradicts that of Albion asleep, but co-operates with it. In the following pages, B. uses the two images – of Albion lying sick on his couch, and of Albion running away from the Divine Vision. Both are images of Albion's error, and B. uses one or the other as the situation requires. In the previous pages, Reuben's sleep, and his flight, are also aspects of his ancestor Albion's disease.

33. *Design*: Jerusalem lies on her couch with a spectre, a vampire bat, hovering over her; sun and crescent moon in the background.

34. *Marginal Design*: Left, a tree made of narrow, twisted branches roots along the foot of the page and rises up right in a flame-like florescence enclosing human forms: cp. pl.36 *design*.

34.1. *petrific*] The petrification of objects under limestone drips in the Peak caverns (21.34*n*) was well recorded.

- [34] In loves and tears of brothers, sisters, sons, fathers, and friends
Which if Man ceases to behold, he ceases to exist:

Saying, 'Albion, our wars are wars of life, & wounds of love,
15 With intellectual spears, & long winged arrows of thought.
Mutual in one another's love and wrath all-renewing
We live as One Man; for contracting our infinite senses
We behold multitude; or expanding, we behold as one,
As One Man all the Universal Family; and that One Man
20 We call Jesus the Christ: and he in us, and we in him,
Live in perfect harmony in Eden, the land of life,
Giving, receiving, and forgiving each other's trespasses.
He is the Good Shepherd, he is the Lord and Master;
He is the Shepherd of Albion, he is all in all,
25 In Eden, in the garden of God, and in heavenly Jerusalem.
If we have offended, forgive us, take not vengeance against us.'

Thus speaking, the Divine Family follow Albion:
I see them in the Vision of God upon my pleasant valleys.

I behold London, a human awful wonder of God.
30 He says. 'Return, Albion, return, I give myself for thee.
My streets are my Ideas of Imagination.
Awake, Albion, awake, and let us awake up together.
My houses are thoughts; my Inhabitants, Affections,
The children of my thoughts walking within my blood-vessels,
35 Shut from my nervous form which sleeps upon the verge of
Beulah
In dreams of darkness, while my vegetating blood, in veiny pipes,
Rolls dreadful through the furnaces of Los, and the mills of Satan.
For Albion's sake, and for Jerusalem thy Emanation
I give myself, and these my brethren give themselves for
Albion.'

34.14. A very important passage, being a summary of B.'s idea of the ideal infinite state of EDEN. The argument here is that the energetic communal activity which Albion fears and labels 'Sin' is creative, not destructive. It cannot harm him. This submergence of individuality does not destroy personality, but enhances it. Cp. 55.36-46, 71.15-19, 88.3-15, also *Four Zoas* ii 50ff, v 21-42; and *Paradise Lost* viii pp. 622-9.

34.29-39. B. himself speaks. He sees London in two states at once: in lines 31, 33-4, 38-9 he sees it in its imaginative form; but in 35-7 it is asleep with Albion. 34.31. Everything seen in this world is a shadow of reality; the real London is in Eternity, the London where B. lived a reflection of the real one. Yet the eternal London is involved in Albion's fall.

34.33-4. B. sees London imaginatively as a living creature, her streets blood-vessels, the people on the streets – not, in modern terminology, as bacteria – but as thoughts. London is seen as a living being, capable of self-sacrifice.

- [34] So spoke London, immortal Guardian. I heard in Lambeth's shades:
- 41 In Felpham I heard and saw the visions of Albion;
I write in South Molton Street, what I both see and hear
In regions of Humanity, in London's opening streets.
- I see thee, awful Parent Land in light, behold I see!
- 45 Verulam, Canterbury, venerable parent of men,
Generous, immortal Guardian, golden clad! For cities
Are Men, fathers of multitudes, and Rivers & Mountains
Are also Men; every thing is Human, mighty, sublime.
In every bosom a Universe expands as wings
- 50 Let down at will around, and called the Universal Tent
York, crowned with loving kindness: Edinburgh, clothed
With fortitude, as with a garment of immortal texture
Woven in looms of Eden, in spiritual deaths of mighty men
Who give themselves, in Golgotha, victims to Justice; where
- 55 There is in Albion a Gate of precious stones and gold
(Seen only by Emanations, by vegetations viewless)
Bending across the road of Oxford Street; it from Hyde Park
To Tyburn's deathful shades admits the wandering souls
Of multitudes who die from earth. This Gate cannot be found

34.40–2. B. first saw London imaginatively while he was living in Lambeth (before autumn 1800) and the vision continued at Felpham (1800–03). Now (after 1803) he is writing about it in his house in South Molton Street.

34.45. *Verulam, Canterbury*] See the letter to Butts, p. 486, lines 19–32, where every earthly feature is Human; Felpham is a female figure embracing Catherine. *Verulam* was the Roman town close by the site of St Alban's. Here B. begins to introduce the twenty-eight FRIENDS OF ALBION (see also 36.3–4n), the cities of England, in their 'Human forms'. Albion's *Sons* have been corrupted, seeking to draw him into evil: his *Friends* try to draw him away, or else are willing to sacrifice themselves for him. B. sees that all Albion is in spiritual danger; but there are some faithful Britons left who try to recall Britain to a true sense of values. These he embodies, not as individuals (as the *Sons* are) but as cities – organized and undying forms of humanity. Verulam and Canterbury are not always included in the list of twenty-eight; see note on 36.45. Here the four chief cities are Verulam (home of the earliest Christianity in Roman Britain), Canterbury (where Christianity was reintroduced to the Kentish tribes), York (seat of the second archbishopric), and Edinburgh, capital of Scotland, centre of the Scottish Church and law, where in 1793 Lord Braxfield sentenced Thomas Muir, an advocate, Thomas Palmer, a minister, and two other radicals to transportation (see *PAE* p. 476).

34.54–5. *where / There is*] This reads awkwardly, as if B. were fitting in a passage previously composed.

34.55. See 29.1–4. B. has stood on Oxford Street looking over Hyde Park, past Tyburn, the place of execution (i.e. the English Golgotha), and has seen, probably in a rainbow, the *Gate* he here describes.

- Pl.35 [Design]
 (39) By Satan's Watch-fiends, though they search numbering every
 grain
 Of sand on earth every night, they never find this Gate.
 It is the Gate of Los. Withoutside is the Mill, intricate,
 dreadful
 And filled with cruel tortures; but no mortal man can find
 the Mill
 5 Of Satan, in his mortal pilgrimage of seventy years.
 For Human beauty knows it not, nor can Mercy find it. But
 In the fourth region of Humanity, Urthona named,
 Mortality begins to roll the billows of Eternal Death
 Before the Gate of Los. (Urthona here is named Los,
 10 And here begins the System of Moral Virtue, named Rahab.)
 Albion fled through the Gate of Los, and he stood in the gate.
 (Los was the Friend of Albion who most loved him. In
 Cambridgeshire
 His eternal station, he is the Twenty-eighth, & is fourfold.)
 Seeing Albion had turned his back against the Divine Vision,
 15 Los said to Albion: 'Whither fleest thou?' Albion replied:
 'I die. I go to Eternal Death! the shades of death

35. *Design*: Above, a rank of archers, mounted on flying horses in a parallel receding line echoing an 'Assyrian' style (only the nearest, a grim, bearded figure, is seen) turn to shoot their arrows backwards and down. Satan's watch-fiends? Or an image of the savage, destructive justice of line 26? At the foot, a setting sun. As on pls.31 and 33, the text is in a panel on the design.

35.3. *Withoutside*] Perhaps an allusion to the darker shades commonly seen outside a rainbow, as against the brightness within it.

35.6-II. Los's work has hitherto been unimpeded by the forces of Ulro directly: now the threatening clouds gather round the gates of Golgonooza. Evil (B. refers to Rahab, and to the Moral Law which now holds Albion fast) gains momentum: Albion, fearful, runs away (II) from Los – but pauses on the threshold of Golgonooza. In the ensuing pages B. tells how Los and the Friends of Albion try to prevent him from going out and falling into the chaos and death of Ulro outside.

The slight indentation in line 6 is B.'s.

35.12. *Cambridgeshire*] B. associates Ely ('scribe of Los', 41.6), in this county, Cambridge University and – almost certainly, though not explicitly – Milton, who went to Cambridge. Milton, the great artificer of the poetic imagination, is Los's ageless representative in Albion.

35.13. *Twenty-eighth*] There were twenty-eight Friends of Albion. See 36.3n.

35.16. Albion replies with the determinism of depression. He believes that he is a sinner, that his sin can only be atoned by a ransom, that God is his enemy, and that the ransom will not be paid. According to B., sin is destroyed by forgiveness, not payment. At 61.15ff, B. expresses his opinion of the widely accepted

- [35] Hover within me, & beneath, and spreading themselves
outside
Like rocky clouds, build me a gloomy monument of woe.
Will none accompany me in my death, or be a Ransom for me
20 In that dark Valley? I have girded round my cloak, and on
my feet
Bound these black shoes of death, & on my hands death's
iron gloves.
God hath forsaken me, & my friends are become a burden,
A weariness to me, & the human footstep is a terror to me.'
- Los answered, troubled; and his soul was rent in twain:
25 'Must the Wise die for an Atonement? Does Mercy endure
Atonement?
No! It is Moral Severity, & destroys Mercy in its victim.'
So speaking, not yet infected with the Error & Illusion,

[*Design*]

Pl.36

[*Marginal Design*]

(40)

Los shuddered at beholding Albion, for his disease
Arose upon him pale and ghastly, and he called around
The Friends of Albion. Trembling at the sight of Eternal Death

doctrine of 'Substitutionary Atonement', according to which God, under his Law, requires punishment for Sin. Ever-sinful humanity can be saved only through Jesus' death, accepted by God as a substitute – as the sins of Israel were ransomed through the sacrificial lamb on the Day of Atonement.

35.20-1. Cp. the command to the Israelites on the institution of the Passover (*Exodus* xii 11): 'And thus ye shall eat it: with your loins girded, your shoes on your feet, and your staff in your hand' – ready for instant escape after the angel of God had struck the first-born of Egypt. This is a reminiscence; echoing, not the choice and salvation of God, but the sense of his arbitrary power, the doom of those who have incurred his wrath, and the recognition of an endless journey before Albion.

36. *Marginal Design*. Similar in scheme to that of pl.34, but the stems are untwisted, and the figures open and reaching upwards (cp. pl.34 *design*).

36.3-4 THE FRIENDS OF ALBION] B. chooses the cathedral cities of England, of which there were twenty-seven in his day, the number having been unchanged since the reign of Henry VIII. They were as listed in 36.47-61, 41.1-19, plus Canterbury, York and London. B. takes the first twenty-four as the main group of 'Friends', but wanting four more – for twenty-eight, the number of completeness – he uses Verulam or Edinburgh to complete the Four: cp. 34.45*n*. (He is not consistent, however: at 34.45 the four are Verulam, Canterbury, York and Edinburgh, excluding London, a city B. has just specially treated. At 41.24 London replaces Canterbury: at 57.1 Bath joins London, York and Edinburgh. (Edinburgh, in Presbyterian Scotland, had no cathedral, but is the centre of the Church of Scotland.) The twenty-four are summed up in the four, perhaps because, as leading cities, they speak for and represent the Church in England, but largely

- [36] The Four appeared with their Emanations in fiery
 5 Chariots. Black their fires roll, beholding Albion's House of
 Eternity.
 Damp couch the flames beneath, and silent, sick, stand
 shuddering
 Before the Porch of sixteen pillars. Weeping every one
 Descended and fell down upon their knees round Albion's knees,
 Swearing the Oath of God, with awful voice of thunders round
 10 Upon the hills & valleys; and the cloudy Oath rolled far & wide.
 'Albion is sick!' said every valley, every mournful hill
 And every river; 'Our brother Albion is sick to death.
 He hath leagued himself with robbers: he hath studied the arts
 Of unbelief! Envy hovers over him! His Friends are his
 abhorrence,
 15 Those who give their lives for him are despised!
 Those who devour his soul are taken into his bosom;
 To destroy his Emanation is their intention.
 Arise! awake O Friends of the Giant Albion;
 They have persuaded him of horrible falsehoods
 20 They have sown errors over all his fruitful fields!
 The Twenty-four heard! They came trembling on watery
 chariots
 Borne by the Living Creatures of the third procession
 Of Human Majesty; the Living Creatures wept aloud as they
 Went along Albion's roads, till they arrived at Albion's house.
 25 Oh! how the torments of Eternal Death waited on Man,
 And the loud-rending bars of the Creation ready to burst,

because of B.'s liking for the 'fourfold' pattern. B. was no friend of bishops and archbishops, or of any sort of ecclesiastical authority, and the vision of the Friends of Albion should be taken as B.'s view of the actual goodness bestowed by Christianity on Britain over the centuries, as summarized in the 'Human Forms' of the cities and of the most famous four.

36.7. *the Porch of sixteen pillars*] Anticipating 48.1-12: the books of the Bible approved by Swedenborg in his *Arcana Coelestia* 10: 325.

36.21. *trembling . . . watery*] Ominous words, implying an uncertainty and weakness realized in 37.23.

36.22. *the third procession*] The long tradition of elaborate processions in London, on each of the three 'Rogation' days, Monday to Wednesday, preceding Ascension Day, had died out in Queen Anne's time. B. could not have seen them. The Lord Mayor's show in November was a popular procession, but of formal ceremony only, although various other groups did hold elaborate annual processions.

36.26. *The Creation*, normally in the late poems a necessary evil, which restricts human powers of self-destruction, but permits some beauty and imaginative life to survive. B. envisages the outcome if even this barrier were to burst, and evil, ugliness and brutality were to reign.

- [36] That the wide world might fly from its hinges, & the
immortal mansion
Of Man for ever be possessed by monsters of the deeps,
And Man himself become a Fiend, wrapped in an endless curse
30 Consuming and consumed for ever in flames of Moral Justice.
For had the body of Albion fallen down, and from its
dreadful ruins
Let loose the enormous Spectre on the darkness of the deep,
At enmity with the Merciful & filled with devouring fire,
A netherworld must have received the foul enormous spirit,
35 Under pretence of Moral Virtue, filled with Revenge and Law,
There to eternity chained down, and issuing in red flames
And curses, with his mighty arms brandished against the
heavens,
Breathing cruelty, blood & vengeance, gnashing his teeth
with pain,
Torn with black storms, & ceaseless torrents of his own
consuming fire:
40 Within his breast his mighty Sons chained down & filled with
cursings
And his dark Eon, that once fair crystal form divinely clear,
Within his ribs producing serpents whose souls are flames of
fire
But glory to the Merciful One, for he is of tender mercies!
And the Divine Family wept over him as One Man.
45 And these the Twenty-four in whom the Divine Family
Appeared; & they were One in Him, a Human Vision!
Human-Divine, Jesus the Saviour, blessed for ever and ever.
Selsey, true friend! who afterwards submitted to be devoured
By the waves of despair, whose Emanation rose above
50 The flood, and was named Chichester, lovely, mild &
gentle—Lo!
Her lambs bleat to the sea-fowls' cry, lamenting still for Albion.

36.34ff. *A netherworld*] *Revelation* xx 1-3: 'an angel . . . laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up . . .'

36.41. *Eon*] Emanation, a word used thrice, of Albion's emanation only (see 19.16 and *Milton* 11.1). W. Enfield (*Hist. of Philosophy*, 1791) sees the *Aeon* as a 'Substantial Power' *within* the Divine Essence.

36.45. The list of the Twenty-four Friends begins. It continues on pl.41, and the four intervening plates were probably placed here later. Both pls.37 and 40 begin with *Bath*, and so we may suppose the following sequence of development: (a) pls.36 and 41 alone; (b) pls.36/40/41; (c) complete as printed.

36.48 *Selsey*] Owing to coastal erosion, the village and church at Selsey had to be transferred inland to Chichester (near Felpham) in 1075.

- [36] Submitting to be called the son of Los, the terrible vision,
Winchester stood devoting himself for Albion; his tents
Outspread with abundant riches, and his Emanations
55 Submitting to be called Enitharmon's daughters, and be born
In vegetable mould, created by the hammer and loom
In Bowlahoola & Allamanda, where the Dead wail night & day.

(I call them by their English names—English, the rough
basement,
Los built the stubborn structure of the language, acting against
60 Albion's melancholy, who must else have been a dumb
despair.)

Gloucester and Exeter and Salisbury and Bristol, and benevolent
Pl.37 Bath who is Legions: he is the Seventh, the physician and
(41) The poisoner, the best and worst in Heaven and Hell,
Whose Spectre first assimilated with Luvah in Albion's
mountains.
A triple octave he took, to reduce Jerusalem to twelve,

36.57. *Bowlahoola & Allamanda*] Cp. *Milton* pls.24.51–66 and 27.42–8. The first is the place in Golgonooza, where Los set up his forge; the second the fields round Golgonooza where his sons labour to feed the city. In *Milton* neither is a place for looms: that is usually *Cathedron*.

36.61–2. *benevolent Bath*] See 40.2 for a plausible explanation, besides its healing waters, of Bath's 'benevolence'.

37.1 *Bath who is Legions*] The word *Legions* has two connotations: the name of the evil spirit who, in the story of 'the Gadarene Swine', possessed a man (*Mark* v 9) – his name was 'Legion' (singular); (b) more directly relevant, the city of Caerleon, also called (e.g. by Milton in his *History of Britain*) 'Caerlegion'. Caerleon is far from Bath (though both were major Roman cities); in *Milton* 39.35 B. distinguishes the two; his purpose in here identifying the two is not clear. Bath is a city of healing springs, and hence 'the physician'; but Merlin's famous Prophecy (in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*) foretells that 'the baths will grow cold at Bath and its healing waters bring forth death'. B. here stresses the worst, as pls.40–41 stress the best. In 75.2 'Bath stood . . . with Merlin and Bladud and Arthur': thus B. associates Bath with ancient British legend. Bladud is supposed to have founded Bath; he was a necromancer, sometimes said to be powerful among the early Druids, hence perhaps 'the poisoner'.

37.3. An obscure line. Luvah is the passionate, sometimes lustful element in Albion; this unites him with Bath ('the poisoner') to attack Jerusalem-in-Albion. In 54.11 Albion sees 'his sons assimilate with Luvah': Bath is not one of the twelve 'sons of Albion', but as a part of him is in some sense a child. Bath's place in druidism (see note above) makes him the first to corrupt.

37.4. *reduce . . . to twelve*] Cp. 74.23ff where B. tries to explain how sixteen 'Sons of Jerusalem' become twelve 'Sons of Albion'. The *triple octave* ($3 \times 8 = 24$) may be part of the same arithmetic, using also the idea of 19.20 that the twelve Sons are 'Spectres of the Twenty-four': but no certain explanation has yet been made. See 16.52n and 74.23n.

- [37] To cast Jerusalem forth upon the wilds to Poplar & Bow,
 6 To Maldon & Canterbury in the delights of cruelty.
 The shuttles of death sing in the sky to Islington & Pancras
 Round Marybone to Tyburn's River, weaving black
 melancholy as a net
 And despair as meshes closely wove over the west of London,
 10 Where mild Jerusalem sought to repose in death & be no
 more.
 She fled to Lambeth's mild vale and hid herself beneath
 The Surrey hills where Rephaim terminates. Her Sons are
 seized
 For victims of sacrifice, but Jerusalem cannot be found—hid
 By the Daughters of Beulah, gently snatched away and hid in
 Beulah.
- 15 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 Oothoon's palace, for within
 Opening into Beulah, every angle is a lovely heaven.
 But should the Watch-Fiends find it, they would call it Sin,
 20 And lay its Heavens & their inhabitants in blood of
 punishment.
 Here Jerusalem & Vala were hid in soft slumberous repose,
 Hid from the terrible East, shut up in the South & West.

37.5–6. *Poplar and Bow . . . Maldon and Canterbury*] Places to the east of London and of England respectively. See map, p. 649; also and line 22, and 5.68*n* for the significance of east and west; also 27.65*n* for Maldon.

37.7–8. *Islington, Pancras, Mary(le)bone, Tyburn*] Moving from east to west across the northern outskirts of London.

37.11. *hid herself*] As B. hid himself with his visions, in the obscurity of Lambeth.

37.12. *Rephaim*] A camp of the Philistines; cp. *Milton* pl.19.40*n*. Here the ref. seems to be to the valley of Hinnom, near 'where R. terminates'; there children were sacrificed to Moloch. Rephaim is south of Jerusalem, as Surrey is south of London.

37.15. *a grain of sand*] B. lived in Lambeth from 1791 to 1800, as obscure as a grain of sand near the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace; but he found the opening to Oothoon's greater palace.

37.17. *Oothoon*] The heroine of *Visions*, a poem written fifteen years or more earlier. There she maintains the freedom of true love. In *Milton* 13.44 she is the fallen Leutha's 'charming guard'; here she cares for Jerusalem and Vala. Thus in the long epics she becomes a daughter of Beulah, caring especially for female spirits in their sickness, but always retaining her association in B.'s mind with the beauty of sexual love.

37.22. See 5–8*nn* above.

- [37] The Twenty-eight trembled in Death's dark caves, in cold
despair
They kneeled around the Couch of Death in deep humiliation
25 And tortures of self-condemnation, while their Spectres raged
within.
The Four Zoas in terrible combustion clouded rage,
Drinking the shuddering fears & loves of Albion's Families,
Destroying by selfish affections the things that they most
admire,
Drinking & eating, & pitying & weeping, as at a tragic scene
30 The soul drinks murder & revenge, & applauds its own
holiness.
They saw Albion endeavouring to destroy their Emanations.

[*Design*]

- Pl.38 They saw their wheels rising up poisonous against Albion:
(43) Urizen, cold & scientific; Luvah, pitying & weeping;
Tharmas, indolent & sullen; Urthona, doubting & despairing;
Victims to one another & dreadfully plotting against each
other
5 To prevent Albion walking about in the four complexions.
They saw America closed out by the oaks of the western shore,

37.23-5. *in cold despair . . . deep humiliation . . . self-condemnation*] The ref. to the Couch of Death anticipates Albion's collapse at 47.17-48.12. The twenty-eight cities aware of their own faults which in part have brought Albion to this state, give way to false emotions, congruent with the moralistic religion Albion has adopted; in 42.48 Albion is led to believe that Hand and Hyle have captured them. Los (38.12) goes to the opposite extreme in rousing them.

37.26. All the elements of the universe, of Albion and of man are disturbed.

37.31. *They*] The Twenty-four Friends: cp. 33.8 and 42.13.

37. *Design*: A bowed figure (Albion?) sits with his head on a book on his knees; beside him a scroll with these lines, in reversed writing (which usually implies a truth hidden from the blind):

Each man is in his Spectre's power
Until the arrival of that hour
When his Humanity awake
And cast his Spectre into the lake.

38.1. *their wheels*] The machinations of the perverted spirits of the Zoas (described in 2-3 in their unfallen states), their characteristics are intelligence, love, compassion, prophecy respectively.

38.5. *The four complexions*] The traditional 'four humours', here the fourfold range united in the unfallen Zoas; they, being fallen, wrangle with one another, so that he cannot unite all his faculties together.

38.6. *America*] The western 'land of the free'.

oaks] The sacred tree of the oppressive Druid religion; hence the groves of 8. Remember also 'Heart of oak are our ships'.

- [38] And Tharmas dashed on the Rocks of the Altars of Victims
in Mexico.
‘If we are wrathful, Albion will destroy Jerusalem with rooty
groves;
If we are merciful, ourselves must suffer destruction on his oaks.
10 Why should we enter into our Spectres to behold our own
corruptions?
O God of Albion, descend, deliver Jerusalem from the oaken
groves!’
- Then Los grew furious, raging: ‘Why stand we here
trembling around,
Calling on God for help and not ourselves in whom God dwells.
Stretching a hand to save the falling Man? Are we not Four
15 Beholding Albion upon the precipice ready to fall into
Non-Entity,
Seeing these Heavens & Hells conglobing in the Void?
Heavens over Hells
Brooding in holy hypocritic lust, drinking the cries of pain
From howling victims of Law, building Heavens
twenty-seven-fold,
Swelled & bloated General Forms, repugnant to the Divine
20 Humanity, who is the Only General and Universal Form,
To which all Lineaments tend & seek with love & sympathy.
All broad & general principles belong to benevolence,
Who protects minute particulars, every one in their own
identity.
But here the affectionate touch of the tongue is closed in by
deadly teeth,
25 And the soft smile of friendship & the open dawn of
benevolence
Become a net & a trap, & every energy rendered cruel
Till the existence of friendship & benevolence is denied.

38.7. *Altars of Victims*] The human sacrifices of Central American pre-Spanish religions (which, as ‘pre-Christian’, B. would associate with Druidism).

38.14. *four*] Los, as Urthona, is one of the Zoas.

38.15. *upon the precipice*] The image changes from that of 37.24, but not the idea.

38.16–18. *Heavens . . . twenty-seven-fold*] An image fully developed in *Milton*, of the clouds of error surrounding the world; cp. *Milton* 37.35.

38.19–23. *General Forms . . . minute particulars*] B.’s capitals signify the force of his feelings on this point. An echo of William Berkeley’s phraseology: ‘all general ideas are nothing but particular ones, annexed to a certain term [i.e., “phrase”], which gives them a more extensive significance . . .’ B. says, not that the material world *exists* only in mental perception, but that our rational minds, mortal and ‘vegetated’, *shut out* much of what really exists, unless through the ‘mental strife’ of the Imagination we can dimly perceive a larger part of the Eternal world that actually exists in the Divine Humanity. Cp. 32.50–55 and 45.7nn.

- [38] The wine of the Spirit & the vineyards of the Holy One
 Here turn into poisonous stupor & deadly intoxication
 30 That they may be condemned by Law & the Lamb of God
 be slain.
 And the two sources of Life in Eternity, Hunting and War,
 Are becoming the Sources of dark & bitter Death & of
 corroding Hell.
 The open heart is shut up in integuments of frozen silence
 That the spear that lights it forth may shatter the ribs &
 bosom.
- 35 A pretence of Art to destroy Art! A pretence of Liberty
 To destroy Liberty, a pretence of Religion to destroy Religion!
 Oshea and Caleb fight: they contend in the Valleys of Peor
 In the terrible family contentions of those who love each other.
 The armies of Balaam weep—no women come to the field;
 40 Dead corpses lay before them, & not as in wars of old.
 For the soldier who fights for truth calls his enemy his brother;
 They fight & contend for life, & not for Eternal death:
 But here the soldier strikes, & a dead corpse falls at his feet;
 Nor daughter nor sister nor mother come forth to embosom
 the slain,
- 45 But Death! Eternal Death! remains in the Valleys of Peor.
 The English are scattered over the face of the nations. Are those
 Jerusalem's children? Hark! hear the Giants of Albion cry at night:
 "We smell the blood of the English; we delight in their
 blood on our altars!

38.31. *Hunting and war*] cp. 34.14, 'our wars are wars of life'.

38.37–40. *Oshea* (Joshua) and *Caleb* were among those sent to spy out the Promised Land (*Numbers* xiii–xiv), and the only two to insist that Israel would conquer. They were increasingly favoured, and in *Numbers* xxvii 18–23 Joshua was appointed Moses' successor.

In *Peor*, a plague fell on the Israelites (*Numbers* xxv) for openly lying with Midianite women and worshipping their gods. To end this dangerous intercourse, Moses went to war against the Midianites, and, having defeated them, commanded that everyone must be killed (ch. xxxi 7–11), except that virgins could be kept 'alive for yourselves' (xxxi 18). Thus the threat of *Peor* could not be repeated.

B. sees a desire among the peoples for union, confounded by the priesthood. Instead, at the behest of Law, the field is strewn with the 'dead corpses' of the ritually slain.

38.39. *Balaam* (*Numbers* xxii–xxiv) was a Moabite prophet (not a soldier), who refused to curse the Israelites and blessed them instead. It did not save him from death in battle (xxxix 8).

no women come to the field] to mourn or help the victims; all 'that have known a man' are killed, or enslaved.

38.46. *scattered*] Denotes disintegration.

38.48. This cry is derived from the folktale giants' rhyme – and shows a simple source for a part of B.'s unfavourable notion of giants.

- [38] The living & the dead shall be ground in our rumbling mills
 50 For bread of the Sons of Albion, of the Giants Hand &
 Scofield!"
 Scofeld & Knox are let loose upon my Saxons! They
 accumulate
 A world in which Man is by his nature the enemy of Man,
 In pride of Selfhood unwieldy stretching out into Non-Entity,
 Generalizing Art & Science till Art & Science is lost.
 55 Bristol & Bath, listen to my words, & ye Seventeen, give ear!
 It is easy to acknowledge a man to be great & good while we
 Derogate from him in the trifles & small articles of that
 goodness;
 Those alone are his friends who admire his minutest powers.
 Instead of Albion's lovely mountains & the curtains of
 Jerusalem
 60 I see a cave, a rock, a tree deadly and poisonous,
 unimaginative
 Instead of the Mutual Forgivenesses, the Minute Particulars,
 I see
 Pits of bitumen ever burning, artificial riches of the Canaanite
 Like lakes of liquid lead; instead of heavenly chapels built
 By our dear Lord, I see worlds crusted with snows & ice.
 65 I see a wicker idol woven round Jerusalem's children, I see
 The Canaanite, the Amalekite, the Moabite, the Egyptian
 By Demonstrations the cruel sons of Quality & Negation
 Driven on the Void in incoherent despair into Non-Entity.

38.54. It is a basic principle with B. that to generalize is destructive; truth lies in particularity. Cp. 'To Venetian Artists', p. 644.

38.55. *Seventeen*] The group of the 'Friends of Albion' named in 41.1-19, not counting Bath.

38.60. In *The Four Zoas*, Orc (the fallen Luvah) is imprisoned in a cave (vii 50; Urizen sits on a rock (vii 18); and the Tree of Mystery shoots up from beneath his foot (vii 31ff). Cp. also *Jerusalem* 13.38.

38.62. *Pits of bitumen*] Bitumen was known as 'Jews' pitch' in B.'s day, when the supply was chiefly from the Middle East. B. would know of the extensive deposits in the Dead Sea. Cp. *Isaiah* xxxiv 9-10, referring to the judgement of Edom: 'the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night or day . . .'

38.65 a wicker idol in which the Druids were supposed to sacrifice victims: cp. 47.5-6.

38.66. All these were enemies of the Israelites.

38.68-70. Cp. 27.111. B. imagines a time before the Fall when Britain and Judea, London and Jerusalem, were one; when Atlantis stood above the waves. But in the divisive cataclysm of the Fall, the ATLANTIC overwhelmed Atlantis and separated America from Albion while Albion and Judea broke apart from one another. The Atlantic was also quite simply a dangerous ocean threatening all who had to cross it. (See also 32.38-411, and 39.14-17 in text.)

- [38] I see America closed apart, & Jerusalem driven in terror
 70 Away from Albion's mountains, far away from London's spires.
 I will not endure this thing! I alone withstand to death
 The outrage! Ah me, how sick & pale you all stand round me.
 Ah me! pitiable ones! do you also go to death's vale?
 All you my friends & brothers, all you my beloved companions,
 75 Have you also caught the infection of Sin & stern Repentance?
 I see disease arise upon you. Yet speak to me and give
 Me some comfort. Why do you all stand silent? I alone
 Remain in permanent strength. Or is all this goodness & pity
 only
 That you may take the greater vengeance in your Sepulchre?'
- 80 So Los spoke. Pale they stood around the House of Death,
 In the midst of temptations & despair, among the rooted oaks
 Among the reared rocks of Albion's Sons. At length they rose

[*Marginal Design*]

Pl.39 [Design]

- (44) With one accord in love sublime, & as on cherub's wings
 They Albion surround with kindest violence, to bear him back
 Against his will through Los's gate to Eden. Fourfold, loud!
 Their wings waving over the bottomless immense, to bear
 5 Their awful charge back to his native home. But Albion dark,
 Repugnant, rolled his wheels backward into Non-Entity.
 Loud roll the Starry Wheels of Albion into the world of Death,
 And all the Gate of Los, clouded with clouds redounding from
 Albion's dread Wheels, stretching out spaces immense
 between,
 10 That every little particle of light & air became opaque,

38.72. *you*] The Friends of Albion.

38.75. *infection of Sin & stern Repentance*] Obsessions which infected Christian thought for centuries, using as authority, e.g., *Acts* viii 22 'Repent therefore of this thy wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thought of thine heart may be forgiven thee'.

38.80. The Friends of Albion – the cities of Britain – are involved in Albion's (Britain's) destiny, and so must be affected to some extent by his fall. Yet it is not inevitable, because Britain has fallen, that every Briton should be lost, and Los begs the Friends of Albion to be faithful.

38. *Marginal Design*: The spaces at the ends of lines are filled with dark clouds and (60–8), a praying figure with arms upraised.

39. *Design*: A winged ark floats on the waves, watched and pointed out by angels.

39.3. i.e. Albion is trying to escape from Golgonooza into Ulro; his Friends try to force him back the other way through the gate into Eden. The gate of Los is also the gate seen in B.'s vision in 34.35ff. But Albion can only be saved by his own will and in Divine time (lines 18–19). See *F.Z.* vi. 279–81, *Jer.* 7.54–6.

- [39] Black & immense, a rock of difficulty & a cliff
Of black despair—that the immortal wings laboured against
Cliff after cliff, & over valleys of despair & death:
The narrow sea between Albion & the Atlantic continent,
Its waves of pearl became a boundless ocean, bottomless,
15 Of grey obscurity, filled with clouds & rocks & whirling
waters,
And Albion's Sons ascending & descending in the horrid void.

But as the will must not be bended but in the day of Divine
Power, silent, calm & motionless, in the mid-air sublime,
20 The Family Divine hover around the darkened Albion.

Such is the nature of the Ulro, that whatever enters
Becomes Sexual, & is Created, and Vegetated, and Born.
From Hyde Park spread their vegetating roots beneath Albion
In dreadful pain, the Spectrous Uncircumcised Vegetation
25 Forming a Sexual Machine, an Aged Virgin Form,
In Erin's land toward the north, joint after joint; & burning
In love & jealousy immingled & calling it Religion.
And feeling the damps of death they with one accord
delegated Los,
Conjuring him by the Highest that he should watch over
them,
30 Till Jesus shall appear: & they gave their power to Los,
Naming him 'the Spirit of Prophecy', calling him Elijah.

Strucken with Albion's disease they become what they behold;
They assimilate with Albion in pity & compassion;
Their Emanations return not, their Spectres rage in the deep.

39.20. *Family Divine*] Not the 'Friends of Albion', but the ultimate Family, the Universal Heavenly company.

39.21–31 In these lines, note the words of creeping opposition to freedom and life: *Sexual*, *Vegetated*, *Spectrous*, *Uncircumcised*, *Machine*, *Aged Virgin*, *Jealousy*, etc. – all capitalized by B. The sequence from *Sexual* to *Born* is important for B.'s concept of living existence in the fallen world. This is to be Albion's fate, if he is not rescued; what follows is the immediate fate of the Friends.

39.26. *Erin*] The place from which the Friends can watch Albion: see 11.8n.

39.28 *they*] The Friends of Albion. Cp. the fate of those who saw the fate of Reuben in 30.50ff. B. has to reconcile the fate of the Twenty-Four cities, bound to Albion's destiny and so condemned with him; but also his friends, and therefore trying like angels to raise him.

39.31. Elijah, who defied the priests of Baal and was faithful when all Israel was unfaithful, embodies the spirit of prophecy which B. sums up and personifies in Los.

39.34. In Eden the Emanation may separate for a time from the Human Form, but always for a purpose, returning in due course. Only when the personality is disintegrating does the Emanation fail to return. See next note.

[39] 35 The slumbers of Death came over them around the Couch of
Death,

Before the Gate of Los & in the depths of Non-Entity
Among the Furnaces of Los, among the oaks of Albion.

(Man is adjoined to man by his Emanative portion,
Who is Jerusalem in every individual Man, and her

40 Shadow is Vala, builded by the reasoning power in man.
O search & see: turn your eyes inward: open, O thou World
Of Love & Harmony in Man: expand thy ever-lovely Gates!)

They wept into the deeps a little space; at length was heard
The voice of Bath, faint as the voice of the dead in the
House of Death—

[*Design*]

Pl.40 [*Design*]

(45) Bath, healing city, whose wisdom in midst of poetic
Fervour mild spoke through the Western Porch, in soft
gentle tears;

[*Design*]

‘O Albion, mildest son of Eden! closed is thy Western Gate.
Brothers of Eternity, this Man whose great example

39.38–42. This is a detached passage of comment, especially on 34 above. It uses the Epicurean notion that from everything *emanates* an image of itself, which is perceived by the recipient. B. goes further, and says that there is a meeting of substances as well as perception. B. says that the true vision of beauty (Jerusalem) is to be contrasted with the false vision of reason (Vala): one is imaginative and real, the other rational and dead.

39. *Design*: Filling a line space, a dragon-headed figure, whose tail becomes leafy tendrils.

40. *Design*: At the top, enclosing 1–2: against a background of dark rain-clouds, a crouching figure is enmeshed in the twisted branches of a tree; a flying female figure against a brighter background, flies away over the waves to the right, drawing away a net that also traps the male (Albion?). Beneath line 2, under the water, a large fish swallows smaller ones.

40.2. *Western Porch*] Because Bath is in the west; and because the Western Porch is in the direction of Eden, and Bath is here one of the most enlightened Friends of Albion. Erdman (*PAE* p. 476) proposes a source of B.’s admiration in the Rev. Richard Warner (1763–1857) who, in May 1804, caused a national stir by preaching in Bath against the war, and continued this theme, unafraid and undeterred, until at least 1808. The quietism of these lines reflects his sentiments. Bath rejects the use of force, already shown futile after Los’s attempt (38.81ff), and waits for the inspiration of Jesus. But only the blessed (‘whose Western Gates were open’, 34) can bear him, though he appears as a ‘Divine Vision’ (38).

40.4–16. A key passage expressing, as opposed to 39.21–25, a vision of B.’s ideals.

- [40] We all admired & loved, whose all-benevolent countenance,
seen
- 6 In Eden, in lovely Jerusalem, drew even from envy
The tear, and the confession of honesty, open & undisguised,
From mistrust and suspicion—the Man is himself become
A piteous example of oblivion, to teach the Sons
- 10 Of Eden that however great and glorious, however loving
And merciful the Individuality, however high
Our palaces and cities, and however fruitful are our fields,
In Selfhood, we are nothing, but fade away in morning's breath.
Our mildness is nothing; the greatest mildness we can use
- 15 Is incapable and nothing: none but the Lamb of God can heal
This dread disease, none but Jesus: O Lord, descend and save!
Albion's Western Gate is closed; his Death is coming apace;
Jesus alone can save him; for alas, we none can know
How soon his lot may be our own. When Africa in sleep
- 20 Rose in the night of Beulah, and bound down the sun & moon,
His friends cut his strong chains, & overwhelmed his dark
Machines in fury & destruction, and the Man reviving
repented.
- He wept before his wrathful brethren, thankful & considerate
For their well-timed wrath. But Albion's sleep is not
- 25 Like Africa's, and his machines are woven with his life.
Nothing but mercy can save him, nothing but mercy
interposing,
Lest he should slay Jerusalem in his fearful jealousy.
O God, descend! gather our brethren, deliver Jerusalem.
But that we may omit no office of the friendly spirit,
- 30 Oxford, take thou these leaves of the Tree of Life, with
eloquence

40.19. The story of Africa, here personified, seems to have been invented for this passage, and is not found elsewhere; in sleep implies 'in spiritual death', that Africa did not know what he was doing – as if sleep-walking.

40.30. *Oxford*] B.'s admiration for Oxford as a centre of poetic vision was traced by Damon (unconvincingly) to Shelley, who was sent down in 1811 for circulating the pamphlet *The Necessity of Atheism*. But Shelley did not emerge as a poet until *Alastor*, 1811, though his prose pamphlets may have been the 'eloquence' referred to. A more probable source (*PAE* 741) is the now-forgotten Fellow of Oriel, Edward Marsh, 'my much admired and respected Edward the Bard of Oxford whose verses still sound upon my ear like the distant approach of things mighty and magnificent . . .' (letter to Hayley, 27 Jan. 1804). No poetry by Marsh is known, but the letter, and Gilchrist's remarks, show that he read poetry, including B.'s own, with an 'eloquence' very pleasing to B.

these leaves of the Tree of Life 'were for the healing of the nations' (*Revelation* xxii 2): cp. also 41.9 below. The leaves suggest a garland – a classical allusion fitting for Oxford.

- [40] That thy immortal tongue inspires: present them to Albion.
Perhaps he may receive them, offered from thy loved hands.'

So spoke, unheard by Albion, the merciful Son of Heaven
To those whose Western Gates were open, as they stood
weeping

- 35 Around Albion: but Albion heard him not; obdurate, hard,
He frowned on all his friends, counting them enemies in his
sorrow.

And the Seventeen conjoining with Bath, the Seventh
In whom the other Ten shone manifest, a Divine Vision,
Assimilated and embraced Eternal Death for Albion's sake.

- 40 And these the names of the Eighteen combined with those Ten:

- Pl.41 Bath, mild physician of Eternity, mysterious power,
(46) Whose springs are unsearchable, & knowledge infinite.
Hereford, ancient Guardian of Wales, whose hands
Built the mountain palaces of Eden, stupendous works.
5 Lincoln, Durham & Carlisle, counsellors of Los,
And Ely, Scribe of Los, whose pen no other hand
Dare touch. Oxford, immortal Bard, with eloquence
Divine, he wept over Albion, speaking the words of God
In mild persuasion, bringing leaves of the Tree of Life:
10 'Thou art in error, Albion, the land of Ulro:
One Error not removed will destroy a Human soul.
Repose in Beulah's night till the Error is removed.
Reason not on both sides. Repose upon our bosoms

40.37–8. *Seventeen . . . the Seventh . . . the other Ten*] In 37.1 Bath is 'the Seventh' of the Friends there listed. By pl.36 B. had listed eleven cities before breaking off (including 'the Four', 34.45, 51). In pl.41 he lists eighteen; Bath is the twice-mentioned name (36.61, 41.1), seventh on pl.36, and the pivot of the list. 'The other Ten' are therefore those listed in pls. 34 and 36; at this point Bath is greater even than 'the Four in whom the Twenty-Four appeared' (41.23).

40.40. A late addition, incised into the plate, linking it with pl.41.

41.1. *physician*] Because of the medicinal wells at Bath.

41.3. *Hereford*] A historic gateway to South Wales, and once its administrative centre, with a great cathedral. Thomas Johnes (1742–1816), enlightened land-lord and keen scholar of Welsh antiquity, built his 'palace' at Hafod, near Aberystwyth (see *America* 112n). Vol. 2 of the *Mypryan Archaeology* was dedicated to him (see ¶351n); also B. H. Malkin's *Memoirs* (1806), with its long account of B.'s work. Hafod is far from Hereford, but Johnes was brought up at Croft Castle in Herefordshire, which perhaps 'guarded' the guardian of Welsh antiquity?

41.6. *Ely*] In Cambridgeshire, and so associated with the university (cp. 35.12n): also a town with an ancient and famous tradition in her own right, though no great 'scribe' can be specified in Ely itself.

- [41] Till the plough of Jehovah, and the harrow of Shaddai
 15 Have passed over the Dead to awake the Dead to Judgement.⁷
 But Albion turned away, refusing comfort.

Oxford trembled while he spoke, then fainted in the arms
 Of Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, Chester awful,
 Worcester,

- Lichfield, Saint David's, Llandaff, Asaph, Bangor, Sodor,
 20 Bowing their heads devoted. And the Furnaces of Los
 Began to rage. Thundering loud the storms began to roar
 Upon the Furnaces, and loud the Furnaces rebellow beneath.

And these the Four in whom the Twenty-Four appeared
 fourfold:

Verulam, London, York, Edinburgh, mourning one towards
 another:

- 25 'Alas—The time will come, when a man's worst enemies
 Shall be those of his own house and family, in a Religion
 Of Generation, to destroy, by Sin and Atonement, happy
 Jerusalem,
 The Bride and Wife of the Lamb. O God, thou art not an
 Avenger!'

[*Design*]

Pl.42

[*Marginal Design*]

Thus Albion sat, studious of others in his pale disease,
 Brooding on evil: but when Los opened the furnaces before him

41.14. *Shaddai*] 'The Almighty' (*Exodus* vi 3); God as he appeared to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. God must plough and turn over the land before it can be fertile again. In *The Four Zoas* ix 313–36 souls are planted so that they can grow and be reaped. See also Milton 7.11, 13.22n.

41.19. *Asaph . . . Sodor*] The bishoprics of St Asaph's, and of Sodor and Man (i.e. the Isle of Man and the southern Hebrides, the Norse Sudreyjar).

41.23. *the Four*] First mentioned in 36.3, q.v. note.

41.25. So in 27.103–04.

41. *Design*: Covering almost half the page. An aged man sits with a veiled woman in a chariot drawn by lions, with serpents for wheels and demons on the lions' backs urging them on. The shaft is also a serpent, and another curls round beyond the chariot.

42. *Marginal Design*: Space in the right margin is filled with a column of figures supporting one another on their shoulders; at the top, two female figures reach down large bunches of grapes.

42.1. *Thus*] Perhaps a ref. to the above design, or that on pl.37.

42.2. Cp. 30.19.

- [42] He saw that the accursed things were his own affections,
And his own beloveds. Then he turned sick, his soul died
within him.
- 5 Also Los sick & terrified beheld the Furnaces of death
And must have died, but the Divine Saviour descended
Among the infant loves & affections, and the Divine Vision
wept
Like evening dew on every herb upon the breathing ground.
- Albion spoke in his dismal dreams: 'O thou deceitful friend,
10 Worshipping mercy & beholding thy friend in such affliction!
Los! thou now discoverest thy turpitude to the heavens.
I demand Righteousness & Justice, O thou Ingratitude!
Give me my Emanations back, food for my dying soul.
My daughters are harlots, my sons are accursed before me.
- 15 Enitharmon is my daughter, accursed with a father's curse.
Oh, I have utterly been wasted! I have given my daughters
to devils.'
- So spoke Albion in gloomy majesty, and deepest night
Of Ulro rolled round his skirts from Dover to Cornwall.
- Los answered: 'Righteousness & Justice I give thee in return
20 For thy Righteousness, but I add Mercy also, and bind
Thee from destroying these little ones. Am I to be only
Merciful to thee and cruel to all that thou hatest?
Thou wast the Image of God surrounded by the Four Zoas.
Three thou hast slain; I am the fourth—thou canst not
destroy me.
- 25 Thou art in Error: trouble me not with thy Righteousness.
I have innocence to defend and ignorance to instruct:
I have no time for seeming, and little arts of compliment,
In Morality and Virtue: in self-glorying and pride.

42.3. *the accursed things*] In a moment of insight (the 'Furnaces') Albion sees that the Law oppresses the most desirable things in life; and that all his deepest desires are forbidden.

42.4. *beloveds*] A plural, like *affections* (3, 7): 'beloved things'.

42.13. Albion wants his Emanations as sacrifices, not as forgiven children. See 37.31.

42.21. *these little ones*] The children of Albion's imagination. Cp. *Matthew* xviii 6, 14: 'whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck . . . Even so it is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish.'

- [42] There is a Limit of Opaqueness, and a Limit of Contraction
 30 In every individual man, and the Limit of Opaqueness
 Is named Satan, and the Limit of Contraction is named Adam.
 But when Man sleeps in Beulah, the Saviour in mercy takes
 Contraction's Limit, and of the Limit he forms Woman—that
 Himself may in process of time be born, man to redeem.
 35 But there is no Limit of Expansion; there is no Limit of
 Translucence
 In the bosom of man for ever from eternity to eternity!
 Therefore I break thy bonds of Righteousness: I crush thy
 messengers
 That they may not crush me and mine. Do thou be righteous
 And I will return it; otherwise I defy thy worst revenge.
 40 Consider me as thine enemy, on me turn all thy fury;
 But destroy not these little ones, nor mock the Lord's
 anointed.
 Destroy not by Moral Virtue the little ones whom he hath
 chosen—
 The little ones whom he hath chosen in preference to thee.
 He hath cast thee off for ever; the little ones he hath anointed.
 45 Thy Selfhood is for ever accursed from the Divine Presence.'
 So Los spoke; then turned his face & wept for Albion.
 Albion replied: 'Go, Hand & Hyle, seize the abhorred Friend,
 As you have seized the Twenty-four rebellious ingrati-
 tudes
 To atone for you, for spiritual death: Man lives by death of men
 50 Bring him to justice before heaven here upon London Stone,
 Between Blackheath & Hounslow, between Norwood &
 Finchley.
 All that they have is mine: from my free generous gift
 They now hold all they have: ingratitude to me,
 To me their benefactor, calls aloud for vengeance deep.'

42.29. cp. 31.1 and *Four Zoas* iv 270n. B. now adds the idea that by his Incarnation Christ took the worst (most Contracted) form possible to Humanity, in order to prevent mankind passing that Limit. The suggestion that woman was formed next, solely for the purpose of his eventual Incarnation, is found in B. only here. Elsewhere the separation of the sexes is one of the evils of the Creation and Fall.
 42.44. *thee*] As the next line says, this refers to Albion's Selfhood, not to Albion's true Humanity. The Humanity may always be forgiven, but the Selfhood must be annihilated.

42.47. *Friend*] Presumably 'Friend of Albion': or B.'s own error for *fiend*.

42.48. In 36.21 the Friends come to Albion's side; but they are weak, and in 37.23 overcome by despair, the equivalent of being Hand and Hyle.

42.50. *London Stone*] See 8.27n.

42.51. i.e. east, west, south and north – the whole of London: Albion's words express, one after another, his errors – fear, selfishness, cruelty.

- [42] Los stood before his Furnaces awaiting the fury of the Dead
 56 And the Divine Hand was upon him, strengthening him mightily.

The Spectres of the Dead cry out from the deeps beneath
 Upon the hills of Albion; Oxford groans in his iron Furnace,
 Winchester in his den & cavern; they lament against
 60 Albion, they curse their human kindness & affection.
 They rage like wild beasts in the forests of affliction;
 In the dreams of Ulro they repent of their human kindness.

‘Come up, build Babylon! Rahab is ours, & all her multitudes
 With her in pomp and glory of victory. Depart,
 65 Ye Twenty-four into the deeps; let us depart to glory!’

Their Human majestic forms sit upon their couches
 Of Death: they curb their Spectres as with iron curbs.
 They enquire after Jerusalem in the regions of the dead,
 With the voices of dead men, low, scarcely articulate,
 70 And with tears cold on their cheeks they weary repose.

‘O when shall the morning of the grave appear, and when
 Shall our salvation come? We sleep upon our watch,
 We cannot awake! and our Spectres rage in the forests.
 O God of Albion, where art thou? Pity the watchers.’

75 Thus mourn they. Loud the Furnaces of Los thunder upon
 The clouds of Europe & Asia, among the Serpent Temples:

And Los drew his seven Furnaces around Albion’s altars,
 And as Albion built his frozen altars, Los built the Mundane
 Shell

In the four Regions of Humanity, east & west & north & south,
 80 Till Norwood & Finchley & Blackheath & Hounslow
 covered the whole earth.

This is the Net & Veil of Vala among the souls of the Dead.

42.56. Again in 46.9, Los, finding his Furnaces dead, calls for Divine aid.
 42.57. When ‘vegetated’, the Cities, though the Friends of Albion, are too often trapped by his Sons (e.g., the journalist Hunt brothers) into his errors. They lament their true past kindnesses, now seeing them as weaknesses. In their genuine ‘Human majestic Forms’ (66, 72), they repent their real failures.
 42.75. The cities of Albion are involved in his fate, and cannot leave him. Los meanwhile acts freely over the whole world, as the following lines show.
 42.77–8. Los opposes his heat to Albion’s frost. At 13.33 the Mundane Shell is a creation of Ulro against Los in Golgonooza: here B. sees the Shell from the other side – as a limitation of Chaos.
 42.80. *Norwood . . . Hounslow*] Then villages south, north, east and west of London respectively.

Pl.43 [Marginal Design]

(29)

Then the Divine Vision like a silent sun appeared above
Albion's dark rocks, setting behind the gardens of Kensington
On Tyburn's river, in clouds of blood, where was mild Zion
Hill's

Most ancient promontory; and in the sun a Human Form appears

5 And thus the Voice Divine went forth upon the rocks of Albion:

'I elected Albion for my glory; I gave to him the nations
Of the whole earth. He was the Angel of my Presence, and all
The Sons of God were Albion's Sons and Jerusalem was my joy.
The Reactor hath hid himself through envy. I behold him:

10 But you cannot behold him till he be revealed in his System.
Albion's Reactor must have a place prepared; Albion must sleep
The Sleep of Death, till the Man of Sin & Repentance be
revealed.

Hidden in Albion's forests he lurks. He admits of no reply
From Albion but hath founded his Reaction into a Law

15 Of action, for obedience to destroy the Contraries of Man.
He hath compelled Albion to become a Punisher & hath
possessed

Himself of Albion's forests & wilds, and Jerusalem is taken,
The City of the Woods in the forest of Ephratah is taken.

43. *Marginal Design*: Beside 1–26, against a background of flames, a nude female figure stands with her hands raised; two other crouched figures opposite 44–52 and 57–61.

43.1. Standing near Tyburn, B. would be able to see the winter sunset over Kensington Gardens, which lie south of west from the end of Oxford Street.

43.6. *elected*] A key word in Calvinist theology, still prevalent in the 18th century, in which the Elect, as God's chosen, are untouched by sin. B., by implication, rejects this in favour of his vision of Albion, who though 'elected' for greatness, is fallen – but into recoverable Error, not irredeemable Sin. See *Milton* 7.2–4n.

43.7. *the Angel of my Presence*] An angel close to God, to be entrusted with the most solemn messages, and carrying the equivalence of God's presence: in *Exodus* xxxiii 14 he is promised as a companion to Moses, and in *Isaiah* lxiii 9 he has saved the Israelites in their affliction.

43.9. *The Reactor*] The word is used here only; it may refer to Newton's law of action and exact reaction. Lines 14–15 take this as a human matter, and reject it; we choose our own reactions to events. Albion supposes instinctive, 'knee-jerk' reaction to be the only truth.

43.12. *the Man of Sin and Repentance*] The man who believes that Sin is real, atoned for only by Repentance – the worst fallacy to B., with his passionate message of Mutual Forgiveness (cp. 49.24–30).

43.15. *for obedience*] i.e. demanding obedience to law, which will destroy . . .

43.18. *Ephratah*, 'fruitful land': in *Psalms* cxxii, the psalmist, seeking a place of rest for the Ark of the Covenant, writes that he will not rest 'Until I find out a place of the Lord . . . Lo, we heard of it at Ephratah: we found it in the fields

- [43] London is a stone of her ruins; Oxford is the dust of her walls;
 20 Sussex & Kent are her scattered garments; Ireland her holy place;
 And the murdered bodies of her little ones are Scotland and
 Wales.

The Cities of the Nations are the smoke of her consummation,
 The nations are her dust, ground by the chariot wheels
 Of her lordly conquerors, her palaces levelled with the dust.

- 25 I come that I may find a way for my banished ones to return.
 Fear not, O little flock, I come. Albion shall rise again.'

So saying, the mild sun enclosed the Human Family.

Forthwith from Albion's darkening rocks came two Immortal
 Forms,

Saying. 'We alone are escaped, O merciful Lord and Saviour.

- 30 We flee from the interiors of Albion's hills and mountains,
 From his valleys eastward, from Amalek, Canaan & Moab,
 Beneath his vast ranges of hills surrounding Jerusalem.
 Albion walked on the steps of fire before his halls
 And Vala walked with him in dreams of soft deluding slumber.
 35 He looked up & saw the Prince of Light with splendour faded.
 Then Albion ascended mourning into the porches of his palace.
 Above him rose a shadow from his wearied intellect

of the wood.' In the same spirit, Bethlehem – Ephratah is the place where the promised Messiah would appear (*Micah* v 2). Present-day Britain, B.'s land of promise, offers no more than a shadow of that hope.

43.22. *consummation*] B. spells it so but, as always, means 'burning'.

43.27–28. An image of the setting sun closing down the folds of darkness on the people in the gardens and streets – see *in*.

43.28 *rocks*] B. has *locks*; the emendation was Joanne Witge's. Cp. line 2.

43.33–82. These lines are taken from the vision of Ahanian in *Four Zoas* iii 46–98, with slight alterations. In both poems, the speaker is describing the origin of man's troubles. In *Jerusalem*, however, the references to Vala and Luvah are not self-evident. Full notes are given in the original context, p. 341 above; the general sense is that Albion is deluded into a fascination for one part of himself – Vala – at the expense of the rest, and of proportion. Vala is the feminine counterpart of Luvah, who here is worshipped by Albion as God (41). When Luvah steps down from the cloud in which he has disguised himself, Albion is shocked, and finally turns his back on Vala (57). Then, the fascination broken, he hears the call of other forgotten elements of his being (58–60), Tharmas and Enion. Luvah and Albion struggle (61) with the result that Albion's body is marked, as Job's was, but he repulses Luvah's attempt to dominate him, and drives Luvah and Vala away (66–71). This is not victory, as he remains a disordered being, and they are essential parts of him. The passage may allegorize a man's falling under the domination of his passions, which he then repudiates and tries to forgo. The result is (73–5) that the human heart is in a turmoil.

43.35. *Prince of Light*] Urizen, one of the Four Zoas, who should watch Albion and advise him against such follies as that which follows.

- [43] Of living gold, pure, perfect, holy; in white linen pure he
hovered,
A sweet entrancing self-delusion, a watery vision of Albion,
40 Soft exulting in existence, all the Man absorbing!
‘Albion fell upon his face prostrate before the watery Shadow,
Saying. “O Lord, whence is this change? Thou knowest I am
nothing!”
And Vala trembled & covered her face, & her locks were
spread on the pavement.
‘We heard, astonished at the vision, & our hearts trembled
within us;
45 We heard the voice of slumberous Albion, and thus he spake,
Idolatrous to his own shadow, words of Eternity uttering:
“Oh, I am nothing when I enter into judgement with thee.
If thou withdraw thy breath I die & vanish into Hades;
If thou dost lay thine hand upon me, behold I am silent;
50 If thou withhold thine hand, I perish like a fallen leaf.
Oh, I am nothing, and to nothing must return again.
If thou withdraw thy breath, behold I am oblivion!”
‘He ceased. The shadowy voice was silent, but the cloud
hovered over their heads
In golden wreaths, the sorrow of Man, & the balmy drops
fell down.
55 And lo! that Son of Man, that shadowy spirit of mild Albion,
Luvah, descended from the cloud; in terror Albion rose.
Indignant rose the awful Man, & turned his back on Vala.
‘We heard the voice of Albion starting from his sleep:
“Whence is this voice crying, ‘Enion!’ that soundeth in my ears?
60 O cruel pity! O dark deceit! Can love seek for dominion?”
‘And Luvah strove to gain dominion over Albion.
They strove together above the body where Vala was enclosed;
And the dark body of Albion left prostrate upon the crystal
pavement,
Covered with boils from head to foot, the terrible smittings of
Luvah.
65 ‘Then frowned the fallen Man and put forth Luvah from his
presence,
Saying, “Go and die the death of Man for Vala the sweet
wanderer.

43.59–60. In *The Four Zoas*, one result of the disorder within Man was that Enion, counterpart of Tharmas, one of the four Zoas, had been driven out to ‘the margin of Non-Entity’, and Tharmas was continuously seeking her.

[43] I will turn the volutions of your ears outward, and bend your nostrils

Downward, and your fluxile eyes englobed roll round in fear;
Your withering lips and tongue shrink up into a narrow circle,

70 Till into narrow forms you creep. Go take your fiery way,
And learn what 'tis to absorb the Man, you Spirits of Pity & Love!"

'They heard the voice and fled swift as the winter's setting sun.
And now the Human blood foamed high, the spirits Luvah
& Vala

Went down the Human heart where paradise & its joys
abounded,

75 In jealous fears & fury & rage, & flames roll round their
fervid feet:

And the vast form of Nature like a serpent played before them.
And as they fled in folding fires & thunders of the deep,
Vala shrunk in like the dark sea that leaves its slimy banks,
And from her bosom Luvah fell far as the east and west.

80 And the vast form of Nature like a serpent rolled between—
Whether of Jerusalem's or Vala's ruins congenerated we
know not.

All is confusion, all is tumult; & we alone are escaped.'
So spoke the fugitives: they joined the Divine Family, trembling.

Pl.44 [Design]

(30)

And the two that escaped were the Emanation of Los & his
Spectre, for wherever the Emanation goes, the Spectre
Attends her as her guard, & Los's Emanation is named
Enitharmon, & his Spectre is named Urthona. They knew

5 Not where to flee; they had been on a visit to Albion's children,

43.67–70. The fate also of Reuben (30.47–56, 32.2–6).

43.81. Probably Vala's, but the escaping pair are confused. Moreover, B. must add these lines to the end of the *Four Zoas* passage to bring it into line with the myth of *Jerusalem*.

43.83. *trembling*] Altered from 'Albion slept'(?).

44. *Design*: As in lines 1–4, the two flying forms come to Los, who holds his arms out to receive them.

44.4. *named Urthona*] In line 14, as at 10.32 and in *The Four Zoas*, Urthona is the eternal, unfallen Los, and by no means Spectral. Perhaps B. means that Urthona has visited the Vegetated world (as Dante visited Hell), and is escaping back, as B. visited Hayley's world, and escaped.

44.5. This passage may derive from the abortive attempt by Hayley to be B.'s patron. Hayley's efforts to help B.'s career in his own way are commented on in 9–10; it is more important to see the use B. makes of it in the narrative. The two messengers had been to visit Hand, Skofield and the rest, and had had to escape.

- [44] And they strove to weave a Shadow of the Emanation
To hide themselves, weeping & lamenting for the Vegetation
Of Albion's children, fleeing through Albion's vales in
streams of gore.

Being not irritated by insult, bearing insulting benevolences,
10 They perceived that corporeal friends are spiritual enemies.
They saw the Sexual Religion in its embryo uncircumcision,
And the Divine Hand was upon them, bearing them through
darkness

Back safe to their Humanity as doves to their windows.
Therefore the Sons of Eden praise Urthona's Spectre in songs,
15 Because he kept the Divine Vision in time of trouble.

They wept & trembled, & Los put forth his hand & took
them in
Into his bosom, from which Albion shrunk in dismal pain,
Rending the fibres of Brotherhood, & in Feminine Allegories
Enclosing Los: but the Divine Vision appeared with Los,
20 Following Albion into his central void among his Oaks.

And Los prayed and said: 'O Divine Saviour, arise
Upon the mountains of Albion as in ancient time. Behold,
The Cities of Albion seek thy face. London groans in pain
From hill to hill, & the Thames laments along the valleys.
25 The little Villages of Middlesex & Surrey hunger & thirst;
The Twenty-Eight cities of Albion stretch their hands to thee,
Because of the oppressors of Albion in every city & village.
They mock at the labourer's limbs, they mock at his starved
children,

44.6. A difficult line. If the reference is still to B.'s private affairs, it may mean that the Blakes used Catherine's ill-health as an excuse and a smoke-screen in which to escape from Felpham. The immediate meaning is obscure: weaving a Shadow of an Emanation is normally the female equivalent of the Spectre.

44.9-11. Hayley meant well, and tried to show B. the facts of economic life; B. regarded this as 'insulting benevolence'. In 11 he declares that Hayley's attitude contains in embryo all the faults of the materialism he hates – *sexual* connoting the fallen state where one person is set against another; *uncircumcision* because it is a false religion.

44.13. *windows*] The windows of their dovecots.

44.18. *Feminine Allegories*] An allegory to B. is normally a false representation; 'feminine' in such a context implies the kind of error propagated by Vala. That Los should be so enclosed means that his imaginative creations, and the purpose in life of their creator, are hedged about with false notions of the purpose of poetry and art, which weaken its prophetic impact.

44.20. *his central void among his Oaks*] Two ideas connoting spiritual death; the oaks are the oaks of druid religion, and of British warships ('Heart of oak are our ships' goes the song).

- [44] They buy his daughters that they may have power to sell his sons;
 30 They compel the poor to live upon a crust of bread by soft mild arts;
 They reduce the man to want, then give with pomp & ceremony.
 The praise of Jehovah is chanted from lips of hunger & thirst.
 Humanity knows not of Sex: wherefore are Sexes in Beulah?
 In Beulah the Female lets down her beautiful Tabernacle
 35 Which the Male enters magnificent between her Cherubim,
 And becomes One with her, mingling, condensing in Self-love
 The Rocky Law of Condemnation & Double Generation, & Death.
 Albion hath entered the Loins, the place of the Last Judgement;

44.33. *Humanity . . . Sex*] Humanity is the form of life in Eternity; sex is unneeded there, as it began only when Eve was created (*Genesis* ii 22); Christ's saying in *Matthew* xxii 30 (quoted by B. at 30.15 above) may be taken to support this. *Beulah* (q.v. *Milton* 30.2n) is the blessed land on the borders of Eternity, essentially a place for rest, where Emanations go in the form of women and children (*Milton* 31.1–3). Eternals go there only for relaxation; then they should return to Eden, where spirits may unite their beings totally, at will (69.43–4). Why then should there be sex in Beulah? Male and female unite, retaining their own separate forms and identities – not in the total commingling of Eden, where there is no male or female. However, this separation-in-union has one great effect. It forces evil ('Self-love . . . Death', 36–7) into a fixed, 'condensed' form which (40) the Lord can rend, as the Veil of the Temple rent at Christ's death. Cp. 65.60–1; 69.14–31; elsewhere, sexual delight is one of the joys of Beulah (37.15–19; *Milton* 5.5–10, 33.17–20).

44.34–40. A blend of imageries: (1) as a symbol of priestly domination of spiritual life. In the TABERNACLE (*Exodus* xxv) the sanctuary was separated by a veil (39–40) from the Holy of Holies, which was again curtained off. There was kept the Ark, on which was the mercy-seat, symbolizing the presence of God; but the Presence was hidden by two cherubim, in one piece with the mercy-seat. The Holy of Holies was unapproachable (B.'s 'secret place'), being entered only once a year, by the High Priest alone, after the most careful purification, on the Day of Atonement ('Last judgement', 38). But (2) for B. it is most forcefully an image of sex in the fallen world: the phallic High Priest's restricted entrances into the vaginal Holy Place; the veil/hymen (of Vala); and the protective cherubim/lips that cover, or open out, the Divinity within: all exploited in B.'s designs. Cp. *1 Corinthians* vi 18–19: 'Flee fornication . . . know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?' B. is impressed by the powerful sense of restriction and compulsion in the ritual, and blends it with the sense of restriction and compulsive necessity in sex. Both ritual and moral 'Holiness' are obstacles to human divinity. See 69.15–28, 43–4; *Four Zoas* vii 349n.

44.38–9. *Last Judgement*] 'Whenever any individual rejects error and embraces truth a Last Judgement passes upon that individual' (*VLJ* 84). Any area of human experience which can lead to heightened sensitivity and inspiration, including sex,

- [44] And Luvah hath drawn the Curtains around Albion in Vala's
bosom;
40 The Dead awake to Generation. Arise, O Lord, & rend the Veil!'

So Los in lamentations followed Albion. Albion covered
Pl.45 His western heaven with rocky clouds of death & despair.
(31)

Fearing that Albion should turn his back against the Divine
Vision,
Los took his globe of fire to search the interiors of Albion's
Bosom, in all the terrors of friendship, entering the caves
5 Of despair & death, to search the tempters out, walking
among
Albion's rocks & precipices, caves of solitude & dark despair;
And saw every Minute Particular of Albion degraded &
murdered,
But saw not by whom; they were hidden within in the
minute particulars
Of which they had possessed themselves: and there they take up
10 The articulations of a man's soul, and laughing throw it down

can produce such a 'Last Judgement', a revelation of truth. Here Albion's union with the deluding, selfish and moralistic Vala, blessed by Luvah (the spirit of passion) who draws the curtains round them to enclose them in the mystery of the Secret Place, sets in motion greater forces than either of them can understand. Children will be born (40) and brought out of chaos into the world of mortal life where the hand of God, ripping the curtain, Vala's veil, can reach them and free them.

45.3. Los's search gives us B.'s imaginative review of the state of London in his day. 45.7. MINUTE PARTICULAR] In lines 17–8, esp. the children of the streets, illuminating an important concept, expounded in the 1800 letter-poem to Butts (p. 485; *q.v.* note). It is adapted (and inverted) from the common phrase of Lockean theory, the 'minute particle', the basic matter of the universe: uniform, extremely hard and indivisible, and of course inanimate. B.'s 'Minute Particular' is a living entity, however small, and Human, underlining his belief in the Humanity of the universe. See also 38.19–23, 91.28–30.

The word *particular* is set against the vague, formless generalities B. detested. He admired painters who draw, and particularize, detesting those who work with a spread of colour (*Descriptive Catalogue* xv *Ruth*): 'Such art of losing the outlines is the art of Venice and Flanders; it loses all character, and leaves what some people call, expression . . . expression cannot exist without character as its stamina; and neither character nor expression can exist without firm and determinate outline . . . The great and golden rule of life, as well as art, is this: That the more distinct, sharp and wirey the bounding line, the more perfect the work of art.' As in art, so in morality and all things.

45.9ff. B. describes brickmakers he had seen at work. So in 24.31, 'the walls of Babylon are souls of men'. The articulations are the straw which binds the bricks together, as the articulations of the body, though hidden, give it its living form.

- [45] Into the frame, then knock it out upon the plank, & souls
are baked
In bricks to build the pyramids of Heber & Terah. But Los
Searched in vain; closed from the minutia he walked difficult.
He came down from Highgate through Hackney &
Holloway towards London
- 15 Till he came to Old Stratford, & thence to Stepney & the Isle
Of Leutha's Dogs, thence through the narrows of the river's
side,
And saw every minute particular, the jewels of Albion,
running down
The kennels of the streets & lanes as if they were abhorred.
Every Universal Form was become barren mountains of Moral
- 20 Virtue, and every Minute Particular hardened into grains of sand,
And all the tendernesses of the soul cast forth as filth & mire
Among the winding places of deep contemplation intricate
To where the Tower of London frowned dreadful over
Jerusalem—
A building of Luvah, builded in Jerusalem's Eastern Gate to be
- 25 His secluded court. Thence to Bethlehem, where was builded
Dens of despair in the house of bread; enquiring in vain
Of stones & rocks he took his way, for Human Form was none:
And thus he spoke, looking on Albion's city with many tears:

45.12. *Heber & Terah*] Ancestors of the Hebrews; but B. associates them (against the genealogies of *Genesis* x), with the tribes of the region of the Euphrates, the land where towers such as the tower of Babel (*Genesis* xi 1–9) were built for worship in false religions: built, B. says, from the tormented souls of men. However, Abraham lived at Ur; and *Terah* was his father, and *Heber* (or *Eber*) his distant ancestor.

45.14–16. See map, p. 649. The walk would then be through satellite villages; but as B. puts it, it is not a straight route, unless Hackney and Holloway are reversed, when it would still be a reasonable walk for 18th-century feet, of about fifteen miles. Narrow Street still runs along the riverside below Limehouse Basin.

45.18. *kennels*] Open drains.

45.19–21. Virtue, and all other perfections, instead of being parts of the nature of the soul, and issuing in particular acts according to circumstance, have been hardened into a Moral Law, which regards neither circumstance nor individuality – and it has become immoral to the truly virtuous or compassionate, or tender.

45.24. *Luvah*] Represented in these pages (43.56ff) as Albion's enemy; and the Tower is at the eastern end of London.

45.25. *Bethlehem*] i.e. 'house of bread'. The lunatic asylum, where patients were imprisoned rather than tended, known as Bedlam (= Bethlehem), was moved from Moorfields to Lambeth Road, very near B.'s old home, in 1815. (This building is now the Imperial War Museum.) Though Los might have crossed London Bridge to Southwark, B. probably refers to Moorfields, the site of scandals about maltreatment in 1807 and 1814.

- [45] 'What shall I do? What could I do? If I could find these
criminals
30 I could not dare to take vengeance; for all things are so
constructed
And builded by the Divine Hand that the sinner shall always
escape,
And he who takes vengeance alone is the criminal of
Providence.
If I should dare to lay my finger on a grain of sand
In way of vengeance, I punish the already punished. Oh,
whom
35 Should I pity if I pity not the sinner who is gone astray?
O Albion, if thou takest vengeance, if thou revengest thy
wrongs,
Thou art for ever lost! What can I do to hinder the sons
Of Albion from taking vengeance, or how shall I them
persuade?'
- So spoke Los, travelling through darkness & horrid solitude.
40 And he beheld Jerusalem in Westminster & Marybone,
Among the ruins of the Temple; and Vala who is her shadow,
Jerusalem's shadow, bent northward over the island white.
- At length he sat on London Stone, & heard Jerusalem's voice:
'Albion, I cannot be thy wife. Thine own Minute Particulars
45 Belong to God alone, and all thy little ones are holy.
They are of Faith & not of Demonstration. Wherefore is Vala
Clothed in black mourning upon my river's currents? Vala, awake!
I hear thy shuttles sing in the sky, and round my limbs
I feel the iron threads of love & jealousy & despair.'
- 50 Vala replied: 'Albion is mine. Luvah gave me to Albion
And now receives reproach & hate. Was it not said of old,
"Set your son before a man & he shall take you & your sons
For slaves: but set your daughter before a man, & she
Shall make him & his sons & daughters your slaves for ever?'

45.40–I. These places are in the west of London, outside the City: Temple Bar (named after the Knights Templars) was (until 1888) the western gate of the city of London. For *London Stone* (43) see 8.27n.

45.41. *shadow*] The evil self of the female Emanation, as the Spectre is the evil self of the whole personality. (Note that this definition is true of Jerusalem; also in *The Four Zoas* vii. Elsewhere *Shadow* is only another word for *Spectre*.)

45.50ff. This passage is partly allegory. Vala claims that Luvah (the passionate side of personality) is oppressed (or repressed) by Albion, who is under the domination of Urizen, Prince of Reason. Vala, who is the type of Female domination (an enervating domination by means of secret desire, restricted vision, etc.) hates Jerusalem for the freedom of her actions, which she calls sin and harlotry.

- [45] And is this faith? Behold the strife of Albion & Luvah
 56 Is great in the east, their spears of blood rage in the eastern
 heaven.
 Urizen is the champion of Albion, they will slay my Luvah;
 And thou, O harlot daughter! daughter of despair, art all
 This cause of these shakings of my towers on Euphrates.
 60 Here is the House of Albion, & here is thy secluded place,
 And here we have found thy sins, & hence we turn thee forth
 For all to avoid thee, to be astonished at thee for thy sins—
 Because thou art the impurity & the harlot, & thy children
 Children of whoredoms, born for Sacrifice, for the meat & drink
 65 Offering, to sustain the glorious combat & the battle & war,
 That Man may be purified by the death of thy delusions.’

 So saying she her dark threads cast over the trembling river,
 And over the valleys, from the hills of Hertfordshire to the hills
 Of Surrey, across Middlesex & across Albion’s house
 70 Of Eternity; pale stood Albion at his Eastern Gate,

[*Design*]

- Pl.46 Leaning against the pillars, & his disease rose from his skirts;
 (32) Upon the precipice he stood, ready to fall into Non-Entity.

 Los was all astonishment & terror. He trembled, sitting on
 the Stone
 Of London. But the interiors of Albion’s fibres & nerves
 were hidden
 5 From Los; astonished he beheld only the petrified surfaces,
 And saw his furnaces in ruins, for Los is the Demon of the
 Furnaces;
 He saw also the Four Points of Albion reversed inwards.
 He seized his hammer & tongs, his iron poker & his bellows,
 Upon the valleys of Middlesex, shouting loud for aid Divine.
 10 In stern defiance came from Albion’s bosom Hand, Hyle,
 Koban,
 Gwantok, Peachy, Brerton, Slaid, Huttin, Skofeld, Kox, Kotope,

45. *Design*: Two female figures supine; Vala holding the end of a thread with which she has wound a net round Jerusalem’s body.

46.2. *precipice*] i.e. upon the verge of Ulro, ready to fall into ultimate Chaos. This recalls 35.11–16 and 39.1–4.

46.6–12. Los sees that he has neglected his work; Albion is in complete disorder, and Los cannot see into his heart. The page is a notable example of B.’s use of disparate images together – the Furnace, the compass points, the couch, and the Druid temples.

- [46] Bowen, Albion's sons. They bore him a golden couch into the porch
 And on the couch reposed his limbs, trembling from the bloody field,
 Rearing their Druid Patriarchal rocky Temples around his limbs.
 15 (All things begin & end in Albion's Ancient Druid Rocky Shore.)

[*Design*]

- Pl.47 From Camberwell to Highgate, where the mighty Thames shudders along,
 Where Los's Furnaces stand, where Jerusalem & Vala howl,
 Luvah tore forth from Albion's loins, in fibrous veins, in rivers
 Of blood over Europe—a Vegetating Root in grinding pain,
 5 Animating the Dragon Temples, soon to become that Holy Fiend
 The Wicker Man of Scandinavia, in which cruelly consumed
 The captives reared to heaven howl in flames among the stars.
 Loud the cries of war on the Rhine & Danube with Albion's sons,
 Away from Beulah's hills & vales break forth the souls of the dead,
 10 With cymbal, trumpet, clarion & the scythed chariots of Britain.

[*Design*]

46.15. So in 27.10, and *Milton* 6.25.

46. *Design*: Most of the plate is taken up by this. Vala, left, draping herself in a black veil (45.47) faces Jerusalem and three children, all nude, centre and right. One child springs and points upwards, the others cling to Jerusalem. Background: right, the Gothic Westminster Abbey; left, the classical St. Paul's.
 47.1. The original first line of this plate was deleted: 'When Albion uttered his last words, Hope is banished from me' (as at 24.60). The last line of this plate is similar, B. may once have had some other arrangements of plates in mind, but the reason for the erasure was probably rhetorical.

Camberwell, Highgate] From north to south of London; see map, p. 649.

47.3–9. These lines echo the *Preface* poem, 27.59–70, substituting Luvah for Satan, but the similarity is clear. B. here relates suppressed sexual passion to war – cp. 44.38–9, where it is also related to priestly religion.

47.5–6. The false spirit of priestly religion gets abroad, first producing the Druid Temples, then the cruelty of such human sacrifice (see 38.65 and *Milton* 37.11n). This was a Druid ritual, not Scandinavian.

47.8. Neither Austerlitz nor Jena, Napoleon's two great victories of 1805 and 1806, is on the Danube or the Rhine; but they carried him through Austria and Germany, lands associated with those rivers.

47.10. *the scythed chariots*] A historically inaccurate detail that 'every schoolboy knows'.

47. *Design* (most of the plate): Three writhing figures, one male and two female (cp. 6–8).

[47] And the Veil of Vala is composed of the Spectres of the Dead.

Hark, the mingling cries of Luvah with the sons of Albion!
Hark & record the terrible wonder; that the Punisher
Mingles with his victim's Spectre, enslaved & tormented

15 To him whom he has murdered, bound in vengeance &
 enmity
Shudder not, but Write, & the hand of God will assist you.
Therefore I write Albion's last words: 'Hope is banished
 from me'.

Pl.48 These were his last words, & the merciful Saviour in his arms
Received him, in the arms of tender mercy, and reposed
The pale limbs of his Eternal Individuality
Upon the Rock of Ages. Then, surrounded with a cloud,
5 In silence the Divine Lord builded with immortal labour
Of gold & jewels a sublime ornament, a Couch of repose,
With sixteen pillars, canopied with emblems & written verse.
Spiritual verse, ordered & measured, from whence time shall
 reveal.
The Five Books of the Decalogue, the books of Joshua & Judges,
10 Samuel, a double book, & Kings, a double book, the Psalms
 & Prophets,
The fourfold Gospel, and the Revelations everlasting.
Eternity groaned & was troubled at the image of Eternal
 Death!

Beneath the bottoms of the graves, which is earth's central joint,

47.11. *the Dead*] Usually B. means 'the spiritually dead', and so here refers to the Veil or binding force of Vala felt through the influence of evil men (as in *Four Zoas* viii-ix). It may simply mean in addition 'the victims of war': Vala's power is made up of the evil natures (spectres) of the dead, who, instead of living for good, die and are turned to her account.

47.13-15. The punisher is infected with the violence he punishes.

47.16-17. I] B.'s voice; Albion's words were deleted from the head of this page (see line 1n), but occur at 24.60. The capital letter of *Write* (16) expresses the force of the demand. The *Hope* Albion cannot believe in is the forgiveness that will bring revival. B. takes his idiom from the post-Wesleyan evangelists, but his theology of Mutual Forgiveness as a driving power, not merely a gift, is very different from theirs.

Pl.48. See headnote, p. 710, for the importance of this plate. It is a kind of elegy for Albion, an imaginative picture of the state of the British nation dead to the Imagination, and of those who care for Albion. This is B. in a gentle tenderness he rarely displays.

48.8. *Spiritual Verse*] The Bible (as Poetry, not Law), listing only the books approved by Swedenborg.

48.13. Beulah is located at the 'joint' of the Earth and Eden, and of Ulro and Eden: Eden may be reached from either place by way of Beulah.

- [48] There is a place where Contrarieties are equally true
 15 (To protect from the Giant blows in the sports of intellect,
 Thunder in the midst of kindness, & love that kills its beloved:
 Because Death is for a period, and they renew tenfold).
 From this sweet Place Maternal Love awoke Jerusalem.
 With pangs she forsook Beulah's pleasant lovely shadowy
 Universe
 20 Where no dispute can come, created for those who Sleep.
- Weeping was in all Beulah, & all the Daughters of Beulah
 Wept for their sister the Daughter of Albion, Jerusalem:
 When out of Beulah the Emanation of the sleeper descended
 With solemn mourning out of Beulah's moony shades & hills
 25 Within the Human heart, whose gates closed with solemn
 sound.
- And this the manner of the terrible Separation:
 The Emanations of the grievously afflicted Friends of Albion
 Concentre in one Female form, an Aged pensive Woman.
 Astonished, lovely, embracing the sublime shade, the
 Daughters of Beulah
 30 Beheld her with wonder. With awful hands she took
 A Moment of Time, drawing it out with many tears &
 afflictions
 And many sorrows oblique across the Atlantic Vale

48.14. So in *Milton* 30.1.

48.18–20] Jerusalem, as an Emanation, would have a 'second home' in Beulah, and still be a part of Albion; but, with Albion comatose, she cannot stay there. It is a place for the weary to rest, not for mature living.

48.26. *Separation*] In 47–59, Jerusalem breaks away from Albion; she cannot live united with him in his deathly sleep. She will be a lost spirit until Albion at last awakes, 'unless a refuge can be found' (58) 'to give a Place for Redemption' (63). This is a personal disintegration of Albion that may be healed only by reunion at last, in pls.96 (q.v. design) and 97.

48.28ff. *Aged pensive Woman*] This is Erin (50.22), who creates a rainbow – beauty in ashes – in defiance of the ugliness which is overwhelming Albion and his Friends. That she can, with endless labour, expand into infinity whatever small goodness and beauty the corrupted world presents, is an act of Divine Mercy, like the first rainbow (*Genesis* ix 13), symbolizing God's faithfulness in the face of all terror, and a theme beloved of B.: see 'Auguries of Innocence', p. 612.

48.30–41. Cp. *Four Zoas* i 158–62, and also *Milton* 28.46ff.

48.32–33. *Atlantic Vale . . . Rephaim*] For the Atlantic, see 38.68–70 and *n*; 39.13–16. The Atlantic is the gulf that separates Albion from the west, America, land of freedom; B. senses Rephaim, a valley S. of Jerusalem associated with the Philistines (see *Milton* pl.19.40*n*) as a similar gulf, a spiritual threat. *Isaiah* (xvii 4–5) warns that Assyria will harvest Israel 'as he that gathereth ears [of corn] in the valley of Rephaim'; but in B.'s Eden, it bears a rich harvest. So Erin makes beauty in a place of death.

- [48] (Which is the Vale of Rephaim dreadful from east to west,
Where the Human harvest waves abundant in the beams of
Eden),
35 Into a Rainbow of jewels and gold, a mild Reflection from
Albion's dread Tomb, eight thousand and five hundred years
In its extension (every two hundred years has a door to Eden).
She also took an Atom of Space, with dire pain opening it a
centre
Into Beulah; trembling the Daughters of Beulah dried
40 Her tears. She ardent embraced her sorrows, occupied in
labours
Of sublime Mercy in Rephaim's vale. Perusing Albion's Tomb
She sat; she walked among the ornaments solemn mourning.
The Daughters attended her shudderings, wiping the death-sweat.
Los also saw her in his Seventh Furnace, he also terrified
45 Saw the finger of God go forth upon his Seventh Furnace,
Away from the Starry Wheels to prepare Jerusalem a place
When with a dreadful groan the Emanation mild of Albion
Burst from his bosom in the tomb like a pale snowy cloud,
Female & lovely, struggling to put off the Human Form,
50 Writhing in pain. The Daughters of Beulah in kind arms
received
Jerusalem, weeping over her among the Spaces of Erin,
In the Ends of Beulah, where the Dead wail night & day.
And thus Erin spoke to the daughters of Beulah, in soft tears:
'Albion the Vortex of the Dead, Albion the generous,
55 Albion the mildest Son of Heaven, the Place of Holy Sacrifice,

48.42. *ornaments*] See line 6.

48.47. The 'Separation' prepared since line 26, must come, but with terrible pain of parting for Jerusalem. The Daughters of Beulah 'receive' her – a word B. uses when they give care to lost souls.

48.52 *Ends*] The distant borders, perhaps closer to the pains of life and death than the rest of Beulah, who will not hear the wailing.

48.53ff. *Erin spoke*] This unbroken lament, 110 lines long, (though pl.50 is in a different script), is a passionate expression of B.'s feeling. Characteristically, meta-physical constructs, politics, sexual customs, biblical allusions, all interact, but do not lessen the power. The many capital initials, for once, show no signs of being randomly placed, but distinguish the concepts, positive and negative, that are most important to B.

It divides thus: 48.6–44, lament; 48.45–59, hope; 48.59–49.74, States of Satanic Error; 49.75–50.17, an appeal for help in saving Jerusalem.

48.54. *Vortex of the Dead*] For *Vortex* see *Milton* 15.22n: The 'traveller through eternity' passes through the centre of a vortex into a different world (in modern terms, makes a 'quantum leap'); Erin says that Albion will now become such a vortex, despatching souls into a cruel world, so foretelling the horrors and chaos of ch. 3.

- [48] Where friends die for each other!—will become the place
Of Murder, & Unforgiving, Never-awaking Sacrifice of
Enemies.
The Children must be sacrificed! (a horror never known
Till now in Beulah), unless a Refuge can be found
60 To hide them from the wrath of Albion's Law that freezes sore
Upon his Sons & Daughters, self-exiled from his bosom.
Draw ye Jerusalem away from Albion's mountains:
To give a Place for Redemption. Let Sihon and Og
Remove eastward to Bashan & Gilead, and leave

Pl.49 [Marginal Design]

- The secret coverts of Albion & the hidden places of America.
Jerusalem, Jerusalem! why wilt thou turn away?
Come ye, O Daughters of Beulah, lament for Og & Sihon
Upon the lakes of Ireland from Rathlin to Baltimore;
5 Stand ye upon the Dargle from Wicklow to Drogheda;
Come & mourn over Albion, the White Cliff of the Atlantic,
The Mountain of Giants. All the Giants of Albion are become
Weak! withered! darkened! & Jerusalem is cast forth from
Albion.
They deny that they ever knew Jerusalem, or ever dwelt in
Shiloh.

48.58. *The Children*] Albion's – the creations of his infinite life will be lost if he is lost. Cp. 15.34*n*.

48.63. SIHON and OG] Amorite kings, of Heshbon and Bashan east of Jordan, respectively, in turn resisting and defeated by the Israelites on their way to cross the Jordan (*Numbers* xxi 21–35). These were regarded as famous victories, and recounted again several times in *Deuteronomy* ii–iii, *Joshua*, *Judges* and elsewhere. Og was the last of 'the remnant of the giants' or Rephaim (*Joshua* xiii 12). Erin sends Sihon and Og to their biblical lands in or near Bashan and Gilead, east of Jordan.

Anak (See 49.56) is often associated with Og: they were a tribe of giants (*Numbers* xiii 33) who did live west of Jordan, in the hill country of Hebron, south of Jerusalem, and were wiped out by Joshua in one of his campaigns. Goliath, however, may have been of the tribe of survivors in the region of Gath. The trend of these lines is: Let the evil ones leave the land where holiness should reign.

49. *Marginal Design*: A tree winds up the left margin; a male figure stands under its branches, looking upwards.

49.4–5. *Rathlin, Baltimore, Dargle, Wicklow, Drogheda*] As if to say, 'All Ireland, lament!' *Rathlin* is an island off the extreme north-east of Ireland, *Baltimore* a town on the far south-west coast; the *Dargle* is a river near Dublin. *Wicklow* and *Drogheda* are on the east coast of Ireland, some distance north and south respectively of Dublin. Thus B. makes a circuit of Ireland.

49.9. Jerusalem and Shiloh were the two major holy cities of Israel. See line 48, 63.6*n*, and *Four Zoas* i 191*n*.

- [49] 10 The gigantic roots & twigs of the vegetating Sons of Albion,
 Filled with the little ones, are consumed in the Fires of their
 Altars.
 The vegetating Cities are burned & consumed from the Earth;
 And the Bodies in which all Animals & Vegetations, the
 Earth & Heaven
 Were contained in the All-Glorious Imagination are withered
 & darkened;
- 15 The golden Gate of Havilah, and all the Garden of God,
 Was caught up with the Sun in one day of fury and war.
 The Lungs, the Heart, the Liver shrunk away far distant from
 Man
 And left a little slimy substance floating upon the tides.
 In one night the Atlantic Continent was caught up with the
 Moon,
- 20 And became an opaque globe far distant, clad with moony beams.
 The Visions of Eternity, by reason of narrowed Perceptions,
 Are become weak visions of Time & Space, fixed into
 furrows of death,
 Till deep dissimulation is the only defence an honest man has
 left.
 O Polypus of Death! O Spectre over Europe and Asia!
- 25 Withering the Human Form by Laws of Sacrifice for Sin.
 By Laws of Chastity & Abhorrence I am withered up,
 Striving to create a Heaven in which all shall be pure & holy
 In their own Selfhoods, in Natural Selfish Chastity, to banish
 Pity
 And dear Mutual Forgiveness, & to become One Great Satan,
- 30 Enslaved to the most powerful Selfhood, to murder the
 Divine Humanity,
 In whose sight all are as the dust, & who chargeth his angels
 with folly.

49.10-11. Another reference to the 'Wicker Man' (47.5-6n).

49.15. *Havilah*] Cp. 19.42n; Havilah is in Paradise. B. begins another story, invented for this passage and not a part of a wider myth, of catastrophe at the time of the Fall.

49.23. Cp. the annotation to Watson's *Apology for the Bible*: 'To defend the Bible in this year 1798 would cost a man his life.' Clearly a personal thought from B.'s own experience. His political and social conscience was alive, yet to be a confessed radical was to be in serious danger. Even in private life he had to pretend to be more grateful to Hayley than he really felt, and disguise his real feelings in the figure of Hyle.

49.26. I] Erin is the speaker. But in the following line she refers to fallen beings who seek to establish a moral law.

49.31. This refers to Satan, not the Divine Humanity.

- [49] Ah, weak & wide astray! Ah, shut in narrow doleful form!
Creeping in reptile flesh upon the bosom of the ground!
The Eye of Man, a little narrow orb, closed up & dark,
35 Scarcely beholding the Great Light, conversing with the ground:
The Ear, a little shell, in small volutions shutting out
True Harmonies, & comprehending great as very small;
The Nostrils, bent down to the earth & closed with senseless
flesh,
That odours cannot them expand, nor Joy on them exult;
40 The Tongue, a little moisture fills, a little food it cloy,
A little sound it utters, & its cries are faintly heard.
Therefore they are removed; therefore they have taken root
In Egypt & Philistia, in Moab & Edom & Aram,
In the Erythrean Sea their Uncircumcision in Heart & Loins
45 Be lost for ever & ever. Then they shall arise from Self
By Self-Annihilation, into Jerusalem's Courts & into Shiloh,
Shiloh the Masculine Emanation among the Flowers of Beulah.
Lo! Shiloh dwells over France, as Jerusalem dwells over
Albion—
Build & prepare a Wall & Curtain for America's shore.
50 Rush on! Rush on! Rush on! ye vegetating sons of Albion!
The Sun shall go before you in Day, the Moon shall go
Before you in Night. Come on! Come on! Come on! The Lord
Jehovah is before, behind, above, beneath, around.
He has builded the arches of Albion's Tomb, binding the Stars
55 In merciful Order, bending the Laws of Cruelty to Peace.

49.32–41. These lines, in a somewhat different form, recur in the latest *Milton* plate, 5.19–26, p. 513 above.

49.42. *they*] The fallen Sons, 'Giants of Albion' – 'including Sihon and Og, who are variously referred to in this passage. In spite of their diversity they are all names for children of the Eternal Man, Albion.

49.43. Albion's children have left the Holy Land and gone to the homes of its enemies. Apart from the episode of the Israelites in Egypt, the Old Testament is full of complaints that they were prone to 'follow' the gods of these tribes.

49.44. *Erythrean*] The Red Sea: 'May their Error be swallowed up as the armies of Pharaoh were lost in the Red Sea'.

49.47. A *Masculine Emanation* is unusual. Perhaps B. means to say that Jerusalem and Shiloh, though enemies, should really be complementary to one another. At the time of writing, France and Britain, traditional enemies for a century, were locked in an apparently endless war. So also were Judea and Israel divided: but B. insists that such enmity among families is devilish.

49.49–55. Whatever the 'vegetating Sons' may try to do, Jehovah will continue his redeeming work unperturbed. The call to 'come on!' is partly ironical, and partly to bring the rebels back to God's mercy in the end.

49.51. *The Sun shall go before you*] A conflation of the images of pillars of fire and smoke that led Moses across the desert, with a verbal reminiscence of *Psalms* cxxi 6: 'The sun shall not smite thee by day, neither the moon by night.'

- [49] He hath placed Og & Anak, the giants of Albion, for their guards,
Building the Body of Moses in the valley of Peor, the Body
Of Divine Analogy: and Og & Sihon, in the tears of Balaam
The son of Beor, have given their power to Joshua & Caleb.
- 60 Remove from Albion, far remove these terrible Surfaces:
They are beginning to form Heavens & Hells in immense
Circles, the Hells for food to the Heavens, food of torment,
Food of despair: they drink the condemned Soul & rejoice
In cruel holiness in their Heavens of Chastity &
Uncircumcision.
- 65 Yet they are blameless, & Iniquity must be imputed only
To the State they are entered into that they may be delivered.
Satan is the State of Death, & not a Human existence,
But Luvah is named Satan, because he has entered that State—
A World where Man is by Nature the Enemy of Man—
- 70 Because the Evil is Created into a State, that Men
May be delivered time after time evermore. Amen.
Learn therefore, O Sisters, to distinguish the Eternal Human
That walks about among the stones of fire, in bliss & woe
Alternate, from those States or Worlds in which the Spirit
travels.
- 75 This is the only means to Forgiveness of Enemies.
Therefore remove from Albion these terrible Surfaces,
And let wild seas & rocks close up Jerusalem away from
- Pl.50 The Atlantic Mountains where Giants dwelt in Intellect—
Now given to stony Druids, and Allegoric Generation,
To the Twelve Gods of Asia, the Spectres of those who
Sleep,
Swayed by a Providence opposed to the Divine Lord Jesus.

49.56–59. The giants *Og*, *Sihon* and *Anak*, and the armies of Balak, *Balaam's* master, who all tried to bar the Israelites' way to Canaan, are all used by Jehovah, who gives their power to his own helpers.

49.58–9. *Balaam* was *son of Beor*; for him, and *Joshua and Caleb*, see 38.37, 39nn: Joshua's name was originally *Oshea*. Balaam is nowhere in the Bible said to weep.

49.60. *terrible Surfaces*] Either the 'opaque globes' of 20, or the eye, ear, nostrils, and tongue of 34–41.

49.65–71. For STATES, and the distinction, very important to B., between personal blame and the fault of the 'State', see 31.13n.

49.68. *Luvah* is mentioned because, in 44.39 and 47.3 he is said to have conquered Albion.

50.2. *Allegoric Generation*] 'Allegory' signifies 'a lie' to B.

50.3. *the Twelve Gods of Asia*] Listed in *Milton* 37.20ff.

50.4. i.e. a god is worshipped who is called Providence; but this god 'Provides' for one creature only at the expense of another.

- [50] A murderous Providence, a Creation that groans, living in death.
 6 Where Fish & Bird & Beast & Man & Tree & Metal & Stone
 Live by Devouring, going into Eternal Death continually.
 Albion is now possessed by the War of Blood! the Sacrifice
 Of envy Albion is become, & his Emanation cast out.
 10 Come, Lord Jesus, Lamb of God, descend! for if, O Lord,
 If thou hadst been here, our brother Albion had not died.
 Arise, sisters! Go ye & meet the Lord, while I remain—
 Behold the foggy mornings of the Dead on Albion's cliffs!
 Ye know that if the Emanation remains in them,
 15 She will become an Eternal Death, an Avenger of Sin,
 A Self-righteousness—the proud Virgin-Harlot, Mother of War!
 And we also, & all Beulah, consume beneath Albion's curse.⁷

So Erin spoke to the daughters of Beulah. Shuddering,
 With their wings they sat in the Furnace, in a night
 20 Of stars; for all the sons of Albion appeared distant stars,
 Ascending and descending into Albion's sea of death.
 And Erin's lovely bow enclosed the wheels of Albion's sons.

Expanding on wing, the daughters of Beulah replied in sweet
 response:

- 'Come, O thou Lamb of God, and take away the
 remembrance of Sin.
 25 To Sin & to hide the Sin in sweet deceit is lovely!!
 To Sin in the open face of day is cruel & pitiless. But
 To record the Sin for a reproach, to let the Sun go down

50.5. In *Romans* viii 22 'the whole creation groaneth', but Paul's image is of child-birth, 'travailing in pain . . . for the redemption of the body'.

50.10. *Come, Lord Jesus!*] From *Revelation* xxii 20; the descent of the Lamb is the subject of *Revelation* xxi–xxii.

50.11. So, at the end of *The Four Zoas* iv, and as in the story of Lazarus in *John* xi from which the cry is derived, the sisters call on Jesus when no hope seems possible. Line 12 recalls that when Jesus arrived after Lazarus' death, Mary stayed at home while Martha and the mourners went out.

50.12–17. The necessity for Jerusalem, Albion's Emanation, to leave his comatose body may echo the soul's leaving the body at death; but in B.'s scheme it is necessary for her own survival, and therefore ultimately for Albion's. See 48.26, 47ff. Line 16 describes Rahab, the 'State' into which Jerusalem might fall (see 80.51*n*). 50.22. *Erin's lovely bow*] Cp. 48.35: shown in the design on pl.14, without the wheels, which appear in a design on pl.22 closely resembling 23.

50.25. the !! is B.'s.

50.27–8. *to let the Sun . . . of the Sin*] Cp. *Ephesians* iv 26: 'Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath' (that is, do not be afraid of anger, but do not keep it burning; resolve it before you sleep). The source of the idea, and the phrase, is *Deuteronomy* xxvi 14–15: 'Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant . . . At his day thou shalt give him his hire, neither shall the sun go down upon it'.

- [50] In a remembrance of the Sin, is a Woe & a Horror,
 A brooder of an Evil Day, and a Sun rising in blood.
 30 Come then, O Lamb of God, and take away the
 Remembrance of Sin!

End of Chapter the Second

[*Design*]

Pl.51

[*Full-Page Design*]

Chapter 3

The Preface of chapter 3 is addressed ‘To the Deists’, and this chapter contains many references to deism and rationalism – in B.’s eyes, the greatest evil of his time. However, it is not an exclusively ‘anti-deist’ chapter. There is much material that might be thought to belong to ch. 2, dedicated ‘To the Jews’ – such as the account of Jerusalem’s Sons in pl.74, and the origin of the tribes of Israel.

Chapter 3 fulfils the forecast of 48.56–7, moving sporadically from the collapse of Albion in ch. 2 to the enslavement of Jerusalem (75.1). The various narrative passages do not follow a recognizable ‘plot’; they are mingled with reflective and expository passages, so as to break any continuous thread; B.’s purpose here is not primarily to tell a story, but, by a series of tableaux, of the days when the giants strode across the land, to display the state of evil into which Albion has fallen; to show the nature of that evil, and to show also the nature of the hope that remains over it all.

B. wishes to present as many aspects of the fallen Albion as he can, not a single panorama. The result is a series of discrete passages, of various kinds: (a) specifically narrative passages; (b) episodes, such as the conversation of Jerusalem with the Divine Voice (60.5–62.30); (c) passages setting out relationships, either in Eternity or in the fallen world, such as the assignment of the heavenly Albion to the Sons (of Albion before the fall (71.1–55) (d) passages picturing various figures, such as Hand, to reveal their inner nature (70.1–16).

50. *Design*: On Albion’s wave-swept cliffs (50.13) against moon, comet and planet, over a lightning-struck sea, the three-headed figure of Hand (70.4); a chain of figures emerges from his breast and writhes in the sky above him.

51. *Full-Page Design*: L, a gowned and crowned female with a fleur-de-lys sceptre, on a stone throne, head bent. Centre, a seated male figure, head down between his knees. R, a chained nude male, surrounded by flames, walks away. All are despondent: Gilchrist (ch. xxi) suggested that ‘Vala’ and Hayley are dejected at the discomfiture of Schofield (the chained figure) at B.’s trial, when the court failed to lead B. off in chains.

There are two major sequences: (i) 60.5–62.30. The Divine Vision, named as Jesus, reveals to Jerusalem the nature of redeeming Forgiveness. (ii) 62.30–68.70. The enemies of Vision spread over the land of Albion in an orgy of bloody sacrifice, building Stonehenge, which incorporates all their errors and fixes them in their worship for all Time.

The narrative passages: (i) Albion falls into his Spectre's power (54.6–32, 57.12–16). Thereafter Albion, and his representatives (his 'Sons' and 'Daughters') are 'spectrous' beings, entirely given over to evil. The true Albion is asleep as if dead. (ii) In the unfallen state, Albion and the land of Israel (Canaan) were one (see pl.27); now they divide (63.41–4). Jerusalem is separated from Albion and, as in the Bible, carried captive to Babylon – here, imprisoned by Rahab, the evil power controlling Vala. (In ch. 1, Vala turned on her sister Jerusalem and caused Albion to drive her away.) Rahab–Vala now gains control over Albion (64.25). (iii) The fate of the children of Albion and Jerusalem, now enslaved by Vala. In eternity they were the same; in the division of Albion and Canaan they too are divided, into children of Albion and of Jerusalem. The latter are born on earth as the twelve tribes of Israel (74.31–57).

Pl.52		
<i>Rahab is an</i>	To the Deists	<i>The Spiritual States of the soul are all Eternal. Distinguish between the Man, & his present State.</i>
<i>Eternal State</i>		
}		

He never can be a Friend to the Human Race who is the preacher of Natural Morality or Natural Religion. He is a flatterer who means to betray, to perpetuate Tyrant Pride & the Laws of that Babylon which he foresees shall shortly be

52. Heading. *States*] See 31.13n. *Deists*] Deism was a set of ideas, a rationalization of religion, popular among free-thinkers, both Christian and agnostic, in the early eighteenth century. Its chief features were its including all the creeds as variants of a single more general one, its rationalizing of the supernatural, and its acceptance of a Creator, but excluding revelation, on the hypothesis that the universe, organized as it is, was planned and set in motion by some Being, who, however, need not necessarily be deeply concerned with, or concern, man further. B. rejects the rationalism, the exclusion of the wonderful from creation, and the basic assumption that knowledge of this material world, and that derived through it, is all the knowledge there can be – an attitude denying the Eternal World of B.'s Imagination.

52.2. *Natural*] Since the rationalist would not accept morality as divinely ordained, he claimed that it was inborn in man, a natural element in him. To be moral, therefore, was only to fulfil his own higher nature. But nature, says B. (in the Platonic tradition) is only a distorted reflection of eternal, supernatural reality.

52.4. *he foresees*] In spite of himself, the deist feels these things instinctively. What follows is nothing like genuine deist thought.

[52.] destroyed, with the Spiritual and not the Natural Sword. He
 6 is in the State named Rahab: which State must be put off before
 he can be the Friend of Man.

You, O Deists, profess yourselves the Enemies of
 Christianity: and you are so: you are also the Enemies of the
 10 Human Race & of Universal Nature. Man is born a Spectre
 or Satan & is altogether an Evil, & requires a New Selfhood
 continually, & must continually be changed into his direct
 Contrary. But your Greek Philosophy (which is a remnant of
 Druidism) teaches that Man is Righteous in his Vegetated
 15 Spectre – an Opinion of fatal & accursed consequence to
 Man, as the Ancients saw plainly by Revelation to the entire
 abrogation of Experimental Theory; and many believed what
 they saw, and Prophesied of Jesus.

Man must & will have some Religion. If he has not the
 20 Religion of Jesus, he will have the Religion of Satan, & will
 erect the Synagogue of Satan, calling the Prince of this World
 ‘God’; and destroying all who do not worship Satan under the
 Name of God. Will any one say: ‘Where are those who wor-
 ship Satan under the Name of God?’ Where are they? Listen!
 25 Every Religion that preaches Vengeance for Sin is the
 Religion of the Enemy & Avenger, and not of the Forgiver

52.6. *Rahab*] See *Four Zoas* viii 267n: here B. means that the deist has fallen into the sin of deluding men into accepting this material life and form, and its fulfilments and pleasures, as ultimate. Cp. 90.63–6.

52.8–9. *Enemies of Christianity*] Most Deists claimed to be Improvers of Christianity. B.’s copious use of capitals (largely followed here) marks his exasperation.

52.9–10. *Enemies of . . . Universal Nature*] The very principle of which they would claim to be friends; their vision of the universe is too narrow.

52.10–12. *born a Spectre . . . a new Selfhood continually*] All this world is a shadow; man born into it is only a false shadow of his true nature in Eternity. In the next lines B. reiterates his belief that continual change, endless struggling towards new ideals, themselves constantly changing, is essential in this world if one is not to be petrified into a dead, rigid nature, ‘good’ only to a false and legalistic morality: see ‘Continual Creation’, *Milton* 11. 20n. What is ‘good’ now will not be ‘good’ in the future; man must change – sometimes even to something quite different – his ‘Direct Contrary’ (see 10.7n).

52.13. *Greek philosophy*] Like all ancient wisdom, it has for B. its supposed source in druidism: see 27.2n.

52.14–15. *Vegetated Spectre*] His limited existence in this vegetated world.

52.25. *Vengeance for Sin*] The doctrine of a God who punishes sin is, for B., the religion of Satan and the negation of Christianity. Satan, in his traditional role of luring people into wickedness (as he lured Faust), is not the enemy of righteousness, but its exploiter. He is the Satan of *Job*, the tempter and accuser who tries to push Job into sin so that Satan may be justified. Like Urizen, whom in *Jerusalem* he has replaced, Satan uses Law to enforce righteousness, creating the

[52] of Sin; and their God is Satan, named by the Divine Name. Your Religion, O Deists, 'Deism', is the worship of the God of this World by the means of what you call Natural
 30 Religion and Natural Philosophy, and of Natural Morality or Self-righteousness, the Selfish Virtues of the Natural heart. This was the Religion of the Pharisees who murdered Jesus. Deism is the same & ends in the same.

Voltaire, Rousseau, Gibbon, Hume charge the Spiritually
 35 Religious with Hypocrisy. But how a Monk, or a Methodist either, can be a Hypocrite, I cannot conceive. We are men of like passions with others & pretend not to be holier than others. Therefore, when a Religious man falls into Sin, he ought not to be called a Hypocrite: this title is more properly to be
 40 given to a Player who falls into Sin, whose profession is Virtue & Morality & the making men Self-righteous. Foote in calling Whitefield 'hypocrite' was himself one; for Whitefield pretended not to be holier than others: but confessed his Sins before all the world. Voltaire, Rousseau, you cannot escape
 45 my charge that you are Pharisees & Hypocrites, for you are constantly talking of the Virtues of the Human heart, and particularly of your own, that you may accuse others & especially the Religious, whose errors you, by this display of pretended Virtue, chiefly design to expose. Rousseau thought Men Good

artificial category of Sin, which requires and excuses punishment. Satan's pleasure is in power, and in receiving sacrifices for Sin – a major theme of ch. 3. The resolution of evil, according to B., can only come through free reconciliation, which requires mutual forgiveness, the constant theme of his latest works. See *Gates of Paradise* [*Prologue* and *Epilogue*, n, pp. 891, 894].

52.34. *Voltaire, Rousseau, Gibbon, Hume*] All rationalists, though of very differing complexions. B.'s generalization is very unsubtle; Neither Voltaire nor Hume would have approved being linked with Rousseau. 'Voltaire . . . was as intolerant as an Inquisitor' (*VLJ* 86).

52.36. *We*] B. associates himself with monks and Methodists.

52.40. *Player*] B. makes a bilingual pun: 'Hypocrite' derives from the Greek word for actor. B. disliked theatre: 37.29, 'as at a tragic scene / The soul drinks murder and revenge and applauds its own holiness.' The two references together suggest that B. thought that, while drama ought to inculcate virtue by example, its actual effect was to leave the audience 'righteous in their own conceit'.

profession] Another pun, on the senses of 'one's calling' and 'what one professes'. 52.41. *Foote*] (1720–77) wrote *The Minor* (1760), a successful farce satirizing the Methodists, and in particular (and unfairly) George Whitefield (1714–70), the Calvinist Methodist, for his supposed self-interested hypocrisy. Yet B.'s views were entirely at odds with Whitefield's strict adherence to such doctrines as double predestination: cp. *Milton* 7.2–5.

52.49. *Rousseau thought Men Good*] A contrast of Rousseau's theory of the innate goodness of man with the maltreatment he alleged he received from society. (Rousseau would answer that this society was deformed by custom.)

[52] by Nature; he found them Evil & found no friend. Friendship
 51 cannot exist without Forgiveness of Sins continually. The
 book written by Rousseau called his *Confessions* is an apology
 & cloak for his Sin & not a confession.

But you also charge the poor Monks & Religious with being
 55 the causes of War, while you acquit & flatter the Alexanders
 & Caesars, the Louises & Fredericks, who alone are its causes
 & its actors. But the Religion of Jesus, Forgiveness of Sin, can
 never be the cause of a War nor of a single Martyrdom.

Those who Martyr others or who cause war are Deists, but
 60 never can be Forgivers of Sin. The Glory of Christianity is, To
 Conquer by Forgiveness. All the Destruction therefore in
 Christian Europe has arisen from Deism, which is Natural
 Religion.

I saw a Monk of Charlemaine
 65 Arise before my sight;
 I talked with the Grey Monk as we stood
 In beams of infernal light.

Gibbon arose with a lash of steel
 And Voltaire with a racking wheel;
 70 The Schools, in clouds of Learning rolled,
 Arose with War in iron & gold.

‘Thou lazy Monk,’ they sound afar,
 ‘In vain condemning glorious War!’
 And in your cell you shall ever dwell—
 75 Rise, War, & bind him in his cell.’

The blood red ran from the Grey Monk’s side;
 His hands & feet were wounded wide,

52.52 *Confessions*] B.’s opinion, though extreme, is not unsupported, either by
 other critics or by the book itself.

52.56. *Louises and Fredericks*] The expansionist Louis XIV, in particular, but mean-
 ing the whole French monarchy; and Frederick II, ‘the Great’, the aggressive
 Prussian King (r. 1740–86).

52. Poem. There is a draft in the Notebook (see p. 495); and a fair copy of a dif-
 ferent poem, ‘The Grey Monk’, drawn from the same draft, is in the Pickering
 MS, of about 1802–3 (p. 610).

52.64. *of Charlemaine*] i.e. of his time. See 75n. The spelling is B.’s.

54.67. *infernal*] The imagery of B.’s early period, when (as in *Marriage of Heaven
 and Hell*) he maintained the paradox that Hell’s living flames are preferable to
 Heaven’s traditional immobility.

52.68–69. *Gibbon, Voltaire*] Both given to satiric ‘lashing’ of irrationality.

52.72. *lazy*] The MS first reading was: ‘Seditious Monk said Charlemaine’. Thus
 B. first identified himself, in his own dangerous radicalism, with the Monk, and
 Charlemagne with George III; but by the alteration withdrew the point.

- [52] His body bent, his arms and knees
Like to the roots of ancient trees.
- 80 When Satan first the black bow bent
And the Moral Law from the Gospel rent,
He forged the Law into a Sword
And spilled the blood of mercy's Lord.
- Titus, Constantine, Charlemaine!
- 85 O Voltaire, Rousseau, Gibbon! Vain
Your Grecian mocks and Roman sword
Against this image of his Lord.
- For a tear is an Intellectual thing;
And a Sigh is the Sword of an Angel King,
- 90 And the bitter groan of a Martyr's woe
Is an Arrow from the Almighty's Bow!

Pl.53 *Jerusalem: Chap. 3*

[Design]

But Los, who is the Vehicular Form of strong Urthona,
Wept vehemently over Albion where Thames currents spring

52.84. *Titus, Constantine, Charlemaine*] The first two were Roman emperors. *Titus* reigned A.D. 79–81, but has become famous by his destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. *Constantine* (274–337), another successful general, converted to Christianity, and established religious toleration in the Empire. B. prefers to see him as tyrant and politician rather than as religious enthusiast. *Charlemagne*, likewise claimed to uphold Christianity, and became the first emperor of the reorganized Holy Roman Empire of the west. B. sees him and Constantine as warlords rather than as Christian.

52.88. In this stanza the stress is on the power of weakness that cares for others; B. does not merely praise the tear, the sigh, etc.

53. *Design*: The heading shows a triple-crowned female figure (Rahab, or Vala?) enthroned on a sunflower (or, though it is yellow, some sea-anemone, a form of polypus: it rises from the sea), surrounded by mystic signs of moon and stars, but dejected. For 'Melancholy Vala', see 65.37–8.

53.1–29. Pl.53 displays one of the chief themes of *Jerusalem*, As in *Urizen*, Los's task is to guard over the beings fallen out of Eden, to prevent descent into total Non-entity; but B.'s vision is now much more sophisticated. In the *Vegetated* world of *Generation*, Los weeps that he must *Create* – three key words – only to destroy. This world has rejected the fires of Eternity; Los can Create for its inhabitants passing forms of life, yet nothing in it can live, but will only decay into ultimate death, unless continually destroyed and recreated. It is a terrible task, which involves enclosing his friends in the prison of *Generation* – which nevertheless is a mercy (line 27) if they are finally to survive and return to Eden. *Vehicular Form*] As in *The Four Zoas*, Los is the eternal Urthona as he acts in the fallen world of the poem.

- [53] From the rivers of Beulah—pleasant river! soft, mild, parent stream.
 And the roots of Albion's Tree entered the soul of Los
 5 As he sat before his furnaces clothed in sackcloth of hair,
 In gnawing pain, dividing him from his Emanation—
 Enclosing all the Children of Los time after time.
 Their Giant Forms condensing into Nations & Peoples &
 Tongues;
 Translucent the furnaces, of beryl & emerald immortal,
 10 And sevenfold each within other; incomprehensible
 To the Vegetated Mortal Eye's perverted & single vision.
 The bellows are the Animal Lungs, the hammers, the Animal
 Heart;
 The furnaces, the Stomach for digestion. Terrible their fury,
 Like seven burning Heavens ranged from south to north.
 15 Here, on the banks of the Thames, Los builded Golgonooza,
 Outside of the gates of the Human Heart, beneath Beulah
 In the midst of the rocks of the altars of Albion. In fears
 He builded it, in rage & in fury. It is the Spiritual Fourfold
 London—continually building & continually decaying
 desolate.

53.4. *Albion's Tree*] Described in 28.14–19: it is the spreading, rooting Product of Albion's error. Los cannot avoid its effects.

53.8. This line was squeezed into a break, after 7 and 9 were written, but in time to be etched with the rest of the plate.

Their Giant Forms] 'Their forms in vast eternity'. In the ensuing lines, B. tells of the hidden existence of these eternal forms by which Los keeps Vision alive in mortality.

53.9. *Translucent*] Capable of carrying the light of vision and truth.

53.11. 'single vision' sees animal organs as merely physical devices for maintaining life, true vision sees them as imaginative powers. These lines are drawn from *Milton* 24.58–59.

53.15. *builded Golgonooza*] Just outside the closed gates of the human heart, it is maintained in the midst of the dangerous chaos. Building and decay were always evident in B.'s London, as in all great cities.

53.19. CONTINUALLY BUILDING] B. commonly capitalizes three linked words in *Jerusalem*, to mark their importance: *Generation*; *Creation*; these must be *Continual*. The mortal world of *Generation* has no life of its own, and if it is allowed to settle it will decay, petrify, die, and vanish into the void. Therefore Los must continually stir up *Generation*, continually changing and altering it, in the cycle of birth and death, in order that the Divine Mercy may continue to flow through it and keep it alive, ultimately to be awakened into the full life of the Fourfold Vision of Eternity (see 59.7–9). Thus although Mortal life is transient and subject to the ravages of Time, this is part of the mercy of Eternity. (cp. 'Continual Creation', *Milton* 11.20n).

- [53] In eternal labours: loud the furnaces & loud the Anvils
 21 Of Death thunder incessant around the flaming couches of
 The Twenty-four Friends of Albion and round the awful Four
 For the protection of the Twelve Emanations of Albion's Sons
 (The mystic union of the Emanation in the Lord)—because
 25 Man divided from his Emanation is a dark Spectre,
 His Emanation is an ever-weeping melancholy shadow.
 But she is made receptive of Generation through mercy
 In the potter's furnace, among the funeral urns of Beulah,
 From Surrey hills, through Italy and Greece, to Hinnom's vale.
- Pl.54 (In Great Eternity, every particular Form gives forth or
 Emanates
 Its own peculiar Light, & the Form is the Divine Vision;
 And the Light is his garment. This is Jerusalem in every Man,
 A tent & tabernacle of Mutual Forgiveness, male & female
 clothings.
 5 And Jerusalem is called Liberty among the children of Albion.)

53.20–1. *Anvils of Death*] The Vegetated mortal world surrounds and protects the spirit in danger of Non-Entity, by reshaping it each time it decays, keeping it alive by this artificial respiration. B. gives this special meaning to the word *Creation* (usually capitalized) as part of Los's work.

53.23–4. Albion's sons are corrupt and evil; but not in essence; only in their fallen state. One day they may be redeemed and reunited with their Emanations.

53.24. This line is added in the same way as 8, but the brackets are editorial.

53.26–7. In *The Four Zoas*, Enion, separated from Tharmas, becomes a shadow weeping in the void. But the Divine Mercy prevents this, B. says here, by shaping the emanation into an earthly female form, so that she still has life and purpose. Cp. also 42.32–4.

53.28. *potter's furnace . . . funeral urns*] This world is like a pottery, because souls can be reshaped into eternal forms: it is a funeral urn, because here we sleep, dead to eternity but waiting for the resurrection (Cp. 11.2n).

53.29. *Hinnom*] See 37.12n.

54.1–5 form an interjection, perhaps a reflection on the use of the word *Emanation* in the previous lines, but not directly consequent on those lines. Whereas B. there stresses the personality of the Emanation, here it is part of the 'Form' from which it originates.

54.3. *Jerusalem*] Recalling the image of the Bride of Christ; the Emanation is the perfect counterpart for Everyman. Note also *Galatians* iv 26, 54.5n below.

54.4. *tent and tabernacle*] The holy places which accompanied the Israelites wherever they went, and were the source of their strength.

clothings] An emanative garment, as in 3, fitting different personalities and needs.

54.5. *Liberty*] Cherished as the inheritance of Englishmen: but B. believed that liberty was a *lost* Emanation, sought for but not attained by Albion. This line, slightly varied, is inscribed on pl.26. Note also *Galatians* iv 25–6: 'Jerusalem . . . is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all'.

- [54] —But Albion fell down, a rocky fragment from Eternity hurled
By his own Spectre, who is the Reasoning Power in every man,
Into his own Chaos, which is the memory between man & man.

[*Design*]

- The silent broodings of deadly revenge, springing from the
10 All-powerful Parental Affection, fills Albion from head to foot.
Seeing his Sons assimilate with Luvah, bound in the bonds
Of Spiritual Hate, from which springs sexual love as iron
chains,
He tosses like a cloud outstretched among Jerusalem's ruins
Which overspread all the earth; he groans among his ruined
porches.

[*Design*]

- 15 But the Spectre like a hoar-frost & a mildew rose over Albion
Saying: 'I am God, O sons of men! I am your Rational Power!
Am I not Bacon & Newton & Locke who teach humility to
man,
Who teach Doubt & Experiment? And my two wings,
Voltaire, Rousseau?
Where is that Friend of Sinners, that rebel against my Laws
20 Who teaches Belief to the nations, & an unknown Eternal Life?
Come hither into the desert & turn these stones to bread!
Vain foolish man! Wilt thou believe without experiment?

54.6. *Albion fell*] Taken up from 47.17, where Albion had abandoned hope and turned away from Los. So Lucifer fell – but 'hurled' by his own Spectre, not by God; yet, like Milton's Lucifer, he claims to be God. There B. shows the Divine Mercy at work: here he shows Albion's fate as seen by those who cannot see the divine labour. The two visions are simultaneous views, from different angles.

54. *Design*: A flock of birds in the R. margin beside 1–8 reaches across as a line separating 8 and 9.

54.8. *memory*] Unimaginative (as in *Milton*, Preface): the national traditions of Albion are dead memory, not continual imaginative creations.

54.10. *Parental Affection*] See *Four Zoas* v 113n, p. 365.

54.11. *Luvah*] In this chapter, B. develops the theme of Albion's association with Luvah – the figure (taken from *The Four Zoas*) of Luvah-Orc, a cruel demon of passion and lust, whose baleful influence spreads war.

54. *Design*: The rocky world, its edges bordered with flames, surrounded by flying figures pointing upwards, and marked thus, showing the unreconciled opposites which divide this world:

Reason
Pity THIS WORLD Wrath
Desire

54.21. From *Matthew* iv 2–4.

- [54] And build a world of fantasy upon my great abyss,
A world of shapes, in craving lust & devouring appetite?⁷
25 So spoke the hard cold constrictive Spectre: he is named
Arthur,
Constricting into Druid rocks round Canaan, Agag & Aram
& Pharaoh.

Then Albion drew England into his bosom in groans & tears;

54.25. ARTHUR] The semi-mythical king of the Britons, who established a court famed for justice in the dark ages after the fall of the Roman Empire. B. sees him, not as hero, but as war-lord: see 73.36; but in *Descriptive Catalogue* v: 'The Ancient Britons', identifies Arthur with the Albion of Jerusalem:

Arthur was a name for the constellation Arcturus, or Bootes, the Keeper of the North Pole. And all the fables of Arthur and his round table; of the warlike naked Britons; of Merlin; of Arthur's conquest of the whole world; of his death, or sleep, and promise to return again; of the Druid monuments, or temples; of the pavement of Watling-street; of London Stone; of the caverns in Cornwall, Wales, Derbyshire, and Scotland; of the Giants of Ireland and Britain; of the elemental beings, called by us by the general name of Fairies . . . Mr. B. has in his hands poems of the highest antiquity. Adam was a Druid, and Noah; also Abraham was called to succeed the Druidical age, which began to turn allegoric and mental signification into corporeal command, whereby human sacrifice would have depopulated the earth . . . The giant Albion was Patriarch of the Atlantic; he is the Atlas of the Greeks, one of those the Greeks called Titans. The stories of Arthur are the acts of Albion, applied to a Prince of the fifth century, who conquered Europe, and held the Empire of the world in the dark age, which the Romans never again recovered.

The Spectre of Albion is thus seen in Arthur as war-lord (see 73.36), whose deeds, through the common link of the Druids, are seen in biblical wars also. Since Arthur was a British king, he could be associated with the Druids: and his magician-adviser, Merlin (cp. 30.37*n*) is a figure closely resembling the popular notion of an idealized Druid.

54.26. *Canaan . . . Pharaoh*] All enemies of the Israelites at various times. In *Milton* 17.12–20, a similar group of 'rocky masses' are outward representations of the 'cruelties of Ulro'; they also include Aram and Amalek (of which Agag was a king: 1 *Samuel* xv).

54.27. *England* is another form of Albion's Emanation; see 32.28; 94-7,20; 95.22. In their fallen state, they are hostile to one another. The tableau in the following lines presents pictorially the hostile alliance against Albion of Spectre and Emanation: the relationships of 'England' with the combination of Albion's double Emanation, Jerusalem-and-Vala (see 19.40ff); and the constant presence of the Divine Vision. These lines are like a verbal sketch for a Blake design. (Vala is not, in *Jerusalem*, normally Luvah's Emanation, as she is in *Four Zoas* cp. 64.19, where B. makes her Luvah's daughter, thus maintaining a close relationship but permitting her to be Albion's Emanation, sister to Jerusalem.)

54.28–9 *starry night . . . like A long serpent*] Perhaps *Draco*, an insignificant constellation in the northern sky.

- [54] But she stretched out her starry night in Spaces against him,
 like
 A long serpent, in the abyss of the Spectre; which augmented
 30 The night with dragon wings covered with stars; & in the wings
 Jerusalem & Vala appeared; & above, between the wings
 magnificent
 The Divine Vision dimly appeared in clouds of blood, weeping.

[*Design*]

- Pl.55 When those who disregard all Mortal things saw a Mighty One
 Among the flowers of Beulah still retain his awful strength
 They wondered, checking their wild flames. And many gather:
 Together into an Assembly, they said, 'Let us go down
 5 And see these changes!' Others said, 'If you do so, prepare
 For being driven from our fields; what have we to do with
 the Dead?
 To be their inferiors or superiors we equally abhor;
 Superior, none we know; inferior none. All equal share
 Divine benevolence & joy, for the Eternal Man
 10 Walketh among us, calling us his brothers & his friends,
 Forbidding us that Veil which Satan puts between Eve & Adam,
 By which the Princes of the Dead enslave their votaries,
 Teaching them to form the Serpent of precious stones & gold,
 To seize the Sons of Jerusalem & plant them in one man's loins,

54. *Design*: The heads of four figures, thrown back, with tormented expressions, look up at a cloud of insects and bats.

55. This page stands alone; it strongly resembles *Milton* in style and matter. The Assembly of the Eternals choose seven emissaries (30ff), in a process repeated, in each case with variations, from *Four Zoas* viii 377–94 and *Milton* 13.14–25. This series of several viceroys – Elohim, Jehovah, etc. – is sent to control the evil situation in which Man, or Albion, is found – but all prove insufficient, until Christ himself, the Divine Vision, appears. To this, in *Jerusalem*, B. adds, with a tenuous link, the passage about Generalities and Particulars, lines 56–66.

55.1–2. *a Mighty One*] Who? Los? The Divine Vision himself? It is unclear, nor does it seem to matter greatly. Beulah, the place of rest, is clearly disturbed by the appearance of such a majestic being.

55.4. *an Assembly*] In B.'s Eden decisions are made, as with many Dissenting groups, by an Assembly of all inhabitants, not by a delegation; certainly not by a hierarchy, still less by a despot (as in *Milton*'s Heaven).

55.11. *that Veil*] In the first place, the veil of modesty; hence the separation between persons, exploited by those who wish to rule.

55.13. *the Serpent*] Orc, in *Four Zoas* vii, is the slave of war: cp. 96.11–13, and *Milton* 12.29ff. The idiom is biblical, but there is no direct allusion here.

55.14. *one man's loins*] A reference to the belief that the Promise of God was to the seed of Abraham alone, which led to the notion of the Israelites as 'chosen' and the other nations separated as inferior.

- [55] To make One Family of Contraries—that Joseph may be sold
 16 Into Egypt; for Negation, a Veil the Saviour born & dying rends.’
 But others said: ‘Let us to him who only Is, & who
 Walketh among us, give decision. Bring forth all your fires!’
 So saying, an eternal deed was done: in fiery flames
 20 The Universal Concave—such thunderous sounds as
 never
 Were sounded from a mortal cloud, not on Mount Sinai old,
 Nor in Havilah where the cherub rolled his redounding flames,
 Loud! loud! the mountains lifted up their voices, loud the forests!
 Rivers thundered against their banks, loud winds furious
 fought,
 25 Cities & nations contended in fires & clouds & tempests.
 The seas raised up their voices & lifted their hands on high;
 The stars in their courses fought, the sun, moon, heaven,
 earth—
 Contending for Albion, & for Jerusalem his Emanation,
 And for Shiloh, the Emanation of France, & for lovely Vala.
 30 Then far the greatest number were about to make a Separation,
 And they elected seven, called the Seven Eyes of God:
 Lucifer, Molech, Elohim, Shaddai, Pahad, Jehovah, Jesus.
 They named the Eighth; he came not, he hid in Albion’s
 forests.
 But first they said (& their words stood in chariots in array,
 35 Curbing their tigers with golden bits & bridles of silver &
 ivory):

55.15. *One Family*] Only one, instead of the true range of variety which *Contrary* implies.

Joseph] Sold into slavery; later all the Israelites were in bondage – a Negation of human nature, as are all the deeds of ‘the Dead’ in 11–16.

55.20. *Concave*] Cp. *Paradise Lost* i 542: ‘A shout that tore hell’s concave’ – the dome of heaven; and Young, *Paraphrase on . . . Job*, 58: ‘And the wide concave thunder’d with the sound’. Note the Miltonic style of the simile.

55.22. *Havilah*] i.e. at the gate of Paradise, when the angel drove Adam and Eve out. See 19.42*n*.

55.23. B. has seen disputations of eternal spirits in earthly storms.

55.27. *The stars . . . fought*] Taken from Deborah’s gloating triumph-song at the death of Sisera, *Judges* v 20.

55.30. *separation*] Theological dispute within Dissenting denominations (see line 4*n*) not seldom led to formal separations. Here, the assembly agrees to separate itself from the lower worlds that the evil in it could not reach or contaminate their own world.

55.31. *the Seven Eyes*] See *Milton* 14.42*n*; and *Zechariah* iv 10.

55.33. *Eighth*] The eighth, in *Milton* 20.47, is Milton himself, who, as that poem shows, was subdued by Albion’s errors and not fully faithful to his task.

- [55] 'Let the Human Organs be kept in their perfect Integrity,
At will contracting into worms, or expanding into gods,
And then, behold, what are these Ulro visions of Chastity?
Then as the moss upon the tree, or dust upon the plough,
40 Or as the sweat upon the labouring shoulder, or as the chaff
Of the wheat-floor, or as the dregs of the sweet wine-press—
Such are these Ulro visions, for though we sit down within
The ploughed furrow, listening to the weeping clods till we
Contract or expand space at will, or if we raise ourselves
45 Upon the chariots of the morning, contracting or expanding
time,
Every one knows we are one Family: One Man blessed for ever!'
- Silence remained, & every one resumed his Human Majesty.
And many conversed on these things as they laboured at the
furrow,
Saying: 'It is better to prevent misery than to release from misery.
50 It is better to prevent error than to forgive the criminal.
Labour well the Minute Particulars, attend to the little ones,
And those who are in misery cannot remain so long,
If we do but our duty. Labour well the teeming earth.'
- They ploughed in tears; the trumpets sounded before the
golden plough,
55 And the voices of the Living Creatures were heard in the
clouds of Heaven,
Crying: 'Compel the Reasoner to demonstrate with unhewn
Demonstrations;
Let the Indefinite be explored, and let every man be judged
By his own works. Let all Indefinites be thrown into
Demonstrations,
To be pounded to dust & melted in the furnaces of affliction.
60 He who would do good to another must do it in Minute
Particulars;
'General Good' is the plea of the scoundrel, hypocrite &
flatterer.
For Art & Science cannot exist but in minutely organised
Particulars,

55.55. *Living Creatures*] The Four Zoas; but this reference is close to B.'s source, the four creatures who in Ezekiel's vision heralded the approach of God, and in *Revelation* iv surrounded his throne.

55.56. *unhewn*] i.e., crude. Let the error of Albion's deist rationalism be made to show its falsity in practice, and in Human reality; and so condemn itself.

55.62. *Science*] All knowledge – the modern restricted meaning developed later in the nineteenth century.

- [55] And not in generalizing Demonstrations of the Rational Power.
The Infinite alone resides in definite & determinate Identity;
65 Establishment of truth depends on destruction of falsehood
continually—
On Circumcision, not on Virginity, O Reasoners of Albion!’

So cried they at the plough. Albion’s rock frowned above,
And the great Voice of Eternity rolled above, terrible in clouds,
Saying: ‘Who will go forth for us, & who shall we send
before our face?’

- Pl.56 Then Los heaved his thundering bellows on the valley of
Middlesex,
And thus he chaunted his song; the Daughters of Albion reply:
‘What may Man be?—Who can tell? But what may Woman be
To have power over man from cradle to corruptible grave?
5 He who is an infant, and whose cradle is a manger
Knoweth the infant sorrow, whence it came, and where it goeth,
And who weave it a cradle of the grass that withereth away.
This world is all a cradle for the erred wandering phantom,
Rocked by year, month, day & hour, and, every two moments
10 Between, dwells a Daughter of Beulah to feed the Human
Vegetable.
Entune, Daughters of Albion, your hymning chorus mildly!
Cord of affection thrilling ecstatic on the iron reel,
To the golden loom of love, to the moth-laboured woof,
A garment and cradle weaving for the infantine terror,

55.66. *Circumcision*] A symbol of deliberate entry into the chosen society; virginity is an attempt to justify oneself by withdrawal.

55.69. The Seven have already been chosen; but this demand seems to lead to Los, on the next plate, as the one who will obey the Divine Will in the fallen world. This was the voice of God whom Isaiah heard – ‘Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?’ – *Isaiah* vi 8. Yet Los, in pl.56 (which is written in a contrasting hand), seems not to answer the call; B. turns to another of his major themes, the Female Will.

56.1. So at 30.18. From this point, the narrative sequence begins to fail. This plate in particular seems to be an interpolation. It is smaller than usual, and in a different script.

56.3–25. Cp. 30.25–26. Los’s words do not directly answer the call of 55.69, but they are indirectly connected in being a comment on one part of the nature of the fallen Albion. The Eternals had referred to the sexuality of the fallen world (55.11–16); Los appeals to the Daughters of Albion to weave for Albion’s children caught in this mortal world a protective covering of affection and love to protect it from the dark warlike visions of Ulro.

56.12. *the iron reel*] The bobbin winder that collects the thread for the loom.

56.13. They are weaving, as figures are woven into a tapestry, living forms for lost souls to inhabit (see *Four Zoas* viii 44–9).

- [56] For fear, at entering the gate into our world of cruel
 16 Lamentation, it flee back & hide in Non-Entity's dark wild,
 Where dwells the Spectre of Albion, destroyer of Definite
 Form.
 The sun shall be a scythed chariot of Britain; the moon, a ship
 In the British Ocean created by Los's hammer—measured out
 20 Into days & nights & years & months, to travel with my feet
 Over these desolate rocks of Albion! O daughters of despair,
 Rock the cradle, and in mild melodies tell me where found
 What you have enwoven with so much tears & care, so much
 Tender artifice: to laugh, to weep, to learn, to know,
 25 Remember! Recollect! what dark befel in wintry days.'
 'O, it was lost for ever! and we found it not; it came
 And wept at our wintry door. Look! Look! Behold!
 Gwendolen
 Is become a clod of clay! Merlin is a worm of the valley!'
 Then Los uttered with hammer & anvil: 'Chant, revoice!
 30 I mind not your laugh, and your frown I not fear; and
 You must my dictate obey. From your gold-beamed looms,
 trill
 Gentle to Albion's watchman, on Albion's mountains; re-echo
 And rock the cradle while! Ah me! of that Eternal Man,
 And of the cradled infancy in his bowels of compassion,
 35 Who fell beneath his instruments of husbandry & became
 Subservient to the clods of the furrow; the cattle, and even
 The emmet and earthworm are his superiors & his lords.'
 Then the response came warbling from trilling looms in
 Albion:
 'We women tremble at the light; therefore, hiding fearful
 40 The Divine Vision with Curtain & Veil & fleshly Tabernacle.'

56.18. *scythed chariot*] Boadicea was said to go to war in chariots with scythe-blades on the wheels. If the dark vision were to rule, everything, even sun and moon, would be seen only in terms of restricted, war-ridden mortality.

56.22. *where found*] 'What is the source of the material you weave?' but they cannot see that the source is in a wider world than theirs, the infinite world.

56.26. The Daughters of Albion reply: they can only see the mortality of the people round them. They are figures from ancient British history; hence the allusion to Merlin.

56.32. Los, 'Albion's watchman', sees that the Daughters of Albion have no vision of their own, and so he can direct their vision.

56.33. *while*] i.e., 'meanwhile'. 'Re-echo my song (not yours) of that Eternal Man; rocking the cradle meanwhile.'

56.37. *earthworms*] singular except in the last copy, when B. added an *s* by pen.

56.39-40. *Curtain* Cp. 44.34-40n.

- [56] Los uttered, swift as the rattling thunder upon the
mountains:
‘Look back into the Church Paul! Look! Three women
around
The cross! O Albion, why didst thou a Female Will create?’

Pl.57 [Design]

- And the voices of Bath & Canterbury & York &
Edinburgh cry
Over the Plough of Nations in the strong hand of Albion,
thundering along
Among the fires of the Druid & the deep black rethundering
waters
Of the Atlantic, which poured in, impetuous—loud, loud,
louder and louder!
5 And the great voice of the Atlantic howled over the Druid altars,
Weeping over his children in Stonehenge, in Maldon &
Colchester,

56.42. In B.’s own crucifixion picture (pl.76) there are no women, but one man, who is Albion.

the Church Paul] One of the series of twenty-seven ‘Churches’ or religious establishments whose pervading errors have, in series, befogged the history of the world: cp. *Milton* 37.35*n*. As the Church Paul comes between Solomon and Constantine, B. may simply mean ‘the New Testament age’. However, Paul, unlike Jesus, has a reputation for wishing women to keep their place: but B. disliked Paul’s theology for its apparent stress on the cruel God who demanded ransom. Paul, as B. sees him, is caught up in an interpretation of religion which is earth-bound, without Vision; and under the dominion of Tirzah, the ‘mother-figure’. 56.43. *Female Will*] A major theme in ch. 4. B., however radical, had firmly traditional views on the limitations of women.

57. *Design*: The text is set across the middle of a large globe, most of which is thus obliterated. At its top, two cities, York and London, are sketched in; at the bottom, Jerusalem. Above the globe, two nude female figures float (in a kneeling position, perhaps because of the space), their arms and bodies bent as if in a kind of dance: beneath, another female swims or floats in the surrounding abyss. From their hair and fingers threads twist and extend over the background, also scattered with stars.

57.1. This text might run straight on from pl.54, or equally well from pl.55, but certainly not from the end of pl.56. The scene here is a new one – Albion as a ploughman driving away from the Divine Vision. The ploughing on pl.55 is in the hands of the Eternals: when Albion handles the plough, the draught-creatures ‘madden’ and overrun him (13–14). The phrase *Plough of Nations* (2) suggests an allegory of Albion’s desire for international political power.

57.5. *the great voice of the Atlantic*] A devouring, destructive power.

57.6. *Weeping*] The cities, ‘Friends of Albion’ from ch. 2, weep, mourning over the oppression of Albion’s children. They speak 8–11.

- [57] Round the rocky Peak of Derbyshire, London Stone &
Rosamond's bower:

'What is a wife, & what is a harlot? What is a church, & what
Is a theatre? Are they two & not one? Can they exist separate?
10 Are not religion & politics the same thing? Brotherhood is
Religion,
O Demonstrations of Reason, dividing families in cruelty &
pride!'

But Albion fled from the Divine Vision, with the Plough of
Nations enflaming.

The Living Creatures maddened, and Albion fell into the
furrow, and

The plough went over him, & the living was ploughed in
among the dead.

- 15 But his Spectre rose over the starry plough. Albion fled
beneath the plough

Till he came to the Rock of Ages, & he took his seat upon
the Rock.

Wonder seized all in Eternity, to behold the Divine Vision open
The Centre into an Expanse, and the Centre rolled out into
an Expanse.

[*Design*]

- Pl.58 In beauty the Daughters of Albion divide & unite at will.

57.7. *Rosamond's bower*] Rosamond was a famous mistress of King Henry II. Her 'bower' may mean the ruins of the Godstow nunnery near Oxford, where she was said to have retired. B. names a series of places associated with Druids or other ancient religions; London Stone is not otherwise comparable with the Peak in Derbyshire.

57.8–11. True vision takes good wherever it finds it. Institutionalism sets up artificial divisions, identifying good, implying that 'the rest is evil'. Many of the 'unco' guid' condemned theatres, seeing them as (in this sense) 'harlots', and the churches as the 'wives'. Note that B. disliked theatres (37.29), on different grounds: cp. 52.33*n*. However, these lines are an awkward interjection; 12 seems to follow more easily after 7.

57.12. The following lines mark a turning-point: Albion's folly overwhelms him, and only his Spectre remains active.

57.16. *the Rock of Ages*] Where he was laid (48.4).

57.17–18. *The Centre*] The centre of the englobed world, which opens out like a vortex into an outspread world such as we see around us. Cp. *Milton* 15.21*ff* and note, where B. explains this. Here the Divine Vision acts to 'open out' Albion's world even when it is most corrupt.

Plate 58. The scene changes again. We return to the Daughters of Albion – not the bewildered matrons of pl.56, but the cruel sportive females who are their more usual representation. From now on, most of this chapter is concerned with the activity of the evil elements in fallen Albion.

- [58] Naked and drunk with blood, Gwendolen, dancing to the
timbrel
Of war, reeling up the Street of London—she divides in twain
Among the inhabitants of Albion; the people fall around.
5 The Daughters of Albion divide & unite in jealousy & cruelty;
The inhabitants of Albion at the harvest & the vintage
Feel their brain cut round beneath the temples, shrieking,
Bonifying into a skull, the marrow exuding in dismal pain.
They flee over the rocks bonifying; horses, oxen feel the knife.
10 And while the sons of Albion by severe war & judgement
bonify,
The Hermaphroditic Condensations are divided by the knife,
The obdurate forms are cut asunder by jealousy & pity.

[*Design*]

Rational Philosophy and Mathematic Demonstration
Is divided in the intoxications of pleasure & affection;

58.2. Surely a miserable memory of the Gordon Riots.

58.3. *Street*] Perhaps Watling Street, the Roman road which runs through London from south-east to north-west and is its oldest thoroughfare. B. says, in the *Descriptive Catalogue* (quoted in the note on *Arthur* 54.25) that his poetry treats of 'Druid monuments . . . the pavement of Watling-street: of London Stone' (etc.), but in fact Watling Street is not elsewhere mentioned. The scene may be a memory of sights during the Gordon Riots of 1780, which remained long unforgotten.

58.7. Perhaps a reference to the known neolithic (to B., 'Druid') practice of trepanning.

58.8. B. returns to his Creation theme – the conversion of eternal Human forms into mortal 'human' forms. This, in *The Four Zoas* ii, is one of the deeds of Urizen; here it is also an act of mercy in Los, who ensures that the mortal form is 'fixed' in such a way that it retains some reminiscence of eternity. Both Los and Urizen appear in the following lines.

58.11. *Hermaphroditic Condensations*] The eternal human forms have been depraved to a fixity – a condensation – which in eternity they did not have. They are hermaphroditic because they are infertile – neither male nor female, but a useless and monstrous mixture of both.

58. *Design*: A bat-winged figure flying away from the reader. The figure is obscure, but a comparison with the water-colour of the red dragon of *Revelation* xii suggests that this is a larger form of the same figure. G. M. Keynes and most others identify the figure as 'winged (female) pudenda', but, in spite of Keynes's professional distinction as surgeon, I am not persuaded.

58.13–16. *divided*] Contraries should complement one another, but philosophers claim their opinions to be exclusive and true. But Los *fixes* them in 'a World of Generation' to save them from the 'World of Death' (see *Milton* 11.20n).

intoxications] Perhaps the philosophers' 'intoxication' in their themes, but more probably those of the Daughters 'naked and drunk with blood'. This rather obscure passage is somewhat less unclear in the light of the later expansion of the scene on pl.66.

- [58] Two Contraries war against each other in fury & blood,
 16 And Los fixes them on his anvil, incessant his blows.
 He fixes them with strong blows, placing the stones & timbers,
 To Create a World of Generation from the World of Death,
 Dividing the Masculine & Feminine (for the commingling
 20 Of Albion's & Luvah's Spectres was Hermaphroditic).

Urizen wrathful strode above, directing the awful building,
 As a mighty temple, delivering Form out of confusion.

- Jordan sprang beneath its threshold, bubbling from beneath
 Its pillars; Euphrates ran under its arches; white sails
 25 And silver oars reflect on its pillars, & sound on its echoing
 Pavements where walk the Sons of Jerusalem who remain
 Ungenerate.

But the revolving sun and moon pass through its porticoes;
 Day & night, in sublime majesty & silence they revolve
 And shine glorious within. Hand & Koban arched over the sun
 30 In the hot noon, as he travelled through his journey; Hyle &
 Skofield

Arched over the moon at midnight, & Los fixed them there
 With his thunderous hammer; terrified the spectres rage &
 flee.

Canaan is his portico; Jordan is a fountain in his porch,
 A fountain of milk & wine to relieve the traveller.

- 35 Egypt is the eight steps within; Ethiopia supports his pillars;
 Libya & the lands unknown are the ascent without;
 Within is Asia & Greece, ornamented with exquisite art;
 Persia & Media are his halls; his inmost hall is Great Tartary,
 China & India & Siberia are his temples for entertainment;
 40 Poland & Russia & Sweden, his soft retired chambers;
 France & Spain & Italy & Denmark & Holland & Germany

58.27. Urizen suddenly appears; these lines are reminiscent of, but not the same as, *Four Zoas* ii 229ff, where he begins to build a great palace for himself as Lord of the Universe, fearing the apparent insecurity of the freedom in Eternity. Here, unusually he seems to be working with Los. The scene, with an evil connotation, recurs in pl.66: here it is justified in line 22.

58.23–4. *Jordan . . . Euphrates*] These and the other place-names in 33–43 are used in a 'Miltonic' way – for their rhetorical effect – rather than for any particular allusive significance, except that they radiate from, but do not include, Palestine. There is a similarity in this rhetorical effect to that of the description of Golgonooza in pls.12–14; but this is our world of Generation, not Golgonooza: hence the place-names. It is a giants' world.

58.38. In *Great Tartary*, the legendary central and eastern Asian empire of the mediaeval Tartars, according to Swedenborg, the people knew the divine Word in a more ancient form than that of the Hebrews.

- [58] Are the temples among his pillars. Britain is Los's forge;
America, North & South, are his baths of living waters.

[*Design*]

- Such is the ancient world of Urizen in the Satanic Void,
45 Created from the valley of Middlesex by London's river
From Stonehenge & from London Stone, from Cornwall to
Caithness.
The Four Zoas rush around on all sides in dire ruin;
Furious in pride of Selfhood, the terrible Spectres of Albion
Rear their dark rocks among the stars of God—stupendous
50 Works! A world of Generation continually Creating out of
The Hermaphroditic Satanic World of rocky destiny,
Pl.59 And formed into four precious stones, for entrance from
Beulah.

For the Veil of Vala, which Albion cast into the Atlantic deep
To catch the souls of the Dead, began to vegetate & petrify
Around the earth of Albion, among the roots of his Tree.
5 This Los formed into the gates & mighty wall, between the
Oak
Of Weeping & the Palm of Suffering beneath Albion's tomb.
Thus in process of time it became the beautiful Mundane
Shell,
The habitation of the Spectres of the Dead, & the place
Of redemption & of awaking again into Eternity.

58. *Design*: A skeleton, prone, amid flames: 'Such is the ancient world' (44).

58.44. *in the Satanic Void*] The abyss of Non-Entity, a vacuum in which all life disappears. The world of Generation made by Urizen is a depraved world of single unimaginative vision (cp. poem to Butts, 22 Nov. 1802, pp. 489–91, 27–30, 83–8); at least it has that little vision, which Los can nurture, in the Continual process (line 50) of Creation and Decay (see 53.19n).

58.45. B. alters the traditional picture of a Mesopotamian Creation, so as to emphasize that the act of Creation was not a far-off event – it had taken place at home in London. Spiritually, it is important that the struggle against the onset of the Satanic world is present and contemporary. The next lines stress the struggle to Create, using primarily the materials left in this Satanic Void.

58.46. *Cornwall, Caithness*] Both are rocky coasts, at the extremes of Britain.

59.1. Could this originally have been the continuation from 57.18?

59.2. *the Veil*, as a fishing net, goes back to 23.23, which B. quotes in 2–3. This is a slight change of subject: from the creative activity of Urizen in the Satanic void, to the work of Los against Albion and Vala's veil; but it is the same theme. Only continual labour can prevent the creeping paralysis and destruction of life.

59.5. *This*] The Veil, which trapped and enclosed the material world – first made by Vala for her own purposes of dominion, but used by Los in the opposite direction – to keep evil influences out of Generation as far as possible.

59.7. *Mundane Shell*] As described in 58.23–42: cp. 13.33n and (for *Egg*), *Milton* 34.31.

- [59] For four Universes round the Mundane Egg remain chaotic.
 11 One to the north, Urthona; one to the south, Urizen;
 One to the east, Luvah; one to the west, Tharmas.
 They are the Four Zoas that stood around the Throne Divine
 (Verulam, London, York & Edinburgh, their English names).
 15 But when Luvah assumed the world of Urizen southward,
 And Albion was slain upon his mountain & in his tent
 All fell towards the Centre, sinking downwards in dire ruin.
 In the south remains a burning fire, in the east, a void,
 In the west, a world of raging waters, in the north, solid darkness
 20 Unfathomable, without end, but in the midst of these
 Is built eternally the sublime Universe of Los & Enitharmon;

[Design]

- And in the north gate, in the west of the north, toward Beulah
 Cathedron's looms are builded, and Los's furnaces in the south;
 A wondrous golden building immense with ornaments sublime
 25 Is bright Cathedron's golden hall, its courts, towers &
 pinnacles.

- And one Daughter of Los sat at the fiery reel, & another
 Sat at the shining loom with her sisters attending round—
 Terrible their distress, & their sorrow cannot be uttered.
 And another daughter of Los sat at the spinning-wheel:
 30 Endless their labour, with bitter food, void of sleep,

59.10–21. These lines, except for 14, also occur in *Milton* 19.15–25. The reintroduction of the Four Zoas, (see *Four Zoas*, headnote, p. 295) is confusing in *Jerusalem* and *Milton*, which are not really concerned with their story. The present lines seem to be an attempt to relate the myth of the collapse of order among the Zoas, described in *The Four Zoas*, to the myth of Albion (15–16) and the Friends of Albion. B. also tried to relate the two poems by making Albion the central figure of *The Four Zoas*, writing in this name in the place of the unnamed 'Universal Man'. See especially *Four Zoas* vi 261–78.

59.20–1. i.e. Golgonooza.

59. Design: Los's daughters at their wheels. These look too heavy to be spinning wheels, resembling more closely the winding-wheels for filling bobbins: see next note.

59.23. *Cathedron*] The place for Enitharmon's weaving, in Golgonooza – the subject of 26ff. B. distinguishes the main processes of weaving: on spinning-wheels turning yarn into thread; reeling it on to spools and bobbins on winding-wheels; and weaving at looms. The circumstances may well derive from the fate of the inmates of the Royal Asylum for Female Orphans, very near B.'s old home (till 1800) in Lambeth. They may be despised in the eyes of Albion, but they create beautiful echoes of Eternity, making life-giving forms for the 'spectres', the lost souls of Albion. See *Four Zoas* vii 759ff, viii 29ff.

59.28. B. contrasts the distress felt by women in the conditions of their life with the exhilaration they feel at their work.

- [59] Though hungry they labour: they rouse themselves anxious,
 Hour after hour labouring at the whirling wheel—
 Many wheels, & as many lovely Daughters sit weeping.
 Yet the intoxicating delight that they take in their work
 35 Obliterates every other evil; none pities their tears,
 Yet they regard not pity & they expect no one to pity,
 For they labour for life & love, regardless of anyone
 But the poor Spectres that they work for, always, incessantly.
 They are mocked by every one that passes by: they regard not,
 40 They labour; & when their wheels are broken by scorn & malice
 They mend them sorrowing with many tears & afflictions.
 Other Daughters weave on the cushion & pillow, network fine
 That Rahab & Tirzah may exist & live & breathe & love.
 Ah, that it could be as the daughters of Beulah wish!
 45 Other Daughters of Los, labouring at looms less fine,
 Create the silk-worm & the spider & the caterpillar
 To assist in their most grievous work of pity & compassion.
 And others create the woolly lamb & the downy fowl
 To assist in the work: the lamb bleats; the sea-fowl cries.
 50 Men understand not the distress & the labour & sorrow
 That in the interior worlds is carried on in fear & trembling,
 Weaving the shuddering fears & loves of Albion's families.
 Thunderous rage the spindles of iron, & the iron distaff
 Maddens in the fury of their hands, weaving in bitter tears
 55 The veil of goats-hair & purple & scarlet & fine twined linen.

59.32. *Hour after hour . . .*] B.'s age, unlike ours, was as yet unused to non-stop machinery. The spinning-wheel may seem romantic today, but the unceasing drive of its flywheel seems to have been fearful to B., adding to his hatred of wheels, and machinery in general.

59.35. *none pities their tears*] The image of Los's daughters weaving is probably drawn from what B. had seen in the sweated labour of girls' charity schools in Lambeth (see *Milton* 25.48n). Heavy weaving was man's work, but perhaps B. refers to tapestry: see 56.13 and *Vala* viii 30–31.

59.38. *Spectres*] Shadows to whom their work gives life, as in *Vala* vii 759ff.

59.42. *network*] 'A light fabric made of netted threads' (*OED*), women's hand-work. The *cushion & pillow* may suggest only that they are creating dreams of Eternity into the pillows on which Rahab and Tirzah will sleep. So Enitharmon creates forms for the lost souls in *Four Zoas* viii 44–49. Perhaps even these two may be granted a true existence – but in 44 B. fears not.

59.46–9. *silk-worm, spider, caterpillar*, who spin thread from their bodies that is, or might be used in human weaving.

59.55. An allusion to the free gifts to the first tabernacle, *Exodus* xxxv 25–6: 'And all the women that were wise-hearted did spin with their hands, and brought that which they had spun, both of blue, and of purple, and of scarlet, and of fine linen. And all the women whose heart stirred them up in wisdom spun goats' hair.' The Bible and B. both stress the willingness and inspiration of the gifts.

- Pl.60 The clouds of Albion's Druid Temples rage in the eastern
 heaven,
 While Los sat terrified beholding Albion's Spectre (who is
 Luvah)
 Spreading in bloody veins in torments over Europe & Asia—
 Not yet formed, but a wretched torment unformed & abyssal
 5 In flaming fire. Within the Furnaces the Divine Vision appeared
 On Albion's hills; often, walking from the furnaces in clouds
 And flames among the Druid Temples & the Starry Wheels,
 Gathered Jerusalem's children in his arms & bore them like
 A shepherd in the night of Albion which overspread all the earth

[*Marginal Design*]

- 10 'I gave thee liberty and life, O lovely Jerusalem,
 And thou hast bound me down upon the stems of Vegetation.
 I gave thee sheep-walks upon the Spanish mountains,
 Jerusalem;
 I gave thee Priam's city and the Isles of Grecia lovely.
 I gave thee Hand & Skofield & the counties of Albion:
 15 They spread forth like a lovely root into the Garden of God;
 They were as Adam before me, united into One Man,
 They stood in innocence & their skiey tent reached over Asia
 To Nimrod's tower, to Ham & Canaan walking with Mizraim
 Upon the Egyptian Nile, with solemn songs to Grecia
 20 Arid sweet Hesperia, even to great Chaldea & Tesshina,

60.2. Pl.60 seems to go back to the themes left at pl.57. At 58.19–20 B. recorded the 'commingling Of Albion's and Luvah's Spectres'. Its effect is seen here, while the Divine Vision is still seen to be active.

60.4. *Not yet formed*] Europe and Asia; creation has not gone so far yet. Cp. *Four Zoas* viii 94–8.

60. *Marginal Design*: A female figure, arms raised in prayer or supplication, fills the space in the R margin.

60.10. A Divine plea to Jerusalem, resembling those of the biblical Prophets, and looking back to the age before the Fall, in which Jerusalem, a universal being who ranges across the whole earth, is inevitably involved.

60.11. *stems of Vegetation*] In B.'s picture of the Crucifixion on pl.76, Christ is crucified on an oak tree; the phrase implies 'earthly existence'.

60.16. *Adam*] Alluding to the meaning of the name – (*The*) *Man*.

60.18. *Nimrod's tower*] Babel, within Nimrod's kingdom, as described in *Genesis* x 9–10.

Mizraim] Egypt: in *Genesis* x 6, Mizraim and Canaan are sons of Ham.

60.20. *Tesshina*] An unexplained reference. Perhaps B. confused himself with Hebrew script, and meant Shinar (the Babylonian region): in *Genesis* x 10, xi 2 and elsewhere the word *erets* (land) precedes Shinar, and it is just possible that he attached *ts* to Shinar, making it syllabic. But in that case, he also missed off the pronounced and spelt *r*. No other explanation is forthcoming. Shinar is at least in the same region as Chaldea.

- [60] Following thee as a shepherd by the four rivers of Eden.
Why wilt thou rend thyself apart, Jerusalem?
And build this Babylon, & sacrifice in secret groves
Among the gods of Asia, among the foundations of pitch &
nitre?
25 Therefore thy mountains are become barren, Jerusalem;
Thy valleys, plains of burning sand; thy rivers, waters of death.
Thy villages die of the famine, and thy cities
Beg bread from house to house, lovely Jerusalem.
Why wilt thou deface thy beauty & the beauty of thy little ones
30 To please thy idols, in the pretended Chastities of
Uncircumcision?
Thy sons are lovelier than Egypt or Assyria; wherefore
Dost thou blacken their beauty by a secluded place of rest,
And a peculiar tabernacle, to cut the integuments of beauty
Into the veils of tears and sorrows, O lovely Jerusalem?
35 They have persuaded thee to this; therefore their end shall come
And I will lead thee through the wilderness in shadow of my
cloud,
And in my love I will lead thee, lovely Shadow of sleeping
Albion.'

This is the Song of the Lamb, sung by slaves in evening time.

But Jerusalem faintly saw him, closed in the dungeons of
Babylon.

- 40 Her Form was held by Beulah's Daughters, but all within unseen
She sat at the mills, her hair unbound, her feet naked,
Cut with the flints—her tears run down, her reason grows like
The Wheel of Hand, incessant turning day & night without rest.
Insane she raves upon the winds, hoarse, inarticulate.
45 All night Vala hears, she triumphs in pride of holiness
To see Jerusalem deface her lineaments with bitter blows
Of despair, while the Satanic Holiness triumphed in Vala,
In a Religion of Chastity & Uncircumcised Selfishness,
Both of the Head & Heart & Loins, closed up in Moral Pride.
50 But the Divine Lamb stood beside Jerusalem; oft she saw
The Lineaments Divine & oft the Voice heard, & oft she said:

60.36. *shadow of my cloud*] As Jehovah led the Israelites with his pillars of smoke and fire.

60.40. A reminder that no person is ever beyond care, although imprisoned in evil, as Jerusalem is. Her 'Form' is her eternal Form, her real 'Spiritual Body'.

60.42. *reason*] Her mind is trapped in a cycle of despair and misery.

60.49. *Head, Heart, Loins*] A favourite pattern: cp. the images of Jerusalem and the Covering Cherub, pls.86 and 87; also *Four Zoas* i 274–80, *Milton* 5.6

- [60] 'O Lord & Saviour, have the gods of the heathen pierced thee?
Or hast thou been pierced in the house of thy friends?
Art thou alive, & livest thou for evermore? or art thou
55 Not: but a delusive shadow, a thought that liveth not.
Babel mocks saying, "There is no God nor Son of God",
That thou, O Human Imagination, O Divine Body, art all
A delusion. But I know thee, O Lord, when thou arisest upon
My weary eyes, even in this dungeon & this iron mill.
60 The stars of Albion cruel rise; thou bindest to sweet influences:
For thou also sufferest with me although I behold thee not;
And although I sin & blaspheme thy holy name, thou pitiest
me,
Because thou knowest I am deluded by the turning mills
And by these visions of pity & love, because of Albion's death.'
- 65 Thus spake Jerusalem, & thus the Divine Voice replied:
'Mild Shade of Man, pitiest thou these Visions of terror & woe?
Give forth thy pity & love, fear not! Lo, I am with thee always.
Only believe in me that I have power to raise from death
Thy Brother who Sleepeth in Albion. Fear not, trembling
Shade
- Pl.61 Behold in the Visions of Elohim Jehovah, behold Joseph & Mary

60.53. pierced . . . *friends*] Even those who claim to be friends and followers crucify Jesus.

60.54. Jerusalem's questionings indicate her state: she is imprisoned in the dead world of Babylon, away from vision; although not active in evil like Vala or the Sons and Daughters of Albion, she is not active in vision and Imagination, and therefore she is a fallen being. Yet she has not entirely lost the vision, and wants to appeal to it (or him) if she can perceive it clearly. Her fate is bound with Albion's; she cannot rise of her own will, but must wait for him to awake and leave his rock.

60.60. i.e. the stars – the universe – of Albion is cruel; yours is a universe of 'sweet influences'. (For B.'s vision of the *Stars of Albion* see *Milton* 37.47ff.) The verbal reminiscence is *Job* xxxviii 31: 'Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades?'

60.66. *Shade of Man*] i.e., Emanation of *the* Man, Albion.
these Visions] Her persecutors.

60.67. *I am with thee always*] The words of Jesus after the resurrection, turned into the singular: *Matthew* xxviii 20, 'I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'

60.69. *Thy brother*] This seems to be Albion himself. The allusion, and the word *brother*, come from the story of Lazarus (*John* xi), which B. uses in *Four Zoas* iv 252ff, where Albion is 'brother' to the Daughters of Beulah. Pl.61 is interpolated, and the sentence as it originally stood continued the resurrection theme (62.1). Plate 61. The theme of this plate is Eternal Forgiveness, in a tale told to encourage Jerusalem in her affliction. B. rewrites the story hinted at in *Matthew* i 19, in which Joseph found Mary pregnant and decided, of course, to break off the

- [61] And be comforted, O Jerusalem, in the Visions of Jehovah
Elohim!’
She looked & saw Joseph the Carpenter in Nazareth, & Mary
His espoused Wife. And Mary said: ‘If thou put me away
from thee,
5 Dost thou not murder me?’ Joseph spoke in anger & fury:
‘Should I
Marry a Harlot & an Adulteress?’ Mary answered; ‘Art thou
more pure
Than thy Maker who forgiveth Sins & calls again Her that is Lost?
Though She hates, he calls her again in love. I love my dear
Joseph,
But he driveth me away from his presence. Yet I hear the
voice of God
10 In the voice of my Husband—though he is angry for a
moment, he will not
Utterly cast me away. If I were pure, never could I taste the
sweets
Of the Forgiveness of Sins! If I were holy I never could
behold the tears
Of love—of him who loves me in the midst of his anger in
furnace of fire!’
‘Ah, my Mary’, said Joseph, weeping over & embracing her
closely in
15 His arms: ‘Doth he forgive Jerusalem, & not exact Purity
from her who is
Polluted? I heard his voice in my sleep, & his Angel in my dream,
Saying, “Doth Jehovah Forgive a Debt only on condition
that it shall

engagement, quietly so as to avoid scandal. In the Bible an angel appears and explains. B.’s view is different: the angel (16) does not justify Mary and uphold her chastity by showing Divine intervention, but admits her ‘sin’ and appeals to the divine necessity of forgiveness. The text of this plate is very much in the manner of *The Ghost of Abel*, with some direct allusion (e.g., lines 1, 15ff). See also *Everlasting Gospel*. d, p. 897.

61.5–7. The implication is clear; that B. (as in *Everlasting Gospel* d 3–6) doubted the authenticity of the virgin birth of Jesus, and thought in any case that the early anti-Christian legend (that Mary’s pregnancy was adulterous, and the virgin birth idea was thought up to make it ‘respectable’) *should* have been true – because only thus could the Divine Mercy and Vision be seen: see 11–13.

61.9–10. *the Voice of God . . . Husband*] As, traditionally, a good wife would: ‘He for God only, she for God in him’ (*Paradise Lost* iv 299).

61.17–26. The words of the biblical angel are (*Matthew* i 20): ‘Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost . . .’ B. says that Mary’s adultery would not alter the divinity of the child’s origin.

- [61] Be Paid? Doth he Forgive Pollution only on conditions of Purity?
 That Debt is not Forgiven! That Pollution is not Forgiven!
 20 Such is the Forgiveness of the gods, the Moral Virtues of the
 Heathen, whose tender Mercies are Cruelty. But Jehovah's
 Salvation
 Is without Money & without Price, in the Continual
 Forgiveness of Sins,
 In the Perpetual Mutual Sacrifice in Great Eternity. For
 behold!
 There is none that liveth & sinneth not. And this is the
 Covenant
 25 Of Jehovah: 'If you Forgive one another, so shall Jehovah
 forgive you,
 That He Himself may Dwell among You'. Fear not then to take
 To thee Mary thy Wife, for she is with Child by the Holy
 Ghost."

Then Mary burst forth into a Song! She flowed like a River of
 Many Streams in the arms of Joseph & gave forth her tears
 of joy

- 30 Like many waters, and Emanating into gardens & palaces upon
 Euphrates, & to forests & floods & animals wild & tame from
 Gihon to Hiddekel, & to cornfields & villages & inhabitants
 Upon Pison & Arnon & Jordan. And I heard the voice among
 The reapers saying: 'Am I Jerusalem the lost adulteress?
 Or am I
 35 Babylon come up to Jerusalem?' And another voice
 answered, saying,
 'Does the voice of my Lord call me again? Am I pure
 through his mercy
 And pity? Am I become lovely as a virgin in his sight, who am

61.22. *without Money and without Price*] From *Isaiah* iv 1.

61.30. *gardens and palaces upon Euphrates*] An allusion to the 'hanging gardens' of Babylon. Mary is here a timeless being, a type of many women, and of Jerusalem herself.

61.31-3. *Euphrates, Gihon, Hiddekel and Pison* are the four rivers of the Garden of Eden (*Genesis* ii 9-14: Arnon and Jordan flow into the Dead Sea from Moab, an alien land often seen as hostile by Israel, but also Ruth's homeland). B. has caught the idiomatic voice of the prophets who saw salvation in images of rivers bringing life to desert lands. But identifications should not muffle the tone of these lines: Mary's unrestrained outpouring of joy.

61.33-4. *the voice among The reapers*] Like Ruth's, the lonely stranger from an alien land often regarded as hostile. The two voices who speak in these lines are those of 'lost adulteresses' who see in the narrative of Mary and Joseph the source of a new freedom.

- [61] Indeed a harlot drunken with the sacrifice of idols? Does he
 40 Was cast out to the loathing of her person? The Chaldean took
 Me from my cradle. The Amalekite stole me away upon his camels
 Before I had ever beheld with love the face of Jehovah, or known
 That there was a God of Mercy. O Mercy, O Divine

Humanity!

O Forgiveness & Pity & Compassion! If I were pure I
 should never

- 45 Have known thee; if I were unpolluted I should never have
 Glorified thy Holiness, or rejoiced in thy great Salvation!’

Mary leaned her side against Jerusalem. Jerusalem received
 The infant into her hands in the visions of Jehovah. Times
 passed on:

Jerusalem fainted over the cross & sepulchre. She heard the
 voice:

- 50 ‘Wilt thou make Rome thy Patriarch Druid, & the Kings of
 Europe his

Horsemen? Man in the Resurrection changes his Sexual
 Garments at will.

Every Harlot was once a Virgin, every Criminal an Infant Love.

Pl.62

[*Design*]

Repose on me till the morning of the Grave. I am thy life.’

61.39–40. *her infancy . . . person*] From *Ezekiel* xvi 3–5:

Thus saith the Lord God unto Jerusalem . . . And as for thy nativity, in
 the day thou wast born thy navel was not cut, neither wast thou washed
 in water to supple thee; thou wast not salted at all, nor swaddled at all.
 None eye pitied thee, to do any of these unto thee, to have compassion
 upon thee; but thou wast cast out in the open field, to the loathing of
 thy person, in the day that thou wast born. And when I passed by thee,
 and saw thee polluted in thine own blood, I said unto thee when thou
 wast in thy blood, Live.

61.40–1. *Chaldean . . . Amalekite*] The Chaldeans were from Babylon; both
 nations were enemies of the Jews, but no specific allusion is made here.

61.47–9. Jerusalem here is both woman – the redeemed woman – and the city
 which sees many events pass.

61.50. This is the choice made by the men who crucified Christ.

61.52. *Every Harlot . . .*] Cp. ‘To the Accuser’, p. 894. Note esp. the passages
 from *VLJ* 69 & 80 at 31.13*n*, and *Milton* 32.22*n*.

62. *Design*: At top and bottom of the text appear the head and feet of a horrific
 figure, in agony. His head is encircled by a snake and his hands grip the rock as
 if he were trying to pull himself up. Between his feet a figure, tiny in propor-
 tion, stares up with his arms raised.

- [62] Jerusalem replied: 'I am an Outcast: Albion is dead,
 I am left to the trampling foot & the spurning heel!
 A Harlot I am called; I am sold from street to street.
 5 I am defaced with blows & with the dirt of the Prison.
 And wilt thou become my Husband, O my Lord & Saviour?
 Shall Vala bring thee forth? Shall the Chaste be ashamed also?
 I see the Maternal Line, I behold the Seed of the Woman:
 Cainah, & Ada & Zillah & Naamah wife of Noah,
 10 Shuah's daughter & Tamar, & Rahab the Canaanitess,
 Ruth the Moabite, & Bathsheba of the daughters of Heth,
 Naamah the Ammonite, Zibeah the Philistine, & Mary.
 These are the daughters of Vala, mother of the Body of
 Death.
 But I thy Magdalen behold thy Spiritual Risen Body.

62.1-2. This line picks up from 60.69, not with the Jerusalem of the previous plate, but the lost Jerusalem of pl.60, who has not yet come to the vision of pl.61.

62.8-12. *Maternal Line*] This is a series of women in the line of motherhood that leads to Jesus. *Cainah*, who is not in the Bible, means 'wife of Cain'; Lamech, supposedly her son, had two wives, *Ada* and *Zillah*, whose daughter *Naamah* was. The line died out with Lamech's children because he too was a murderer (*Genesis* iv 19-24). *Naamah* was traditionally the troublesome wife of Noah, unnamed in the Bible; she is said to have been one of the 'daughters of men' who slept with angels (*Genesis* vi 1-4). *Shuah's* daughter was a Canaanitess, wife of Judah with three sons but no grandchildren. Her son Er married a *Tamar* (not Absalom's beautiful sister); when he died childless Tamar disguised herself as a harlot so as to have a child by Judah (*Genesis* xxiv), thus continuing the lineage, which became the royal lineage and ultimately the lineage of David and of Jesus. *Rahab* is not the great Harlot of B.'s poem, but the shadowy wife of the shadowy man Salmon (or Salma), often identified as the friendly harlot of Jericho (*Joshua* ii). Her child was Boaz, who married Ruth the Moabitess. *Bathsheba* was wife of Uriah the Hittite. She was taken by David and became mother of Solomon, one of whose wives, the second *Naamah*, twice noted in 1 *Kings* xiv as an Ammonite, was mother of the apostate king Rehoboam. Zibeah of Beersheba (not identified as a Philistiness, but coming from beyond the southern borders) was mother of the renegade king Jehoash. Thus the women have some or all of these features: all these mothers are foreigners, some even derived from enemies of the Jews; their children are often wicked (but by no means all); nevertheless, they belong to the chosen people, and most bore sons in the line (recorded in *Matthew* i) from Abraham to Jesus. The list numbers twelve, and may be taken as parallel to the twelve daughters of Albion.

62.14. *I thy Magdalen*] On the common assumption that the Mary of the Lazarus story was Mary Magdalen, once a prostitute, the whole theme of this sequence is that Jerusalem is chosen after she has broken the Law - 'sinned'; whereas the Law-abiding Daughters of Vala understand and respect only rigid obedience to Law, and its penalties.

Spiritual Risen Body] 'It is raised a spiritual body' (1 *Corinthians* xv 44); inscribed on the gown of a figure on the poem 'To Tirzah' (p. 618).

- [62] Shall Albion arise? I know he shall arise at the Last Day.
 16 I know that in my flesh I shall see God; but Emanations
 Are weak, they know not whence they are, nor whither tend.'

Jesus replied: 'I am the Resurrection & the Life.

I die & pass the limits of possibility, as it appears

- 20 To individual perception. Luvah must be Created
 And Vala; for I cannot leave them in the gnawing grave,
 But will prepare a way for my banished ones to return.
 Come now with me into the villages, walk through all the cities.
 Though thou art taken to prison & judgement, starved in
 the streets,

- 25 I will command the cloud to give thee food, & the hard rock
 To flow with milk & wine; though thou seest me not a season,
 Even a long season & a hard journey & a howling wilderness,
 Though Vala's cloud hide thee, & Luvah's fires follow thee,
 Only believe and trust in me. Lo, I am always with thee.'

- 30 So spoke the Lamb of God, while Luvah's cloud reddening above
 Burst forth in streams of blood upon the heavens, & dark night

62.15. *Shall Albion arise?*] Another return to the Lazarus theme (see 60.69n); *John* xi 23–7:

Jesus saith unto her, Thy brother shall rise again. Martha saith unto him, I know that he shall rise again in the resurrection at the last day. Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die. Believest thou this? She saith unto him, Yea, Lord: I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, which should come into the world.

62.14. Mary Magdalen was a 'sinner', an outcast, not one of the established heredity.

62.16. From *Job* xix 25: 'I know that my redeemer liveth, and that in my flesh I shall see God'.

62.20. *Created*] i.e. given material form, in order that they shall not lose their Human Form entirely. One of B.'s 'technical terms': see 53.19n, and *Milton* 11.20n 62.25–8. Reminiscences of the Israelites in the wilderness, who ate quails and manna from the heavens (*Exodus* xvi); for whom Moses brought water from a rock (*Exodus* xvii); who were guided by columns of fire and smoke (*Exodus* xiii 21–2); and *Deuteronomy* xxxii 10: '[The Lord] found him in a desert land, and in a waste howling wilderness; he led him about . . . he kept him as the apple of his eye'.

62.29. *Lo . . . thee*] Adapted from the last words of Matthew's *Gospel*, xxviii 20: 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world'; also quoted in 60.67.

62.30. *Luvah's cloud*] This image derives generally from *The Four Zoas*. Luvah is a passionate, emotional, 'raging' being, associated with fires and blood (*Four Zoas* ii 56). Yet also several times in *The Four Zoas* (e.g., ii 310–1; vii 708–9; viii 253) he is wrapped in 'robes of blood' identified with Christ's suffering. Here (30–4) the general feeling is of chaos from all sides.

- [62] Involved Jerusalem, and the Wheels of Albion's Sons turned
hoarse
Over the mountains, & the fires blazed on druid altars,
And the sun set in Tyburn's brook, where victims howl & cry.
- 35 But Los beheld the Divine Vision among the flames of the
Furnaces:
Therefore he lived & breathed in hope, but his tears fell
incessant
Because his Children were closed from him apart, &
Enitharmon
Dividing in fierce pain. Also the vision of God was closed in
clouds
Of Albion's Spectres that Los in despair oft sat, & often
pondered
- 40 On Death Eternal in fierce shudders upon the mountains of
Albion
Walking & in the vales in howling fierce. Then to his anvils
Turning, anew began his labours, though in terrible pains.

[*Design*]

- Pl.63 Jehovah stood among the Druids in the valley of Annandale,
When the Four Zoas of Albion, the Four Living Creatures,
the Cherubim
Of Albion, tremble before the Spectre in the starry harness of
the Plough

Plate 63. From this point the chapter becomes a series of tableaux, with little narrative continuity but some consistency of theme. The forces of good – Jehovah, Los, etc. – are ranged against the forces who are in a State of evil – Albion's Spectre, his Daughters, Vala, etc. After the vision of pls.60–62.29, the Spectrous powers seem to overwhelm him with ritual power (60.1–5; 62.30–63.23), but hope remains in the infant born into their world (63.16–17). Later incidents are discrete and often brief, and there are many unexplained changes of scene and persons; but the themes are always those already met in the poem.

63.1. *Jehovah*] Not the tyrant of earlier books, but the merciful God of pl.61. For the oak groves of Annandale, in SW Scotland, see *Milton* pl.32.11n. Jehovah's opposition to the court of Druids resembles – probably deliberately – the scene in *Four Zoas* viii 256–65, where the Lamb of God faces the Synagogue of Satan. The *Druids* here are, as usual in *Jerusalem*, priests of an ancient sacrificial religion. 63.2. *the Cherubim*] They cover the Mercy Seat of God; like the Zoas, they tremble at the sight of the Spectre which assumes the trappings of godhead. At 54.16 Albion's spectre says 'I am God!'; at 57.16 he sits on his Rock as if it were a throne. In the next few pls., B. makes several uses of the image of Cherubim. For the *Zoas* see *Four Zoas* headnote: for the *Living Creatures* see 55.55n.

63.3. *the Plough*] The constellation: hence its 'starry harness'. In 57.12–15 Albion tried to drive this plough but it overran him.

- [63] Of Nations. And their names are Urizen & Luvah &
Tharmas and Urthona.
- 5 Luvah slew Tharmas, the Angel of the Tongue, & Albion
brought him
To justice in his own city of Paris, denying the Resurrection.
Then Vala, the wife of Albion, who is the daughter of Luvah,
Took vengeance twelve-fold among the chaotic rocks of the
Druids,
Where the human victims howl to the moon, & Thor &
Friga
- 10 Dance the dance of death, contending with Jehovah among
the Cherubim.
The chariot wheels filled with eyes rage along the howling valley

63.5. In this plate B. refashions some older material to new purposes, blending different legends together – the four Zoas, the Israelite tribes, and ancient British legend. B. now tells how Albion quarrels with the Zoa Luvah, and how, in revenge, Vala causes an eruption of wickedness and cruelty in Albion's own land, opposing as she does so the divine intervention of Jehovah. The conflict of this myth with other myths is detailed in the following notes. At 60.2, Albion's spectre is Luvah; here they are again distinguished.

In *The Four Zoas* Luvah does not kill Tharmas: in the First Night Tharmas withers away by his own jealousy; then (i 98) 'the Gate of the Tongue is closed'. Erdman suggests (*PAE* 463*n*) that lines 5–8 are an allegory of the suppression of free speech (the tongue) in revolutionary France, and the consequent post-war suppression of all revolutionary elements. Cp. 66.15.

63.6. *his own*] i.e. Luvah's. In 49.9, and 55.29 'SHILOH the Emanation of France' is associated with Vala, as Albion is with Jerusalem, suggesting that B. wishes to identify France and Paris as the modern seat of Luvah and Vala. France thus is derived spiritually from Shiloh of old, the holy city of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, and set against Britain and London – that is, against Albion, and Jerusalem the Emanation and City. See *Four Zoas* i 191*n*.

63.7. *Vala*] In *The Four Zoas*, and often in *Jerusalem*, she is the Emanation or wife of Luvah; it is Albion's sin that he seeks to make her, who is only one element of his being, his wife and mistress. But earlier in *Jerusalem*, B. has made Jerusalem and Vala twin Emanations of Albion in Eternity (19.40ff); so that he has made Vala into Luvah's daughter for convenience, cp. 29.36*n*. Vala now makes Albion's insensitivity rebound on himself; the cruelty he shows to Luvah is seen in his own land – probably deriving from the thought that Britain's reactionary policy against freedom in France has brought oppression to Britain too.

63.9. *Thor and Friga*] The Scandinavian god of thunder, and the mother-goddess wife of Odin. B. brings them into *Jerusalem* as part of English tradition, to counterbalance the weight of Biblical allusion.

63.10–11. *Cherubim . . . chariot wheels*] In *Ezekiel* x there is a vision of four cherubim, with four wheels, 'And their whole body and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels were full of eyes round about, even the wheels which they four had' (*Ezekiel* x 12). They carry the throne of Jehovah against the followers of false religions.

- [63] In the dividing of Reuben & Benjamin bleeding from
Chester's river.

The Giants & the Witches & the Ghosts of Albion dance with
Thor & Friga, & the Fairies lead the moon along the Valley
of Cherubim,

- 15 Bleeding in torrents from mountain to mountain, a lovely
victim.

And Jehovah stood in the Gates of the Victim, & he appeared
A weeping infant in the gates of birth in the midst of heaven.
The cities & villages of Albion became rock & sand
unhumanized—

The Druid Sons of Albion & the Heavens a Void around
unfathomable,

- 20 No Human Form, but sexual, & a little weeping infant pale,
reflected

Multitudinous in the looking-glass of Enitharmon, on all sides
Around in the clouds of the female on Albion's cliffs of the
dead.

Such the appearance in Cheviot in the divisions of Reuben,

[*Design*]

63.12. *the dividing . . . from Chester's river*] Probably referring to the separation of the Holy Land from Albion (cp. 41 and 27.21). Benjamin is given Cheshire in 16.49.

63.14. *Fairies*] In B.'s writings usually mischievous, sometimes (as here) spiteful. They debase the beauty of the moon: B. may be identifying Friga with Freya, the moon-goddess, in whom, therefore, the moon was connected with a false religion.

63.16. *the Gates of the Victim*] Does B. envisage a ritual archway leading to sacrifice? Here and in 20 the self-sacrifice of Jehovah is contrasted with the cruelties of the world which almost – but not quite – obliterates him.

63.17. *A weeping infant*] Jehovah, as Christ.

63.21. *Multitudinous*] The self-sacrifice of God can be seen in all sorts of places by the person who catches its reflection 'in the looking-glass of Enitharmon', whose work is to give living forms to lost souls: cp. *Four Zoas* viii 30–2.

63.22. *the female*] Not Enitharmon, but the female type of Vala and Friga, the dominating female.

63.23. *Cheviot*] The hills on the border of Scotland and England (cp. *Annandale* in line 1, although Annandale is not in the Cheviots, but further west on the Dumfries coast).

63. *Design*: A female nude lying in the coils of a serpentlike worm (it has segments and no recognizable head); a radiant crescent moon behind. 'Such the appearance' (23) may refer to this design; the rounded Cheviot hills being seen to the visionary eye as the curves of the woman's form, made rigid in Generation, as was Reuben (30.43ff).

- [63] When the Cherubim hid their heads under their wings in
deep slumbers,
25 When the Druids demanded Chastity from Woman & all was
lost.
- ‘How can the female be Chaste, O thou stupid Druid?’ cried
Los,
‘Without the Forgiveness of Sins in the merciful clouds of
Jehovah,
And without the Baptism of Repentance to wash away
calumnies and
The Accusations of Sin, that each may be pure in their
neighbour’s sight?’
30 O when shall Jehovah give us victims from his flock & herds,
Instead of Human victims by the Daughters of Albion &
Canaan?’
- Then laughed Gwendolen, & her laughter shook the nations
& families of
The dead beneath Beulah, from Tyburn to Golgotha, and from
Ireland to Japan. Furious her lions & tigers & wolves sport
before
35 Los on the Thames & Medway; London & Canterbury
groan in pain.
- Los knew not yet what was done: he thought it was all in Vision,
In Visions of the dreams of Beulah among the Daughters of
Albion.
Therefore the murder was put apart in the looking-glass of
Enitharmon.
He saw in Vala’s hand the Druid knife of Revenge & the
poison cup
40 Of Jealousy, & thought it a Poetic Vision of the
atmospheres—

63.26. *Los*] A reminder that Los is watching all these things in his furnaces as they happen on earth.

63.30. *victims from his flock*] Alluding to Abraham’s near-sacrifice of his son Isaac (*Genesis* xxii 13), where God did accept the sacrifice of a kid.

63.32. *Gwendolen*] (Lines 31 and 32 are separated by a line of birds, as are 35–6 and 42–3.) One of the daughters of Albion who lives by sacrifice and power (58.2, 86.83). Sacrifices include not only human religious sacrifices such as the Druids were supposed to commit, but any sacrifice of human joy, dignity or freedom to supposed religious or moral laws.

63.33. *The dead beneath Beulah*] Mankind on earth, dead to eternal life.

63.36. i.e. Los thought it was ‘just poetry’ – he did not realize the reality of what he saw.

63.38. *the murder*] That of 5.

- [63] Till Canaan rolled apart from Albion across the Rhine, along
the Danube;
And all the land of Canaan suspended over the valley of
Cheviot,
From Bashan to Tyre & from Troy to Gaza of the Amalekite.
And Reuben fled with his head downwards among the caverns

Pl.64 [Design]

- Of the Mundane Shell, which froze on all sides round
Canaan on
The vast expanse, where the Daughters of Albion weave the
Web
Of Ages & Generations, folding & unfolding it like a Veil of
Cherubim.
And sometimes it touches the earth's summits, & sometimes
spreads
5 Abroad into the Indefinite Spectre, who is the Rational Power.
Then all the daughters of Albion became one before Los,
even Vala!
And she put forth her hand upon the looms in dreadful
howlings
Till she vegetated into a hungry stomach & a devouring
tongue.
Her hand is a Court of Justice; her feet, two armies in battle;

63.41-3. This is a parting of Albion from his spiritual home. Line 43 describes an area, from east to west and from extreme north (Troy is in western Asia Minor) to south, covering, roughly speaking, the lands of the tribes among whom the Israelites found themselves, the worshippers of false gods. Since the Mundane Shell 'freezes round Canaan' in 64.1, Canaan may be seen as separated from the heavenly Albion, and that we, separated from our true home in heaven, now inhabit this alien land within the Shell (13.33*n*). But the biblical vision, the Promise of an eternal Jerusalem was meant for all peoples, particularly Albion: the heavenly Jerusalem is his Emanation. But now, under the Druids, Albion and his children have lost that vision.

63.44. *Reuben*] One of the characteristics of B.'s Reuben is that he flees; perhaps because his father Israel took from him his birthright as eldest son, saying that he was as 'unstable as water'.

64. *Design*: Two small nude females spread out a veil (lines 2-3) on which a larger, dejected robed female lies, turned away from them, head on hands.

64.2-5. *Web of Ages*] Through the generations, the Daughters of Albion have woven a female spell which hides eternity from the male. These lines reflect *Ezekiel* x, where the temple Cherubim rise and expand in almost nightmarish fashion, rising into the heavens. Here, they become a single monster in the heart of man, hiding Imaginative reality from him.

64.8. *vegetated*] Vala becomes here, not the beautiful though fallen woman and wife, but a cruel devourer.

- [64] Storms & pestilence in her locks; & in her loins earthquake
11 And fire, & the ruin of cities & nations & families & tongues.
She cries: 'The Human is but a worm & thou, O Male, thou art
Thyself Female. A Male: a breeder of seed, a son & husband.
And lo!
The Human-Divine is Woman's shadow, a vapour in the
summer's heat!
15 Go, assume Papal dignity, thou Spectre, thou Male Harlot!
Arthur,
Divide into the Kings of Europe in times remote—O
Woman-born
And Woman-nourished & Woman-educated & Woman-
scorned!' 'Wherefore art thou living,' said Los, '& Man cannot live in
thy presence?
Art thou Vala, the wife of Albion, O thou lovely daughter of
Luvah?
20 All quarrels arise from reasoning: the secret murder, and
The violent man-slaughter—these are the Spectre's double
cave;
The Sexual Death, living on Accusation of Sin & Judgement,
To freeze Love & Innocence into the gold & silver of the
merchant.
Without Forgiveness of Sin, Love is itself Eternal Death!'
25 Then the Spectre drew Vala into his bosom, magnificent,
terrific,

64.13. *Thyself Female*] As far as B.'s Vala is concerned, the chief purpose of the male is the same as that of the female – to breed, as an accessory to the dominant female. She has no sense of the genuine relationship of male and female, as seen in Los and Enitharmon, carrying out interconnected tasks to a common end.

64.15. *Papal dignity*] Supposed power – the real power is in the hands of the woman behind the throne.

Arthur] A king doomed by a woman: see 54.25.

64.18. This is a struggle between the Spectre and Los for the soul of Vala. Note that Los does not condemn Vala as evil, but tries to persuade her from her errors.

64.19. *Art thou Vala?*] Throughout this whole sequence, Vala is not, like Rahab, a vision of evil, parallel to Satan, but the deluded consort of Albion, co-bride with Jerusalem. Here Los seeks to persuade her of her error, while the Spectre pulls her back under their spell, so that she, leader of the daughters of Albion, the women of Britain, becomes the instigator of the evils of the time.

64.20. *reasoning*] *V LJ* 87: 'Even Murder the Courts . . . are Compelled to allow is not done in Passion but in Cool Blooded Design & Intention'.

64.25. This act is one of the critical points in the poem. In ch. 2, Albion first turned away from Vision; in pl.54, his Spectre overpowers him and declares himself God. Jekyll has become Hyde. Now this Spectral power takes Albion a further step towards ultimate destruction, by drawing Vala 'into his bosom' – identifying

- [64] Glittering with precious stones & gold, with garments of blood & fire.
 He wept in deadly wrath of the Spectre, in self-contradicting agony,
 Crimson with wrath & green with jealousy, dazzling with love
 And jealousy immingled; & the purple of the violet darkened deep
 30 Over the Plough of Nations thundering in the hand of
 Albion's Spectre.
- A dark Hermaphrodite they stood, frowning upon London's river;
 And the distaff & spindle in the hands of Vala with the flax of
 Human miseries turned fierce with the lives of men along the
 valley,
 As Reuben fled before the Daughters of Albion, taxing the
 nations.
- 35 Derby Peak yawned a horrid chasm at the cries of
 Gwendolen, & at
 The stamping feet of Ragan upon the flaming treadles of her
 loom
 That drop with crimson gore, with the loves of Albion & Canaan,
 Opening along the valley of Rephaim, weaving over the caves
 of Machpelah

[*Design*]

Pl.65 [*Marginal Design*]

To decide two worlds with a great decision: a world of
 Mercy, and

himself with her, and all she now stands for. In Eternity, Albion could take Jerusalem or Vala to himself in love and delight; in their present corrupted state the result is 'magnificent, terrific'; but monstrous and sterile: Vala is bound to dominate him.

64.34. *taxing the nations*, as Augustus taxed Judea at the time of the birth of Christ, according to *Luke* ii 1-4. A strange line, blending apparently discrete images. Reuben is associated with imperial oppression. Cp. 98.53.

64.35. *Derby Peak*] A place of 'horrid caverns': see 21.34*n*.

64.36-7. *treadles . . . gore*] The imagery of Gray's *The Fatal Sisters*.

64.38. *Rephaim*] See 37.12 and *Milton* 19.40 – a hostile place, but near Jerusalem. At *Machpelah* was a great cave in which Abraham, his wife, his son Isaac and grandson Jacob with their wives, were buried (*Genesis* xxiii). It also is in the hills south of Jerusalem.

64. *Design*: An aged and dejected figure, reclining, and looking up towards the scene at the top of the plate.

65. *Marginal Design*: A heavy chain descends the right margin.

65.1. *To decide*] Although the syntax is indistinct, it seems that Gwendolen and Ragan wish to make this decision – a rigid division between those favoured with salvation and those of whom justice will be demanded.

- [65] A world of Justice—the world of Mercy for Salvation,
To cast Luvah into the wrath, and Albion into the pity,
In the two Contraries of Humanity, & in the Four Regions.
- 5 For in the depths of Albion's bosom in the eastern heaven,
They sound the clarions strong, they chain the howling
captives.
They cast the lots into the helmet; they give the oath of
blood in Lambeth,
They vote the death of Luvah, & they nailed him to Albion's
tree in Bath;
They stained him with poisonous blue, they enwove him in
cruel roots
- 10 To die a death of six thousand years bound round with
vegetation.
The sun was black & the moon rolled a useless globe
through Britain.
- Then left the Sons of Urizen the plough & harrow, the loom,
The hammer & the chisel, & the rule & compasses; from
London fleeing
They forged the sword on Cheviot, the chariot of war & the
battle-axe,
- 15 The trumpet fitted to mortal battle, & the flute of summer
in Annandale.

65.4. *Four Regions*] See 14.25n, 18.1.

65.5–56. This passage is transferred from *Four Zoas* vii 489–534, with additions to relate it to Albion, both as a person and as a land. The original tells of the war in heaven of Luvah, Los and Tharmas against Urizen and Vala. This war is not a part of Jerusalem; even in *The Four Zoas* it is a very confused affair, with the sides not clearly drawn. Out of context, as here in *Jerusalem*, it describes the turmoil in Albion's bosom. The notes on the passage on p. 402 may be useful; those below are intended to show what B. had in mind in fitting the passage to *Jerusalem*.

65.6. *They*] Vala, or the Hermaphrodite, and the children of Albion.

65.8. *Luvah*] At the end of this sequence (66.15) Luvah is again identified with France, crucified (65.7) by Albion – historically France's old enemy – when Albion's corrupted nature vents itself in war on his neighbour. Vala, Luvah's Emanation and Albion's wife, 'drawn in by Albion's Spectre' (64.25), is invoked; her reaction produces further inner corruption (65.75ff) as the evil of Albion rebounds on himself. But Luvah is also the passionate Zoa, and the identification with France alone is insufficient. In torturing him, Albion's children are hurting (in themselves also) all the virtues essential to man which B. could see in the French desire for liberty, and in all man's desires for freedom and joy – dangerous though these desires are.

65.12. *the Sons of Urizen*] Also out of place here; but they can be taken to be other children of Albion – the artificers of England giving up their peaceful occupations when drawn into the war.

- [65] And all the arts of life they changed into the arts of death in Albion.
 The hour-glass contemned because its simple workmanship
 Was like the workmanship of the ploughman, & the water-wheel
 That raises water into cisterns, broken & burned with fire
 20 Because its workmanship was like the workmanship of the shepherd.
 And in their stead, intricate wheels invented, wheel without wheel;
 To perplex youth in their outgoing, & to bind to labours in Albion
 Of day & night the myriads of Eternity, that they may grind
 And polish brass & iron hour after hour, laborious task!
 25 Kept ignorant of its use, that they might spend the days of wisdom
 In sorrowful drudgery, to obtain a scanty pittance of bread:
 In ignorance to view a small portion & think that all,
 And call it 'Demonstration,' blind to all the simple rules of life.
 'Now, now the battle rages round thy tender limbs, O Vala!
 30 Now smile among thy bitter tears! now put on all thy beauty.
 Is not the wound of the sword sweet, & the broken bone delightful?
 Wilt thou now smile among the scythes when the wounded groan in the field?
 We were carried away in thousands from London, & in tens
 Of thousands from Westminster & Marybone in ships closed up;
 35 Chained hand & foot, compelled to fight under the iron whips
 Of our captains; fearing our officers more than the enemy.
 Lift up thy blue eyes, Vala, & put on thy sapphire shoes;
 O melancholy Magdalen, behold the morning over Maldon break;

65.32. *scythes*] (In *Four Zoas* reads *slain*.) Not scythes for reaping, but the blades supposedly fixed to chariot-wheels in the traditions of Queen Boadicea's army. B. does not limit his opposition to war to the Napoleonic wars: all wars are of the same evil nature.

65.33-6. A combination of the conditions under which slaves had been carried across the Atlantic (until the trade was banned in 1807), and those of sailors press-ganged into the Navy, where flogging was a standard punishment. These lines are an interpolation into the earlier text. The phrase in 36 is traditional.

65.37. This apparent change of direction is a new appeal to Vala to devote herself to the battle. The allusion to 'Magdalen' who will 'descend into the sepulchre' recalls the relation of Luvah to Christ in 8.

65.38. *Maldon*] Towards the east: B. has *Malden*; see 27.65*n*.

- [65] Gird on thy flaming zone, descend into the sepulchre of
Canterbury.
40 Scatter the blood from thy golden brow, the tears from thy
silver locks;
Shake off the waters from thy wings, & the dust from thy
white garments!
Remember all thy feigned terrors on the secret couch of
Lambeth's Vale,
When the sun rose in glowing morn, with arms of mighty hosts
Marching to battle, who was wont to rise with Urizen's harps
45 Girt as a sower with his seed to scatter life abroad over Albion!
Arise, O Vala! bring the bow of Urizen, bring the swift
arrows of light!
How raged the golden horses of Urizen, compelled to the
chariot of love!
Compelled to leave the plough to the ox, to snuff up the
winds of desolation,
To trample the cornfields in boastful neighings! this is no
gentle harp,
50 This is no warbling brook, nor shadow of a myrtle tree,
But blood and wounds and dismal cries, and shadows of the
oak;
And hearts laid open to the light, by the broad grisly sword,
And bowels hid in hammered steel ripped quivering on the
ground.
Call forth thy smiles of soft deceit; call forth thy cloudy tears!
55 We hear thy sighs in trumpets shrill when morn shall blood
renew.'
- So sang the Spectre Sons of Albion round Luvah's Stone of
Trial,
Mocking and deriding at the writhings of their victim on
Salisbury,
Drinking his Emanation in intoxicating bliss, rejoicing in
Giant dance;
For a Spectre has no Emanation but what he imbibes from
deceiving
60 A victim! Then he becomes her Priest & she is his Tabernacle

65.39. *Gird on thy flaming zone* originally means, in effect, 'fasten up the belt of your dress'; but it may imply Vala as priestess; she is heading for Canterbury to take it over.

65.50–1. *warbling brook . . . myrtle tree . . . oak*] Romantic clichés of poetic diction (the *myrtle* being an emblem of marriage, the *oak* B.'s emblem of the Druids).

65.57. *Salisbury*] Where Stonehenge is (see 66.2).

65.60. *her Priest . . . his Tabernacle*] See 44.34–40n, 69.44.

- [65] And his oak grove, till the victim rend the woven Veil,
In the end of his sleep when Jesus calls him from his grave.

Howling the victims on the Druid altars yield their souls
To the stern warriors; lovely sport the Daughters round their
victims,

- 65 Drinking their lives in sweet intoxication. Hence arose from Bath
Soft deluding odours, in spiral volutions intricately winding
Over Albion's mountains, a feminine indefinite cruel delusion.
Astonished, terrified, & in pain & torment, sudden they
behold

- Their own parent, the Emanation of their murdered enemy
70 Become their Emanation, and their Temple and Tabernacle!
They knew not this Vala was their beloved mother Vala,
Albion's wife.

Terrified at the sight of the victim, at his distorted sinews,
The tremblings of Vala vibrate through the limbs of Albion's
Sons;

- While they rejoice over Luvah in mockery & bitter scorn
75 Sudden they become like what they behold, in howlings &
deadly pain!

Spasms smite their features, sinews & limbs; pale they look
on one another:

They turn, contorted; their iron necks bend unwilling towards
Luvah; their lips tremble; their muscular fibres are cramped
and smitten.

They become like what they behold! Yet immense in
strength and power,

- Pl.66 In awful pomp & gold, in all the precious unhewn stones of
Eden

They build a stupendous building on the Plain of Salisbury;
with chains

Of rocks round London Stone, of Reasonings, of unhewn
Demonstrations

In labyrinthine arches (mighty Urizen the architect) through
which

65.66–71. *Soft deluding odours*] Perhaps suggesting fumes from the medicinal springs at Bath, though B. had never been there. They then realize that this smoke, actually drifting up from the sacrifice of their victim Albion, is taking the Female form they themselves worship; for (though they do not know it) the Emanation of Albion is Vala. So also in 5.48–50, 7.38–9, Vala rises as a cloud of smoke from the furnaces where Luvah has been cast; and she is Jerusalem's Shadow.

66.2–9. *a stupendous building*] Stonehenge; its arches are not totally 'unhewn', but they are not very carefully 'finished'. Line 5 refers to the alignment of Stonehenge with the midsummer sun.

- [66] The Heavens might revolve & Eternity be bound in their chain;
 6 Labour unparalleled! a wondrous rocky world of cruel destiny,
 Rocks piled on rocks reaching the stars, stretching from pole
 to pole.

The building is Natural Religion, & its altars Natural Morality,
 A building of eternal death, whose proportions are eternal despair.

- 10 Here Vala stood turning the iron spindle of destruction
 From heaven to earth, howling, invisible! but not invisible
 Her two Covering Cherubs (afterwards named Voltaire and
 Rousseau)

Two frowning rocks, on each side of the cove & stone of torture:
 Frozen Sons of the feminine Tabernacle of Bacon, Newton &
 Locke.

- 15 For Luvah is France, the victim of the Spectres of Albion.

[*Marginal Design*]

Los beheld in terror: he poured his loud storms on the
 furnaces.

The Daughters of Albion, clothed in garments of needlework,
 Strip them off from their shoulders and bosoms; they lay aside
 Their garments, they sit naked upon the stone of trial.

- 20 The knife of flint passes over the howling victim; his blood

66.8. *The building is Natural Religion*] This does not mean 'this building symbolizes Natural Religion alone', but rather that such an evil creation is derived from an attitude of mind, which might create many such temples, in religion, politics, or private life. Natural Religion is not an elegant creation of sophisticated minds, but a creation such as this, a refuge of despair.

66.12. B. in these lines imagines the megaliths of Stonehenge in terms of the Hebrew Tabernacle, where the Mercy Seat of God is flanked and covered by two golden cherubim. Vala now sits in the place of Albion's God; her cherubim are soulless philosophers, who stand, not as golden cherubim, but as the frozen rocks of Stonehenge. It was supposed that London Stone (see 8.27*n*) had been a sacrificial stone, and random conjecture might derive it from Stonehenge.

66.13. *cove*] Stonehenge has at its centre a stone known as the 'altar stone', surrounded by a horseshoe of standing stones, B.'s 'cove', which B. could have seen in the works of Stukeley, Bryant, and other antiquarians.

66. *Marginal Design*: A flame rises up the R margin; opposite 22–40, a nude Daughter, wielding a knife, grips a victim between her thighs (see 18–20).

66.17. *needlework*] Artificial, woven garments: cp. *Four Zoas* ii 267*n*.

66.17–21. Illustrated by the marginal figure.

66.19. Stukeley's *Paleographica Britannica* iii (1752) includes such a figure in the frontispiece.

66.20. *The knife of flint*] The ritual knife used for circumcision was made of flint; S. American priests (see 23–4*n*) used stone knives; flint implements, commonly found on prehistoric sites in Britain, are associated with 'Ancient Britons' and thus with druids. The victim is still Luvah: but any victim partakes of the same significance. See *Four Zoas* viii 224.

- [66] Gushes & stains the fair side of the fair Daughters of Albion.
 They put aside his curls, they divide his seven locks upon,
 His forehead; they bind his forehead with thorns of iron.
 They put into his hand a reed, they mock, saying: 'Behold
 25 The King of Canaan whose are seven hundred chariots of
 iron!'
 They take off his vesture whole with their knives of flint;
 But they cut asunder his inner garments, searching with
 Their cruel fingers for his heart, & there they enter in pomp,
 In many tears; & there they erect a temple & an altar.
 30 They pour cold water on his brain in front, to cause
 Lids to grow over his eyes in veils of tears, and caverns
 To freeze over his nostrils, while they feed his tongue from cups
 And dishes of painted clay. Glowing with beauty & cruelty
 They obscure the sun & the moon; no eye can look upon them.
 35 Ah! alas! at the sight of the victim, & at sight of those who
 are smitten,
 All who see become what they behold; their eyes are covered
 With veils of tears, and their nostrils & tongues shrunk up,
 Their ears bent outwards; as their victim, so are they in the pangs
 Of unconquerable fear, amidst delights of revenge earth-
 shaking!
 40 And as their eye & ear shrunk, the heavens shrunk away.
 The Divine Vision became first a burning flame, then a column
 Of fire, then an awful fiery wheel surrounding earth & heaven;
 And then a globe of blood wandering distant in an unknown
 night:
 Afar into the unknown night the mountains fled away—
 45 Six months of mortality; a summer: & six months of
 mortality; a winter.

66.23–4. The crucifixion imagery fits the repeated association of Luvah and Christ; and (since Albion is said to be Luvah in this manifestation) of Albion and Christ. The daughters of Albion are like pagan priests, sacrificing their victim to a cruel god, and Clavigero's *History of Mexico* (trans. 1787) describes such cruelties as these, and those in 68.32–5.

66.25. A verbal allusion to *Judges* iv 3, where the Israelites suffer under the King of Canaan, 'for he had nine hundred chariots of iron'.

66.38. *ear*] B. has *ear* (singular); but note the plurals in 36–7.

66.41. The references are to various visions of God in the sun: by Moses in the flame in the bush (*Exodus* iii 2–6), by the Israelites in the desert (*Exodus* xiii 21), by Ezekiel (*Ezekiel* i).

66.43. *globe of blood*] A modern, circumscribed view of the sun, a single star in an empty universe. (But cp. *Revelation* vi 12, 14: 'The sun became black . . . and the moon became as blood . . . and every mountain and island were moved out of their places.') See also *Urizen* 209ff and *Milton* 29.21–4.

- [66] The Human form began to be altered by the Daughters of
 Albion,
 And the perceptions to be dissipated into the Indefinite,
 becoming
 A mighty Polypus named Albion's Tree. They tie the veins
 And nerves into two knots, & the seed into a double knot.
 50 They look forth; the sun is shrunk, the heavens are shrunk
 Away into the far remote; and the trees & mountains withered
 Into indefinite cloudy shadows in darkness & separation.
 By invisible hatreds adjoined, they seem remote and separate
 From each other; and yet are a mighty Polypus in the deep!
 55 As the mistletoe grows on the oak, so Albion's Tree on
 Eternity. Lo,
 He who will not commingle in Love, must be adjoined by Hate.
 They look forth from Stonehenge: from the cove round
 London Stone
 They look on one another; the mountain calls out to the
 mountain:
 Plinlimmon shrunk away; Snowdon trembled; the mountains
 60 Of Wales & Scotland beheld the descending war, the routed
 flying.
 Red run the streams of Albion; Thames is drunk with blood,
 As Gwendolen cast the shuttle of war, as Cambel returned
 the beam.
 The Humber & the Severn are drunk with the blood of the slain;
 London feels his brain cut round; Edinburgh's heart is
 circumscribed!

66.48. *A mighty POLYPUS named Albion's Tree*] An important blending of two images; the poisonous, spreading polypus and the spreading, clutching Tree of Mystery. B. sensed a frightening resemblance between these images and the branching ramifications of the nervous system and of the blood vessels. The clutch seems inescapable, the ramifications endless; yet the wandering, searching grasp is without form or mind. The matter is treated fully by Paul Miner in 'The Polyp as a Symbol in . . . W.B.' (*Texas Studies*, ii (1960), pp. 198ff.). The polypus sticks to its stone like mistletoe to a tree (55); besides this parasitic implication there is poison in the tentacles. Cp. 'A Poison Tree', *SIE*, p. 219; *Ahania* 109ff, *Four Zoas* vii 31ff, 265ff and notes.

66.49. *knots*] Cp. a similar passage in *Milton* 19.55ff: this kind of thought ties infinite realities into little physical strings.

66.55. *mistletoe*] A parasitic plant that feeds on and may destroy its host. Both mistletoe and oak were sacred to the druids.

66.57 *the cove round London Stone*] Cp. Lines 12 and 13 above, and notes.

66.59. *Plinlimmon, Snowdon*] Mountains of Wales.

66.62. *shuttle . . . beam*] They are working a loom together, though it is not clear how the fixed *beam* can be 'returned'.

66.64. *his brain cut round*] Cp. 58.7n.

- [66] York & Lincoln hide among the flocks, because of the
grinding knife.
- 66 Worcester, & Hereford, Oxford & Cambridge reel & stagger,
Overwearied with howling. Wales & Scotland alone sustain
the fight!
The inhabitants are sick to death; they labour to divide into
days
And nights the uncertain periods, and into weeks & months.
In vain
- 70 They send the dove & raven; & in vain the serpent over the
mountains,
And in vain the eagle & lion over the fourfold wilderness.
They return not; but generate in rocky places desolate.
They return not; but build a habitation separate from Man.
The sun forgets his course like a drunken man; he hesitates,
- 75 Upon the Chisledon hills, thinking to sleep on the Severn
In vain: he is hurried afar into an unknown night.
He bleeds in torrents of blood as he rolls through heaven above;
He chokes up the paths of the sky. The moon is leprous as snow,
Trembling & descending down, seeking to rest upon high Mona,
- 80 Scattering her leprous snows in flakes of disease over Albion.
The stars flee remote; the heaven is iron, the earth is sulphur,
And all the mountains & hills shrink up like a withering gourd,
As the senses of men shrink together under the knife of flint,
In the hands of Albion's Daughters, among the Druid Temples,
- Pl.67 By those who drink their blood & the blood of their
Covenant.

66.66. The Friends of Albion suffer, and are weakened, with him.

66.67. *Wales and Scotland*] Perhaps the Celts, descendants in the unweakened line; or B. may be thinking of the dislike of these two countries for episcopal religion.

66.70. Noah sent out dove and raven (only), to test for the reappearance of the land after the Flood; B. adds the other animals because they all hide from man.

66.74. The sun in eternity had no fixed course, and rested where he chose; now he is bound to a changeless circle.

66.75. *Chisledon*] On the Downs south of Swindon, between Avebury (site of the 'dragon temple') and the White Horse: the lesser-known hill-fort of Banbury is not far from Chisledon, but B. may not have known this; he is more interested in rocky hills than a small town.

66.79. *Mona*] A Druid centre at the time of the Roman invasions; an island, almost certainly Anglesey, but often supposed to be Man, as here. B.'s source is *Lycidas* 54, 'the shaggy top of Mona high'.

67.1. *the blood of their Covenant*] An ironical contrast with the Covenant of Jesus. The phrase derives (a) from Moses, 'Behold the blood of the covenant' at the ritual dedication of the Israelites to Jehovah at Horeb (*Exodus* xxiv 8): and (b) *Hebrews* xiii 20, 'the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that great shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant'.

- [67] 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. For every Female is a Golden Loom;
5 The rocks are opaque hardnesses covering all Vegetated things.
And as they wove & cut from the looms in various divisions
Stretching over Europe & Asia from Ireland to Japan,
They divided into many lovely Daughters, to be counterparts
To those they wove; for when they wove a male, they divided
10 Into a female to the woven male. In opaque hardness
They cut the fibres from the rocks, groaning in pain they weave,
Calling the rocks Atomic Origins of Existence, denying
Eternity
By the atheistical Epicurean philosophy of Albion's tree.
Such are the Feminine & Masculine when separated from Man.
15 They call the rocks 'Parents of Men' & adore the frowning
chaos,
Dancing around in howling pain clothed in the bloody veil,
Hiding Albion's Sons within the Veil, closing Jerusalem's
Sons without—to feed with their Souls the Spectres of Albion,
Ashamed to give love openly to the piteous & merciful man,
20 Counting him an imbecile mockery: but the warrior
They adore, & his revenge cherish with the blood of the
innocent.
They drink up Dan & Gad to feed with milk Skofeld &
Kotope,
They strip off Joseph's coat & dip it in the blood of battle.

67.2. A change of vision, but not a change of theme – the cruelties perpetrated on mankind by the perverted 'female will'. For Rahab and Tirzah see *Four Zoas* viii 267*n*, 283*n* The Sons and Daughters can divide or separate – like all immortals – at will: see 64.6 (similar to this) and 69.1, where the sons unite.

67.12. An example of B.'s self-interpretation which makes his work difficult to follow. The image of the weaving women has a much wider meaning than 12–13 suggest. B. chooses one particular interpretation, because the mental similarity occurs to him, between the women who create for themselves lovers of a kind they do not really want ('groaning in pain'), and thinkers who create needlessly an unhappy philosophy.

67.15. *the rocks*] Stonehenge, which they have just built.

67.17–18. *Albion's Sons . . . Jerusalem's Sons*] This is developed later (pls.71–4); Albion's sons (Englishmen as a whole, in the image of Hand, Hyle, Skofield, etc.) are 'spectrous', trapped by Vala's false female vision. Jerusalem's Sons (the twelve tribes of Israel) are lost figures of history, vainly following a mistaken idea of God, but still trying. At 63.41 Albion was divided from Canaan, and this 'spectrous' division of his children followed.

67.22. *Dan and Gad*] Two of the tribes of Israel, not ordinarily connected together. They sacrifice the true children to feed the shadows of children.

67.23. *Joseph's coat* was dipped in blood (*Genesis* xxxvii 31): 'Now Israel [i.e., Jacob] loved Joseph more than all his children . . . and he made him a coat of

- [67] Tirzah sits weeping to hear the shrieks of the dying. Her knife
 25 Of flint is in her hand; she passes it over the howling victim.
 The Daughters weave their work in loud cries over the rock
 Of Horeb, still eyeing Albion's cliffs, eagerly seizing & twisting
 The threads of Vala & Jerusalem, running from mountain to
 mountain
 Over the whole earth. Loud the warriors rage in Beth Peor
 30 Beneath the iron whips of their captains & consecrated
 banners.
 Loud the sun & moon rage in the conflict; loud the stars
 Shout in the night of battle, & their spears grow to their hands
 With blood, weaving the deaths of the mighty into a
 Tabernacle
 For Rahab & Tirzah, till the great Polypus of Generation
 covered the earth.
- 35 In Verulam the Polypus's head, winding around his bulk
 Through Rochester, & Chichester, & Exeter & Salisbury
 To Bristol, & his heart beat strong on Salisbury Plain,
 Shooting out fibres round the earth, through Gaul & Italy
 And Greece, & along the Sea of Rephaim into Judea
 40 To Sodom & Gomorrah; thence to India, China & Japan.
 The Twelve Daughters in Rahab & Tirzah have
 circumscribed the brain
 Beneath, & pierced it through the midst with a golden pin.
 Blood hath stained her fair side beneath her bosom.

many colours' (*Genesis* xxxvii 3). But when Joseph has dreams foretelling his supremacy over his brothers, they plot to kill him, 'and then we will see what will become of his dreams'. Reuben, however (see 30.13), unwilling to be involved in the actual 'shedding of blood', persuades them not to kill him – merely to leave him, waterless, in a pit (xxxvii 20–24). In his absence, Judah proposes that they sell Joseph into slavery (26–28); Reuben, returning, laments (29–30). They then dip the coat in kid's blood, and tell their father that a wild animal has killed him. Reuben is shown to have a weak sympathy and a fear of being caught in law-breaking, neither strong enough for strong opposition to his brothers. The *blood of battle* is B.'s gloss.

67.27. *Horeb*] Sinai, where the Law was given to Israel.

67.29. *Beth Peor*] Where the Israelites camped before entering the Promised Land, and where Moses was buried. The invasion of Canaan was supposed to be a divine command: hence the *consecrated banners* (30): also alluding both to the practice of consecrating regimental flags, and to their display in cathedrals and churches.

67.35. *the Polypus's head*] The creature is spreading over the whole of Britain, as the dragon temple was supposed to do (*Europe* 72–3). The five English towns are all cathedral cities, and as such Friends of Albion.

67.37. *Salisbury Plain*, the Polypus's heart, is the site of Stonehenge, the centre of Vala's power and worship.

67.39. *Sea of Rephaim*] See *Milton* 19.40n, *Jerusalem* 48.32–33n.

[67] 'O thou poor Human Form!' said she: 'O thou poor child of woe!

45 Why wilt thou wander away from Tirzah; why me compel to bind thee?

If thou dost go away from me I shall consume upon these rocks.
These fibres of thine eyes that used to beam in distant heavens
Away from me, I have bound down with a hot iron;
These nostrils, that expanded with delight in morning skies,
50 I have bent downward with lead melted in my roaring furnaces
Of affliction, of love, of sweet despair, of torment
unendurable.

My soul is seven furnaces; incessant roars the bellows
Upon my terribly flaming heart, the molten metal runs
In channels through my fiery limbs. O love! O pity! O fear!

55 O pain! O the pangs, the bitter pangs of love forsaken!
Ephraim was a wilderness of joy where all my wild beasts ran;
The River Kanah wandered by my sweet Manasseh's side
To see the boy spring into heavens sounding from my sight.
Go, Noah, fetch the girdle of strong brass, heat it red-hot:

60 Press it around the loins of this ever-expanding cruelty.
Shriek not so, my only love! I refuse thy joys, I drink
Thy shrieks, because Hand & Hyle are cruel & obdurate to me.

[*Design*]

Pl.68 O Skofield, why art thou cruel? Lo, Joseph is thine—to make
You One, to weave you both in the same mantle of skin.
Bind him down, sisters, bind him down on Ebal, Mount of
Cursing.

67.44. The cruelty of Tirzah again revealed, here emphasizing her belief (combined with a desperate need to dominate) that she is really doing good to the tortured Albion in binding his Human spirit to mortal existence. She tells herself that she does not wish to hurt him, that all she does is in order to 'reform' him – that is, form him to her own desires, her puppet. There are associations with all female dominion as B. sees it: and with the circumscription of the immortal soul in a mortal universe. The passage that follows (44–50, 52–61a, 68.3–9) is also found in, and is the source of, *Four Zoas* viii 287–309.

67.56–7. *Ephraim, Kanah, Manasseh*] Personifications of places in Israel, Kanah being part of the border between the other two.

67.59. *Noah*] A sister of the biblical Tirzah (*Numbers* xxvi 33), as were Mahlah, Hoglah and Milcah in 68.4–6 below.

67. *Design*: A victim racked out by chains on feet and wrists.

68.2. Of course, this is not the way to make two beings one; souls may unite in the bliss of eternity (cp. 34.16 and 66.56).

68.3. *Ebal*] Scene of a comprehensive ritual curse: cp. *Four Zoas* viii 303n and *Deuteronomy* xxvii 4–13.

- [68] Mahlah, come forth from Lebanon, & Hoglah from Mount Sinai:
 5 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 from away Shechem & Mount
 Gilead,
 Unless my beloved is bound upon the stems of Vegetation.’
- 10 And thus the warriors cry, in the hot day of victory, in songs:
 ‘Look, the beautiful Daughter of Albion sits naked upon the
 stone,
 Her panting victim beside her; her heart is drunk with blood
 Though her brain is not drunk with wine. She goes forth
 from Albion
 In pride of beauty, in cruelty of holiness, in the brightness
 15 Of her tabernacle, & her ark & secret place. The beautiful
 Daughter
 Of Albion delights the eyes of the kings; their hearts & the
 Hearts of their warriors glow hot before Thor & Friga.
 O Molech!
 O Chemosh! O Bacchus! O Venus! O Double God of
 Generation!
 The heavens are cut like a mantle around from the cliffs of
 Albion
- 20 Across Europe; across Africa; in howling & deadly war
 A sheet & veil & curtain of blood is let down from heaven,
 Across the hills of Ephraim & down Mount Olivet to
 The Valley of the Jebusite. Molech rejoices in heaven;
 He sees the Twelve Daughters naked upon the Twelve Stones,
 25 Themselves condensing to rocks & into the ribs of a man.

68.4. *Lebanon . . . Sinai*] North and south of Palestine respectively.

68.8. *Shechem . . . Gilead*] See *Four Zoas* viii 308*n*. These places – a town and a mountain – stood at about the same latitude, on opposite sides of Jordan, and in Manasseh’s land.

68.10. *the warriors cry*] A representation of the brutality and inhumanity engendered by war, in complaint that they are not repaid by ‘the Virgin’s’ favours. Lust for her spreads across the world – many places are named (20–4; 43–4; 55–62) – and they wait in vain to feed on the sacrificial victim; and she relishes it all. The resultant perverted masculinity is displayed in pls.69–70.

68.17–18. *Molech . . . Chemosh*] Gods worshipped by the sacrifice of children. By the association with Bacchus and Venus, and by 30ff, B. associates their cruelty with sexual repression.

68.18. *Double God of Generation*] In 1 *Kings* xi 7, Molech and Chemosh are closely associated, and some scholars identified the two as one.

68.23. *The Valley of the Jebusite*] Jerusalem, or rather a valley approaching it.

- [68] Lo! they shoot forth in tender nerves across Europe & Asia:
 Lo! they rest upon the tribes, where their panting victims lie.
 Molech rushes into the kings in love to the beautiful
 daughters,
 But they frown & delight in cruelty, refusing all other joy.
 30 Bring your offerings, your first-begotten, pampered with milk
 & blood;
 Your first-born of seven years old, be they males or females,
 To the beautiful Daughters of Albion! They sport before the
 kings
 Clothed in the skin of the victim! Blood, human blood is the
 life
 And delightful food of the warrior! the well-fed warrior's flesh
 35 Of him who is slain in war fills the valleys of Ephraim with
 Breeding women, walking in pride & bringing forth under
 green trees
 With pleasure, without pain; for their food is blood of the
 captive!
 Molech rejoices through the land from Havilah to Shur: he
 rejoices
 In Moral Law & its severe penalties: loud Shaddai & Jehovah
 40 Thunder above, when they see the twelve panting victims
 On the Twelve Stones of Power, & the beautiful Daughters
 of Albion
 (If you dare rend their Veil with your Spear you are healed
 of Love!)

From the hills of Camberwell & Wimbledon, from the valleys

68.31. *first-born of seven years old*] Not a biblical phrase, though it sounds like one. In English tradition and law, at seven, a child ceased to be an infant, and might go to school or work; at fourteen could be apprenticed; at 21 came of age.

68.38. *Molech rejoices*] Because he can win love (cp. 28) by slaughter.

68.38 *from Havilah to Shur*] The phrase occurs in *Genesis* xxv 18, of the Ishmaelites, the outcast tribes, who 'dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria'. Shur was somewhere south of Palestine: the phrase means 'from far north-east to far south-west'.

68.39. *Shaddai and Jehovah*] Two of the Seven Eyes Of God (55.30-3). They 'thunder' against the activities of the Twelve Daughters, but are unable to prevent them.

68.41 *Twelve Stones of Power*] The twelve sacrificial stones of 28.21.

68.42 *their Veil . . . your Spear*] Again (see 69.43-6 and *n*), B. blends sexual and religious images to express combined political and social frustration. Here the image of the spear also associates this frustration with its violent expression in war.
 68.43-4. *Camberwell, Wimbledon, Walton, Esher*] See map on p. 649. They are respectively east, south, west and north-east of London. *Stonehenge* and *Maldon* are west and east; *Maldon's cove* could be any inlet; see 27.65*n*.

The disasters of 43-7 arise from Man's dependence on the Female Will (see 30.31*n*), the workings of Vala, and his brutal execution of her brutal demands.

- [68] Of Walton & Esher, from Stonehenge & from Maldon's cove
 45 Jerusalem's pillars fall in the rendings of fierce war
 Over France & Germany, upon the Rhine & Danube.
 Reuben & Benjamin flee; they hide in the Valley of Rephaim—
 Why trembles the warrior's limbs when he beholds thy beauty
 Spotted with victim's blood, by the fires of thy secret
 tabernacle
 50 And thy ark & holy place? At thy frowns, at thy dire revenge
 Smitten as Uzzah of old, his armour is softened; his spear
 And sword faint in his hand, from Albion across Great
 Tartary—
 O beautiful Daughter of Albion, cruelty is thy delight;
 O Virgin of terrible eyes, who dwellest by valleys of springs
 55 Beneath the mountains of Lebanon, in the city of Rehob in
 Hamath;
 Taught to touch the harp, to dance in the circle of warriors
 Before the kings of Canaan; to cut the flesh from the victim,
 To roast the flesh in fire; to examine the infant's limbs
 In cruelties of holiness; to refuse the joys of love; to bring
 60 The spies from Egypt, to raise jealousy in the bosoms of the
 Twelve
 Kings of Canaan, then to let the spies depart to Meribah
 Kadesh,
 To the place of the Amalekite. I am drunk with unsatiated love;
 I must rush again to War; for the Virgin has frowned &
 refused.
 Sometimes I curse, & sometimes bless thy fascinating beauty.
 65 Once man was occupied in intellectual pleasures & energies,

68.49. *thy*] The daughter of Albion's.

68.51. *Uzzah*] Struck dead because, when the oxen drawing the ark of God stumbled, he touched the ark to steady it (2 *Samuel* vi 3–7).

68.52. *Great Tartary*] see 58.38*n*.

68.55. *Rehob in Hamath*] A town or district in Syria, otherwise Beth-Rehob. In *Numbers* xiii 21, the spies Joshua and Caleb survey the whole land as far as 'Rehob, as men come to [on the way to] Hamath', i.e., to the far north. The Amalekites 'dwell in the land of the south' (*Numbers* xiii 29).

68.58. *to examine the infant's limbs*] To make sure that the child is flawless for the sacrifice.

68.59. *cruelties . . . love*] This page is an example of B.'s spasmodic use of capital initials. He would normally capitalize the nouns in this line, and in 65, but does not (cp. pls. 49–50 and 48.53*n*); a few examples appear in 61–3, but he does not resume his usual practice until 69.

68.61. *Meribah Kadesh*] In the wilderness S. of Canaan; the Israelites camped there when they sent out the spies (incl. Caleb) over the land right up to Rehob (*Numbers* xiii, xxvii 14): for their lack of faith in their ability to conquer, the Israelites were then condemned to a further forty years' wandering.

[68] But now my soul is harrowed with grief & fear & love & desire;
 And now I hate & now I love, & Intellect is no more;
 There is no time for anything but the torments of love & desire.
 The Feminine & Masculine Shadows soft, mild &
 ever-varying

70 In beauty, are Shadows now no more, but Rocks in Horeb.'

Pl.69 Then all the Males combined into One Male, & every one
 Became a ravening eating Cancer growing in the Female,
 A Polypus of roots of Reasoning, Doubt, Despair & Death,
 Going forth & returning from Albion's rocks to Canaan,
 5 Devouring Jerusalem from every nation of the earth.

Envyng stood the enormous Form, at variance with itself
 In all its members, in eternal torment of love & jealousy,
 Driven forth by Los time after time from Albion's clifty shore,
 Drawing the free loves of Jerusalem into infernal bondage,
 10 That they might be born in contentions of Chastity, & in
 Deadly hate between Leah & Rachel, daughters of deceit &
 fraud,

Bearing the images of various species of Contention,
 And Jealousy & Abhorrence & Revenge & deadly Murder;
 Till they refuse liberty to the Male: (& not like Beulah

68.67. *now . . . love*] A famous quotation from Catullus, *Carmen* 85, 'Odi et amo', available to B. in many translations, imitations and allusions.

68.70. *Rocks in Horeb*] *Rocks*, no longer reflections of the human. *Horeb*: the place of the Law.

69.1. *combined*] Or 'conjoined'; B. tried both. The previous plates have dealt with the evil nature of the daughters of Albion, both as a group of twelve and as united: pls.69–70 deal with the sons of Albion, united into one; first as a poly-pus, then as the three-headed giant Hand.

69.3. *Polypus*] See 66.48*n* and *Four Zoas* iv 265*n*. The name *polypus* was given to a form of cancer, chiefly found in the nose, which ramifies in a way that somewhat resembles the growth of the marine hydroid species.

69.6. *at variance*] Without the unity of the Human Form, in eternity, which may also be composed of many elements, they are all at one with one another.

69.10. Destroying the unlimited love of Eternity by imposing the constraints of chastity upon it, as told in the following lines.

69.11. *Leah and Rachel*] The two wives of Jacob; daughters of Laban, who tricked Jacob into serving seven years for the less attractive Leah, so that he had to serve another seven for the desirable Rachel. Later a rivalry grew up between the sisters for Jacob's attentions (*Genesis* xxix–xxx), so that, rather than see him beget children on the other, each of them, during a period of barrenness, gave her servant-girl as concubine, to produce children for him. This B. contrasts with his picture of Beulah (14ff; see also *Milton* 33.17–18*n*). The rest of the plate is something of a digression, returning to Hand at 70.1.

69.14–25. The brackets are editorial, judging that this passage is a parenthesis, and that 'they' of 26–7 refers back to 9–14. The male is 'punished' and, repressed, creates a religion of repression. See next note, and 68.42*n*.

- [69] Where every Female delights to give her maiden to her husband.
- 16 The Female searches sea & land for gratifications to the Male Genius, who in return clothes her in gems & gold And feeds her with the food of Eden. Hence all her beauty beams;
- She Creates at her will a little moony night & silence
- 20 With Spaces of sweet gardens & a tent of elegant beauty, Closed in by a sandy desert & a night of stars shining, And a little tender moon & hovering angels on the wing. And the Male gives a Time & Revolution to her Space Till the time of love is passed in ever-varying delights
- 25 For all things exist in the Human Imagination. And thence in Beulah they are stolen by secret amorous theft, Till they have had punishment enough to make them commit Crimes.
- Hence rose the Tabernacle in the wilderness & all its offerings, From Male & Female Loves in Beulah & their Jealousies;
- 30 But no one can consummate Female bliss in Los's world without becoming a Generated Mortal, a Vegetating Death.
- And now the Spectres of the Dead awake in Beulah: all The Jealousies become murderous, uniting together in Rahab, A Religion of Chastity, forming a Commerce to sell Loves,
- 35 With Moral Law, an Equal Balance, not going down with decision.
- Therefore the Male, severe & cruel, filled with stern Revenge, Mutual Hate returns, & mutual Deceit & mutual Fear.
- Hence the infernal Veil grows in the disobedient Female, Which Jesus rends & the whole Druid Law removes away
- 40 From the Inner Sanctuary—a False Holiness hid within the Centre
- For the Sanctuary of Eden is in the Camp, in the Outline, In the Circumference, & every Minute Particular is Holy.

69.32. *Beulah* is a twilight land, a place where those who cannot bear the full force of Eden may rest – and so open to infection from Ulro. Although Beulah is also the land of the compassionate spirits who watch over fallen spirits on behalf of the Divine Vision, this danger is always present, for if the sleeping spirits awake unhealed they may run wild.

69.39. *Druid Law removes*] *Jesus* is the subject, *Law* the object, of the verb.

69.41. *is in the Camp, in the Outline*] i.e. is not a separated and 'Secret Place' which the ordinary person may not enter, but an outside place, open to everyone; not one little room, but everywhere is holy – 'every Minute Particular'. The Tabernacle in the wilderness was surrounded by the camps of the tribes, but remained a Holy Place distinct from the camp.

[69] Embraces are comminglings from the head even to the feet,
And not a pompous High Priest entering by a Secret Place.

45 Jerusalem pined in her inmost soul over wandering Reuben,
As she slept in Beulah's night hid by the daughters of Beulah.

[*Design*]

Pl.70 And this is the form of mighty Hand sitting on Albion's cliffs
Before the face of Albion, a mighty threatening form:

His bosom wide & shoulders huge, overspreading, wondrous,
Bear three strong sinewy necks & three awful & terrible heads,

5 Three Brains in contradictory council brooding incessantly.
Neither daring to put in act its councils, fearing each other,
Therefore rejecting Ideas as nothing, & holding all Wisdom
To consist in the agreements & disagreements of Ideas,
Plotting to devour Albion's Body of Humanity & Love.

10 Such Form the aggregate of the Twelve Sons of Albion took,
& such

Their appearance when combined: but often by birth-pangs
and loud groans

They divide to twelve; the key-bones & the chest dividing in
pain

Disclose a hideous orifice. Thence issuing, the Giant-brood
Arise as the smoke of the furnace, shaking the rocks from sea
to sea.

69.44. See 44.33*n*, 34*n*.

69.45. *wandering Reuben*] The wandering is inevitable after his 'fleeing' in pls.64 and 69. Perhaps this identifies Reuben with the legendary Wandering Jew, doomed always to travel, never to rest. But B.'s Reuben is better seen as representing Israel as a whole, whom B. sees as lost, until united with Albion.

69. *Design*: Two Daughters of Albion dance round him, one with a cup, one with a lash.

70.1. *Hand*] One of the Sons of Albion, but also (10) the form which they take when united as one being. The origin of the three-headed Hand, enemy of vision, lies in the three brothers Hunt (Robert, John and Leigh) who produced the journal *The Examiner*. (There were other brothers, but only these three were involved.) Hand is illustrated on pl.50: see also headnote, p. 656.

70.4. See 69.1*n*.

70.10-16. These lines associate almost all the evils B. saw in Albion: the philistinism of *The Examiner*, the evils represented by the twelve sons of Albion; the rationalism of Bacon, Newton and Lock, religious oppression and deceit of priest-hoods. The Oak Groves of 16 are seen, in another manner, as the huge stone trilithon of the design beneath: both 'overspread all the earth'. The monstrous birth-pangs of 12-13 recall (but do not quote) the birth of Sin in *Paradise Lost* ii 752-60.

- [70] And there they combine into three Forms, named Bacon &
 Newton & Locke,
 16 In the Oak Groves of Albion which overspread all the earth.

[*Design*]

- Imputing Sin & Righteousness to Individuals, Rahab
 Sat, deep within him hid, his Feminine Power unrevealed,
 Brooding Abstract Philosophy, to destroy Imagination, the
 Divine
 20 Humanity; a threefold wonder: feminine, most beautiful;
 threefold
 Each within other. On her white marble & even neck, her heart
 Inorbed and bonified, with locks of shadowing modesty,
 shining
 Over her beautiful female features, soft flourishing in beauty,
 Beams mild, all love and all perfection, that when the lips
 25 Receive a kiss from gods or men, a threefold kiss returns
 From the pressed loveliness; so her whole immortal form
 threefold
 Threefold embrace returns, consuming lives of gods & men:
 In fires of beauty melting them, as gold & silver in the furnace.
 Her brain enlabyrinths the whole heaven of her bosom & loins
 30 To put in act what her heart wills—Oh, who can withstand
 her power?
 Her name is Vala in Eternity; in Time, her name is Rahab.
 The Starry Heavens all were fled from the mighty limbs of
 Albion.

70. *Design* (covering half the page): A huge trilithon, five or six times as high as the three figures who pass on the road beneath it. It over-shadows the countryside seen behind it, and a new moon is seen through its arch: a visual image of the massive-shouldered giant Hand: cp. 63. *design*, *n*. See Plate 8.

70.17. *Rahab*] A change of theme, after the images of male evil in pls.68–70. The evil feminine harlot-principle controls the evil masculine principle (cp. 68.11–15, 48–63), although she is unseen. In this fallen world, Rahab rules all. The same theme appears in *Four Zoas* viii 576 (see also viii 267*n*), where Rahab-Vala conquers, and *Milton* pl.38.23–7, where she rules Satan from within.

70.27. *consuming*] The significant word.

70.31. *Vala*] Her name in B.'s myth of Eden and Ulro: in this world, the reader knows her as the Harlot of *Revelation*.

70.32. This line (repeated as the last line of the chapter, 75.27) summarizes the utter downfall of Albion, concluding the sequence of images of evil. He has lost his universality and become a single, self-centred being: all the elements that should form parts of his being are now externalized. The catchword *And* is altered from *His* in some copies: perhaps the text of pl.19 was once intended to follow.

- Pl.71 And above Albion's land was seen the heavenly Canaan
 As the Substance is to the Shadow; and above Albion's
 Twelve Sons
 Were seen Jerusalem's Sons, and all the Twelve Tribes
 spreading
 Over Albion. As the Soul is to the Body, so Jerusalem's Sons
 5 Are to the Sons of Albion: and Jerusalem is Albion's
 Emanation.
 (What is above is within, for everything in Eternity is
 translucent:
 The Circumference is within: without, is formed the selfish
 Centre,
 And the Circumference still expands, going forward to
 Eternity.
 And the Centre has Eternal States. These States we now
 explore.)
 10 And these the names of Albion's twelve Sons, & of his
 twelve Daughters
 With their districts. Hand dwelt in Selsey & had Sussex &
 Surrey
 And Kent & Middlesex, all their rivers & their hills of flocks
 & herds;
 Their villages, towns, cities, sea-ports, temples, sublime
 cathedrals;
 All were his friends, & their sons & daughters intermarry in
 Beulah.
 15 For all are Men in Eternity; rivers, mountains, cities, villages,
 All are Human; & when you enter into their bosoms you walk
 In Heavens & Earths, as in your own bosom you bear your
 Heaven

71.1-55 refers back to 63.41-5, where the mortal and immortal forms of Albion have separated, and describes the lost ideal. The sequence continues until pl.73.1. 71.6. B. associates the 'heavenly' (traditionally and in 1-3 'above') with that 'within' the heart, and also – though paradoxically – with the outward-looking 'Circumference'. The selfish introspective heart encases itself in a hard shell, and has no outward-facing Circumference. Cp. 12.55*n* and 18.2: B. is not altogether consistent in his use of these terms.

71.9. The following passage describes in detail the association envisaged in 1, and the original state of Albion in the perfection of eternity. The schematic appearance of the whole (echoing the listing of the Israelites in *Numbers*) should not cause the important and often beautiful passages, interspersed in the list of counties, to be overlooked. B. has made two slips. Wiltshire and Staffordshire are both named twice (26.42; 34.44), Lancashire not at all.

71.11. *Hand . . . Selsey*] Hand is the worst, the ringleader, yet Selsey (36.48) is the type of self-sacrifice.

71.15-19. This passage, taken with 34.14-22, shows B.'s vision of the Eternity and Infinity in which material limitations are unknown. See also p. 486.

- [71] And Earth; & all you behold, though it appears Without it is
 Within,
 In your Imagination of which this world of Mortality is but a
 Shadow.
- 20 Hyle dwelt in Winchester, comprehending Hampshire,
 Dorset, Devon, Cornwall;
 Their villages, cities, sea-ports, their cornfields & gardens,
 spacious
 Palaces, rivers & mountains. And between Hand & Hyle arose
 Gwendolen, & Cambel who is Boadicea; they go abroad & return
 Like lovely beams of light from the mingled affections of the
 brothers.
- 25 The inhabitants of the whole earth rejoice in their beautiful light.
 Coban dwelt in Bath: Somerset, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire
 Obeyed his awful voice; Ignoge is his lovely Emanation;
 She adjoined with Gwantok's Children. Soon lovely Cordella
 arose.
 Gwantok forgave & joyed over South Wales & all its
 mountains.
- 30 Peachey had North Wales, Shropshire, Cheshire & the Isle of
 Man.
 His Emanation is Mehetabel, terrible & lovely upon the
 mountains.
 Brereton had Yorkshire, Durham, Westmorland, & his
 Emanation
 Is Ragan; she adjoined to Slade, & produced Gonorill
 far-beaming.
- Slade had Lincoln, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, & his lovely
 35 Emanation Gonorill rejoices over hills & rocks & woods & rivers.
 Hutt had Warwick, Northampton, Bedford, Buckingham,
 Leicester & Berkshire; & his Emanation is Gwinefred
 beautiful.
- Skofeld had Ely, Rutland, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Norfolk,
 Suffolk, Hertford & Essex: & his Emanation is Gwineverra
 40 Beautiful. She beams towards the east, all kinds of precious
 stones
 And pearl, with instruments of music in holy Jerusalem.

71.20. *Hyle . . . Winchester*] 'Hylé' derives from 'Hayley', the self-satisfied intellectual; Winchester, Alfred's centre of learning, has a famous school.

71.23. *Cambel*] At 80.58 she is said to be Hand's counterpart, and at 80.67, Gwendolen is Hyle's.

[71] Kox had Oxford, Warwick, Wilts: his Emanation is Estrild;
 Joined with Cordella she shines southward over the Atlantic.

Kotope had Hereford, Stafford, Worcester, & his Emanation
 45 Is Sabrina; joined with Mehetabel she shines west over
 America.

Bowen had all Scotland, the Isles, Northumberland &
 Cumberland;

His Emanation is Conwenna, she shines, a triple form,
 Over the north with pearly beams gorgeous & terrible;
 Jerusalem & Vala rejoice in Bowen & Conwenna.

[*Design*]

50 But the four sons of Jerusalem that never were Generated
 Are Rintrah and Palamabron and Theotormon and Bromion.
 They

Dwell over the four Provinces of Ireland in heavenly light,
 The four universities of Scotland, & in Oxford & Cambridge
 and Winchester.

But now Albion is darkened & Jerusalem lies in ruins,
 55 Above the mountains of Albion, above the head of Los.

And Los shouted with ceaseless shoutings & his tears poured
 down

His immortal cheeks, rearing his hands to heaven for aid Divine.
 But he spoke not to Albion, fearing lest Albion should turn
 his back

Against the Divine Vision, & fall over the precipice of
 Eternal Death.

71. *Design*: on the left, a swan with its neck stretched along the ground, its wings partially raised; on the right a dejected, reclining female figure; behind her head a tendril-like stem spirals up the margin into a flower beside lines 1-4.

71.45. *Sabrina*] The Latin name of the river Severn, which flows through Hereford, Worcester and other counties, though not Stafford.

71.50. In *Milton* 23.62-24.13, Los has sixteen sons; twelve leave him for mortality and become the tribes of Israel 'in Generation'. The four who are left are those here called 'Sons of Jerusalem' - which is unusual, as they are more often given to Los (cp. 15.22). The twelve Sons of Albion are 'spectrous' forms of the twelve tribes, however, and this would lead B. to shift the whole group from Los to Albion and Jerusalem. See 72.12.

71.53. The four Scottish universities were St Andrew's, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

71.56-63. *Los . . . spoke not*] Perhaps deriving from B.'s choice not to attack the political and social evils of Albion too openly. Los's work from here on is to create forms from chaos and enliven them continually by imagination. See 72.29ff, 73.29ff.

- [71] But he receded before Albion & before Vala weaving the Veil
 61 With the iron shuttle of war among the rooted oaks of Albion,
 Weeping & shouting to the Lord day & night, & his children
 Wept round him as a flock, silent seven days of Eternity.
- Pl.72 And the thirty-two counties of the four Provinces of Ireland
 Are thus divided: the four counties are in the four camps:
 Munster south in Reuben's Gate, Connaught west in
 Joseph's Gate,
 Ulster north in Dan's Gate, Leinster east in Judah's Gate.
- 5 For Albion in Eternity has sixteen Gates among his pillars,
 But the four towards the west were walled up, & the twelve
 That front the four other points were turned four-square
 By Los, for Jerusalem's sake, & called the Gates of Jerusalem,
 Because twelve Sons of Jerusalem fled successive through the
 gates.
- 10 But the four Sons of Jerusalem who fled not but remained
 Are Rintrah & Palamabron & Theotormon & Bromion,
 The four that remain with Los to guard the western wall.
 And these four remain to guard the four walls of Jerusalem
 Whose foundations remain in the thirty-two counties of
 Ireland,
- 15 And in twelve counties of Wales, & in the forty counties
 Of England & in the thirty-six counties of Scotland.
- And the names of the thirty-two counties of Ireland are these:
 Under Judah & Issachar & Zebulun are Louth, Longford,
 East Meath, West Meath, Dublin, Kildare, King's County,
 20 Queen's County, Wicklow, Catherlow, Wexford, Kilkenny.
 And those under Reuben & Simeon & Levi are these.
 Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Clare.

72.1. This reverts to the theme which was left at 71.52; the association of places in Britain with spiritual figures. Here B. takes up in detail the divisions of Ireland. These passages are evidently inspired by the genealogical lists of the Old Testament.

72.2. *the four camps*] The four camps into which the Israelites were divided on their march through the wilderness surrounded the tabernacle in the order and direction that B. gives, except that the western camp was Ephraim's; he was the junior but favoured son of Joseph. See *Numbers* ii 3, 10, 18, 25. The four camps contained three tribes each, and B. retains the groupings in 18-27 below, except that Levi in the Israelite camp had charge of the Tabernacle itself, and the third tribe in that camp was Gad.

72.7. *four other points*] Surely there should be only three: north, east and south?
 72.10-12. This explains away the inconsistency noted at 71.50.

72.17. See notes on 71.1 and 71.9. B. groups the counties exactly according to the four provinces (1-4).

- [72] And those under Ephraim, Manasseh & Benjamin are these:
Galway, Roscommon, Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim.
25 And those under Dan, Asher & Naphtali are these:
Donegal, Antrim, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh, Londonderry,
Down, Monaghan, Cavan. These are the land of Erin.

All these Centre in London & in Golgonooza, from whence
They are Created continually, east & west & north & south,
30 And from them are Created all the nations of the earth,
Europe & Asia & Africa & America, in fury fourfold!

[*Design*]

- And thirty-two the nations to dwell in Jerusalem's Gates.
O come, ye nations! Come, ye people! Come up to Jerusalem!
Return, Jerusalem, & dwell together as of old! Return,
35 Return! O Albion, let Jerusalem overspread all nations
As in the times of old! O Albion, awake! Reuben wanders,
The nations wait for Jerusalem, they look up for the Bride.

France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Poland, Russia, Sweden,
Turkey,
Arabia, Palestine, Persia, Hindustan, China, Tartary, Siberia,
40 Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Guinea, Caffraria, Negroland,
Morocco,
Congo, Zaara, Canada, Greenland, Carolina, Mexico,
Peru, Patagonia, Amazonia, Brazil, thirty-two nations.
And under these thirty-two classes of islands in the ocean,
All the nations, peoples & tongues throughout all the earth.

- 45 And the Four Gates of Los surround the Universe Within and
Without, & whatever is visible in the Vegetable Earth, the same

72.28. *London*, B.'s home and place of work, is constantly connected with *Golgonooza*, Los's place of work: the association of *Erin* with London perhaps alludes to the political subordination of Ireland to London but more probably to the spiritual connections – Ireland, land in the west, relating to Golgonooza.

72.29. *Created continually*] Cp. 53.19*n.* B., as the design below shows, attached great stress to the essentially preservative nature of mortal transience.

72. *Design*: Two angels weep before a rocky globe, the mortal world, showing the continents, over which is inscribed: 'Continually Building, Continually Decaying because of Love and Jealousy.' See also 83.37–43.

72.32. *thirty-two*] This number is taken, not from the Bible, but apparently from a Fourfold Eight, if the thirty-two nations given in 38–43 be divided into eight each from Europe, Asia, Africa and America. This means including Turkey in Europe; the Ottoman Empire was at this time a major European power. Egypt is included in Asia, with which her history is largely linked. See 16.52*n.*

72.36. *Reuben wanders*] As at 69.45.

72.40. *Caffraria*] The land of the Kaffirs; i.e. African land south of Ethiopia.

72.41. *Zaara*] Sahara.

- [72] Is visible in the Mundane Shell (reversed in mountain & vale).
 And a Son of Eden was set over each Daughter of Beulah to
 guard
 In Albion's Tomb the wondrous Creation. And the Fourfold
 Gate
 50 Towards Beulah is to the south. Fenelon, Guyon, Teresa,
 Whitefield & Hervey guard that gate, with all the gentle souls
 Who guide the great Winepress of Love; four precious stones
 that Gate.

[*Design*]

- Pl.73 Such are Cathedron's golden halls in the city of Golgonooza.
 And Los's furnaces howl loud-living, self-moving, lamenting
 With fury & despair, & they stretch from south to north
 Through all the four points. Lo! the labourers at the
 furnaces,
 5 Rintrah & Palamabron, Theotormon & Bromion, loud
 labouring
 With the innumerable multitudes of Golgonooza round the
 Anvils

72.50-1. François *Fénelon* (1651-1751) was a teacher, spiritual adviser and religious philosopher. He left many writings, and was regarded in the eighteenth century as a great thinker. William Godwin, in *Political Justice*, chose him as the type of the 'great mind' in his curious moral dilemma, which asked: which of two people, Fénelon or a servant-girl, should be saved from a burning house if there was only time to rescue one? – arguing that logic and good sense would choose to rescue the obviously invaluable Fénelon. He was a follower of Jeanne Marie *Guyon* (1648-1717); she taught an extreme form of quietism, giving up the necessity for good works and active good behaviour, and claiming that spiritual perfection was to be found in ceaseless contemplation. She was accused of heresy and imprisoned in the Bastille, but later released. St. *Teresa* (1515-82) was very active as a reformer of her order, the Carmelites, which she returned to most of the severity of its early rule; but is most famous for her mystical writings on the soul's search for God. George *Whitefield* (1714-70) was a founder of Methodism but, unlike Wesley – and Blake! – a strict Calvinist in his theology; B. probably admired him for his reputation as a great evangelist: see *Milton* 22.55-23.2 and p. 772 above). James *Hervey* (1714-58) was an Anglican rector, prominent in early Methodism though he disagreed with Wesley: famous in his day for *Meditations among the Tombs* (1746) and other poems of religious reflection.

72. *Design*: A serpent, heading left; beneath it, in reversed writing: 'Women the comforters of men become the Tormentors & Punishers.'

73.1. A line concluding the sequence on pls.71-72. The remainder of ch. 3 is a series of images of ruin.

73.2. *Los's furnaces*] If a description of Cathedron had preceded, this would continue the theme of the work of Los and Enitharmon. As it stands, it refers back to 71.56ff.

- [73] Of Death. But how they came forth from the furnaces, &
 how long,
 Vast & severe the anguish ere they knew their father, were
 Long to tell—& of the iron rollers, golden axle-trees & yokes
 10 Of brass, iron chains & braces, & the gold, silver & brass
 Mingled or separate, for swords, arrows, cannons, mortars,
 The terrible ball, the wedge, the loud-sounding hammer of
 destruction,
 The sounding flail to thresh, the winnow to winnow
 kingdoms;
 The water-wheel & mill of many innumerable wheels
 resistless—
 15 Over the Fourfold Monarchy from earth to the Mundane
 Shell.

Perusing Albion's Tomb in the starry characters of Og &
 Anak:

- To Create the lion & wolf, the bear, the tiger & ounce;
 To Create the woolly lamb & downy fowl & scaly serpent,
 The summer & winter; day & night; the sun & moon & stars;
 20 The tree; the plant; the flower; the rock; the stone; the metal
 Of Vegetative Nature, by their hard restricting condensations.

[*Design*]

Where Luvah's world of opaqueness grew to a period, it
 Became a Limit, a rocky hardness without form & void,

73.7. *they*] The multitudes of 6, who are cast like molten iron from Los's furnaces: but being human forms, they are not inanimate.

73.14. *resistless*] Irresistible.

73.15. *Fourfold Monarchy*] This has the sense of completeness, 'from earth to the top of the sky', but B. does not elaborate.

73.16. *Perusing*] The four Sons (Rintrah, etc.) were closely studying the mortal world – not to 'number' it, like Satan's watch-fiends in 35.1, but to see what could be done for its redemption.

the starry characters of Og and Anak] The constellations, the starry writing of the enemy, which the four brothers study for the same purpose as in the previous note; and they create living forms out of dead rocks. In *Milton* 37.50, the constellations are divided between Og and Sihon.

73. *Design*: Los hammering at a wall around the sun (see 32 and 41).

73.22. *Luvah*] Active for evil in Albion: this is the image of Luvah united with Albion's spectre (54.11, 60.2) – not the crucified Luvah of pls.65–7.

73.23. *LIMIT*] This passage (lines 22–26, 32–34) is somewhat obscure. B. is using the word in a 'technical' sense, as having a specific meaning in his poetic vocabulary. (For a full discussion of the origin of the concept in Boehme, see *Raine*, I, 404–6.) In B.'s Eden, there are no limits to Imaginative life; in Ulro, abyss of Non-Entity, there is no Form and therefore no existence. In the Vegetative world (our mortal world), the free forms of Eden are lost in Chaos, but through

- [73] Accumulating without end. Here Los, who is of the Elohim,
 25 Opens the Furnaces of affliction in the Emanation,
 Fixing the Sexual into an ever-prolific Generation,
 Naming the Limit of Opaqueness 'Satan', & the Limit of
 Contraction
 'Adam', who is Peleg & Joktan; & Esau & Jacob; & Saul &
 David,
 (Voltaire insinuates that these Limits are the cruel work of God,
 30 Mocking the Remover of Limits & the Resurrection of the Dead,
 Setting up kings in wrath, in holiness of Natural Religion,
 Which Los with his mighty hammer demolishes time on time
 In miracles & wonders in the fourfold desert of Albion,
 Permanently Creating, to be in Time revealed & demolished:
 35 Satan, Cain, Tubal, Nimrod, Pharaoh, Priam, Bladud, Belin,
 Arthur, Alfred, the Norman Conqueror, Richard, John,

the efforts of the Creative genius, Los, are remnants of them retained. By 'fixing the Limits' of the remnants of Imaginative life, Los prevents them from the danger inherent in their restrictive nature, of falling into the 'black hole' of the final rigidity of Non-Entity. Luvah's world reached the Limit of Opacity (cp. *Four Zoas* iv 270n) – that is, 'a rocky hardness' which does not *grow*, but only 'accumulates', without Creative purpose.

end here is used in the sense of 'purpose', not 'conclusion'.

73.24. *Elohim*] The creator God of *Genesis* i, and one of B.'s *Seven Eyes of God* – see 55.31 and *Milton* 14.42n.

73.25. *in the Emanation*] The syntax is uncertain: there is no punctuation. The editorial punctuation is based on a reading that 'the Emanation, shaped by Los at his furnaces, becomes the Female, in a scheme of 'ever-prolific Generation' – continually Creating, [and therefore] 'continually renewing'.

73.28. *Peleg and Joktan*] Brothers, sons of Eber, father of all the Hebrews. B. names three pairs in parallel to Satan and Adam, who in B.'s concept of 'Limits' inevitably go together.

73.29. *Voltaire*] Not a direct allusion to Voltaire, but an allusion to his sceptical attitude, and his agnosticism. B. says that Voltaire does not understand that the forms taken by created things are the mercy, not the punishment, of God.

73.31. *Setting up kings*] Voltaire was no lover of despots, but he was no egalitarian either: and B. does him no injustice in associating him with the rationalists of eighteenth-century religion.

holiness is ironic.

73.32–4. This is a neat exposition of B.'s concept of Continual Creation, which is prominent in these pages: see. *Milton* 11.20n. Creation (a word B. always capitalizes) is not a glorious achievement in itself, but a temporary saving process, which prevents the world and the individual from fading into Non-Entity.

73.35. *Satan*, etc.] Eternal beings are revealed anew in each generation. In 27, Satan is a 'father' of mankind; here B. draws out the line of kings. It moves from the antediluvian metal-worker *Tubal*, through the famous hunter, the Hamite *Nimrod*, by way of *Pharaoh* (treated, as in the Bible, as a proper name) and the classical *Priam* of Troy (for what is good in the classics, according to B., came

- [73] And all the kings & nobles of the earth & all their glories.
 These are Created by Rahab & Tirzah in Ulro, but around
 These, to preserve them from Eternal Death, Los Creates
 40 Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David, Ezekiel,
 Dissipating the rocky forms of Death by his thunderous
 hammer.
 (As the pilgrim passes while the country permanent remains,
 So men pass on; but States remain permanent for ever).
 The Spectres of the Dead howl round the porches of Los
 45 In the terrible family feuds of Albion's cities & villages,
 To devour the Body of Albion, hungering & thirsting &
 ravening.
 The Sons of Los clothe them & feed, & provide houses &
 gardens;
 And every Human Vegetated Form in its inward recesses
 Is a house of pleasantness & a garden of delight, built by the
 50 Sons & Daughters of Los in Bowlahoola & in Cathedron.
 From London to York & Edinburgh the furnaces rage terrible.
 Primrose Hill is the mouth of the furnace & the iron door.
- Pl.74 The Four Zoas clouded rage; Urizen stood by Albion,
 With Rintrah and Palamabron and Theotormon and Bromion.

from the patriarchs: see the Preface to *Milton*) to ancient British history as traditionally told and recorded by Milton in his *History of Britain*. *Bladud*, *Belin* and *Arthur* (see 54.25*n*), are all from this source; and so B. leads on to historical kings, coming up to date in the line which he wisely deleted, since it presented *King George* as the latest in the descent of Satan.

73.37. Above this, a line deleted from the plate: 'Edward Henry Elizabeth James Charles William George.'

73.40. Beneath this, deleted from the plate: 'Pythagoras Socrates Euripides Virgil Dante Milton.' On second thoughts, B. decided that the line of virtue must be entirely biblical. Notice the ambiguity of his use of Adam, who is Satan at line 28.
 73.47. Any such work of mercy is the work of Los; the artist who feeds the minds of otherwise savage men, and the person who in humanity dissolves feuds and assists the victims.

73.52. *Primrose Hill*] In B.'s day, outside London to the north-west, with an extensive view: cp. 27.23–6. B. said to Crabb Robinson, 'I have conversed with the spiritual sun – I saw him on Primrose Hill' (10 Dec. 1820).

74.1. *The Four Zoas*] Always doubtful elements in *Jerusalem*, belonging to an earlier myth not fully assimilated. Here, B. seems to contradict himself. Urizen ('clouded') stands by Albion in his error; but Rintrah etc. are Los's sons and aids (71.50, 72.12). Urizen can only be 'with' them in the old sense of *with*, 'against', as in 'fighting with', which makes the best sense here. Cp. 63.1–6. In lines 5ff, the Zoas are fighting among themselves, rather than against Los's Sons; they have lost their true natures (have become spectres); but these are saved for them in Beulah against their recovery.

74.2. *Rintrah*, etc.] Sons of Jerusalem, or Los: cp. 71.50*n*, and 72.12 in the text.

- [74] These four are Verulam & London & York & Edinburgh,
And the Four Zoas are Urizen & Luvah & Tharmas &
Urthona,
- 5 In opposition deadly, and their wheels in poisonous
And deadly stupor turned against each other loud & fierce;
Entering into the Reasoning Power, forsaking Imagination,
They became Spectres; & their Human bodies were reposed
In Beulah by the Daughters of Beulah, with tears &
lamentations.
- 10 The Spectre is the Reasoning Power in man, & when separated
From Imagination, and closing itself as in steel, in a Ratio
Of the things of Memory, it thence frames Laws & Moralities
To destroy Imagination, the Divine Body, by martyrdoms &
wars.
- Teach me, O Holy Spirit, the Testimony of Jesus! Let me
- 15 Comprehend wondrous things out of the Divine Law!
I behold Babylon in the opening streets of London. I behold
Jerusalem in ruins wandering about from house to house.
This I behold; the shuddering of death attend my steps,
I walk up and down in six thousand years; their events are
present before me,
- 20 To tell how Los in grief & anger, whirling round his
hammer on high
Drive the sons & daughters of Albion from their ancient
mountains:
They became the Twelve Gods of Asia opposing the Divine
Vision.

74.3. This does not mean that every allusion to the Friends, and every allusion to the Four faithful Sons, must be read with this identification literally in mind. B. is pointing out that the same essential spirit animates both groups of four. At 59.11–14 the Friends are the Zoas; if B. intends that here, then the four faithful sons must be the warring Zoas too: yet the purpose of introducing them was to have four figures who were not corrupted. This passage seems to distinguish the Friends and the Zoas.

74.10–13. Contrary to common assertion, B. does not denounce reason utterly; it has its necessary place in the whole Human being. He denounces only those who seek to make it the sole component of humanity.

74.16–17. *I behold Babylon in . . . London*] London and Jerusalem are identical in Eternity (cp. 27.1, 2nn): but Jerusalem has been deposed; B. looks at the grandly expanding streets, and sees their spiritual poverty: Babylon, the city of Rahab, the symbol of corruption and the negation of Jerusalem in *Revelation*.

74.19. *six thousand years*] i.e., according to tradition, the whole of human history, the period the world was expected to exist.

74.22. *became the Twelve Gods . . .*] How this came to be, B. narrates (rather obscurely) in the following lines. For the *Twelve Gods of Asia* see *Milton* 37.20ff.

- [74] The Sons of Albion are twelve; the sons of Jerusalem sixteen.
 I tell how Albion's sons by harmonies of concords & discords
 25 Opposed to melody, and by lights & shades opposed to Outline,
 And by Abstraction opposed to the Visions of Imagination,
 By cruel Laws, divided sixteen into twelve divisions:
 How Hyle roofed Los in Albion's cliffs, by the Affections rent
 Asunder & opposed to Thought, to draw Jerusalem's Sons
 30 Into the vortex of his Wheels. Therefore Hyle is called Gog,
 Age after age drawing them away towards Babylon—
 Babylon, the Rational Morality deluding to death the little ones
 In strong temptations of stolen beauty. I tell how Reuben slept
 On London Stone, & the Daughters of Albion ran around
 admiring
 35 His awful beauty; with Moral Virtue the fair deceiver, offspring
 Of Good & Evil, they divided him in love upon the Thames
 & sent
 Him over Europe in streams of gore out of Cathedron's looms;
 How Los drave them from Albion & they became daughters
 of Canaan—
 Hence Albion was called the Canaanite, & all his Giant Sons.
 40 Hence is my theme. O Lord my Saviour, open thou the gates
 And I will lead forth thy words, telling how the Daughters

74.23ff. *The Sons of Albion*] This passage (ending at 75.1) begins as a necessary adjustment and continues as a vision of the history of Israel. There are two sets of twelve 'sons': equated with one another: Hand, Hyle, Skofield, etc.; and the twelve tribes of Israel. The division of Albion and Canaan (63.42; 71.1) leaves the corrupt spiritual sons of Albion in Albion; and their counterparts in Israel are the historical twelve tribes. But (cp. 71.50n) B. has now given to Jerusalem the sixteen 'Sons of Los' of *Milton* 23.67ff, who comprise the twelve sons of Israel plus Rintrah, Palamabron, Bromion and Theotormon. See 16.52n; the 'perfect' sixteen has been reduced to an 'imperfect' twelve.

74.28. *Hyle roofed Los in*] *Hyle* derives from Hayley, the well-meaning but intolerable patron who attempted to circumscribe B.'s work by misplaced 'affections'.
 74.30. *Gog*] In *Ezekiel* xxxviii-xxxix, a king, foretold as the type of heathendom who would invade Israel in the last days of the world, only to be defeated with great slaughter. See also *Revelation* xx 8.

74.31. *Babylon*] Gog is not biblically associated with Babylon; the relation is B.'s: the temptations of Hayley, dangerous as Gog, appear 'age after age' trying to corrupt Jerusalem. The opposition of Jerusalem and Babylon, so important to B., is equally fundamental to biblical tradition, most especially in *Revelation*.

74.34. *London Stone*] In 30.45 the stone is the Stone of Bohan in Judah; B. links, as always, Britain and Canaan.

74.41. See 23n. In the following lines, B. describes how the twelve sons of Israel (i.e. of Jerusalem) are 'divided' and 'roll apart' – i.e. are separated from one another and from their true nature. The twelve sons and one daughter, Dinah, are listed in the order of their birth (*Genesis* xxix 32-xx 24, xxxv 16-18): i.e. B. identifies their birth into this world with their separation from Eternity.

- [74] Cut the fibres of Reuben, how he rolled apart & took root
In Bashan; terror-struck Albion's sons look toward Bashan!
They have divided Simeon; he also rolled apart in blood
45 Over the nations till he took root beneath the shining looms
Of Albion's Daughters, in Philistia by the side of Amalek.
They have divided Levi; he hath shot out into forty-eight roots
Over the land of Canaan. They have divided Judah;
He hath took root in Hebron, in the land of Hand & Hyle.
50 Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulun roll apart
From all the nations of the earth to dissipate into Non-Entity.

- I see a Feminine form arise from the Four terrible Zoas
Beautiful but terrible, struggling to take a form of beauty,
Rooted in Shechem. This is Dinah, the youthful form of Erin.
55 The wound I see in South Molton Street & Stratford Place,
Whence Joseph & Benjamin rolled apart away from the
nations.
In vain they rolled apart; they are fixed into the land of Cabul.

[*Design*]

74.42-3. *Reuben . . . took root In Bashan*] The Reubenites, in the invasion of the Promised Land, settled in Transjordan, but not in Bashan. However, we must not look for precise Biblical parallels in these lines.

74.44. *Simeon* was granted land in the far south, as B. says, near the lands ruled by the Philistines and the Amalekites.

74.47. *forty-eight*] The cities of the Levites, which they received instead of land.

74.48. *Judah*] This 'rooting' of Judah in the region of Hebron (to the south of Jerusalem) is also historical, as with Simeon.

74.54. *Dinah*] The only recorded daughter of Israel, who of course did not name a tribe. B. therefore associates her with Erin. She was beloved by the young lord of Shechem, who (*Genesis* xxxiv 2) 'lay with her, and defiled her' – this is commonly, but not necessarily, taken to mean rape, but it was certainly done without family approval. Afterwards he was anxious to marry her, and a bargain was made with Israel and his sons, but treacherously broken by Dinah's full brothers (by the same mother) Simeon and Levi, whose men killed all the men of Shechem. Thus Dinah was trying to 'take root' in Shechem by marriage, but was brutally prevented. So Erin (Ireland) was ill-treated by her 'brother' Albion over centuries of misrule (to which B. does not allude elsewhere).

74.57. *the land of Cabul*] A region near Carmel, granted by Solomon to Hiram, king of Tyre in return for wood and gold provided for the great temple at Jerusalem. Hiram was dissatisfied (*1 Kings* ix 13) 'and said, What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? – And he called them the land of Cabul unto this day.' The name means 'as good as nothing'; but Cabul was in the land of Zebulun, not of Benjamin or of the two sons of Joseph, Manasseh and Ephraim.

74. *Design*: R margin: two distorted figures. At the foot: a distressed figure, with long hair, 'enrooting' (as Reuben, etc., 42-9).

Pl.75 And Rahab, Babylon the Great, hath destroyed Jerusalem.
 Bath stood upon the Severn with Merlin & Bladud & Arthur,
 The cup of Rahab in his hand, her poisons twenty-sevenfold.

And all her Twenty-seven Heavens, now hid & now revealed,
 5 Appear in strong delusive light of Time & Space, drawn out
 In shadowy pomp, by the Eternal Prophet created evermore.

For Los in six thousand years walks up & down continually,
 That not one Moment of Time be lost, & every revolution
 Of Space he makes permanent in Bowlahoola & Cathedron.

[*Design*]

10 And these the names of the Twenty-seven Heavens & their
 Churches:

Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch,
 Methuselah, Lamech; these are the Giants mighty,
 hermaphroditic.

Noah, Shem, Arphaxad, Cainan the second, Salah, Heber,
 Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor, Terah: these are the female-males,

15 A Male within a Female hid as in an Ark & Curtains.
 Abraham, Moses, Solomon, Paul, Constantine, Charlemagne,
 Luther; these Seven are the Male-Females. the Dragon Forms,
 The Female hid within a Male. Thus Rahab is revealed—

75.1. See *Vala* viii 267; Rahab is the Whore of Babylon – and, ironically, the image of Moral Law and Moral Virtue. Historically, Babylon destroyed Jerusalem: but B. chooses his image from *Revelation*, and Jerusalem is seen to be destroyed by the spiritual degeneration of her sons in the previous lines. This line, with the last on the plate, marks the nadir in the story of Jerusalem.

75.2. *Merlin and Bladud and Arthur*] Figures in ‘Ancient British’ legendary history. *Bladud* founded Bath and, like Merlin, was a necromancer, according to Milton’s *History of Britain*; thus *Bath* in this line is ‘the poisoner’ (37.1–2).

75.4. *Twenty-seven Heavens*] See *Milton* 37.35*n*. In *Milton* these are represented as the clouds of unending religious error which have enwrapped the world since its creation. They oppose Los’s revitalizing work.

75. *Design*: A frieze-like series of angels in overlapping circles: an early sketch of the famous *Job* illustrations no. 14, of the morning stars singing together. Cp. design at the foot of the page.

75.10–20. Lines 10–17 and 20 are taken from *Milton* 37.35–43; 18*a* is from *Milton* 40.20; 19, similar to *Four Zoas* viii 318, *Milton* 22.48–9, 33.20, derives from *Revelation* xvii 5 (quoted in full at *Four Zoas* viii 267*n*).

75.10. *Twenty-seven Heavens*] See 4*n*. above. The list is made up of biblical and ecclesiastical names largely to complete the required number: for full details see *Milton* 37.35*n*. They are a cycle (24) of unending religious errors, varying in kind but not in nature. They are the products of the fall into sexual creation – divided into male and female, and badly pieced together again. In each one the ultimate evil, Rahab, reveals her power on earth. The additions in this passage to its equivalent in Milton emphasize the greater power of Jesus. Cp. Plate 8.

- [75] Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Abomination of Desolation,
 20 Religion hid in war, a Dragon red & hidden Harlot.
 But Jesus, breaking through the central zones of Death & Hell
 Opens Eternity in Time & Space, triumphant in Mercy.

Thus are the Heavens formed by Los within the Mundane Shell.
 And where Luther ends Adam begins again in Eternal circle

- 25 To awake the prisoners of Death—to bring Albion again
 With Luvah into light eternal, in his eternal day.

But now the Starry Heavens are fled from the mighty limbs
 of Albion.

[*Design*]

Pl.76

[*Full-page design*]

Chapter 4

This chapter begins with the enslavement of Jerusalem, but leads up to the final awakening of Albion and her redemption. It falls into two distinct parts. At the beginning of pl.94, Albion begins to stir, awoken by 'the Breath Divine', as the promised Time (7.54-6) approaches. Until then, under Los's watching and wearying eye, the varied conflicts of earlier chapters continue and intensify the distress of a universe where Albion sleeps his hopeless sleep.

First, he confronts the Sons of Albion (78.1-20), but soon turns to listen to a lengthy lament from Jerusalem (78.21-80.5) in exile; the imagery of the Babylonian exile on Euphrates frames much of this chapter. Jerusalem is answered by a despairing Vala (80.6-31) who blames it all on Luvah, but in truth all are under the influence of Rahab. At 80.37 the focus turns on to the deceitful Daughters of Albion, infected with a lust for domination of the male, and the envy that arises from it, displayed in their management of the hapless Hand and Hyle (80.56-82.80). All the while, Los's creative work reshapes all the damage they do (82.56-71), but he laments the state of Albion

75.23. *formed by Los*] Although they are Rahab's (4) Los shapes them, gives them recognizable form, and keeps them moving so that they will not petrify, or turn into irredeemable chaos. See 73.23*n*.

75. *Design*: Two female figures, daughters of Albion (or Rahab and Tirzah; they are crowned) coiled with and embracing serpents. These entrapping coils contrast with the harmonious angelic circles above.

Plate 76. *Full-page design*: The crucifixion, with Christ hanging on a spreading druidic oak tree, a radiant crown of thorns on his head, and Albion beneath him, arms outspread like Christ's, looking up at him. The figures are named in some copies.

(82.80–83.65). The Daughters begin to regret their surrender to Rahab (83.85–84.28), but are still under her power.

Los sings the beauty of the eternal Jerusalem as his work goes on (85.14–86.49). Enitharmon rejects him and, like the Daughters, is infected with a determination to keep control (86.50–87.33). But as he works on, the rift produces the reappearance of his Spectre, and his work seems to be in vain (88.51) as the evil around them condenses into the monstrous form of the Covering Cherub (89.3ff). Under this shadow, all the power of evil is assembled in an attempt to overwhelm Los, and to devour Albion and Jerusalem in ever more ferocious conflict (pls.91–2); and the action reaches the final crisis, as Los suddenly, and unexpectedly, sees his labours bearing fruit (92.1–5); in pl.94 Albion begins to rouse himself from his deathly coma.

In pl.95, moved by 'his female shadow', he begins to awaken; in pl.96 he is united with Jesus, 'the Universal Humanity'; the Covering Cherub advances on them, but is revealed as a shadowy nothing, and Albion is reunited with Jerusalem at last (97.1-4). The poem ends with a vision of true Humanity.

Pl.77 To the Christians [*Design*]

<i>Devils are</i>	I give you the end of a golden string,
<i>false religions</i>	Only wind it into a ball:
<i>‘Saul, Saul</i>	It will lead you in at Heaven’s Gate,
<i>Why persecutest thou me?’</i>	Built in Jerusalem’s wall.

We are told to abstain from fleshly desires that we may lose no time from the Work of the Lord. Every moment lost is a moment that cannot be redeemed: every pleasure that intermingles with the duty of our station is a folly unredeemable & is planted like the seed of a wildflower among our wheat. All the tortures of repentance are tortures of self-reproach on account of our leaving the Divine Harvest to the Enemy, the struggles of entanglement with incoherent roots. I know of no other Christianity and of no other Gospel than the liberty

77. *Design:* The stanza is central at the top, the thread running beneath it; R, a child following the thread and winding it up. The remarks ‘Devils are . . .’ and ‘Saul, Saul . . .’ (Christ’s words heard by Paul in a vision on the Damascus road, *Acts ix 4*) are tucked away at the left-hand side.

77. *Heading: 'Saul . . . me?'* From *Acts* ix 4: the words of the vision of Jesus to Saul, the religious enthusiast who persecuted Christians and who after this became Paul the evangelist. The language of the following passage is too full of New Testament references to itemize each one; the sense is clear, the argumentative style not dissimilar to Paul's.

77*x*. *fleshly desires*] Not in the traditional sense of physical lusts, but rather (as the following lines show) obsession with exploiting the material world to the exclusion of the Imaginative.

- [77] both of body & mind to exercise the Divine Arts of
 11 Imagination—Imagination, the real & eternal world of which
 this Vegetable Universe is but a faint shadow, & in which we
 shall live in our Eternal or Imaginative Bodies, when these
 Vegetable Mortal Bodies are no more. The Apostles know of
 15 no other Gospel. What were all their spiritual gifts? What is
 the Divine Spirit? Is the Holy Ghost any other than an
 Intellectual Fountain? What is the Harvest of the Gospel &
 its Labours? What is that Talent which it is a curse to hide?
 What are the Treasures of Heaven which we are to lay up
 20 for ourselves—are they any other than Mental Studies &
 Performances? What are all the Gifts of the Gospel, are they
 not all Mental Gifts? Is God a Spirit who must be worshipped
 in Spirit & in Truth, and are not the Gifts of the Spirit
 Everything to Man? O ye Religious, discountenance everyone
 25 among you who shall pretend to despise Art & Science! I call
 upon you in the Name of Jesus! What is the Life of Man but
 Art & Science? Is it Meat & Drink? Is not the Body more
 than Raiment? What is Mortality but the things relating to the
 Body, which Dies? What is Immortality but the things relating
 30 to the Spirit, which lives Eternally? What is the Joy of Heaven
 but Improvement in the things of the Spirit? What are the Pains
 of Hell but Ignorance, Bodily Lust, Idleness & devastation of
 the things of the Spirit? Answer this to yourselves, & expel
 from among you those who pretend to despise the labours of
 35 Art & Science, which alone are the labours of the Gospel: is
 not this plain & manifest to the thought? Can you think at
 all & not pronounce heartily, that to Labour in Knowledge is
 to Build up Jerusalem: and to Despise Knowledge, is to
 Despise Jerusalem & her Builders? And remember; he who
 40 despises and mocks a Mental Gift in another, calling it pride
 & selfishness and sin, mocks Jesus, the giver of every Mental
 Gift, which always appear to the Ignorance-loving Hypocrite,
 as Sins. But that which is a Sin in the sight of cruel Man is
 not so in the sight of our kind God.
 45 Let every Christian, as much as in him lies, engage himself
 openly & publicly before all the World in some Mental pur-
 suit for the Building up of Jerusalem.

77.18. *Talent* . . .] *Matthew* xxv 13–30; but the phrase is Milton's, from the sonnet 'On his Blindness': ' . . . that talent which is death to hide . . . '

77.19, 28. *Treasures* . . . *Body more than Raiment*] *Matthew* vi 20, 25.

77.24, 33. *discountenance* . . . *expel*] B. is using the language common with Dissenting groups, which were prone to 'separating themselves' from those who professed theological or moral views which differed seriously from their own.

77.25. *Science*] As always in B., learning in general.

- [77] I stood among my valleys of the south
And saw a flame of fire, even as a Wheel
50 Of fire surrounding all the heavens; it went
From west to east against the current of
Creation and devoured all things in its loud
Fury and thundering course round heaven & earth.
By it the Sun was rolled into an orb;
55 By it the Moon faded into a globe
Travelling through the night: for from its dire
And restless fury, Man himself shrunk up
Into a little root a fathom long.
And I asked a Watcher and a Holy-one
60 Its Name? He answered, 'It is the Wheel of Religion.'
I wept and said, 'Is this the law of Jesus,
This terrible devouring sword turning every way?'
He answered, 'Jesus died because he strove
Against the current of this Wheel: its Name
65 Is Caiaphas, the dark Preacher of Death,
Of sin, of sorrow, and of punishment,
Opposing Nature! It is Natural Religion.
But Jesus is the bright Preacher of Life,
Creating Nature from this fiery Law,
70 By self-denial and forgiveness of Sin.
Go therefore, cast out devils in Christ's name;
Heal thou the sick of spiritual disease,
Pity the evil, for thou art not sent
To smite with terror and with punishments
75 Those that are sick, like to the Pharisees
Crucifying and encompassing sea and land
For proselytes to tyranny and wrath.
But to the Publicans and Harlots go!
Teach them True Happiness, but let no curse
80 Go forth out of thy mouth to blight their peace:
For Hell is opened to Heaven: thine eyes beheld
The dungeons burst and the Prisoners set free.'

77.48-53. Cp. Ezekiel's vision (ch. 1) of a wheel in a cloud of fire coming from the *north*; also Shelley's later (1821) *Hellas* 66-7: 'From the West swift Freedom came, / Against the course of Heaven and dawn.'

77.59. a *Watcher* . . . *Holy-one*] The phrase is from *Daniel* iv 13: in *Revelation*, John also enquired of angels; and Swedenborg regularly conversed with them.

77.65. *Caiaphas*] The High Priest who plotted the death of Jesus.

- [77] England! awake, awake, awake!
 Jerusalem thy Sister calls!
 85 Why wilt thou sleep the sleep of death,
 And close her from thy ancient walls?
- Thy hills and valleys felt her feet,
 Gently upon their bosoms move:
 Thy Gates beheld sweet Zion's ways,
 90 Then was a time of joy and love.
- And now the time returns again:
 Our souls exult, and London's towers
 Receive the Lamb of God to dwell
 In England's green and pleasant bowers.

Pl.78 *Jerusalem: Chap. 4*

[*Design*]

- The Spectres of Albion's twelve Sons revolve mightily
 Over the tomb, & over the body, ravening to devour
 The sleeping Humanity. Los with his mace of iron
 Walks round: loud his threats, loud his blows fall
- 5 On the rocky Spectres, as the potter breaks the potsherds,
 Dashing in pieces Self-righteousnesses, driving them from
 Albion's

77.83–94. These lines lean heavily on well-known texts: *Isaiah* lxi 1 (quoted and expanded in *Luke* iv 18), 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me . . . he hath sent me to bind up the broken hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound'; *Acts* ii 31, 'He . . . spake of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was not left in hell, neither his flesh did see corruption': *Revelation* i 18, 'I am he that liveth and was dead, and . . . have the keys of hell and of death' (this the basis of the tradition that 'he descended into Hell' and brought out its captives unscathed). Also Christ's healing activities, his casting out of devils (*Mark* v 1–20), and his reputation as 'a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners': *Luke* vii 34, 'The Son of Man is come eating and drinking: and ye say, "Behold a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners! But wisdom is justified of all her children"'. This passage is followed by the story of Mary Magdalene, used by B. in pl.61 and *The Everlasting Gospel*.

77. Del. lines at the bottom corners (deciphered in *Bentley* I 590, and *Erdman* 812): (L) 'The real Self[hood] is the Imagination'; (R) 'in the Divine [Man]'.

78. *Design*: The top half of the page is taken up with the chapter-heading design: a male nude with eagle's head and Los's hair, seated on a rock in dejected pose, 'chin' on hand, facing a setting sun (10–11). The eagle was an emblem of St John, author of the 'prophecy' *Revelation* (Ott, *BQ* 10:49).

78.2. *the tomb . . . the body*] Albion's, as in pl.48.1–12.

- [78] Cliffs, dividing them into Male & Female Forms in his
Furnaces
And on his anvils: lest they destroy the Feminine Affections
They are broken. Loud howl the Spectres in his iron Furnace;
10 While Los laments at his dire labours, viewing Jerusalem,
Sitting before his Furnaces clothed in sackcloth of hair;
Albion's twelve Sons surround the forty-two Gates of Erin,
In terrible armour, raging against the Lamb & against
Jerusalem,
Surrounding them with armies to destroy the Lamb of God.
15 They took their mother Vala, and they crowned her with gold;
They named her Rahab, & gave her power over the Earth,
The concave Earth round Golgonooza in Entuthon Benython,
Even to the stars exalting her throne, to build beyond the throne
Of God and the Lamb, to destroy the Lamb & usurp the
throne of God,
20 Drawing their Ulro voidness round the fourfold Humanity.

Naked Jerusalem lay before the gates upon Mount Zion,
The Hill of Giants, all her foundations levelled with the dust.

Her twelve gates thrown down, her children carried into
captivity,
Herself in chains: this from within was seen in a dismal night
25 Outside, unknown before in Beulah; & the twelve gates were
filled
With blood, from Japan eastward to the Giants' Causeway, west
Into Erin's Continent. And Jerusalem wept upon Euphrates'
banks
Disorganised; an evanescent shade, scarce seen or heard among
Her children's Druid Temples, dropping with blood,
wandered weeping,
30 And thus her voice went forth in the darkness of Philistia:

78.9–10] Between these lines, a squiggly line division.

78.12. *Erin*] The leader of the daughters of Beulah caring for Albion (11.8; 46.26ff).
40 forty-two] Why? A mistake not easily rectified? In pl.72 there are thirty-two, not
forty-two divisions of Ireland, as there are thirty-two counties.

78.15. *Vala*] See 70.11–31, and pl.75 (and indeed the second half of ch. 2 as a whole)
telling of the rise in the power of Vala-Rahab.

78.22ff. Much of these lines is pastiche of Biblical lament at exile (e.g.,
Lamentations), but with little direct quotation.

78.26. *the Giants' Causeway*] The spectacular range of 'steps' of basalt rocks in
Antrim at the far north of Ireland. See 89.50–1.

78.27. *Euphrates*] There are many allusions in ch. 4 to Israel's exile in Babylon.

78.28. *Disorganised*] Disintegrated, or paralysed – incapable of human action.

- [78] 'My brother & my father are no more. God hath forsaken me;
The arrows of the Almighty pour upon me & my children;
I have sinned and am an outcast from the Divine Presence!

Pl.79 [Marginal Design]

- My tents are fallen, my pillars are in ruins, my children dashed
Upon Egypt's iron floors, & the marble pavements of Assyria.
I melt my soul in reasonings among the towers of Heshbon;
Mount Zion is become a cruel rock; & no more dew
5 Nor rain, no more the spring of the rock appears, but cold,
Hard & obdurate are the furrows of the mountain of wine &
oil.
The mountain of blessing is itself a curse & an astonishment;
The hills of Judea are fallen with me into the deepest hell,
Away from the Nations of the Earth, & from the Cities of
the Nations.
10 I walk to Ephraim; I seek for Shiloh; I walk like a lost sheep
Among the precipices of despair. In Goshen I seek for light
In vain, and in Gilead for a physician and a comforter.
Goshen hath followed Philistia, Gilead hath joined with Og.
They are become narrow places in a little and dark land,
15 How distant far from Albion! His hills & his valleys no more
Receive the feet of Jerusalem, they have cast me quite away;

78.31-2. *arrows of the Almighty*] From *Job* vi 4. The tenor of these lines is like the lamenting of Job: but Job would not admit what Jerusalem in her despair insists, that 'I have sinned'.

79. *Marginal Design*. Leaves, bunches of grapes, and birds from an almost invisible tree fill the R line spaces, reminding us of the lost riches of the land.

79.3. *Heshbon*] A Reubenite city originally in the land of Sihon (cp. 48.63) famous for its strength.

79.7. *mountain of blessing*] Perhaps Gerizim (*Vala* viii 303*n*), the place from which ritual blessings were read to the Israelites as they crossed the Jordan; but in this context more probably Jerusalem.

79.10-13. *Ephraim, Shiloh, Goshen*, etc., i.e., everywhere: Jerusalem seeks in Ephraim, in the north, for its holy city, Shiloh (almost equal in status to Jerusalem). *Goshen* is south of Israel, in the land of the Philistines; *Gilead* is across Jordan; its northern part was in the territory of *Og*, hostile king of Bashan. Thus in 11-12 she looks outside Israel for a physician ('Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?' *Jeremiah* viii 22); but these places have gone over to the heathen.

79.15ff. The 'holy land' should not be a tradition of a distant past; the land of every-day life should be as holy as Palestine is said to be (i.e. as the Palestine of prophetic vision, not of the warring tribes of history). The topography of Israel is therefore interchangeable with that of Britain, and in lines 15-65, B. switches between the two, before returning to his legend of Jerusalem, Vala and Albion at 68.

- [79] And Albion is himself shrunk to a narrow rock in the midst
of the sea.
The plains of Sussex & Surrey, their hills of flocks & herds,
No more seek to Jerusalem nor to the sound of my Holy-ones.
- 20 The Fifty-two Counties of England are hardened against me
As if I was not their mother; they despise me & cast me out.
London covered the whole Earth, England encompassed the
Nations;
And all the Nations of the Earth were seen in the Cities of Albion.
My pillars reached from sea to sea; London beheld me come
- 25 From my east & from my west. He blessed me and gave
His children to my breasts, his sons & daughters to my knees.
His aged parents sought me out in every city & village;
They discerned my countenance with joy, they showed me to
their sons,
Saying: "Lo, Jerusalem is here! She sitteth in our secret
chambers:
- 30 Levi and Judah & Issachar, Ephraim, Manasseh, Gad and Dan
Are seen in our hills & valleys; they keep our flocks & herds;
They watch them in the night, and the Lamb of God appears
among us!"
The river Severn stayed his course at my command;
Thames poured his waters into my basins and baths;
- 35 Medway mingled with Kishon; Thames received the heavenly
Jordan;
Albion gave me to the whole Earth to walk up & down; to
pour
Joy upon every mountain, to teach songs to the shepherd
and ploughman.
I taught the ships of the sea to sing the songs of Zion.
Italy saw me, in sublime astonishment; France was wholly
mine,
- 40 As my garden & as my secret bath; Spain was my heavenly couch,
I slept in his golden hills: the Lamb of God met me there.
There we walked as in our secret chamber among our little ones;
They looked upon our loves with joy; they beheld our secret
joys,
With holy raptures of adoration rapt sublime in the Visions
of God.

79.35. The *Medway* runs into the *Thames* estuary.

Kishon] The river meeting the sea at the foot of Carmel, and site of several major battles, actual at Megiddo (*Judges* iv–v, 1 *Kings* xviii 40, 2 *Kings* ix 2, 2 *Chronicles* xxxv 20–24), and prophetic (*Armageddon*; *Revelation* xvi 16).

79.44. *rapt*] The text reads *rap'd*, a normal abbreviation for 'raped': it could also perhaps be 'wrapped': but *rapt* gives the best sense.

- [79] Germany, Poland & the North wooed my footsteps; they found
 46 My gates in all their mountains & my curtains in all their vales;
 The furniture of their houses was the furniture of my chamber.
 Turkey & Grecia saw my instruments of music; they arose,
 They seized the harp, the flute, the mellow horn of
 Jerusalem's joy;
 50 They sounded thanksgivings in my courts. Egypt & Libya heard;
 The swarthy sons of Ethiopia stood round the Lamb of God
 Enquiring for Jerusalem: he led them up my steps to my altar.
 And thou, America: I once beheld thee, but now behold no
 more
 Thy golden mountains, where my Cherubim & Seraphim
 rejoiced
 55 Together among my little ones. But now my altars run with
 blood,
 My fires are corrupt; my incense is a cloudy pestilence
 Of seven diseases. Once a continual cloud of salvation rose
 From all my myriads; once the Fourfold World rejoiced among
 The pillars of Jerusalem, between my winged Cherubim,
 60 But now I am closed out from them in the narrow passages
 Of the valleys of destruction, into a dark land of pitch &
 bitumen,
 From Albion's Tomb afar and from the fourfold wonders of
 God
 Shrunk to a narrow doleful form in the dark land of Cabul.
 There is Reuben & Gad & Joseph & Judah & Levi, closed up
 65 In narrow vales; I walk & count the bones of my beloveds
 Along the Valley of Destruction, among these Druid Temples
 Which overspread all the earth in patriarchal pomp & cruel pride.
 Tell me, O Vala, thy purposes, tell me wherefore thy shuttles
 Drop with the gore of the slain, why Euphrates is red with blood?
 70 Wherefore in dreadful majesty & beauty outside, appears
 Thy Masculine from thy Feminine, hardening against the heavens
 To devour the Human? Why dost thou weep upon the wind
 among
 These cruel Druid Temples? O Vala! Humanity is far above
 Sexual organization, & the Visions of the Night of Beulah,

79.45. *Germany, Poland & the North*] Within B.'s lifetime the centre of much strife. Poland was partitioned between 1772 and 1795.

79.48. *Turkey and Grecia*] Greece was a rebellious subject of Turkey.

79.54. *Thy golden mountains*] The legendary mountains of Atlantis, now flooded by the Atlantic. See *America* 108*n*.

79.73. This is an important qualification of the beauties of Beulah: that it is a place of rest only, not the place of eternal life.

- [79] Where Sexes wander in dreams of bliss among the Emanations,
 76 Where the Masculine & Feminine are nursed into youth & maiden
 By the tears & smiles of Beulah's Daughters, till the time of
 Sleep is past.
 Wherefore then do you realize these nets of beauty & delusion
 In open day to draw the souls of the Dead into the light,
 80 Till Albion is shut out from every Nation under Heaven,
- Pl.80 [Marginal Design]
- Encompassed by the frozen Net and by the rooted Tree?
 I walk weeping in pangs of a Mother's torment for her
 Children.
 I walk in affliction: I am a worm, and no living soul,
 A worm going to eternal torment, raised up in a night
 5 To an eternal night of pain, lost, lost, lost, for ever!'
- Beside her Vala howled upon the winds in pride of beauty,
 Lamenting among the timbrels of the Warriors, among the
 Captives
 In cruel holiness; and her lamenting songs were from Arnon
 And Jordan to Euphrates. Jerusalem followed, trembling,
 10 Her children in captivity, listening to Vala's lamentation
 In the thick cloud & darkness: and the voice went forth
 from
 The cloud: 'O rent in sunder from Jerusalem, the Harlot
 daughter,
 In an eternal condemnation in fierce burning flames
 Of torment unendurable! And if once a delusion be found

80. *Marginal Design*: R margin, writhing figures, one half-human struggling with coiling worms.

80.1. *Net . . . Tree*] The Net or Veil of Vala (21.50) and the Tree of Mystery (28.15ff).

80.3. *I am a worm . . . soul*] *Psalm* xxii 6: 'But I am a worm, and no man; a reproach of men, and despised of the people.' (This is the 'penitential' psalm which begins 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?') B. changes the word 'man' to 'living soul' partly because Jerusalem is female, partly because the phrase is not tied to the 'Generative earth'.

80.6. *howled*] Although Vala is triumphant, her triumph is illusory, since it is contrary to her true nature in Eternity. Her speech betrays this contradiction.

80.8–9. *from Arnon . . . Euphrates*] From Israel to Babylon, as the captive is carried away to the conqueror's home. Babylon is identified with Rahab, whose power dominates Vala (cp. 75.18–19).

80.12. Vala's views are all distorted (as 35 shows). Jerusalem is not a harlot (cp. 10.11ff, and the disputation beginning at 20.3). There is no eternal condemnation; and woman can only exist as part of humanity together with man – not as a selfish entity.

80.14. *if once a delusion be found*] i.e. 'found out' – if one of her 'woman's wiles' be discovered she is lost.

- [80] Woman must perish, & the heavens of heavens remain no more.
- 16 'My father gave to me command to murder Albion
In unreviving death; my love, my Luvah, ordered me in night
To murder Albion, the king of men. He fought in battles fierce,
He conquered Luvah my beloved, he took me and my father,
- 20 He slew them. I revived them to life in my warm bosom.
He saw them issue from my bosom; dark in Jealousy
He burned before me. Luvah framed the knife, & Luvah gave
The knife into his daughter's hand. Such thing was never
known
Before in Albion's land—that one should die a death never
to be revived!
- 25 For in our battles we the slain men view with pity and love;
We soon revive them in the secret of our tabernacles.
But I, Vala, Luvah's daughter, keep his body embalmed in
moral laws
With spices of sweet odours of lovely jealous stupefaction
Within my bosom, lest he arise to life & slay my Luvah.
- 30 Pity me then, O Lamb of God! O Jesus, pity me!
Come into Luvah's tents, and seek not to revive the Dead!
- So sang she: and the spindle turned furious as she sang.
The children of Jerusalem, the souls of those who sleep,
Were caught into the flax of her distaff, & in her Cloud,
- 35 To weave Jerusalem a body according to her will,
A Dragon form on Zion Hill's most ancient promontory.
- The spindle turned in blood & fire. Loud sound the trumpets
Of war; the cymbals play loud before the captains,
With Cambel & Gwendolen in dance and solemn song,
- 40 The Cloud of Rahab vibrating with the Daughters of Albion.
Los saw terrified, melted with pity & divided in wrath
He sent them over the narrow seas in pity and love,

80.15. The slight indentation of text is on the plate.

80.16. *My father*] Luvah. What follows is a lie, told to excuse her crime by blaming others. At 23 she suddenly realizes how things have changed for the worse since her act.

80.23–6. Cp. 43.39–45, where a similar idea is expressed; there 'no women come to the field' in contrast with the present passage (25–6, with their strong sexual symbolism). Instead of reviving Albion, Vala prefers to keep him 'embalmed' – that is, dead.

80.37 *spindle* – he is a manifestation of Vala.

80.38. *cymbals*] An instrument mentioned in the Bible (e.g. *Psalms* cl 5, 2 *Chronicles* v 13) in contexts which, as here, imply a melodic instrument, not merely percussion.

- [80] Among the four forests of Albion which overspread all the earth.
They go forth & return, swift as a flash of lightning,
45 Among the tribes of warriors, among the Stones of Power.
Against Jerusalem they rage through all the nations of Europe:
Through Italy & Grecia, to Lebanon & Persia & India.
- The Serpent Temples through the earth, from the wide plain
of Salisbury,
Resound with cries of victims, shouts & songs & dying groans
50 And flames of dusky fire, to Amalek, Canaan and Moab.
And Rahab like a dismal and indefinite hovering Cloud
Refused to take a definite form. She hovered over all the earth,
Calling the definite 'Sin', defacing every definite form,
Invisible, or visible, stretched out in length or spread in
breadth
55 Over the temples, drinking groans of victims, weeping in pity,
And joying in the pity, howling over Jerusalem's walls.
- Hand slept on Skiddaw's top, drawn by the love of beautiful
Cambel, his bright, beaming counterpart, divided from him,
And her delusive light beamed fierce above the mountain,
60 Soft, invisible, drinking his sighs in sweet intoxication,
Drawing out fibre by fibre, returning to Albion's Tree
At night and in the morning to Skiddaw. She sent him over

80.45. *Stones of Power*] See 68.41, where the Daughters of Albion torment their victims at Stonehenge on the twelve stones of power'.

80.47. From west to east – the direction of error 'against the current of Creation' (77.38–9).

80.48. For serpent temples, Avebury and Salisbury Plain see *Europe* 72n.

80.50. *Amalek, Canaan and Moab*] A group of Israel's enemies repeatedly used in the following plates.

80.51. *Rahab . . . Cloud*] Rahab is not a person; she is a *State* (*Milton* 32.22), a state of mind inhabiting many people who have her attitudes. In so far as these attitudes are prevalent, she may be said, to 'hover over' the land.

80.57. *Hand slept on Skiddaw*] A famous mountain in the Lake District; Hand and Hyle, opening a new theme, are Sons of Albion whose bones make up these mountains. In pl.71 Bowen is given Cumberland; Hand has south-east England. He is now running after his Counterpart, and so has been drawn away from home to this desolate, rocky place, while she enjoys tormenting him. So with Hyle in the next passage. These sections, like the episode of Reuben (30.57ff), describe a 'Creation' into mortal form.

80.61. See line 34: Tirzah spins the formless mass of souls into thread, as Enitharmon does; but the image blends into a spider's spinning out of her abdomen, with its poisonous implications.

- [80] Mountainous Wales into the loom of Cathedron, fibre by fibre.
 He ran in tender nerves across Europe to Jerusalem's Shade
 65 To weave Jerusalem a Body repugnant to the Lamb.
- Hyle on East Moor in rocky Derbyshire raved to the moon
 For Gwendolen; she took up in bitter tears his anguished heart
 That, apparent to all in Eternity, glows like the sun in the breast.
 She hid it in his ribs & back; she hid his tongue with teeth
 70 In terrible convulsions, pitying & gratified, drunk with pity,
 Glowing with loveliness before him, becoming apparent
 According to his changes. She rolled his kidneys round
 Into two irregular forms, and looking on Albion's dread Tree
 She wove two vessels of seed, beautiful as Skiddaw's snow,
 75 Giving them bends of self-interest & selfish natural virtue.
 She hid them in his loins; raving he ran among the rocks,
 Compelled into a shape of Moral Virtue against the Lamb,
 The invisible lovely one giving him a form according to
 His Law, a form against the Lamb of God, opposed to Mercy
 80 And playing in the thunderous loom in sweet intoxication,
 Filling cups of silver & crystal with shrieks & cries, with groans
 And dolorous sobs—the wine of lovers in the winepress of Luvah.
- 'O sister Cambel,' said Gwendolen, as their long beaming light
 Mingled above the mountain, 'What shall we do to keep
 85 These awful forms in our soft bands? Distracted with trembling
 Pl.81 I have mocked those who refused cruelty & I have admired
 The cruel warrior, I have refused to give love to Merlin the
 piteous.
 He brings to me the images of his love & I reject in chastity
 And turn them out into the streets for harlots, to be food
 5 To the stern warrior. I am become perfect in beauty over my
 warrior

80.63. *Cathedron*] A place where Enitharmon works for redemption, by weaving mortal forms of lost, formless souls. Cambel causes Hand to be enwoven with fibres of mortal flesh. The association of the corrupt Cambel with Cathedron is unusual. See *F.Z.* viii 19–35.

80.57ff. Cp. *Milton* 19.44–20.6, where the same terms and images are used.

80.78. *The invisible lovely one*] Gwendolen, whom he seeks. He cannot come near her, but she can come at him. She is the 'playing' one of 80.

80.82. *the winepress of Luvah*] Cp. *Vala* ix 713ff. Luvah's winepress is a place of joy for the workers, of suffering for the 'human grapes'. Here it is a place of Luvah-like excitement and desire, in which Gwendolen revels at Hyle's cost. B. returns to the idea at 82.64.

81.2 *Merlin*] A figure in Arthurian and therefore British legend goes with the British legendary queen Gwendolen: Merlin was enamoured of, and trapped by Nimue (or Vivien) – not Gwendolen – in early legend.

- [81] For Men are caught by love, Woman is caught by pride,
 That love may only be obtained in the passages of death.
 Let us look, let us examine. Is the cruel become an infant
 Or is he still a cruel warrior? Look sisters, look! Oh piteous!
 10 I have destroyed wandering Reuben who strove to bind my
 will;
 I have stripped off Joseph's beautiful integument for my
 beloved,
 The cruel one of Albion, to clothe him in gems of my zone.
 I have named him Jehovah of Hosts; Humanity is become
 A weeping infant in ruined lovely Jerusalem's folding cloud.

[Design]

- 15 'In heaven love begets love, but fear is the parent of earthly
 love!
 And he who will not bend to love must be subdued by fear:

81.10. *wandering Reuben*] A key to part of B.'s notion of Reuben (see 30.43*n*). Reuben slept with his father Jacob's concubine, for which he was disinherited as too weak a character. B. agrees; Reuben leans too much on the casual beauty of women to be a 'strong' character.

81.11. Joseph's coat of many colours (*Genesis* xxxvii 3) is biblical, of course, but Gwendolen's allusion is not.

81.13. *him*] 'My beloved', Hyle – her counterpart.

81.14. *A weeping infant*] In pl.82, this figure is used several times as a sign of Hyle's, and Man's, subjection to her: but cp. 63.16–17.

81. Design (CGW p. 560) Taking up most of the page, illustrating 82.10–20: the twelve Daughters of Albion, all nude. Gwendolen, her hair drawn up in a modish bun, with her back towards us, points out the following lines, in reversed writing, to the others:

In Heaven the only Art of Living
 Is Forgetting and Forgiving Especially to the Female
 But if you on Earth Forgive
 You shall not find where to Live

Her left hand is clasped behind her back, her left leg crossed in front of her right (cp. 82.17–19). The other Daughters face forwards: one is drawn at full length, 'modestly' covering her nakedness with her hands; the others are in the background.

Reversed writing usually indicates a hidden truth – here an unpalatable fact of B.'s experience. The phrase 'Especially to the Female' is a comment on the first two lines, but is so placed that its sequence is not self-evident. It may mean 'these verses are for female reading'; or may continue the sense after *Forgiving*.

81.13. In pl.82 this figure is repeated several times as a sign of Hyle's, and Man's, subjection to Womankind.

81.15–16. These lines appear beneath the design in such a way that they may not be part of the text. But the sentiment is Gwendolen's, not B.'s, fitting her intention that Woman must subdue man, reducing even the cruel warrior to the state of an infant dependent on Woman. Each sex, she says in her error, necessarily fears the other: safety lies only in power.

Pl.82

[*Marginal Design*]

- ‘I have heard Jerusalem’s groans; from Vala’s cries & lamentations
 I gather our eternal fate: outcasts from life and love!
 Unless we find a way to bind these awful forms to our
 Embrace, we shall perish annihilate, discovered our delusions.
 5 Look! I have wrought without delusion. Look! I have wept,
 And given soft milk mingled together with the spirits of flocks,
 Of lambs and doves, mingled together in cups and dishes
 Of painted clay. The mighty Hyle is become a weeping infant;
 Soon shall the spectres of the dead follow my weaving threads.’
 10 The Twelve Daughters of Albion attentive listen in secret shades,
 On Cambridge and Oxford beaming, soft uniting with
 Rahab’s cloud,
 While Gwendolen spoke to Cambel, turning soft the
 spinning reel
 Or throwing the winged shuttle, or drawing the cords with
 softest songs.
 The golden cords of the looms animate beneath their
 touches soft
 15 Along the Island white, among the Druid Temples, while
 Gwendolen
 Spoke to the Daughters of Albion standing on Skiddaw’s top.
 So saying, she took a Falsehood & hid it in her left hand,
 To entice her sisters away to Babylon on Euphrates.
 And thus she closed her left hand and uttered her Falsehood,
 20 Forgetting that falsehood is prophetic, she hid her hand
 behind her,
 Upon her back behind her loins, & thus uttered her deceit:
 ‘I heard Enitharmon say to Los: “Let the Daughters of Albion

82. *Marginal Design*: A ‘winding worm’ (47–49) winds down the right-hand margin. This plate shows many signs of haste in preparation: see 43, 47–8, 67–8.

82.3–4. Vala’s error of 80.12ff.

82.5. Hyle is thereby brought under her control: in B., weeping may be suspect, and is often hypocritical.

82.12–13, i.e. engaged in spinning and weaving, female household tasks. The female influence spreads subtly – even among the Druid Temples, in spite of druid majesty and power.

82.17. *left hand*] Traditionally ‘sinister’: note the prominence of left hand and foot in the design on pl.81. Is she hiding her ‘false’ threads?

82.22. In pl.63.32–41, Gwendolen laughed as ‘Canaan rolled apart from Albion’. Her purpose is explicit: to obliterate Albion and join his enemies, the enemies of the Holy Land, causing the ills she lists in lines 29–35, achieving her ultimate aim in 35. She fails to see, however, that Albion’s acts of Creation (see 53.19, *Milton* 11.20) counteract her intentions, by making good even out of the constricted creatures of her vision, as appears from 82.55 onwards.

- [82] Be scattered abroad and let the name of Albion be forgotten.
Divide them into three! Name them Amalek, Canaan & Moab.
- 25 Let Albion remain a desolation without an inhabitant,
And let the looms of Enitharmon & the Furnaces of Los
Create Jerusalem, & Babylon & Egypt & Moab & Amalek,
And Helle & Hesperia, & Hindustan & China & Japan.
But hide America, for a curse, an Altar of Victims & a Holy
Place”.
- 30 See, sisters! Canaan is pleasant, Egypt is as the Garden of Eden,
Babylon is our chief desire, Moab our bath in summer.
Let us lead the stems of this tree; let us plant it before
Jerusalem
To judge the Friend of Sinners to death without the Veil,
To cut her off from America, to close up her secret Ark,
- 35 And the fury of Man exhaust in war; Woman permanent remain!
See how the fires of our loins point eastward to Babylon.
Look! Hyle is become an infant love. Look, behold,
see him lie
Upon my bosom! Look! Here is the lovely wayward form
That gave me sweet delight by his torments beneath my veil.
- 40 By the fruit of Albion’s Tree I have fed him with sweet milk,
By contentions of the mighty for sacrifice of captives.
Humanity, the Great Delusion, is changed to War & Sacrifice;
I have nailed his hands on Bath Rabbim & his feet on
Heshbon’s wall.

82.25. *a desolation without an inhabitant*] A phrase used in *Jeremiah* xxxiv 22 of Judah’s fate, and in 51.29 of Babylon’s.

82.28. *Helle and Hesperia*] Greece (Hellas) and Italy, ‘the Western Land’ of the Greeks.

82.29. Los will favour America – in B.’s eyes the land of freedom: but it is the children of Albion who make altars and holy places. Again, Gwendolen distorts truth.

82.30–I. Gwendolen finds nations hostile to Israel and Jerusalem pleasant.

Moab our bath] The meaning of the line ‘Moab is my [*God’s*] washpot’ (*Psalms* lx 8, cviii 9).

82.32. *this tree*] Albion’s tree of 80.I, 73: the Tree of Mystery. The allusion is, as in *Vala* vii 32, to the banyan tree, whose branches touch the ground and take root; but also to the Cross, ‘planted’ before Jerusalem: note the Crucifixion scene of pl.76). See also p. 219.

82.33. *without the Veil*] Outside the Holy Place: *Hebrews* xiii 12: ‘Jesus also . . . suffered without the gate.’

82.34–5. Note the strong sexual symbolism here in the image of the secret Holy Place, as in 44.33ff, 69.43. B. is not the first author to associate belligerence with sexual frustration.

82.35. *Woman permanent*] Perhaps implying that virginity is completeness, an error in B.’s eyes.

82.43. *Bath Rabbim . . . Heshbon*] (B. has ‘Beth’ in error). For *Heshbon* see 79.3n and *Song Of Songs* vii 3–4:

[82] Oh, that I could live in his sight! Oh! that I could bind him
to my arm!’

45 So saying, she drew aside her veil from Mam Tor to Dovedale,
Discovering her own perfect beauty to the Daughters of
Albion—

And Hyle a winding Worm beneath,
 & not a weeping infant.

Trembling & pitying she screamed & fled upon the wind:

Hyle was a winding Worm and herself perfect in beauty;

50 The deserts tremble at his wrath; they shrink themselves in fear!

Cambel trembled with jealousy: she trembled, she envied!

The envy ran through Cathedron's looms into the heart

Of mild Jerusalem to destroy the Lamb of God. Jerusalem

Languished upon Mount Olivet, east of mild Zion's Hill.

55 Los saw the envious blight above his Seventh Furnace
On London's Tower on the Thames. He drew Cambel in wrath

Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins.

Thy neck is as a tower of ivory:

thine eyes like the fish-pools in Heshbon,

by the gate of Bath-Rabbim:

thy nose is as the tower of Lebanon

which looketh toward Damascus.

The contrast between the erotic original and Gwendolen's sado-masochism is pointed.

feet] The copies all read *hands*, but it seems clear that B. meant to refer to *hands* & *feet*.

82.45. Gwendolen had forgotten 'that falsehood is prophetic' (20). Her words were lies, telling of what she wanted, not what was the truth. The result is that she finds that half, the unpleasant half, of her picture has come true. She wishes to create beauty, but produces only a 'winding worm'. Her perfect beauty is useless.

82.45. *Mam Tor to Dovedale*] From a hilltop to a cleft in the Derbyshire hills (cp. 80.66 and 21.34*n*): the image is sexual (line 47).

82.47. The remainder of two lines; two half-lines, as follows, have been erased from the plate. *Erdman*, p. 812 suggests that this is 'a successful revision'.

And Hyle a winding worm beneath *her loom upon the scales.*

Hyle was become a winding worm: and not a weeping infant.

winding Worm] A ballad expression – the worm that devours the dead.

82.*sr.* *Cambel* is envious of Gwendolen's power, in spite of its terrible results. Her envy, running through the nerve-threads of creation, makes Jerusalem weaker still (for *Cambel* is a Daughter of Albion, a part of Jerusalem's life, and so can influence the state of Jerusalem). The following lines show a struggle in *Cambel's* confused heart between the jealousy, under *Vala's* power, that destroys; and the love, directed by *Los*, that Creates. Sometimes one succeeds, sometimes the other.

- [82] Into his thundering bellows, heaving it for a loud blast,
 And with the blast of his Furnace upon fishy Billingsgate,
 Beneath Albion's fatal Tree, before the gate of Los,
 60 Showed her the fibres of her beloved to ameliorate
 The envy. Loud she laboured in the Furnace of fire
 To form the mighty form of Hand according to her will—
 In the Furnaces of Los & in the Winepress treading day & night
 Naked among the human clusters, bringing wine of anguish
 65 To feed the afflicted in the Furnaces, she minded not
 The raging flames, though she returned
 instead of beauty
 Deformity. She gave her beauty to another, bearing abroad
 Her struggling torment in her iron arms, & like a chain
 Binding his wrists & ankles with the iron arms of love.
- 70 Gwendolen saw the infant in her sister's arm. She howled
 Over the forests with bitter tears, and over the winding Worm
 Repentant, and she also in the eddying wind of Los's bellows
 Began her dolorous task of love in the Winepress of Luvah
 To form the Worm into a form of love by tears & pain.
- 75 The sisters saw: trembling ran through their looms, softening
 mild
 Towards London; then they saw the Furnaces opened,
 & in tears
 Began to give their souls away in the Furnaces of affliction.
- Los saw & was comforted at his Furnaces, uttering thus his voice:

82.58. *Billingsgate*] The fish-market, south of the Thames in the dock area. It is not clear whether B. had any special purpose in choosing this place.

82.63. *the Winepress*] Cp. 80.82. The picture of the winepress in *Vala* ix 729ff (derived from *Revelation* xiv 19–20) is of the treading-out of human souls so that the good is drawn from them and the waste is left behind. Unlike the wine-treaders, the grapes 'sing not nor dance'. Los's efforts are not entirely in vain; in spite of Cambel's evil intentions, she is led to sacrifice herself and her beauty for Hand's benefit; and as Gwendolen does the same for Hyle, in 78 Los is 'comforted'.

82.66. Two half-lines erased from the plate (cp. 47): before erasure. The lines read:

. . . tho she returned *consumd day after day*
A redning skeleton in howling woe: instead of beauty . . .

The sense is somewhat obscure. Its drift is that Cambel is creating an infant 'in the raging flames', as Gwendolen did: this is the desired form of her counterpart Hand, deformed (as was Hyle, line 47), not beautiful. *Erdman* p. 812 suggests that this erasure 'leaves an awkward gap'.

82.72–7. *Repentant . . . Began to give their souls*] A critical moment, not to be missed for its brief treatment. Even Gwendolen and Cambel can be driven to repent. By 84.26 their fear has the upper hand again, but the possibility of change is there.

- [82] 'I know I am Urthona, keeper of the gates of Heaven,
 80 And that I can at will expatiate in the gardens of bliss;
 But pangs of love draw me down to my loins which are
 Become a fountain of veiny pipes. O Albion, my brother!
- Pl.83 Corruptibility appears upon thy limbs, and never more
 Can I arise and leave thy side, but labour here incessant
 Till thy awaking! Yet, alas, I shall forget Eternity!
 Against the Patriarchal pomp and cruelty labouring incessant,
 5 I shall become an infant horror.—Enion! Tharmas! Friends,
 Absorb me not in such dire grief.—O Albion, my brother,
 Jerusalem hungers in the desert: affection to her children!
 The scorned and condemned youthful girl, where shall she fly?
 Sussex shuts up her villages. Hants, Devon & Wilts,
 10 Surrounded with masses of stone in ordered forms.—
 Determine then
 A Form for Vala and a Form for Luvah, here on the Thames,
 Where the victim nightly howls beneath the Druid's knife,
 A Form of Vegetation. Nail them down on the stems of
 Mystery!
 Oh, when shall the Saxon return with the English, his
 redeemed brother?

82.79–83.65. The theme of Los's complex and difficult speech is the nature and difficulty of his task: the danger of his becoming corrupted by contact with the evils he fights against, and, conversely, his hope that his struggles can switch evil intentions into good paths. The speech breaks up into a series of commands, editorially marked in the text by indentation, and by the sign ¶ in the notes. These commands are addressed to the Daughters of Beulah, as 83.66.

82.80. *expatiate*] 'Wander at will' (the original meaning of the word).

83.5. *Enion! Tharmas!*] ¶ In *Vala* they are a couple parted at the beginning of the story, Enion fading to a lost voice in the void, Tharmas the pitiful seeking her constantly without success.

83.6–15. ¶ Los turns to the plight of Albion, covered with 'Druid Temples' such as Stonehenge and Avebury (lines 9–10). Los takes severe measures – forcing Luvah and Vala to display the cruel forms.

83.7. *affection*] The construction is unexpected; a copying omission may well be the cause, or B. may have misread the MS word 'affliction'. In any case, the sense of 6–9 is very compressed: see also 78.8, and line 30 below. Whatever Jerusalem's affection for her children, Albion has little: the girl with an illegitimate 'love-child' finds the homes of Albion shut against her (cp. 'Mary', a Sussex poem, p. 608). Jerusalem's love is essentially free; see 18.30–32, 79.41–44.

83.10. *Determine then* . . .] 'Determine . . . a Form of Vegetation': an imperative, declaring his own intention that they Create, for Vala and Luvah, Forms in which they can survive in the Vegetative world – and which will display their error.

83.13. i.e., 'determine a form of Vegetation for Vala . . .'

83.14. *Saxon* . . . *English*] Perhaps the German Saxon, parted from the Anglo-Saxon by history and the North Sea.

- [83] 15 Oh, when shall the Lamb of God descend among the
 Reprobate?
 —I woo to Amalek to protect my fugitives; Amalek trembles.
 I call to Canaan & Moab in my night watches; they mourn:
 They listen not to my cry, they rejoice among their warriors.
 Woden and Thor and Friga wholly consume my Saxons,
 20 On their enormous altars built in the terrible north,
 From Ireland's rocks to Scandinavia, Persia & Tartary,
 From the Atlantic sea to the universal Erythrean.

[*Marginal Design*]

- Found ye London, enormous city! Weeps thy river?
 Upon his parent bosom lay thy little ones, O land
 25 Forsaken. Surrey and Sussex are Enitharmon's chamber,
 Where I will build her a couch of repose, & my pillars
 Shall surround her in beautiful labyrinths. Oothoon,
 Where hides my child? In Oxford hidest thou with Antamon?
 In graceful hidings of error, in merciful deceit
 30 Lest Hand the terrible destroy his Affection, thou hidest her,
 In chaste appearances for sweet deceits of love & modesty
 Immingled, interwoven, glistening to the sickening sight.

83.15. *descend . . . Reprobate*] Join the condemned. For B.'s interpretation of the three classes of Calvinist theology: the reprobate, the redeemed and the elect, see *Milton* 7.2–4*n*.

83.16–22. *Amalek, Canaan, Moab*] ¶ The forms taken by the Daughters of Albion under Cambel's lie (82.24).

83.19. *Woden, Thor, Friga*] Germanic gods, giving their names to Wednesday, Thursday and Friday respectively. *Woden*, the Anglo-Saxon name for the high god, father of wisdom and lord of the dead. *Thor*, 'Thunder', a Herculean weather-god, usually friendly and humorous. *Friga*, a goddess of love and motherhood, but often confused with the god Frey and the goddess Freya; her attributes are likewise often misread. It is now understood that, of the three B. names, only Woden, as lord of the dead, demanded human sacrifice – by hanging or in battle, not, as B. and his age assumed, by slaughter on an altar.

83. *Marginal Design*: clouds; one human figure sitting, a larger one above struggles upwards.

83.23–32. ¶ Los turns to Albion again, seeing various sights – London, the southern counties, and Oxford, where Oothoon is hidden.

83.23. *Found*] An imperative, an order to his workers. In 25–7 also he speaks as the overseer.

83.27–8. *Oothoon . . . Antamon*] The only reference to Antamon in *Jerusalem*; in *Vala* viii 346 he is a son of Los, and (351) Oothoon a daughter. The two are not linked elsewhere. In *Milton* 28.13 he does Los's work.

83.30. *Affection*] B. altered lower-case *a* to capital *A*: perhaps suggesting that Affection is a title similar to Emanation. See line 7*n*.

- [83] —Let Cambel and her sisters sit within the Mundane Shell,
Forming the fluctuating globe according to their will.
- 35 According as they weave the little embryo nerves & veins,
The eye, the little nostrils, & the delicate tongue & ears
Of labyrinthine intricacy, so shall they fold the world,
That whatever is seen upon the Mundane Shell, the same
Be seen upon the fluctuating Earth woven by the sisters.
- 40 And sometimes the Earth shall roll in the Abyss, & sometimes
Stand in the Centre, & sometimes stretch flat in the Expanse,
According to the will of the lovely Daughters of Albion.
Sometimes it shall assimilate with mighty Golgonooza,
Touching its summits; & sometimes divided roll apart
- 45 As a beautiful Veil. So these Females shall fold & unfold
According to their will the outside surface of the Earth
An outside shadowy Surface superadded to the real Surface;
Which is unchangeable for ever & ever. Amen: so be it!
—Separate Albion's Sons gently from their Emanations,
- 50 Weaving bowers of delight on the current of infant Thames
Where the old parent still retains his youth—as I, alas!
Retain my youth eight thousand and five hundred years,
The labourer of ages in the Valleys of Despair.
The land is marked for desolation, & unless we plant
- 55 The seeds of cities & of villages in the human bosom
Albion must be a rock of blood; mark ye the points
Where cities shall remain & where villages; for the rest,
It must lie in confusion till Albion's time of awaking.
—Place the tribes of Llewellyn in America for a hiding place,

83.33–48. ¶ He speaks of the Daughters of Albion: within the creation whose form was fixed by Los – the Mundane Shell (see *Milton* 34.31) – they are making a world to suit themselves, which they control.

83.34. *fluctuating globe*] i.e. an indefinite form, a vague shape which can be made to 'mean' what they like.

83.40. The allusion here is to three cosmologies: the Copernican, with the earth one of many planets in space; the Ptolemaic, with the earth at the centre; and the legendary, such as that of *Genesis* i, with a flat earth floating on an infinite dish of waters. See *Milton* 34.21–35.

83.43–5. The world may be a source of Vision or a cause of obscurity.

83.49–51. ¶ Another task – presumably to prevent the Daughters of Albion having their way with the Sons (as Gwendolen hoped in her speech). The cruel Sons of Albion of the earlier part of the poem are here seen as infants, following the action of 80.57–82.54.

83.51–65. ¶ Los concludes his song with a general view of his work.

83.59. *tribes of Llewellyn*] ¶ The myth that in the late 12th century Prince Madoc sailed across the Atlantic and founded a colony of Welsh Indians encouraged emigration by radical Dissenters from Wales to America, e.g., to Beula, Pennsylvania. B. may be alluding to either or both of these.

- [83] Till sweet Jerusalem emanates again into Eternity.
61 The night falls thick; I go upon my watch: be attentive.
The Sons of Albion go forth; I follow from my Furnaces,
That they return no more; that a place be prepared on
Euphrates.
Listen to your watchman's voice: sleep not before the Furnaces.
65 Eternal Death stands at the door. O God, pity our labours!'
- So Los spoke to the Daughters of Beulah, while his Emanation
Like a faint rainbow waved before him in the awful gloom
Of London, city on the Thames, from Surrey hills to
Highgate.
Swift turn the silver spindles, & the golden weights play soft
70 And lulling harmonies beneath the looms from Caithness in
the north
To Lizard Point & Dover in the south. His Emanation
Joyed in the many weaving threads in bright Cathedron's
dome,
Weaving the Web of life for Jerusalem; the Web of life
Down flowing into Entuthon's vales glistens with soft affections,
75 While Los arose upon his watch, and down from Golgonooza
Putting on his golden sandals to walk from mountain to
mountain,
He takes his way, girding himself with gold, & in his hand
Holding his iron mace; the Spectre remains attentive.
Alternate they watch in night, alternate labour in day,
80 Before the Furnaces labouring, while Los all night watches
The stars rising & setting, & the meteors & terrors of night.
With him went down the Dogs of Leutha, at his feet
They lap the water of the trembling Thames, then follow swift.
And thus he heard the voice of Albion's Daughters on
Euphrates:

83.68–71. There are many resemblances between this passage and *Milton* 6.13. The Surrey hills were the site of the old ironworks; thence to Highgate is south to north. Caithness, Lizard and Dover represent the entire kingdom, from north to south-west and south-east extremities.

83.69. *the spindles*] The bobbins, and the weights of a loom. This is work of the same kind, but opposite effect, to Vala's in 80.32–6.

83.74. *Entuthon*] The dark region surrounding Golgonooza (see *F.Z.* viii 25).

83.78. *the Spectre*] Los's Spectre, forgotten since ch. 1, when Los made his Spectre subservient to his will.

83.82. *the Dogs of Leutha*] From the Isle of Dogs, in the loop of the Thames. Cp. 45.15.

83.84. The Daughters of Albion, self-exiled on the Euphrates by Gwendolen's allurements (82.22–36), begin to see the harm they have done, but cannot yet break away from it.

- [83] 85 'Our father Albion's land! Oh, it was a lovely land! & the
 Daughters of Beulah
 Walked up and down in its green mountains. But Hand is fled
 Away, & mighty Hyle, & after them Jerusalem is gone. Awake,
 Pl.84 Highgate's heights & Hampstead's, to Poplar, Hackney &
 Bow,
 To Islington & Paddington & the brook of Albion's river.
 We builded Jerusalem as a City & a Temple; from Lambeth
 We began our foundations, lovely Lambeth! O lovely hills
 5 Of Camberwell, we shall behold you no more in glory & pride,
 For Jerusalem lies in ruins & the Furnaces of Los are builded
 there.
 You are now shrunk up to a narrow rock in the midst of the
 sea;
 But here we build Babylon on Euphrates, compelled to build
 And to inhabit, our little ones to clothe in armour of the gold
 10 Of Jerusalem's cherubims, & to forge them swords of her altars.
 I see London blind & age-bent begging through the streets
 Of Babylon, led by a child: his tears run down his beard.
 The voice of wandering Reuben echoes from street to street
 In all the cities of the nations; Paris, Madrid, Amsterdam.
 15 The corner of Broad Street weeps, Poland Street languishes;
 To Great Queen Street & Lincoln's Inn, all is distress & woe.

[*Design*]

'The night falls thick, Hand comes from Albion in his
 strength:
 He combines into a Mighty One, the Double Molech &
 Chemosh,

83.85-84.16. The Daughters of Albion, echoing the laments of the exiled Israelites (e.g., *Psalms* 137, and *Lamentations*), recall the land which they have left; but, like the Psalmist, cannot admit that the original fault was their own. They cannot see the purpose of Los's fierce furnaces, reflecting *Malachi* iii 2, 'He is like a refiner's fire'.

84.2. *the brook of Albion's river*] Tyburn brook. See map (p. 650).

84.5. *Camberwell*] At that time, a village just outside London.

84.11. This line is illustrated in the design at the foot of the page.

84.15-16. See map. The place-names are all in central London, then and now.

84.16. *Design*. Beneath 16, three lines, irrecoverably deleted, are replaced by a wavy leaf pattern.

84.17. The Daughters begin to understand the monster who has caused their distress, and to realize that they have courted him.

84.18. *Double Molech and Chemosh*] Cp. 68.17n. These were not Egyptian gods, as B. would know, from Old Testament accounts of wars between Egypt and Assyria or Babylon.

- [84] Marching through Egypt in his fury. The east is pale at his course;
 20 The nations of India, the wild Tartar that never knew Man
 Starts from his lofty places & casts down his tents & flees away.
 But we woo him all the night in songs. O Los, come forth,
 O Los,

Divide us from these terrors & give us power them to subdue!
 Arise upon thy watches, let us see thy globe of fire
 25 On Albion's rocks, & let thy voice be heard upon Euphrates!

Thus sang the Daughters in lamentation, uniting into one
 With Rahab as she turned the iron spindle of destruction.
 Terrified at the Sons of Albion, they took the Falsehood which
 Gwendolen hid in her left hand. It grew & grew till it

[*Design*]

- Pl.85 Became a Space & an Allegory around the winding Worm.
 They named it Canaan, & built for it a tender moon.

84.22. The daughters of Albion want to use Los for their own ends, to subdue the sons to their influence. The repentance of 82.77 is fragile.

84.24. *globe of fire*] With which he searched Albion (pl.45) to find those responsible for Albion's fall; not the globe of blood of 86.52. This globe is apt to show up the errors of Albion's children, not to help them in their perverted aims.

84.26–27. *uniting . . . Rahab*] They long to escape, but are trapped in the world of their own choice. But Los in the next lines continues to turn evil beginnings into good results.

84.27. *spindle*] In 80.3, the spindle is Vala's, but she and Rahab are different visions of the same personality.

84.28. *Terrified at the Sons of Albion*] Either because of their aggression, or because the Daughters were losing their power – the purpose of Gwendolen's falsehood (82.17ff).

84. *Design*: Illustrating II, a reversed version of the design to 'London' in *Experience*; a boy leading the old man past St. Paul's – a classical church – towards the Gothic Westminster Abbey.

85.1–9. SPACE] The Daughters of Albion are working with a lie; nevertheless it can be used to good ends. The history of the area of Canaan, or Israel, that grows in it involves much Error (in B.'s sense), but, contained as it is by Los within the finite space of history, it also retains some spirit of the eternal values. For B.'s concept of a *Space* see *Milton* 10.4*n*; as here in 7–9, it is the home of Female activity, while Time is the Male's (*Milton* 24.68). The Female creates the Space and places the lost soul within it (the imagery of the womb is evident: cp. 85.27–29). Like a bubble of air, this encapsulates a portion of life and keeps it safe. But it must not stultify; it needs the revolutions of Time to keep it alive and 'embodied' (85.27) and creative. In *Milton* 8.39–44, Enitharmon 'forms a Space' to save Satan and Michael and 'closed it with a tender moon' (cp. 2 here). In *Milton* pl.10.1–10, where also the Space is identified with Canaan, B. writes this gloss:

The nature of a Female Space is this: it shrinks the organs
 Of life till they become finite, and itself seems infinite.

- [85] Los smiled with joy, thinking on Enitharmon, & he brought
 Reuben from his twelvefold wanderings & led him into it,
 5 Planting the seeds of the twelve tribes & Moses & David,
 And gave a time & revolution to the space, six thousand years.
 He called it Divine Analogy; for in Beulah the Feminine
 Emanations create Space, the Masculine create Time, & plant
 The seeds of beauty in the Space: listening to their lamentation
 10 Los walks upon his ancient mountains in the deadly darkness,
 Among his Furnaces directing his laborious myriads watchful,
 Looking to the east; & his voice is heard over the whole earth,
 As he watches the Furnaces by night & directs the labourers.
- And thus Los replies upon his watch; the valleys listen silent,
 15 The stars stand still to hear. Jerusalem & Vala cease to mourn.
 His voice is heard from Albion; the Alps & Apennines
 Listen; Hermon & Lebanon bow their crowned heads,
 Babel & Shinar look toward the Western Gate; they sit down
 Silent at his voice, they view the red globe of fire in Los's hand
 20 As he walks from Furnace to Furnace, directing the labourers.
 And this is the song of Los, the song that he sings on his watch:

[*Design*]

- 'O lovely mild Jerusalem! O Shiloh of Mount Ephraim!
 I see thy gates of precious stones, thy walls of gold & silver;
 Thou art the soft reflected image of the Sleeping Man
 25 Who, stretched on Albion's rocks, reposes amidst his
 Twenty-eight
 Cities, where Beulah lovely terminates in the hills & valleys
 of Albion—

Thus the 'Female Space' is another version of the Creation which may do good, through Time, by limiting the damage caused by evil; though the mortal world, created as an end in itself, would be evil. Note that here the Daughters of Beulah as well as Gwendolen, are concerned in 'Creating' the Space, as in, e.g. *Vala* i 90. In *Milton* (see above) Enitharmon acts likewise. It may well be that B. has connected pls.84 and 85 by a kind of butt-joint, and that originally Gwendolen was not the creator of this 'Space'. In 82.20 a similar line introduces her 'deceit'. Nevertheless, B. published the passage in the form it now takes.

85.1. *Allegory*] In B. usually means 'fallacy'.

the winding Worm] Hyle: see 82.47ff.

85.3. *Los smiled* . . . because he sees that he can turn this Falsehood to good.

85.7. *Divine Analogy*] The Space created by the Daughters is not the ultimate Heavenly space created in Beulah, but is analogous to it.

85. *Design*: An ornament of leaves, to mark off the idyllic passage which follows.

85.22. *Jerusalem* . . . *Shiloh*] Here identified as one united Holy City, not the hostile capitals of later Jewish history. A 'reflected image' is another way of saying 'Emanation'.

85.26–8. *Beulah lovely* . . . *Time and Space*] These things are seen in dreams and visions, not in the material of time and space.

- [85] Cities not yet embodied in Time and Space. Plant ye
 The seeds, O sisters, in the bosom of Time, & Space's womb,
 To spring up for Jerusalem; lovely Shadow of sleeping Albion,
 30 Why wilt thou rend thyself apart & build an Earthly kingdom,
 To reign in pride & to oppress, & to mix the Cup of Delusion?
 O thou that dwellest with Babylon, come forth, O lovely one!

[Design]

- Pl.86 'I see thy Form, O lovely mild Jerusalem, winged with six wings
 In the opacous bosom of the Sleeper, lovely Threefold
 In head & heart & reins, three universes of love & beauty.
 Thy Forehead bright: *Holiness to the Lord*, with gates of pearl
 5 Reflects Eternity beneath thy azure wings of feathery down,
 Ribbed delicate & clothed with feathered gold & azure &
 purple
 From thy white shoulders shadowing, purity in holiness!
 Thence feathered with soft crimson of the ruby, bright as fire,
 Spreading into the azure wings, which like a canopy
 10 Bends over thy immortal head in which Eternity dwells.
 Albion, beloved land, I see thy mountains & thy hills
 And valleys & thy pleasant cities: *Holiness to the Lord*.
 I see the Spectres of thy Dead, O Emanation of Albion.

85.28. *sisters*] The Daughters of Beulah (7-9).

85.32. Biblical Jerusalem was carried captive to Babylon (Rahab's city); Albion's Emanation separated from him so as not to be carried into his coma (48.46-52). Now she is trapped in the spirit of Babylon, doomed to take part in its wars.

85. *Design* (covering about a third of the plate): a female spinning plant-fibres hung with bunches of grapes, out of a man's body. In the background, the sun, moon, a star and a comet. This design illustrates 87.6-9.

86.1. *thy Form . . . Jerusalem . . . six wings*] In this passage, Albion and his Emanation Jerusalem are not always distinguished, since in Eternity they are parts of one another. The six wings come from *Isaiah* vi 2, where the seraphim cover their faces with one pair, their feet with another, and fly with the third. Jerusalem's wings here cover head, bosom and loins. Note that she is threefold (line 2) - only when united with Albion can she be perfect and fourfold. Hers is the highest beauty of Beulah (cp. 14.16ff).

86.3. *three universes*] Described in turn, 4-13, 14-21, 22-32. The whole sequence draws heavily on the imagery of Aaron's vestments (*Exodus* xxviii) and of the New Jerusalem (*Revelation* xxi).

86.4. *Holiness . . . Lord*] Cp. *Exodus* xxviii 36: 'And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it . . . HOLINESS TO THE LORD . . . And it shall be upon Aaron's forehead, that Aaron may bear the iniquity of the holy things.'

gates of pearl] In *Revelation* xxi 21, 'the twelve gates' (of the new Jerusalem) 'were twelve pearls; every several gate was one pearl'.

86.6. *gold and azure and purple*] Aaron's vestments were to be of 'gold, and blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen' (*Exodus* xxviii 5, etc.). The purple, scarlet and fine linen were echoed in 59.55; and here in the white shoulders of Jerusalem.

- [86] 'Thy Bosom white, translucent, covered with immortal gems,
 15 A sublime ornament not obscuring the outlines of beauty,
 Terrible to behold for thy extreme beauty & perfection.
 Twelfefold here all the tribes of Israel I behold
 Upon the Holy Land: I see the River of Life & Tree of Life;
 I see the New Jerusalem descending out of Heaven
 20 Between thy wings of gold & silver, feathered immortal,
 Clear as the rainbow, as the cloud of the sun's tabernacle.
- 'Thy Reins covered with wings translucent, sometimes covering
 And sometimes spread abroad, reveal the flames of holiness
 Which like a robe covers, & like a veil of seraphim
 25 In flaming fire unceasing burns from Eternity to Eternity.
 Twelfefold I there behold Israel in her tents.
 A pillar of a cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night
 Guides them. There I behold Moab & Ammon & Amalek;
 There bells of silver round thy knees, living, articulate
 30 Comforting sounds of love & harmony; & on thy feet
 Sandals of gold & pearl, & Egypt & Assyria before me,
 The isles of Javan, Philistia, Tyre and Lebanon.'
- Thus Los sings upon his watch, walking from Furnace to
 Furnace.
 He seizes his hammer every hour; flames surround him as

86.14. *Thy bosom . . . gems*] Aaron's breastplate was set with twelve gems of different kinds, one for each of the twelve tribes (*Exodus* xxviii 17–21).

86.17. *Twelfefold*] Each tribe, in *Revelation* vii 4–8, is numbered twelfefold, multiplied by a thousand.

86.18. *River of Life and Tree of Life*] From *Revelation* xxii 1–2: 'And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb . . . on either side of the river was there the tree of life . . . and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.'

86.19. From *Revelation* xxi 2: 'And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of Heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.'

86.24. *a veil of seraphim*] Seraphim are only mentioned once in the Bible, at *Isaiah* vi 2–6 (cp. line 1*n*), where they may be taken as a living veil before God, though *Isaiah* says 'I saw the Lord'. The same word in Hebrew, however, is used in three places in the Bible, but translated 'fiery flying serpent' (*Numbers* xxi 6–8, *Isaiah* xiv 29, xxx 6). Taken with the 'live coal' which *Isaiah's* seraph held in his hand to purify *Isaiah* in his vision, this accounts for the *flaming fire* of 25. Or are these the cherubim in the sanctuary (44.34–40*n*)?

86.28. *Moab, Ammon, Amalek*] Hostile nations on earth, reconciled in Eternity.

86.29. *bells*] Such as surrounded the hem of Aaron's robe (*Exodus* xxviii 33).

86.31. *Sandals*] B.'s addition, and not mentioned in the account of Aaron's vestments.

86.32. *Javan*] Occasionally mentioned in the Old Testament, meaning Greece: the word is cognate with *Ionian*.

- [86] He beats: seas roll beneath his feet, tempests muster
 36 Around his head, the thick hailstones stand ready to obey
 His voice in the black cloud. His Sons labour in thunders
 At his Furnaces; his Daughters at their looms sing woes.
 His Emanation separates, in milky fibres agonising
 40 Among the golden looms of Cathedron, sending fibres of love
 From Golgonooza with sweet visions for Jerusalem, wanderer.
 (Nor can any consummate bliss without being Generated
 On Earth of those whose Emanations weave the loves
 Of Beulah for Jerusalem & Shiloh, in immortal Golgonooza,
 45 Concentring in the majestic form of Erin, in eternal tears
 Viewing the winding worm on the deserts of Great Tartary,
 Viewing Los in his shudderings, pouring balm on his sorrows.
 So dread is Los's fury, that none dare him to approach
 Without becoming his children in the Furnaces of Affliction.)
 50 And Enitharmon like a faint rainbow waved before him,
 Filling with fibres from his loins, which reddened with desire
 Into a globe of blood beneath his bosom, trembling in
 darkness
 Of Albion's clouds. He fed it with his tears & bitter groans,
 Hiding his Spectre in invisibility from the timorous shade
 55 Till it became a separated cloud of beauty, grace & love,
 Among the darkness of his Furnaces dividing asunder, till
 She separated stood before him, a lovely female, weeping,
 Even Enitharmon separated outside. And his loins closed
 And healed after the separation; his pains he soon forgot,
 60 Lured by her beauty outside of himself in shadowy grief.
 Two wills they had, two intellects: & not as in times of old.
 Silent they wandered hand in hand, like two infants wandering
 From Enion in the deserts, terrified at each other's beauty,
 Envying each other yet desiring, in all-devouring love,

86.42–9. A difficult passage: 'No person can consummate bliss without becoming one of Los's agents in this mortal world, so great is Los's determination to turn all possible things to his reforming purpose.' They are 'Generated' through 'those whose Emanations weave, in Golgonooza, earthly forms for them'. The Emanations also 'concentre' (45) and 'view' (46–7). For *Erin* see 48.28.

86.50–88.58: An interlude in the principal theme, a new development of the theme of the Female Will (see 30.31*n*), using material from *Vala* i & ii.

86.50–2. Cp. 82.81–2.

86.55. *it*] The 'shade', Enitharmon. This is the division of male and female.

86.61. So in *Vala* ii 416.

86.63. *Enion*] In the myth of *Vala*, the mother of Los and Enitharmon; in the present myth, where Enitharmon is parted directly from Los's substance (as in *Urizen*), she seems to have no real place. In *Vala*, as here, they repel her and she drifts away forlorn.

Pl.87

[*Design*]

Repelling weeping Enion, blind & age-bent into the fourfold
Deserts. Los first broke silence & began to utter his love:

‘O lovely Enitharmon, I behold thy graceful forms
Moving beside me, till intoxicated with the woven labyrinth
5 Of beauty & perfection my wild fibres shoot in veins
Of blood through all my nervous limbs. Soon overgrown in roots
I shall be closed from thy sight. Seize therefore in thy hand
The small fibres as they shoot around me, draw out in pity
And let them run on the winds of thy bosom. I will fix them
10 With pulsations; we will divide them into Sons & Daughters
To live in thy bosom’s translucence as in an eternal morning.’

Enitharmon answered: ‘No! I will seize thy fibres & weave
Them—not as thou wilt but as I will, for I will create
A round womb beneath my bosom, lest I also be overwoven
15 With love. Be thou assured I never will be thy slave.
Let Man’s delight be Love, but Woman’s delight be Pride.
In Eden our loves were the same; here they are opposite.
I have loves of my own; I will weave them in Albion’s Spectre.
Cast thou in Jerusalem’s shadows thy loves: silk of liquid
20 Rubies, jacinths, crysolites, issuing from thy Furnaces. While
Jerusalem divides thy care, while thou carest for Jerusalem,
Know that I never will be thine. Also thou hidest Vala;
From her these fibres shoot to shut me in a grave.
You are Albion’s victim; he has set his daughter in your path.’

87. *Design* (half the page): in the background, four figures apparently trapped in circles, or hemispheres: in the foreground, a female figure chases two smaller spirits who dance away from her.

87.6–9. This is illustrated in the design at the foot of pl.85. B. tries to envisage a kind of procreation that does not involve the separation of individuals.

87.14. Los’s would-be children are made from wild fibres; Enitharmon intends to enclose them, and so take control of them. See *Spaces*, 85.1n.

87.16. Cp. 81.6.

87.18. in *Albion’s Spectre*] She chooses the male Spectre to work on, and grants him the female Emanation, Jerusalem – with the warning that because of this she herself will be jealous. This jealousy is the evil of sexuality. In an ideal ‘Human’ relationship between the united Los–Enitharmon personality and the united Albion–Jerusalem, as there would be in Eden, it could not occur. As it is, there is only a set of contradicting desires and jealousies between one part and the others. Cp. Los’s view of the ideal in 88.3–15.

87.24. Enitharmon is jealous because Los works to release Jerusalem; she supposes that his intentions are dishonourable. Do we detect Catherine’s irritation at William’s fixation on work that will save Albion, rather than on more immediately practical matters?

- Pl.88 Los answered, sighing like the bellows of his Furnaces:
 'I care not; the swing of my hammer shall measure the starry
 round.
When in Eternity man converses with man they enter
Into each other's bosom (which are universes of delight)
5 In mutual interchange; & first their Emanations meet,
Surrounded by their children. If they embrace & commingle,
The Human Fourfold forms mingle also in thunders of
Intellect.
But if the Emanations mingle not; with storms & agitations
Of earthquakes & consuming fires they roll apart in fear.
10 For man cannot unite with man but by their Emanations,
Which stand, both Male & Female, at the gates of each
humanity.
How then can I ever again be united as man with man
While thou, my Emanation, refusest my fibres of dominion?
When souls mingle & join through all the fibres of
brotherhood,
15 Can there be any secret joy on earth greater than this?'
Enitharmon answered: 'This is Woman's world, nor need she any
Spectre to defend her from Man. I will Create secret places,
And the masculine names of the places Merlin & Arthur.
A triple Female Tabernacle for Moral Law I weave,
20 That he who loves Jesus may loathe, terrified, female love,
Till God himself become a Male subservient to the Female.'
She spoke in scorn & jealousy, alternate torments, and
So speaking she sat down on Sussex shore, singing lulling
Cadences, & playing in sweet intoxication among the glistening
25 Fibres of Los, sending them over the ocean eastward into
The realms of dark death. (O perverse to thyself, contrarious
To thy own purposes!) For when she began to weave,
Shooting out in sweet pleasure, her bosom in milky love

88.2. Los measures time, with which he is again associated.

88.16. *This*] i.e., this Vegetated world of Generation.

88.18. *Merlin & Arthur*] Both great men among the Britons whose downfall could be traced to women. See, for *Merlin* 30.37*n*; for *Arthur*, 54.25*n*.

88.19. *A triple Female Tabernacle*] A set of enclosed places, in contrast with the three open heavens of 86.1–32.

88.23. *on Sussex shore*] Where B. lived for three years. He regarded his stay there as a time of subtle temptation to leave his prophetic duty and devote himself to easier tasks, but no specific allusion is evident. Cp. the similar lines at *Milton* 6.6. 88.26–7. *O perverse . . . !*] The author's own comment, an interjection addressed to Enitharmon.

- [88] Flowed into the aching fibres of Los; yet contending against him
- 30 In pride, sending his fibres over to her objects of jealousy
In the little lovely Allegoric Night of Albion's Daughters
Which stretched abroad, expanding east & west & north & south
Through all the world of Erin & of Los & all their children.
- A sullen smile broke from the Spectre in mockery & scorn,
- 35 Knowing himself the author of their divisions & shrinkings.
Gratified
At their contentions, he wiped his tears, he washed his visage:
- 'The Man who respects Woman shall be despised by Woman,
And deadly cunning & mean abjectness only shall enjoy them.
For I will make their places of joy & love excrementitious,
- 40 Continually building, continually destroying in family feuds.
While you are under the dominion of a jealous female,
Unpermanent for ever because of love & jealousy,
You shall want all the Minute Particulars of Life.'
- Thus joyed the Spectre in the dusky fires of Los's forge,
eyeing
- 45 Enitharmon, who at her shining looms sings lulling cadences,
While Los stood at his anvil in wrath, the victim of their love
And hate—dividing the Space of love with brazen compasses
In Golgonooza & in Udan-Adan, & in Entuthon of Urizen.
The blow of his hammer is Justice; the swing of his hammer,
Mercy;
- 50 The force of Los's hammer is Eternal Forgiveness. But
His rage or his mildness were vain; she scattered his love on
the wind
Eastward into her own centre, creating the Female Womb
In mild Jerusalem around the Lamb of God. Loud howl
The Furnaces of Los, loud roll the wheels of Enitharmon.
- 55 The Four Zoas in all their faded majesty burst out in fury
And fire. Jerusalem took the cup which foamed in Vala's hand
Like the red sun upon the mountains in the bloody day
Upon the Hermaphroditic Winepresses of love & wrath.

88.40. *Continually building . . . destroying*] See 53.19n, and Milton 11.20n.

88.48. *Golgonooza*] Set in the midst of the lake of Udan-Adan in the forest of Entuthon Benithon, in Ulro. See *Vala* v 76.

88.52. *Eastward*] For B., the east is the direction of the old tyrannies, and identified with 'single vision'. See 5.68n and 12.56n ('the east, unapproachable for ever'). *centre*] See 12.55n for its association with Hell.

88.58. *Hermaphroditic Winepresses*] For the duality of the winepress, see 89.4; *hermaphroditic* indicates a sterile association of sexual forms, without blending of personality such as that spoken of by Los in lines 3–15.

Pl.89

[*Marginal Design*]

- Though divided by the Cross & Nails & Thorns & Spear
 In cruelties of Rahab & Tirzah, permanent endure
 A terrible indefinite Hermaphroditic form,
 A Winepress of love & wrath, double, hermaphroditic,
 5 Twelffold in allegoric pomp, in selfish holiness,
 The Pharisaion, the Grammateis, the Presbyterion,
 The Archiereus, the Iereus, the Saddusaion, double
 Each withoutside of the other, covering eastern heaven.
- Thus was the Covering Cherub revealed, majestic image
 10 Of Selfhood, Body put off, the Antichrist accursed,
 Covered with precious stones, a Human Dragon terrible
 And bright, stretched over Europe & Asia gorgeous.
 In three nights he devoured the rejected corse of death.

89. *Marginal Design*: Two female figures pass a shuttle from one to the other.
 89.1. The immediate topic suddenly changes, although the word *Hermaphroditic* is a superficial link to the previous lines.

89.1-3. *endure*] Plural because of the plurality of the 'hermaphroditic form' ('twelffold', 5). This is 'divided' within and against itself by the activities of Rahab and Tirzah, who torture the male in order to retain control over him (see 67.40-68.70). Yet the 'form' remains 'permanent' on earth, i.e. it recurs again and again.
 89.4. *Winepress*] B. is not sure about his Winepress; it can be an instrument of righteousness and of purification (See *F.Z.* ix 692ff and *Jerusalem* 82.63), but also of cruelty and judgement for sin. It may therefore be 'double' here for either of two reasons – the mixture of good and evil it represents; or, more probably, because it is a cruelty under pretence of doing good.

89.6-7. *Pharisaion*, etc.] i.e. 'the Pharisees, the scribes, the elders ('of the people'), the High Priest, the priest and the Sadducees'. All were involved in the condemnation of Jesus. B. has used Greek words; *Pharisaion* seems to be neuter, a collective, but may be plural. If so, it is a genitive, which B. mistook for a nominative. *Iereus* omits the *H* (cp. Eng. *hierarchy*) which would transliterate the rough breathing sign over the 'T'. *Presbyterion* is unusual, but found in *Luke* xxii 66, 'the elders of the people and the chief priests and scribes.'

89.8. *Each withoutside*] All surface and no heart; each taking precedence: cp. 12.55n, 71.6-8.

89.9. *the Covering Cherub*] The revelation of the formless, overarching Covering Cherub is a climax in *Milton* (37.8ff: q.v. note). There also the climax comes shortly before the Cherub's overthrow. When revealed, he must surely be rejected by all who see him. Note also how the description of the Covering Cherub is similar in composition to, but in contrast with, the description of the unfallen Jerusalem, in pl.86. The rest of the plate is a sweeping vision of the dominion of the Cherub over the world and across history.

89.13. *In three nights*] The three nights between Crucifixion and Resurrection. The meaning seems to be that the Cherub lives by the *mortal* form of man, rejected by Christ in the Resurrection. In *The Everlasting Gospel* f 91-96 (pp. 903-04), man's Spectre is likened to a serpent, as the Cherub – also a spectral being – is here a dragon:

- [89] His Head dark, deadly, in its brain encloses a reflection
 15 Of Eden all perverted: Egypt on the Gihon many-tongued
 And many-mouthed; Ethiopia, Libya, the Sea of Rephaim.
 Minute Particulars in slavery I behold among the brick-kilns
 Disorganized; & there is Pharaoh in his iron court,
 And the Dragon of the River & the Furnaces of iron.
 20 Outwoven from Thames & Tweed & Severn, awful streams,
 Twelve ridges of stone from over all the earth in tyrant pride,
 Frown over each river—stupendous works of Albion's Druid Sons.
 And Albion's forests of oaks covered the earth from pole to pole.
- His bosom wide reflects Moab & Ammon, on the River
 25 Pison, since called Arnon; there is Heshbon beautiful,
 The flocks of Rabbath on the Arnon, & the fish-pools of
 Heshbon
 Whose currents flow into the Dead Sea by Sodom &
 Gomorrah.

In three nights he devoured his prey,
 And still he devours the body of clay;
 For dust and clay is the serpent's meat,
 Which never was made for man to eat.

In *Genesis* iii 14 the serpent is condemned to eat dust: B. turns this to use here; the serpent lives on death, man on life.

89.15–16. *Gihon . . . Rephaim*] Gihon was one of the four rivers of Paradise named in *Genesis* ii 10–14; here the Nile, with its estuary. B. introduces the four rivers in turn (24, 35, 38). The 'Sea of Rephaim' ('of giants') does not appear in the Bible – see 37.12 and *Milton* 19.40n.

89.18. *Disorganized* does not signify lack of trade unions, but that they are in chaos, unable to function according to their true nature.

89.19. *Dragon of the River*] Of the Nile. From *Ezekiel* xxix 3: 'Thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.'

89.20. *Outwoven*] Spreading out from, originating in.

89.21. *Twelve ridges of stone*] B.'s notion of Stonehenge; cp. 68.24, 41n.

89.24. *His*] The Cherub's.

89.24–7. The Cherub represents and contains the elements of the tribes from beyond Jordan, i.e. outside the Promised Land, who were often hostile to the chosen people.

89.25. *Pison, since called Arnon*] The *Pison* was another river of Paradise; B. identified Gihon and the Nile in 15, and here Pison with Arnon, the river on the border of Israel and Moab – see map, and *Milton* 19.5n. Cp. also 61.33, the same names in a very different association.

89.26. *flocks of Rabbath*] The royal city of Rabbath (Rabbah), now Amman, was the scene of much fighting against the Ammonites (2 *Samuel* xi; 1 *Chronicles* xx). *Heshbon*] Cp. 82.43n: it is not on the Arnon.

89.27. *Sodom and Gomorrah*] On the shores of the Dead Sea, though probably not at the mouth of the Arnon.

- [89] Above his head high-arching wings, black, filled with eyes,
 Spring upon iron sinews from the scapulae & os humeri.
 30 There Israel in bondage to his generalising gods
 Molech & Chemosh; & in his left breast is Philistia,
 In Druid Temples over the whole earth with victims' sacrifice,
 From Gaza to Damascus, Tyre & Sidon, & the gods
 Of Javan, through the isles of Grecia & all Europe's kings.
 35 Where Hiddekel pursues his course among the rocks
 Two wings spring from his ribs, of brass, starry, black as night,
 But translucent their blackness as the dazzling of gems.

His Loins enclose Babylon on Euphrates beautiful,
 And Rome in sweet Hesperia. There Israel scattered abroad
 40 In martyrdoms & slavery I behold: Ah, vision of sorrow!
 Enclosed by eyeless wings, glowing with fire as the iron
 Heated in the smith's forge, but cold the wind of their dread
 fury.

But in the midst of a devouring Stomach, Jerusalem
 Hidden within the Covering Cherub as in a tabernacle
 45 Of threefold workmanship, in allegoric delusion & woe.
 There the Seven Kings of Canaan & Five Baalim of Philistia,
 Sihon & Og, the Anakim & Emim, Nephilim & Gibborim,
 From Babylon to Rome: & the wings spread from Japan

89.28. *filled with eyes*] As were the wheels in Ezekiel's vision (*Ezekiel* i), and the four beasts before the throne of God in *Revelation* iv 6.

89.29. *from the scapulae and os humeri*] From the shoulder-blades and upper arm-bone, as in a bird, rather than a bat.

89.30-1. *his generalising gods, Molech and Chemosh*] These were gods of child sacrifice; to live and think by generalized and abstract notions, instead of by human compassion, leads only to cruelty and destruction. This is the theme of much of *Auguries of Innocence*, p. 612.

89.33-4. *Gaza . . . Europe's kings*] This is a progression up the Palestinian coast, westwards through Greece to the rest of Europe.

89.35. *Hiddekel*] The Tigris, and another of the four rivers of Paradise (*Genesis* ii 14). Nineveh was on its banks, and Daniel saw a vision (*Daniel* x 4) beside it. B. sees it as a river of error – hence the rocks.

89.38. *Euphrates*] The fourth river of Paradise.

89.43-5. This is the biblical image of the Covering Cherub – covering the Mercy Seat to keep anyone from seeing God.

threefold workmanship] Denotes that something is lacking, for true divinity (which is the apotheosis of humanity) is fourfold.

89.46 *Seven Kings*] Cp. *Milton* 40.24*n*: seven Canaanite tribes and five Philistine towns opposed Israel.

Five Baalim] 'five lords of the Philistines' are often mentioned, e.g., *Judges* iii 3: *Baal* means, strictly, 'lord', though the Hebrew word here is *seven*.

89.47. *Anakim . . . Gibborim*] All giants who had lived in or around Canaan before the Israelites came.

- [89] Where the Red Sea terminates the world of Generation & Death
 50 To Ireland's farthest rocks where giants builded their
 Causeway
 Into the Sea of Rephaim; but the Sea overwhelmed them all.
- A Double Female now appeared within the tabernacle;
 Religion hid in war, a Dragon red & hidden Harlot
 Each within other; but without a warlike mighty one
 55 Of dreadful power, sitting upon Horeb, pondering dire
 And mighty preparations, mustering multitudes innumerable
 Of warlike sons among the sands of Midian & Aram.
 For multitudes of those who sleep in Alla descend,
 Lured by his warlike symphonies of tabret, pipe & harp,
 60 Burst the bottoms of the graves & funeral arks of Beulah;
 Wandering in that unknown night beyond the silent grave,
 They become one with the Antichrist & are absorbed in him.
- Pl.90 —The Feminine separates from the Masculine & both from Man,
 Ceasing to be his Emanations, life to themselves assuming!
 And while they circumscribe his brain, & while they
 circumscribe
 His heart, & while they circumscribe his loins, a Veil & Net
 5 Of veins of red blood grows around them like a scarlet robe,
 Covering them from the sight of Man like the woven veil of
 sleep,
 Such as the flowers of Beulah weave to be their funeral mantles
 But dark, opaque, tender to touch, & painful & agonizing
 To the embrace of love, & to the mingling of soft fibres
 10 Of tender affection that no more the Masculine mingles

89.52. See 75.15ff and *Milton* 37.35ff, 40.22–7. These lines are an interpretation of Israelite history in the Old Testament. *Horeb* (55) is Sinai, where the Law was given; the 'multitudes innumerable' (56) are the seed of Abraham. They are governed by a false vision of God – as a warlike mighty one who gives laws; and the God who is hidden in the tabernacle of their highest ritual is not the Divine Vision, but a god, or rather goddess, of female cruelty, whose religion is war and whose war is excused as religion. Cp. also *Ezekiel* xxviii 14, 'Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God' (though this would mean Jerusalem, it might remind B. of Horeb).

89.58. *Alla*] A part of Ulro – see *Milton* 34.12.

89.60. *Burst . . . graves*] Cp. *F.Z.* vii 324n, 623.

90.1. *separates . . .*] Neither male nor female can be complete Humanity without the other. This begins another scene, with this general comment from B., on the nature and effects of the fall from Eternity. The material of this plate in general resembles that of 80.57–85.13 the story of Gwendolen and Cambel.

90.10. *no more . . . mingles*] They may mate, but do not wholly mingle or blend together, as in Eden (44.34–6).

- [90] With the Feminine, but the Sublime is shut out from the Pathos
 In howling torment, to build stone walls of separation,
 compelling
 The Pathos to weave curtains of hiding secrecy from the torment.
- Bowen & Conwenna stood on Skiddaw, cutting the fibres
- 15 Of Benjamin from Chester's river. Loud the river; loud the
 Mersey
 And the Ribble thunder into the Irish sea, as the twelve Sons
 Of Albion drank & imbibed the Life & eternal Form of Luvah.
 Cheshire & Lancashire & Westmorland groan in anguish.
 As they cut the fibres from the rivers he sears them with hot
- 20 Iron of his forge, & fixes them into bones of chalk & rock.
 Conwenna sat above; with solemn cadences she drew
 Fibres of life out from the bones into her golden loom.
 Hand had his Furnace on Highgate's heights, & it reached
 To Brockley Hills across the Thames: he with double Boadicea
- 25 In cruel pride cut Reuben apart from the hills of Surrey,
 Commingling with Luvah & with the sepulchre of Luvah:
 For the Male is a Furnace of beryl: the Female is a golden loom.

90.14ff. *Conwenna* is Bowen's Emanation. In 16.49 Benjamin is given Derby, Cheshire and Monmouth. The nature of this action is not clear, but Los's words in 28-38 may explain it: that Bowen and Conwenna are separating Benjamin from the home assigned to him by Los so that they may enjoy it for themselves.

Chester's river is the Dee, south of the Mersey. B. often sees veins as rivers of life-blood; here the rivers are veins of the counties' life.

90.18. *Cheshire*, etc.] The rivers named in 15-16 flow into the Irish Sea from these respective counties.

90.19. *they*] Bowen and Conwenna; *he* is Bowen.

90.21-3. *Conwenna* has her looms; Bowen his furnaces, working for ill in opposition to the looms of Enitharmon and the Furnaces of Los.

90.24. *Brockley Hills*] To the south-east of London.

double Boadicea] She appears occasionally in the lists of the Daughters of Albion; in 71.23 B. explains this discrepancy by identifying her with Cambel. 'Double' here may refer to this duality; or to the nature of the historical Boadicea, elevated as a heroine in legend, but yet warlike and cruel.

90.24-6. An obscure statement, partly clarified in the next passage (38). In 26 it is Hand who 'commingles'; Luvah here is clearly an Antichrist; his sepulchre resembles Christ's, but his 'commingling' with Hand is equally clearly to no good end. In *The Four Zoas* Luvah causes his own downfall, and is almost destroyed: this is imaged by the 'robes of blood' which enwrap him. Jesus comes, takes the robes of blood on himself, and in *Four Zoas* viii is buried in the sepulchre (cp. 38 below); this is Rahab's triumph, but it is shortlived. Thus B. adapts the Gospel narrative to his own myth, retaining the essential themes unharmed. Here he intends to draw together all the forms of evil into 'One Great Satan' (43).

90.27. So in 5.34 (cp. also 53.9): the context of this line clarifies the sense, that these are the Furnaces and looms of the corrupt children of Albion, beautiful but evil.

- [90] —Los cries: ‘No Individual ought to appropriate to himself,
 Or to his Emanation, any of the Universal characteristics
 30 Of David or of Eve, of the woman, or of the Lord,
 Of Reuben or of Benjamin, of Joseph or Judah or Levi.
 Those who dare appropriate to themselves Universal attributes
 Are the blasphemous Selfhoods & must be broken asunder.
 A Vegetated Christ & a Virgin Eve are the Hermaphroditic
 35 Blasphemy; by his Maternal Birth he is that Evil One.
 And his Maternal Humanity must be put off Eternally,
 Lest the Sexual Generation swallow up Regeneration.
 Come, Lord Jesus! take on thee the Satanic body of holiness!’
 So Los cried in the valleys of Middlesex in the Spirit of
 Prophecy,
 40 While in Selfhood, Hand & Hyle & Bowen & Skofeld
 appropriate
 The Divine names: seeking to Vegetate the Divine Vision
 In a corporeal & ever-dying Vegetation & Corruption.
 Mingling with Luvah in one, they become One Great Satan.
 Loud scream the Daughters of Albion beneath the tongs &
 hammer;
 45 Dolorous are their lamentations in the burning forge!
 They drink Reuben & Benjamin as the iron drinks the fire;
 They are red hot with cruelty; raving along the banks of
 Thames
 And on Tyburn’s brook among the howling victims, in
 loveliness;
 While Hand & Hyle condense the little ones & erect them into

90.28–33. B. expounds again the importance of his concept of *States*: see esp. *Milton* 32.22n, *Jerusalem* 31.13n.

90.34–37. *A Vegetated Christ and a Virgin Eve*] All women are daughters of Eve; but traditionally the ideal of Woman is the ever-virgin Mary. B. rejects this, as he rejects the simply mortal, ‘vegetated’ Christ. (See pl.61, and *Everlasting Gospel* d 3–4.) Christ is the Eternal and Universal, a real ‘Individual’, in B.’s terms; he enters a mortal, ‘vegetated’ State, ‘born of woman’, only to redeem it, and bring back all those in it, such as Albion, to Eternal Reality. Idealising Christ with a ‘pure’ female line attached to a divine ‘male’ half denies that reality, and leaves us with a false religion with sterile values – a religion prolonging the divisions of ‘sexual generation’, as Vala would have it.

90.38. *Come, Lord Jesus*] John’s prayer at the end of *Revelation* (also at 50.10). *take . . . the Satanic body*] In order to test, and disprove, its power to assimilate Christ’s Divine Humanity and destroy it. This theme is further treated in *Vala* viii.

90.46. *Reuben & Benjamin*] The eldest and youngest sons of Israel.

90.49. *condense*] The *little ones* (the ‘Minute Particulars’) are forced to lose their individuality in being ‘condensed’ into a single mass. Their virtues essentially belong

[90] 50 A mighty temple even to the stars: but they vegetate
Beneath Los's hammer, that life may not be blotted out.

—For Los said: 'When the Individual appropriates Universality
He divides into Male & Female; & when the Male & Female
Appropriate Individuality, they become an Eternal Death,
55 Hermaphroditic worshippers of a God of cruelty & law!
Your slaves & captives you compel to worship a God of Mercy!
These are the Demonstrations of Los, & the blows of my
mighty hammer!'

So Los spoke. And the Giants of Albion, terrified & ashamed
With Los's thunderous words, began to build trembling
rocking-stones

60 (For his words roll in thunders & lightnings among the
temples)

Terrified, rocking to & fro upon the earth, & sometimes
Resting in a circle in Maldon or in Strathness or Jura:
Plotting to devour Albion, & Los the friend of Albion;
Denying in private, mocking God & Eternal Life; & in Public
65 Collusion, calling themselves Deists, worshipping the maternal
Humanity; calling it Nature, and Natural Religion.

But still the thunder of Los peals loud, & thus the thunders
cry:

These beautiful witchcrafts of Albion are gratified by cruelty!

Pl.91 It is easier to forgive an enemy than to forgive a friend—

to each of them as individuals, but now they are heaped together and one abstract notion of Virtue, or Right, arises. Los saves them by keeping one speck of life – although it is of the most degraded kind – alive in them. Cp. 9.1.

90.50. *A mighty temple*] An allusion to the tower of Babel.

90.59. *rocking-stones*] Huge stones (smaller ones have been knocked over) which are found in various parts of the world, including Britain, balancing on a pivot of stone. Their origin is natural and accidental, but there was some speculation that they were put there by 'Druids' such as those who built great monuments such as Stonehenge. B. draws both a trilithon and a rocking-stone in his design on *Milton* pl.6 (*CGW* 417).

90.62. *a circle in Maldon or in Strathness or Jura*] This suggests stone circles; *Strathness* refers to the deep valley in which the famous loch lies (though its usual name is Glen Mhor, 'the Great Glen'). There are stone circles in many places in the north of Scotland, including the Loch Ness area.

For *Jura*, B. has *Dura*, reflecting the Gaelic spelling and pronunciation, *Diura*. This island off the west coast of Scotland is famous for the rocky caves on its coast, which probably led B. to include it here, since it has no stone circles. *Maldon* has prehistoric remains, but no stone circles; see 27.65n.

91.1. Preceded by a deleted line, partly deciphered in *Erdman* p. 812 as 'Forgiveness of Enemies ?can . . . only . . . God . . .'

- [91] The man who permits you to injure him deserves your
 vengeance;
 He also will receive it. Go, Spectre! obey my most secret
 desire,
 Which thou knowest without my speaking; Go to these
 fiends of Righteousness,
 5 Tell them to obey their Humanities, & not pretend Holiness
 When they are murderers; as far as my hammer & anvil permit
 Go, tell them that the worship of God is honouring his gifts
 In other men; & loving the greatest men best, each according
 To his genius, which is the Holy Ghost in man. There is no
 other
 10 God, than that God who is the intellectual fountain of
 Humanity;
 He who envies or calumniates (which is murder & cruelty)
 Murders the Holy One. Go, tell them this & overthrow their
 cup,
 Their bread, their altar table, their incense & their oath,
 Their marriage & their baptism, their burial & consecration.
 15 I have tried to make friends by corporeal gifts but have only
 Made enemies—I never made friends but by spiritual gifts,
 By severe contentions of friendship & the burning fire of
 thought.
 He who would see the Divinity must see him in his Children:
 One, first, in friendship & love; then a Divine Family, & in
 the midst
 20 Jesus will appear; so he who wishes to see a Vision, a perfect
 Whole,
 Must see it in its Minute Particulars; Organized—and not as thou,
 O Fiend of Righteousness, pretendest; thine is a disorganized
 And snowy cloud; brooder of tempest & destructive war.
 You smile with pomp & rigour; you talk of benevolence & virtue!
 25 I act with benevolence & virtue & get murdered time after time!
 You accumulate Particulars, & murder by analysing, that you
 May take the aggregate; & you call the aggregate Moral Law:
 And you call that swelled & bloated form, a Minute Particular.
 But General Forms have their vitality in Particulars: & every
 30 Particular is a man; a Divine Member of the Divine Jesus!’

91.9. *genius*] Almost a pun, considering the original meaning of ‘genius’: ‘an indwelling spirit’.

91.17. *severe contentions of friendship*] Disputes which are severe and hard, but carried on in a spirit of friendship.

91.21. *Organized*] A key word in B.’s vocabulary, opposed to the generalizing analyses of the materialist. Life is organized, as in the articulated human body, and all art. See 45.7*n*.

- [91] So Los cried at his anvil, in the horrible darkness weeping!
 The Spectre builded stupendous works, taking the starry
 heavens
 Like to a curtain & folding them according to his will,
 Repeating the Smaragdine Table of Hermes to draw Los down
 35 Into the Indefinite, refusing to believe without demonstration.
 Los reads the stars of Albion: the Spectre reads the voids
 Between the stars, among the arches of Albion's Tomb
 sublime,
 Rolling the sea in rocky paths, forming Leviathan
 And Behemoth, the War by Sea enormous, & the War
 40 By Land astounding, erecting pillars in the deepest Hell
 To reach the heavenly arches. Los beheld undaunted; furious
 His heaved hammer—he swung it round & at one blow,
 In un pitying ruin driving down the pyramids of pride,
 Smiting the Spectre on his anvil, & the integuments of his eye
 45 And ear unbinding in dire pain, with many blows
 Of strict severity self-subduing, & with many tears labouring.
 Then he sent forth the Spectre; all his pyramids were grains

91.32. The Spectre tries hard to disobey Los, although Los is driving him to work.
 91.34. *the Smaragdine Table of Hermes*] i.e. of Hermes Trismegistus. Plato refers to an Egyptian god, or divine man, Theuth (Thoth): he was later identified with Hermes, but also often thought of as a man so honoured for his learning that he was called Trismegistus ('thrice-great'). In Gnosticism he was again deified, but this is not relevant to the present reference. B.'s notion is well summarized by D. Hirst, in *Hidden Riches*, 1964, pp. 123-4):

The basic document for all alchemy is the famous 'Emerald Table of Hermes' or 'Smaragdine Tablet', ascribed to the semi-mythical philosopher Hermes Trismegistus, sometimes identified with the Egyptian scribe-god, Thoth. Its thirteen cryptic propositions were accepted (in the early Renaissance) as the key to the secret of the Philosopher's Stone and the mystery of the universe itself.

B.'s knowledge of the Tablet, and of Hermes, appears to have been sketchy in the extreme, for the propositions had little or nothing in common with the science of demonstrative experiment with which B. identifies them.

91.38-9. *Leviathan And Behemoth*] B. drew these creatures (from *Job* xi 15, xli 1) in his illustrations to *Job*, no. 14. *Leviathan* was a sea-monster, *Behemoth* a land-monster something like a hippopotamus. In his 1809 Exhibition B. showed paintings of Nelson guiding the sea-war monster Leviathan, and of Pitt leading Behemoth.

91.44-5. *integuments*] Los 'operates' on the Spectre to release the constricted powers of eye and ear.

91.46. *self-subduing*] For the Spectre is himself. He subdues, not his true nature, but his savage and corrupt nature.

91.47-9. *his*] The Spectre's. The rigid facts which the Spectre wants to control turn out to be delicate things of beauty, untouchable and uncontrollable.

- [91] Of sand, & his pillars dust on the fly's wing, & his starry
Heavens a moth of gold & silver mocking his anxious grasp.
50 Thus Los altered his Spectre, & every ratio of his reason
He altered time after time, with dire pain & many tears
Till he had completely divided him into a separate space.

Terrified Los sat to behold trembling & weeping & howling:
'I care not whether a man is good or evil; all that I care
55 Is whether he is a wise man or a fool. Go! Put off Holiness
And put on intellect, or my thundrous hammer shall drive thee
To wrath which thou condemnest: till thou obey my voice.'

So Los terrified cries, trembling & weeping & howling:
'Beholding,

[*Design*]

- Pl.92 What do I see? The Briton, Saxon, Roman, Norman
amalgamating
In my Furnaces into One Nation, the English; & taking refuge
In the loins of Albion. The Canaanite united with the fugitive
Hebrew, whom she divided into Twelve, & sold into Egypt—
5 Then scattered the Egyptian & Hebrew to the four winds!
This sinful nation created in our Furnaces & looms is Albion!
- So Los spoke. Enitharmon answered in great terror in
Lambeth's vale:

'The poet's song draws to its period, & Enitharmon is no more.
For if he be that Albion I can never weave him in my looms;
10 But when he touches the first fibrous thread, like filmy dew

[*Design*]

My looms will be no more & I, annihilate, vanish for ever.
Then thou wilt create another Female according to thy will.'

91.50. *every ratio of his reason*] Every system of hypotheses which his reason erects, and by which it understands. Cp. *Milton* 32.35, and 29.18n.

91. *Design*: A supine figure, with head thrown back, and flower-like mystical symbols extending on tendrils on, or attached to, either side.

92.1. This is one of the first signs of hope; Albion, hitherto shattered and disintegrated, is seen to display in the course of history the power of brotherhood in uniting nations in himself.

92.4. *she*] Not clear from the context; perhaps Jacob and Rachel, or Judah and Bathshua (*Genesis* xxviii, xxxviii); or the two nations as wholes (as in 1).

92.7. *Enitharmon*] She began this sequence, in pl.87, by refusing to work with Los. Now she realizes that what has begun to show in Albion is a power too great for her female will to dominate.

92. *Design* (half the page): Jerusalem gowned, sitting and lamenting, with dead (or sleeping) figures on the ground round her, and trilithons in the background.

- [92] Los answered swift as the shuttle of gold: 'Sexes must vanish
& cease
To be, when Albion arises from his dread repose, O lovely
Enitharmon:
15 When all their Crimes, their Punishments, their Accusations
of Sin;
All their jealousies, revenges, murders, hidings of cruelty in deceit
Appear only in the outward spheres of Visionary Space and Time,
In the shadows of possibility by Mutual Forgiveness for
evermore,
And in the Vision & in the Prophecy, that we may foresee &
avoid
20 The terrors of Creation & Redemption & Judgement,
beholding them
Displayed in the Emanative Visions of Canaan in Jerusalem
& in Shiloh,
And in the Shadows of Remembrance, & in the Chaos of the
Spectre—
Amalek, Edom, Egypt, Moab, Ammon, Asshur, Philistia,
around Jerusalem
Where the Druids reared their rocky circles to make
permanent Remembrance
25 Of Sin, & the Tree of Good & Evil sprang from the rocky
circle & snake
Of the Druid, along the Valley of Rephaim from Camberwell
to Golgotha:

92.13. *Sexes must vanish*] B. of course idealized sexual love; but it is only a shadow of Eternal loving. In this world the sexes are essentially separate; in Eden, Male and Female are parts of one united person, and can separate and unite at will: see 61.51–2, and 44.33–7n.

92.17. i.e. these evils will not exist, except as concepts, thought of only to be avoided: or (22ff) in memories of these evil times. For *outward* see 71.6–8, 12.55n: here the idea is that these things will exist only as a far-fetched imaginary notion. 92.21–2. *Visions . . . Shadows of Remembrance*] Mere memory is for B. a threat to Imagination: see *Milton* 1.5–6. These 'terrors' will not be real, in the full life of Eden; they will become stories recalled by Emanations and Spectres relaxing in Beulah.

92.23. The hostile nations in Israel's biblical history. *Asshur* is Assyria.

92.24–7. In B.'s universal vision, all these are parts of one history, in which not only are Albion and Israel identified as one, but as parts of the single earthly human race. For him, the Druid priests, like all priests, wherever they were, were promulgators of Law, hence of Accusations of Sin. This they embodied in their rocky circles and in snake symbolism, a rigid religion of Moral Law, which spread a hateful and restricted world view.

92.25–6. *rocky circle and snake*] The alleged 'serpent temple' of Avebury. See *Europe* 72n.

Valley of Rephaim] Cp. *Milton* 19.40; here identified with the Thames; hence the reference to Camberwell, in south-east London, south of the river.

[92] And framed the Mundane Shell, cavernous in length, breadth
& height.'

Pl.93

[*Design*]

Enitharmon heard. She raised her head like the mild moon:
'O Rintrah! O Palamabron! What are your dire & awful
purposes?

Enitharmon's name is nothing before you; you forget all my love.
The mother's love of obedience is forgotten, & you seek a love

5 Of the pride of dominion that will divorce Ocalythron &
Elynittria

Upon East Moor in Derbyshire & along the valleys of Cheviot.
Could you love me, Rintrah, if you pride not in my love,
As Reuben found mandrakes in the field & gave them to his
mother?

Pride meets with Pride upon the mountains in the stormy day,

10 In that terrible day of Rintrah's plough & of Satan's driving
the team.

93. *Design*: Three kneeling accusing figures in line, their right hands pointing, they are labelled Anytus, Melitus and Lycon (the three accusers of Socrates) respectively; and the names lead into the sentence engraved on the thigh of the nearest, 'thought Socrates a Very Pernicious Man'. Added sideways are the words 'So Caiaphas thought Jesus' (CGW 572).

93.2. *Rintrah . . . Palamabron*] In 72.11, 73.5, 74.2 these are two of Jerusalem's four faithful sons, after twelve had deserted her. But the whole passage (2-16) echoes more closely *Milton* pl.24, where the same four sons are sons of Los (cp. 74.23n above; and also 73.49, where these seem to be Los's sons).

93.5. *Ocalythron and Elynittria*] Emanations of Rintrah and Palamabron respectively: Elynittria appears in *Milton* 11.37-8, but Ocalythron is little more than a name (*Europe* 49, *Milton* 10.19).

93.6. *East Moor . . . Cheviot*] High places (already associated with evil, e.g. in 21.34 and 80.66) which are on Albion's 'backbone' and may be said to overshadow the island.

93.8-9. *Reuben . . . mandrakes*] At a time when, because of the barrenness of his wives, Jacob was begetting children on their servant-girls whom they made available for him, Reuben brought mandrake roots to his mother Leah as a love-potion. Leah refused to let Rachel share the mandrakes, and took Jacob to her bed that night (*Genesis* xxx 14-16). Reuben's act favoured his mother, and showed that he took a pride in her allurements of his father - and so confirmed the power of the female (which is Enitharmon's real interest). The phrase *Pride meets Pride* may recall the haughtiness of both Rachel and Leah as they clashed over the mandrakes; but the image is of two storm-clouds rolling up a hill. B. has no punctuation, and some edns. end the sentence at *my love*, linking 8-9.

93.10. *day of Rintrah's plough*] In *Milton* 7-8, Satan drove Palamabron's team at the harrow - not Rintrah's plough. Yet the echo is so clear that it almost seems as if B. had forgotten the details of his own story.

- [93] Ah! then I heard my little ones weeping along the valley!
 Ah! then I saw my beloved ones fleeing from my tent.
 Merlin was like thee, Rintrah, among the giants of Albion,
 Judah was like Palamabron. O Simeon! O Levi! ye fled away.
 15 How can I hear my little ones weeping along the valley,
 Or how upon the distant hills see my beloved's tents?'

Then Los again took up his speech as Enitharmon ceased:

'Fear not, my sons, this waking Death; he is become one
 with me.

Behold him here! we shall not die! we shall be united in Jesus.

 20 Will you suffer this Satan, this Body of Doubt that Seems
 but Is Not,
 To occupy the very threshold of Eternal Life? If Bacon,
 Newton, Locke
 Deny a conscience in man, & the communion of saints & angels,
 Contemning the Divine Vision & Fruition, worshipping the
 deities
 Of the heathen, the god of this world, & the goddess Nature,
 25 Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Druid Dragon & hidden
 Harlot,
 Is it not that signal of the morning which was told us in the
 beginning?'

Thus they converse upon Mam-Tor: the graves thunder
 under their feet.

[Design]

93.13-5. Enitharmon likens Rintrah and Palamabron, who are before her, to sons she has lost – 'my little ones'. See 2*n*; in *Jerusalem*, the Israelite tribes are sometimes the children of Los, sometimes of Jerusalem. When B. wants the figure of a querulous mother he uses Enitharmon. It would be out of place to put these words in Jerusalem's mouth, and so Enitharmon speaks – in spite of any inconsistency.

93.13. *Merlin*] Identified with Reuben and Hand in 30.36-7, 32.40.

93.14. *Palamabron* remains faithful: *Judah* fled into Generation.

93.18. *this waking Death*] Satan, the Spectral Form of Albion, the Covering Cherub – all one figure, of corrupted Humanity. But Los claims that he has drawn the sting of its terror, by assimilating Satan into himself – a more terrible and effective method. '*This Satan . . . Is Not*' (line 20) is a basic theme of *Jerusalem*, enabling B. to destroy evil without destroying a person; Satan is a shadow, not a reality. Los echoes the Jesus of 90.38.

93.26. In *Matthew* xxiv 3ff, the signs of the Second Coming are disasters and fears. Similarly, in *Four Zoas* viii 329ff, the fearsome appearance of the forces of evil presage their overthrow.

93.27. *Mam-Tor*] In Derbyshire; in 30.41 also its 'graves' (the limestone caverns, or perhaps the lead-mines of the region) thunder. See 21.34, 30.41*n*.

93. *Design*: A nude female figure, reclining in a bath, or grave, but looking upwards.

Pl.94

[*Design*]

- Albion cold lays on his Rock; storms & snows beat round him,
 Beneath the Furnaces & the starry Wheels & the immortal Tomb.
 Howling winds cover him; roaring seas dash furious against him;
 In the deep darkness broad lightnings glare, long thunders roll.
- 5 The weeds of death enwrap his hands & feet, blown incessant
 And washed incessant by the forever restless sea-waves
 foaming abroad
 Upon the white rock. England, a Female Shadow, as deadly
 damps
 Of the mines of Cornwall & Derbyshire, lays upon his
 bosom heavy,
 Moved by the wind in volumes of thick cloud, returning,
 folding round
- 10 His loins & bosom, unremovable by swelling storms & loud
 rending
 Of enraged thunders. Around them the starry Wheels of their
 Giant Sons
 Revolve, & over them the Furnaces of Los, & the immortal
 Tomb around,
 Erin sitting in the Tomb to watch them unceasing night and
 day.
 And the body of Albion was closed apart from all nations.
- 15 Over them the famished eagle screams on bony wings, and
 around
 Them howls the wolf of famine; deep heaves the ocean
 black, thundering
 Around the wormy garments of Albion—then pausing in
 deathlike silence:
- Time was finished! The Breath Divine breathed over Albion
 Beneath the Furnaces & Starry Wheels and in the immortal
 Tomb;

94. *Design*: A group of three nude figures lying down, heads thrown back.

94.1. This is illustrated at the foot of the page, though many details differ.

94.1-14. An imaginative vision of the island of Britain, as the Giant Albion, asleep in the midst of an immortal sea; the seaweed round the shores as 'weeds of death', and the fog and clouds which are often considered characteristic of the island, as the 'Female Shadow' oppressing his spirit. Ireland, or Erin (13), is close by, watching the sleeper, who is an island separated from the other nations (of Europe).

94.8. *mines*] Tin in Cornwall, lead and coal in Derbyshire.

94.12-3] Recalling the scene established in pl.48.1-52.

94.18. The sudden climax is the act of Divinity, foreseen by Los in the preceding plates, and predicted in pl.7.54-6 (cp. 39.18-9, 79.77).

- [94] And England, who is Britannia, awoke from Death on
Albion's bosom.
21 She awoke pale & cold; she fainted seven times on the body
of Albion:
 'Oh, piteous sleep! Oh, piteous dream! O God, O God,
 awake! I have slain
In dreams of Chastity & Moral Law I have murdered
Albion! Ah!
In Stonehenge & on London Stone & in the oak groves of
Maldon
25 I have slain him in my sleep with the knife of the Druid!
 O England!
O all ye nations of the earth, behold ye the jealous wife!
The eagle & the wolf & monkey & owl & the king & priest
were there.'

[*Design*]

Pl.95

[*Design*]

- Her voice pierced Albion's clay-cold ear; he moved upon the
Rock.
The Breath Divine went forth upon the morning hills;
Albion moved
Upon the Rock; he opened his eyelids in pain, in pain he moved
His stony members, he saw England. Ah! shall the Dead live
again?
5 The Breath Divine went forth over the morning hills. Albion
rose
In anger, the wrath of God breaking, bright flaming on all
sides around
His awful limbs. Into the Heavens he walked, clothed in flames,

94.20. *England, who is Britannia*] The feminine aspect of Albion, a compound of his Emanations. In 32.28, she is 'divided into Jerusalem and Vala': now conversely, the two Emanations of Albion meet and are united in her (note also 96.2). This is the redemption of Albion by his Emanation: in turn, he awakes Jerusalem in 97.1-5.

94. *Design*: Albion on his rock, England lying over him: in the background, behind rocks and a trilithon, the sun rises.

94.23. *dreams*] For these are not reality, or truth.

94.27. This line probably a late addition during a rewriting of the page: see *Erdman* p. 812. The text of pl.94 was first etched in the top half of pl.95, and was probably identical to the re-etched version except for this line.

95. *Design* (half the page): Albion, surrounded by flames, his right arm up-lifted rises on one knee, from the mortal form of his lost self.

- [95] Loud thundering, with broad flashes of flaming lightning and
pillars
Of fire, speaking the words of Eternity in Human Forms, in
direful
- 10 Revolutions of Action & Passion, through the Four Elements
on all sides
Surrounding his awful members. Thou seest the Sun in heavy
clouds
Struggling to rise above the Mountains: in his burning hand
He takes his Bow, then chooses out his arrows of flaming gold;
Murmuring the Bowstring breathes with ardour, clouds roll
round the
- 15 Horns of the wide Bow, loud sounding winds sport on the
mountain brows
Compelling Urizen to his Furrow & Tharmas to his Sheepfold.
And Luvah to his Loom. Urthona he beheld mighty
labouring at
His Anvil, in the Great Spectre Los unwearied labouring &
weeping.
Therefore the Sons of Eden praise Urthona's Spectre in
songs—
- 20 Because he kept the Divine Vision in time of trouble.

As the Sun & Moon lead forward the Visions of Heaven &
Earth,
England, who is Britannia, entered Albion's bosom rejoicing,
Rejoicing in his indignation, adoring his wrathful rebuke.
(She who adores not your frowns will only loathe your smiles.)

Pl.96 [Design]

As the sun & moon lead forward the visions of heaven & earth,
England, who is Britannia, entered Albion's bosom rejoicing.

Then Jesus appeared standing by Albion, as the good shepherd
By the lost sheep that he hath found; & Albion knew that it

95.16. Albion makes the three wandering Zoas return to their proper order and function.

96. *Design*: On the right of lines 1-25, an aged figure embracing a female figure in a cloud of radiance (CGW 575).

96.1-2. Repeated from 95.21-2. When B. rewrote pl.5 he seems to have included these lines there; had he remade this plate he would presumably have left them out here. Yet the line summarises Los' whole task.

96.3. *good shepherd*] The phrase is from *John* x 11, the allusion to the parable of the lost sheep from *Matthew* xviii 12-14.

- [96] Was the Lord, the Universal Humanity, & Albion saw his Form,
 6 A man: & they conversed as man with man, in ages of
 Eternity.

And the Divine Appearance was the likeness & similitude of
 Los.

- Albion said: 'O Lord, what can I do? My selfhood cruel
 Marches against thee deceitful from Sinai & from Edom
 10 Into the wilderness of Judah to meet thee in his pride.
 I behold the visions of my deadly sleep of six thousand years
 Dazzling around thy skirts like a serpent of precious stones
 & gold.

I know it is my Self, O my Divine Creator & Redeemer!'

- Jesus replied: 'Fear not, Albion: unless I die thou canst not live.
 15 But if I die I shall arise again & thou with me;
 This is friendship & brotherhood; without it Man is Not.'

So Jesus spoke, the Covering Cherub coming on in darkness
 Overshadowed them & Jesus said: 'Thus do men in Eternity,
 One for another to put off by Forgiveness every Sin.'

- 20 Albion replied: 'Cannot man exist without mysterious
 Offering of self for another? Is this friendship & brotherhood?
 I see thee in the likeness and similitude of Los my friend.'

- Jesus said: 'Wouldest thou love one who never died
 For thee, or ever die for one who had not died for thee?
 25 And if God dieth not for man & giveth not himself
 Eternally for Man, Man could not exist. For Man is Love,
 As God is love. Every kindness to another is a little Death
 In the Divine Image, nor can Man exist but by
 Brotherhood.'

96.4-7. i.e. 'the Lord, the Universal Humanity' may take many forms; at this moment he took the Human form of Los, who was not solely 'the Lord', but whose activities had been entirely devoted to the Divine Vision.

96.8-10. Like the proud armies marching from Sinai through the desert, arrogant in their possession of a God-given Law.

96.12. *serpent . . . gold*] Also found in *Milton* 12.29-30ff.

96.13. *my Self*] 'My Selfhood': the Covering Cherub, which has waited for its prey since pl.89, and who has yet to be dealt with. Albion has put off his error on his awakening; but the accumulation of that error, in the Cherub, remains. Albion fears that it will overcome the Redeemer, but is told that the Redeemer must die but may not be overcome.

96.17. *in darkness*] This scene recalls the Transfiguration (*Luke* ix 34), where Peter, James and John, watching the vision of Christ with Moses and Elijah are overshadowed by a cloud, which makes them afraid: afterwards Jesus is found alone. See note on the heading of pl.4.

- [96] So saying the Cloud overshadowing divided them asunder.
 30 Albion stood in terror—not for himself but for his friend
 Divine, & self was lost in the contemplation of faith
 And wonder at the Divine Mercy & at Los's sublime honour.
 'Do I sleep amidst danger to friends? O my cities & counties,
 Do you sleep? Rouse up, rouse up! Eternal Death is abroad!'
- 35 So Albion spoke & threw himself into the Furnaces of
 affliction.
 All was a vision, all a dream! The Furnaces became
 Fountains of living waters flowing from the Humanity Divine.
 And all the cities of Albion rose from their slumbers, and all
 The Sons & Daughters of Albion on soft clouds waking from
 sleep;
- 40 Soon all around remote the heavens burnt with flaming fires,
 And Urizen & Luvah & Tharmas & Urthona arose into
 Albion's bosom. Then Albion stood before Jesus in the clouds
 Of Heaven, fourfold among the Visions of God in Eternity.
- Pl.97 'Awake! Awake, Jerusalem! O lovely Emanation of Albion,
 Awake and overspread all nations as in ancient time—
 For lo! the Night of Death is past and the Eternal Day
 Appears upon our hills! Awake, Jerusalem, and come away!'
- 5 So spake the vision of Albion, & in him so spake in my
 hearing
 The Universal Father. Then Albion stretched his hand into
 infinitude
 And took his bow. Fourfold the Vision, for bright beaming
 Urizen
 Laid his hand on the south & took a breathing bow of
 carved gold;

96.32. *Los's sublime honour*] For Jesus has chosen the Form of Los in which to meet the Cherub.

96.36. A collection of several biblical ideas: the furnaces are like the furnace of *Daniel* which did not harm the three loyal Jews, and resemble the traditional Hell, the lake of fire and brimstone into which the devil was cast. But Hell itself turns into the fountain of living water offered by Jesus, resembling the 'fountain of the water of life' in the New Jerusalem (*Daniel* iii, *Revelation* xx 10, *John* iv 10–15, *Revelation* xxi 6). Thus, as Los had said (93.20), all the evil and error was a dream, and vanished; and so did the affliction which accompanied it. See also *Marriage* pl.18, pp. 121–3.

96.43. *fourfold*] i.e. complete and perfect.

97.7. *Fourfold the Vision*] Albion's act is reflected in all the four parts of his being (and, in 17, in the twenty-eight parts), for all four are now united in him. The image is rather like the simultaneous movements of a person reflected in a group of mirrors. (See 'The Crystal Cabinet' p. 609.)

- [97] Luvah his hand stretched to the east & bore a silver bow
bright shining;
10 Tharmas westward a bow of brass pure flaming, richly wrought;
Urthona northward in thick storms a bow of iron terrible
thundering.

And the Bow is a Male & Female & the quiver of the arrows
of love

Are the children of this bow—a bow of Mercy &
Loving-kindness, laying

Open the hidden heart in wars of Mutual Benevolence, wars
of Love;

- 15 And the hand of Man grasps firm between the Male &
Female loves.

And he clothed himself in bow & arrows in awful state
fourfold

In the midst of his twenty-eight cities, each with his bow
breathing.

[*Design*]

Pl.98

[*Design*]

Then each an arrow flaming from his quiver fitted carefully;
They drew fourfold the unreprouable string, bending through
the wide heavens
The horned bow fourfold. Loud sounding flew the flaming
arrow fourfold.

Murmuring the bow-string breathes with ardour. Clouds roll
round the horns

- 5 Of the wide bow; loud sounding winds sport on the
mountain's brows.

The Druid Spectre was annihilate—loud thundering,
rejoicing, terrific vanishing

Fourfold annihilation! And at the clangour of the arrows of
Intellect

The innumerable chariots of the Almighty appeared in Heaven.

97.12. *the Bow is a Male & Female*] Whole, not partial.

97. *Design*: A male figure, facing away, on a hill-top, his right hand lifted over his head to shade his eyes against the radiance, his left hand resting on a globe (CGW 576).

98. *Design*: A serpent coils leftwards across the top of the page.

98.2. *unreprouable*] Not to be blamed. This bow destroys, not life, but the shadow that is evil.

98.6. *Druid Spectre*] See note on 96.13.

98.7. *Intellect*] As always in B., meaning 'imaginatively used mental powers', not mere reason.

[98] And Bacon & Newton & Locke, & Milton & Shakespeare & Chaucer,

10 A man of blood-red wrath surrounding Heaven on all sides around,

Glorious, incomprehensible by mortal man; & each chariot was Sexual Threefold.

And every man stood fourfold; each four faces had. One to the west,

One toward the east, one to the south, one to the north.

The horses fourfold,

And the dim Chaos brightened beneath, above, around.

Eyed as the peacock

15 According to the Human nerves of sensation, the four Rivers of the Water of Life.

South stood the nerves of the Eye; east in rivers of bliss the nerves of the

Expansive Nostrils; west flowed the parent sense, the Tongue; north stood

The labyrinthine Ear: circumscribing & circumcising the excrementitious

Husk & covering into vacuum evaporating, revealing the lineaments of Man,

20 Driving outward the Body of Death in an eternal Death and Resurrection,

Awaking it to life among the flowers of Beulah, rejoicing in Unity

In the four Senses, in the Outline, the Circumference & Form, for ever

In Forgiveness of Sins, which is Self-annihilation. It is the Covenant of Jehovah.

The Four Living Creatures, chariots of Humanity Divine incomprehensible,

98.11. *each chariot was Sexual Threefold*] As in Beulah. *Threefold* was amended from *twofold*. The great men of 9 are now redeemed, but not complete in themselves; they represent partial activity – certain kinds of thought and writing – and find their place in Heaven, where they are assimilated into larger, Fourfold beings. 98.12–15. The *four faces* derive from the four living creatures (*Zoa*) of *Ezekiel* i and *Revelation* iv: the horses to the famous ‘Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse’ (*Revelation* vi); there also the four living creatures of *Revelation* iv 6 are ‘full of eyes before and behind’. The *four rivers* are the rivers of Paradise (*Genesis* ii 1–14) identified with the River of Life of *Revelation* xxii.

98.14. *Eyed . . . peacock*] Keats’s *Lamia*, with this phrase, was not published till 1820. An odd coincidence (unless, as seems unlikely, every one of the copies of *Jerusalem* was made after that date).

- [98] In beautiful paradises expand. These are the four rivers of
Paradise
26 And the four faces of Humanity fronting the four cardinal points
Of Heaven, going forward, forward, irresistible from Eternity
to Eternity.
- And they conversed together in visionary forms dramatic,
which bright
Redounded from their tongues in thunderous majesty, in Visions,
30 In new Expanses, creating exemplars of Memory & of Intellect—
Creating Space, Creating Time according to the wonders divine
Of Human Imagination, throughout all the three regions
immense
Of Childhood, Manhood & Old Age; & the all-tremendous
unfathomable Non-Ens
Of Death was seen in regenerations terrific or complacent,
varying
35 According to the subject of discourse. And every word &
every character
Was Human, according to the expansion or contraction, the
translucence or
Opaqueness of nervous fibres. Such was the variation of
Time and Space,
Which vary according as the organs of perception vary, &
they walked
To & fro in Eternity as One Man, reflecting each in each &
clearly seen
40 And seeing according to fitness & order. And I heard
Jehovah speak
Terrific from his Holy Place & saw the words of the Mutual
Covenant Divine—
On chariots of gold & jewels, with living creatures starry and
flaming
With every colour: lion, tiger, horse, elephant, eagle, dove,
fly, worm,
And the all-wondrous serpent clothed in gems & rich array—
humanize
45 In the four senses, in the outline, the circumference and
form, for ever
In Forgiveness of Sins according to the Covenant of Jehovah.
They cry:

98.30. *exemplars*] Keeping Memory and Intellect in their proper subordinate place. Time, place, age and death are 'Created' for momentary interest, as a story is, and then put away: cp. 92.17–18.

98.34. *complacent*] Or 'complaisant': i.e. pleasing, not terrifying.

98.44. *humanize*] i.e. 'take the Human Form of Eternity'.

- [98] 'Where is the Covenant of Priam, the Moral Virtues of the
heathen?
Where is the Tree of Good & Evil that rooted beneath the
cruel heel
Of Albion's Spectre, the Patriarch Druid? Where are all his
human sacrifices
50 For Sin in war, & in the Druid Temples of the Accuser of
Sin, beneath
The oak groves of Albion that covered the whole earth
beneath his Spectre?
Where are the kingdoms of the world & all their glory that
grew on desolation,
The fruit of Albion's poverty-tree, when the triple-headed
Gog-Magog giant
Of Albion taxed the nations into desolation, & then gave the
Spectrous oath?
- 55 Such is the cry from all the earth, from the Living Creatures
of the earth
And from the great City of Golgonooza in the Shadowy
Generation,

[*Design*]

98.47. *the Covenant of Priam*] There was of course no such covenant; B. makes a contrast with the 'covenant of Jehovah'. The classical attitude to life sets out a false relationship (see *Milton* p. 501). Nor have moral law and sacrifices of humanity (whether physical or mental) any place in true human religion.

98.48. *Tree of Good and Evil*] The tree of *Genesis* iii, more precisely, 'of the knowledge of good and evil', here identified with the Tree of Mystery: see 28.14ff.

98.53. *the triple-headed . . . giant*] In *Ezekiel* xxxviii-xxxix, 'Gog, the land of Magog' is denounced as an enemy of Israel, to be overthrown by the Lord. In *Revelation* xx 8-9 this is drawn upon in the 'Gog and Magog' who are overthrown at the last: but these represent all the hostile nations of the world, and are not represented as a triple-headed giant. Hand, leader of the once-corrupted sons of Albion, was triple-headed (70.4). Gog and Magog are also famous statues outside the London Guildhall - home of those whose mind and vision are single (like Hand's). (See next note.)

98.54. *taxed the nations*] As Caesar did at the time of Christ's birth (and cp. 64.34). Before the era of education, health and social welfare, the chief purpose of taxation was to fund wars. The British government taxed both their own people, and blockaded European nations, 'into desolation' during the Napoleonic wars (a strategy used also by Napoleon). And cp. the words attributed by Tacitus to the Pictish leader, 'Where they create a solitude, they call it peace'.

98. *Design*. A strip showing a row of lowly creatures: a snail, a frog, a worm, a spider, a snake, and smaller butterflies and other insects.

- [98] And from the thirty-two nations of the earth among the
living creatures:
Pl.99 All Human Forms identified, even tree, metal, earth & stone.
All
Human Forms identified, living, going forth & returning
wearied
Into the planetary lives of years, months, days & hours—
reposing
And then awaking into his bosom in the Life of Immortality.
5 And I heard the name of their Emanations: they are named
JERUSALEM.

*The End of the Song
of Jerusalem*

[Design]

Pl.100 [Full-page illustration]

37 For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise

This little book was an emblem book, headed ‘For Children’ (somewhat ironically) when it was first published in 1793. Emblem books were still far from extinct, and editions of Quarles, for example, were still being published. In 1793 the text consisted simply of rather cryptic headings to the designs, and these are not reproduced

98.56. *the thirty-two nations*) Listed in 72.32–44.

99.1. *All Human Forms*] Note that inanimate things are stressed as having a part in true Humanity; nothing exists that is not Human: cp. 98.43–44.

99.2–3. i.e. ‘wearying themselves in the life of Eternity, then resting in planetary lives’ (of time and space, as measured by the movements of planets). When rested, they awaken again in Eternity.

99.5. *they are named Jerusalem*] She unites them all in herself; is univerzalized and, by implication, so is Albion, whose Emanation she is.

I heard . . .] The language of apocalyptic vision, as in *Daniel* and *Revelation*; B. thus places *Jerusalem* in this tradition.

99. *Design* (CGW 578): Under the text, and filling almost the whole page, a young long-haired nude throws herself, arms outstretched, into the embrace of a bearded sage. Jerusalem in the arms of God? Or the prodigal returning to his father’s arms? Or both? (The female features seem to be muted in some copies.) Plate 100. *Full-page illustration*. In front of a ‘dragon temple’ stretched along the ground, a male figure (Los) with sledge-hammer and tongs, with two other labouring figures beside him, their backs turned.

here. The 'Children' of the first title were real children – B. was advertising an 'improving' book; the irony lay in his conviction that 'improving' books for children were really meant to hide from them the true nature of Experience. His booklet revealed, parabolically, that the Gates of Paradise, as this world saw them, were entered by the way of Law. But fifteen or twenty years later (or even more) B. saw deeper meanings in his designs. In a second version, dating from some time after 1806, B. changed the heading to 'For the Sexes' – i.e. for those in the fallen state of mortality – and eventually the text was enlarged to consist of a motto, a prologue, the sixteen design-headings (sometimes added to), a series of couplets entitled 'The Keys of the Gates', and an epilogue or envoi 'To the Accuser', which alludes to B.'s important late doctrine of *states*, expounded e.g. in the final *Milton* pl.32 – implying a date *c.* 1815. The headings of the designs are printed in the notes with descriptions.

The substance of these later versions is the same matter as *Jerusalem*. 'The Keys' refers to the Hermaphrodite, the Veil (of Vala), the Mundane Shell, the Spectre, and the Door of Death (which forms the frontispiece of *Jerusalem*); and these, together with the ideas of the sexual life characterizing the fallen, material world (21–4), of this life as sleep (13), and the Christianity of 20 and 40, all belong to B.'s last period. The 'epilogue' has the same vocabulary as that used by B. in his reworking of the Lord's Prayer in the last months of his life.

[PROLOGUE]

Mutual forgiveness of each vice:
 Such are the Gates of Paradise.
 Against the Accuser's chief desire
 Who walked among the stones of fire
 5 Jehovah's finger wrote the law;
 Then wept, then rose in zeal and awe
 And the dead corpse from Sinai's heat
 Buried beneath his Mercy Seat.
 O Christians, Christians, tell me why
 10 You rear it on your altars high?

¶ 37.5. As stated in *Exodus* xxxi 18.

7. *the dead corpse*] The Law, buried in the Ark beneath the Mercy Seat (*Deuteronomy* x 3–5). God has repented of it and, through Christ, buried it; but Christians insist on reviving it.

THE KEYS

The caterpillar on the leaf
Reminds thee of thy mother's grief.

OF THE GATES

1. My eternal man set in repose;
The female from his darkness rose,
15 And she found me beneath a tree
A mandrake, and in her veil hid me.
Serpent reasonings us entice
Of good and evil: virtue and vice,
2. Doubt self-jealous, watery folly
- 20 3. Struggling through earth's melancholy,
4. Naked in air in shame and fear,
5. Blind in fire with shield and spear.
Two-horned reasoning, cloven fiction
In doubt, which is self-contradiction.
- 25 A dark Hermaphrodite we stood,
Rational truth, root of evil and good.
Round me flew the flaming sword,
Round her snowy whirlwinds roared
Freezing her veil, the Mundane Shell.
- 30 6. I rent the veil where the dead dwell.

The Keys. The frontispiece shows a caterpillar, and a chrysalis as a swaddled baby. Beneath the design: (1793) 'What is Man!', and (late addition), the couplet:

The sun's light when he unfolds it
Depends on the organ that beholds it.

13. The inset numbers refer to the designs which are 'keyed'. The first shows a woman pulling up children (like mandrakes) under a tree, headed (1793) 'I found him beneath a tree' (perhaps an ironical reference to the 'discreet' legend told to inquisitive children concerning childbirth).

16. *mandrake*] See *Jerusalem* pl.93.7-8.

17. *Serpent reasonings*] As in the Garden of Eden, *Genesis* iii.

19-22. Designs 2-5 are entitled respectively (1793) *Water, Earth, Air, Fire*; in the last version B. added the quatrain (one line per design):

Thou waterest him with tears
He struggles into life
On cloudy doubts and reasoning cares
That end in endless strife.

Each design shows a dejected figure in the relevant environment, except *Fire*, which shows B.'s figure of the 'Dark Hermaphrodite'.

23-30. *Design 6*: An infant cherub breaking out of an eggshell, underwritten (1793): 'At length for hatching ripe he breaks the shell' (From Dryden's Fable, *Palamon and Arcite*, 1069, as John Beer pointed out).

- When weary man enters his cave
 He meets his Saviour in the grave;
 Some find a female garment there
 And some a male, woven with care
 35 Lest the sexual garments sweet
 Should grow a devouring winding sheet.
 7. One dies! Alas, the living and dead;
 One is slain and one is fled.
 8. In vain-glory hatched and nursed
 40 By double spectres self-accurst.
 My son, my son, thou treatest me
 But as I have instructed thee!
 9. On the shadows of the moon
 Climbing through night's highest noon,
 45 10. In Time's ocean falling drowned,
 In aged ignorance profound,
 11. Holy and cold, I clipped the wings
 Of all sublunary things,
 12. And in depths of my dungeons
 50 Closed the father and the sons.
 13. But when once I did descry
 The Immortal Man that cannot die,
 14. Through evening shades I haste away
 To close the labours of my day.
 55 15. The door of death I open found,
 And the worm weaving in the ground.

37. *Design 7*: A boy knocking down fairies with his hat; one lies on the ground, the other is trying to escape. Subscription (1793) 'Alas!': later enlarged to 'What are these? Alas! the female martyr! Is she also the Divine Image?'

39. *Design 8*: A youth aims a spear at a dejected old man who sits leaning on his sword: (1793) 'My son! my son!'

43. *Design 9*: A man climbs a ladder reaching to the moon: (1793) 'I want! I want!'

45. *Design 10*: Head and upstretched arm of a figure drowning in the sea: (1793) 'Help! Help!'

47. *Design 11*: An old man under a tree clips an infant cherub's wings. Subscribed (1793) 'Aged Ignorance': later addition, 'Perceptive organs closed their objects close.'

49. *Design 12*: Ugolino and his sons walled into prison. (1793): 'Does thy God, O Priest, take such vengeance as this?'

51. *Design 13*: The spirit of an old man rises from his body, while his wife and children watch amazed. (1793): 'Fear and Hope are – Vision.'

53. *Design 14*: Illustrates the title (1793): 'The traveller hasteth in the evening.'

55. *Design 15*: Illustrates the title (1793) 'Death's Door': an old man, leaning on a stick, enters a dark, massive stone doorway.

16. Thou'rt my mother from the womb
 Wife, sister, daughter to the tomb,
 Weaving to dreams the sexual strife.
 60 And weeping over the web of life.

*To the Accuser who is
 the God of this World*

Truly, my Satan, thou art but a dunce
 And dost not know the garment from the man:
 Every harlot was a virgin once,
 Nor canst thou ever change Kate into Nan.
 65 Though thou art worshipped by the names divine
 Of Jesus and Jehovah, thou art still
 The Son of Morn in weary night's decline,
 The lost traveller's dream under the hill.

[*Design*]

57. *Design 16*: A seated figure, in robe and hood, holding a wand, with a worm winding round. Underwritten (1793): 'I have said to the worm: Thou art my mother and my sister' (from *Job* xvii 14).

Title. the Accuser] See *Jerusalem* 52.25n and *Ev. Gospel* b. B. has always hated the self-righteous enforcer of moral law. In *Marriage* (1790), Satan was an exciting iconoclast; now he is a self-righteous sadist living off a perverted notion of virtue, demanding vengeful sacrifices for Sin. The world worships, not goodness, but this God of Moral Virtue; yet Sin is a false concept, created by the self-righteous Accuser to enhance his own power: 'Christ comes . . . to Deliver Man the Accused & not Satan the Accuser: we do not find any where that Satan is Accused of Sin he is only accused of Unbelief & thereby drawing Man into Sin that he may accuse him. Such is the Last Judgment a Deliverance from Satan's Accusation' (*VLJ* 90).

61. *Truly . . . dunce*. After Young, *Night Thoughts* viii 1417. Young argues that since man's mortal abilities are limited, reliance on them alone is folly, and worse (1410–13): 'World-wisdom much has done, and more may do, / In arts and sciences, in wars, and peace: / But art and science, like thy wealth, will leave thee, / And make thee twice a beggar at thy death.' And therefore, he concludes this 'Night', 'Satan, thy master, I dare call a dunce.' B. takes up the point, probably assuming Young's line to be well-known: the material world of nature, earthly life and appearances (63–4), is only a 'garment' for the real personality, the eternal soul. See note on *States*, p. 577.

68. An allusion to such common folk-tales as that of True Thomas, or Rip Van Winkle, in which a mortal is carried into a fairy hill where he loses many years of life in a short dream of magic. The 'Son of Morn' is 'Lucifer, son of the morning' (*Isaiah* xiv 12).

Design: A dark bat-winged figure (a spectre) hovers over the figure of a sleeping traveller.

38 The Everlasting Gospel

B. wrote this title above the revised version of 'Was Jesus humble?' (NB 52), but a common style and theme, with recognizable development, link a dozen otherwise disconnected fragments, short and long. Most are in NB, squeezed into the few remaining spaces wherever B. could find room, but three (*a-c*) are on a separate piece of 1818 notepaper, which appears to date the whole group. It is impossible to date the individual fragments with certainty, but there seems to be a movement from expository to dramatic handling, from prose comment through versification of it (*a-c*) to the more vivid sequence, 'Was Jesus chaste . . . gentle . . . humble?' (*f, i, j*), with occasional brief interjections (*g, h, l, m*).

Randal Helms (BS 9:122ff) made an invaluable study of the development of the sequence through its many biblical allusions. The listing *a* to *n* used here was devised by Erdman and is now generally accepted, superseding Keynes's earlier arrangement. Erdman also (1982) added *m* to the group as another 'fairy' introduction. As in *Europe* it invites the reader to 'listen patient', and on its own is rather pointless, but it makes a neat, if 'jokey', introduction to *The Everlasting Gospel*.

The title derives from *Revelation* xiv 6, 'And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth . . .' Although it was only tentatively attached, to the *Humility* section of the poem, it is apt for the whole, since the poem sharply expresses B.'s message concerning the true worship of God as he sees it. He takes the Christian traditions of 'gentle Jesus, meek and mild', and overturns them, showing that the deeds and words of Jesus display quite another kind of Saviour. Humility, chastity and gentleness emerge as virtues indeed – virtues unrecognizable to traditional morality. Although never completed, *The Everlasting Gospel* remains one of the most powerful expressions of B.'s ideas, and a vigorous sequence of poetry.

m

I will tell you what Joseph of Arimathea
Said to my fairy. Was it not very queer?—

¶ 38.mr. *Joseph of Arimathea* is sometimes supposed to have visited Britain and brought the knowledge of Christ. This is in keeping with B.'s feelings about the importance of Britain in the religious history of the world. It is therefore only right and proper that classical figures from the despised Roman world – Pliny the scholar, and Trajan the emperor – should listen to Joseph and B. This is fragment *n*, NB 52.

Pliny and Trajan, what! are you here?
 Come listen to Joseph of Arimathea:
 Listen patient and when Joseph has done,
 'Twill make a fool laugh and a fairy fun.

b

What can this Gospel of Jesus be?
 What life and immortality?
 What was it that he brought to light
 That Plato and Cicero did not write?
 5 The heathen deities wrote them all,
 These moral virtues, great and small.
 What is the accusation of sin
 But moral virtues' deadly gin?
 The moral virtues in their pride
 10 Did o'er the world triumphant ride
 In wars and sacrifice for sin,
 And souls to Hell ran trooping in.
 The Accuser, Holy God of all
 This pharisaic worldly ball,
 15 Amidst them in his glory beams
 Upon the rivers and the streams.
 Then Jesus rose and said to me,
 'Thy sins are all forgiven thee.'
 Loud Pilate howled, loud Cai'phas yelled
 20 When they the Gospel light beheld.
 It was when Jesus said to me,
 'Thy sins are all forgiven thee.'
 The Christian trumpets loud proclaim
 Through all the world in Jesus' name
 25 Mutual forgiveness of each vice

38.b. The following lines (*a*) preceded this passage (*b*) in the MS: 'There is not one moral virtue that Jesus inculcated but Plato & Cicero did inculcate before him: what then did Christ inculcate? – Forgiveness of Sins. This alone is the Gospel, and this is the life & immortality brought to light by Jesus, even the covenant of Jehovah, which is this: if you forgive one another your trespasses, so shall Jehovah forgive you, that he himself may dwell among you; but if you avenge, you murder the Divine Image, & he cannot dwell among you because you murder him: he arises again & you deny that he is arisen & are blind to spirit.'

b 8. *gin*] Trap.

b 14. *pharisaic worldly ball*] Three words expressing restriction and constriction.

b 17. *me*] Originally 'men': the theorizing is beginning to give way to dramatic expression.

b 21. The line 'Jerusalem he said to me' is found deleted beneath this line.

And oped the Gates of Paradise.
 The Moral Virtues in great fear
 Formed the cross and nails and spear,
 And the Accuser standing by
 30 Cried out, 'Crucify! Crucify!
 Our moral virtues ne'er can be,
 Nor warlike pomp and majesty,
 For moral virtues all begin
 In the accusations of sin,
 35 And all the heroic virtues end
 In destroying the sinners' friend.
 Am I not Lucifer the Great,
 And you, my daughters in great state,
 The fruit of my mysterious tree
 40 Of good and evil and misery
 And death and Hell, which now begin
 On everyone who forgives Sin?'

c

If moral virtue was Christianity
 Christ's pretensions were all vanity,
 And Cai'phas and Pilate men
 Praiseworthy, and the lion's den,
 5 And not the sheepfold, allegories
 Of God and Heaven and their glories.
 The moral Christian is the cause
 Of the unbeliever and his laws.
 The Roman virtues' warlike fame
 10 Take Jesus' and Jehovah's name:
 For what is Antichrist but those
 Who against sinners Heaven close
 With iron bars in virtuous state,
 And Rhadamanthus at the gate?

d

Was Jesus born of a virgin pure
 With narrow soul and looks demure?

c 1. Marked in the MS 'This to come first'.

c 14. *Rhadamanthus*] A mythical figure, son of Zeus and Europa: known as a ruler and judge renowned for justice. B. seems to take him as a type of judge after the fashion of Moses. After his death he was appointed one of the three judges of the destinies of spirits arriving in the underworld, and ruler of Elysium. d Written on a scrap sewn into NB.

If he intended to take on sin
 The mother should an harlot been,
 5 Just such a one as Magdalen
 With seven devils in her pen.
 (Or were Jew virgins still more curst,
 And more sucking devils nursed?)
 Or what was it which he took on
 10 That he might bring salvation?
 A body subject to be tempted,
 From neither pain nor grief exempted;
 Or such a body as might not feel
 The passions that with sinners deal?
 15 Yes, but they say he never fell.—
 Ask Caiaphas, for he can tell:
 ‘He mocked the Sabbath, and he mocked
 The Sabbath’s God, and he unlocked
 The evil spirits from their shrines,
 20 And turned fishermen to divines;
 O’turned the tent of secret sins,
 And its golden cords and pins.
 ’Tis the bloody shrine of war
 Pinned around from star to star,
 25 Halls of justice, hating vice,
 Where the devil combs his lice.
 He turned the devils into swine
 That he might tempt the Jews to dine;
 Since which a pig has got a look
 30 That for a Jew may be mistook.
 “Obey your parents.” What says he?

d 4. B. may have known of the anti-Christian story current in the first century A.D., which said that the Virgin Birth was merely an ‘explanation’ of the unpalatable fact that Jesus was Mary’s son by some passing Roman soldier – that Mary was indeed a harlot. B. declares that the notion, abhorrent to the orthodox, is essential and glorious.

d 6. *seven devils*] Cp. f 4n. *pen*] womb.

d 16. The following lines are B.’s expression of Caiaphas’ attitude, rather than words put, dramatically, into the mouth of Caiaphas.

d 17. *mocked the Sabbath*] By doing forbidden things on the Sabbath unashamedly, on a number of well-known occasions. Cp. *Matthew* xii 8: ‘The Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath day.’

d 19. *The evil spirits*] Those in possession of persons, later healed by Jesus. The spirits lived in the soul as if in a shrine.

d 27–8. *devils . . . dine*] The Gadarene swine, *Luke* viii 27–37, *Mark* v 1–19. The swine-devils are still devils, tempting and luring the Jews to transgression.

“Woman, what have I to do with thee?
 No earthly parents I confess:
 I am doing my Father’s business.”
 35 He scorned earth’s parents, scorned earth’s God,
 And mocked the one and the other’s rod;
 His seventy disciples sent
 Against religion and government.
 They by the sword of justice fell,
 40 And him their cruel murderer tell.
 He left his father’s trade to roam,
 A wandering vagrant without home,
 And thus he others’ labour stole,
 That he might live above control.
 45 The publicans and harlots he
 Selected for his company,
 And from the adulteress turned away
 God’s righteous Law, that lost its prey . . .’

c

The vision of Christ that thou dost see
 Is my vision’s greatest enemy:
 Thine has a great hook nose like thine,
 Mine has a snub nose like to mine;
 5 Thine is ‘the Friend of All Mankind’,
 Mine speaks in parables to the blind;
 Thine loves the same world that mine hates,
 Thy Heaven-doors are my Hell-gates.
 Socrates taught what Melitus

d 32. *Woman . . . thee*] See note on *To Tirzah*, p. 617 above. B. associates this saying with the teaching of the boy Jesus in the temple (*Luke* ii 42ff and below j 5–10, ‘Was Jesus humble?’).

d 37–8. *seventy disciples*] *Luke* x 1, 17, where Jesus despatches them throughout Palestine: but it is B.’s inference that they went ‘against religion and government’.

e. Written sideways on NB 33.

e 3–4. Elsewhere (NB 64) B. wrote, ‘I always thought Jesus Christ was a Snubby or I should not have worshipd him if I had thought he had been one of those long spindle nosed rascals.’

e 5. *Friend of All Mankind*] A weak character who could not oppose anyone – cp. j ‘Was Jesus humble?’ See also p. 622, i 51, no. i, and p. 647, no. xlv.

e 6. *parables to the blind*] Obscure stories told to those most likely to find them difficult.

e 9. *Melitus*] One of Socrates’s accusers, who demanded that he be put to death for corrupting the young. Note the Cockney rhyme: ‘us/cuss’.

10 Loathed as a nation's bitterest curse,
 And Cai'phas was, in his own mind,
 A benefactor to mankind.
 Both read the Bible day and night,
 But thou read'st black where I read white.

f

 Was Jesus chaste, or did he
 Give any lessons of chastity?
 The morning blushed fiery red:
 Mary was found in adulterous bed.
 5 Earth groaned beneath, and heaven above
 Trembled at discovery of love.
 Jesus was sitting in Moses' chair;
 They brought the trembling woman there:
 'Moses commands she be stoned to death'.
 10 What was the sound of Jesus breath?
 He laid his hand on Moses' law;
 The ancient heavens in silent awe,

f NB 48–52. Sideways in the margin are the following lines (*h*):

 Did Jesus teach doubt or did he
 Give any lessons of Philosophy
 Charge Visionaries with deceiving
 Or call Men wise for not believing?

At the top of the page is a note 'This was spoke by my Spectre to Voltaire Bacon &c.' On the page where this section ends and the 'Humility' section begins, there are the lines (*g*):

 Seeing this False Christ, in Fury & Passion
 I made my voice heard all over the Nation
 What are those &c.

There is no obvious section which the '&c.' alludes to. *This False Christ* is probably the Shadow of 81–96 (for 'Shadow' see note on *Spectre*, p. 667 above).

f 4. *Mary*] Mary Magdalene; the woman taken in adultery of *John* viii 3 is here identified with Mary, sister of Lazarus and Martha, who in *John* xxi 3 anointed the feet of Jesus and wiped them with her hair (in *Matthew* xxvi 7 and *Mark* xiv 3 the woman is not named), and Mary Magdalene, who in *Mark* xvi 1–9 is the woman 'out of whom he had cast seven devils'. B.'s collation of Maries is not unfounded in gospel tradition. But note also *Jerusalem* pl.61, where Mary, the mother of Jesus, is treated as an adulteress, as in d 3–4 above.

f 7. *in Moses' chair*] Figuratively speaking. The scribes appealed to Jesus, as a rabbi, to interpret the Law of Moses for them. (Cp. *John* viii 5: 'Now Moses in the law commanded us, that such should be stoned: but what sayest thou?') Thus they make him a Mosaic law-giver, and he accepts the authority but refuses to follow the tradition.

Writ with curses from pole to pole
 All away began to roll.
 15 The earth trembling and naked lay
 In secret bed of mortal clay,
 On Sinai felt the hand divine
 Putting back the bloody shrine;
 And she heard the breath of God
 20 As she heard by Eden's flood:
 'Good and evil are no more:
 Sinai's trumpets, cease to roar!
 Cease, finger of God, to write!
 The heavens are not clean in thy sight;
 25 Thou art good and thou alone,
 Nor may the sinner cast one stone.
 To be good only is to be
 A devil, or else a Pharisee!
 Thou Angel of the Presence Divine,
 30 That didst create this body of mine,
 Wherefore hast thou writ these laws
 And created Hell's dark jaws?
 My presence I will take from thee:
 A cold leper thou shalt be
 35 Though thou wast so pure and bright
 That Heaven was impure in thy sight,
 Though thy oath turned Heaven pale,
 Though thy covenant built Hell's jail,

f 18. *Putting back*] i.e. putting back the curtain which, in the Jewish Tabernacle, veiled the Mercy Seat of God from the sight of the people (*Exodus* xxvi 1–14). *On Sinai* because that was the source of all these mysteries of law and ritual.

f 20. *by Eden's flood*] This act of Jesus was as mighty as the creation of man; earth trembled at both, B. says.

f 23. *finger of God*] *Exodus* xxxi 18, where the Law is given to Moses in the form of 'tables of stone, written with the finger of God'.

f 28. *devil*] B. originally wrote 'God'; but God is not concerned with 'being good', only with loving: so B. altered the word to *devil* – only a devil pretending to be God obeys the inhumane moral law.

f 29. *Angel of the Presence Divine*] The Law is not God's: it was invented by a jealous angel who wished to keep God apart from Man, and so locked Man up in a corrupted body, thinking that this corruption inevitably meant separation from God. But God, in Jesus, is in the body too. Later in the poem the Angel becomes 'the shadowy man' (81), not a real humanity, but a deathly shadow of God, and it is he, not God or man, who is cast out. He is the 'Covering Cherub' of *Milton* pls.37–38 and *Jerusalem* pl.89.

f 38. *Hell's jail*] i.e. the threat of the Law, that divine punishment will follow sin, created Hell, the place for that punishment (cp. *Romans* v 13: 'sin is not imputed when there is no law').

Though thou didst all to Chaos roll
 40 With the serpent for its soul,
 Still the breath Divine does move;
 And the breath Divine is Love!
 Mary, fear not: let me see
 The seven devils that torment thee.
 45 Hide not from my sight thy sin,
 That forgiveness thou mayest win.
 Has no man condemned thee?
 'No man, Lord!' 'Then what is he
 Who shall accuse thee? Come ye forth,
 50 Fallen fiends of heavenly birth,
 That have forgot your ancient love,
 And driven away my trembling dove.
 You shall bow before her feet,
 You shall lick the dust for meat
 55 And though you cannot love, but hate,
 Shall be beggars at Love's gate.
 What was thy love?—Let me see it:
 Was it love, or dark deceit?
 'Love too long from me has fled;

f 44. *seven devils*] See 4*n* above.

f 47. So in *John* viii 10–11.

f 51. From B.'s own song 'To the Muses' (*Poetical Sketches*, p. 14 above):

How have you left the ancient love
 That bards of old enjoyed in you?

The fiends once knew what the Divine Love was, but have put it aside. The *Dove* is Mary: but the fiends have also driven away Peace.

f 54. *lick the dust*] From here on B. uses the account of the punishment of the serpent (*Genesis* iii 14–15): '... upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.' The actual phrase occurs in *Micah* vii 17: 'They shall lick the dust like a serpent.'

f 56. *beggars*] As Lazarus in the parable begged at the rich man's gate, and as the rich man in turn begged of Lazarus after death (*Luke* xvi 19–26).

f 57. *thy love*] Jesus speaks to Mary, changing from *you* (the fiends) to *thou* (Mary). Note B.'s attitude to Mary's adultery: that it arose from various trivial causes (60–2), but ultimately from the attitude to sexual activity as something shameful (65–8) – though in fact it is divine (64). Preoccupation with legal chastity leads to a pretence that desire is not strong (70); and this pretence both destroys real love and, through repression, leads to adultery – which is evil in B.'s eyes, not because it is illegal, but because it is secret and selfish (73–4) and therefore blasphemous (76). B. does not here say, as he said in *Visions*, that promiscuity is a sign of virtue.

60 'Twas dark deceit to earn my bread;
 'Twas covet, or 'twas custom, or
 Some trifle not worth caring for—
 That they may call a shame and sin
 Love's temple that God dwelleth in,
 65 And hide in secret hidden shrine
 The naked human form divine,
 And render that a lawless thing
 On which the soul expands its wing.
 But this, O Lord, this was my sin,
 70 When first I let these devils in
 In dark pretence to chastity,
 Blaspheming love, blaspheming thee.
 Thence rose secret adulteries,
 And thence did covet also rise.
 75 My sin thou hast forgiven me:
 Canst thou forgive my blasphemy?
 Canst thou return to this dark hell,
 And in my burning bosom dwell,
 And canst thou die, that I may live,
 80 And canst thou pity and forgive?
 Then rolled the shadowy man away
 From the limbs of Jesus to make them his prey,
 An ever-devouring appetite,
 Glittering with festering venoms bright,
 85 Crying: 'Crucify this cause of distress,
 Who don't keep the secrets of holiness!
 All mental powers by diseases we bind,
 But he heals the deaf and the dumb and the blind:
 Whom God has afflicted for secret ends
 90 He comforts and heals, and calls them friends!
 But when Jesus was crucified,
 Then was perfected his glittering pride,

f 64. *temple*] 1 *Corinthians* vi 19: 'Your body is the Temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you.' B. characteristically takes this to mean what it says.

f 81. *the shadowy man*] See note on *Spectre*, p. 667; also p. 900 above. Here the spectre is the evil shadow of good Humanity, usurping the good man's place. Jesus is Lord because of his Mercy, Love and Vision. The Spectre claims lordship, but does so in order to tyrannize and destroy, not to re-create: he wants to swallow up the divine humanity of Christ, and reign, an evil lord of law, in his place.

f 85. *Crying 'Crucify'*] The first reading was, 'Crying I've found him.'

f 92. *his*] The spectre's.

In three nights he devoured his prey,
 And still he devours the body of clay;
 95 For dust and clay is the serpent's meat,
 Which never was made for man to eat.

i

Was Jesus gentle, or did he
 Give any marks of gentility?
 When twelve years old he ran away,
 And left his parents in dismay.
 5 When after three days' sorrow found—
 Loud as Sinai's trumpet sound:
 'No earthly parents I confess:
 My heavenly Father's business!
 Ye understand not what I say,
 10 And angry, force me to obey.
 Obedience is a duty then,
 And favour gains with God and men.'
 John from the wilderness loud cried;
 Satan gloried in his pride:
 15 'Come', said Satan, 'come away:
 I'll soon see if you'll obey.
 John for disobedience bled,
 But you can turn the stones to bread?
 God's high king and God's high priest
 20 Shall plant their glories in your breast,
 If Caiaphas you will obey;
 If Herod you, with bloody prey,

f 93–6. The spectre, and all who share the spectre's nature and attitudes, live off dust, and their whole life is made of it. They still concentrate on earthly things and deeds, ignoring the divine reality which is man's true inheritance. Cp. *Jerusalem* pl.89.13.

i NB 100–1.

i. 3. Cp. j 5, and *Luke* ii 42–50.

i 6. *Sinai's trumpet*] Which heralded the giving of the Law.

i 15. *Come, said Satan*] B. begins to allude to the story of the temptation of Christ, *Matthew* iv, *Luke* iv.

i 17. *John*] Executed for crossing Herod (*Matthew* xiv 3–12).

i 18. *stones to bread*] The first temptation, *Matthew* iv 3.

i 19–24. *king . . . priest Shall plant . . .*] The third temptation, to use divine power to gain earthly power (*Matthew* iv 8–9). Satan shows 'all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them; And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.' B.'s version is adapted by interpreting 'serve me' as 'obey the powers-that-be'.

Feed with the sacrifice, and be
 Obedient: fall down, worship me!
 25 Thunders and lightnings broke around,
 And Jesus' voice in thunder's sound!—
 'Thus I seize the spiritual prey:
 Ye smiters with disease, make way!
 I come your king and god to seize—
 30 Is God a smiter with disease?'
 The god of this world raged in vain:
 He bound old Satan in his chain,
 And bursting forth his furious ire
 Became a chariot of fire.
 35 Throughout the land he took his course,
 And traced diseases to their source,
 He cursed the scribe and Pharisee,
 Trampling down hypocrisy.
 Where'er his chariot took its way
 40 There Gates of Death let in the day,
 Broke down from every chain and bar;
 And Satan in his spiritual war
 Dragged at his chariot wheels. Loud howled
 The god of this world; louder rolled
 45 The chariot wheels, and louder still
 His voice was heard from Zion's hill.
 And in his hand the scourge shone bright—
 He scourged the merchant Canaanite
 From out the Temple of his mind;
 50 And in his body tight does bind

i 29–30 refer to the exercise by Jesus of healing powers. The inference that Caiaphas is on the side of the 'smiters with disease' is not direct; B. has left Caiaphas for the moment. Nevertheless, to condemn Jesus – as Caiaphas and the priests did – is to condemn a healer, as the Gospels also point out. Of course there are more diseases than the physical ones.

i 32. *bound old Satan*] *Revelation* xx 2: 'And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years.' B. sees this, not as a vision of the 'last days', but as a fact realized in the life of Jesus.

i 48. *scourged the merchant Canaanite*] A reference to the clearing of the Temple courtyard of merchants and money-changers (*Matthew* xxi 12, *John* ii 13–17). (Only *John* mentions the scourge.) But the merchants considered themselves true Jews; it is B. who points out that their behaviour is that of heathens, as blasphemous as the Canaanites of history had been.

i 50. Satan belongs in the material, transient, unreal body; not in the eternal life of the imaginative mind. Thus (54) the body is crucified and destroyed, not the life.

Satan and all his hellish crew;
 And thus with wrath he did subdue
 The serpent bulk of Nature's dross,
 Till he had nailed it to the cross.
 55 He took on sin in the virgin's womb
 And put it off on the cross and tomb,
 To be worshipped by the Church of Rome . . .

j

Was Jesus humble, or did he
 Give any proofs of humility,
 Boast of high things with humble tone
 And give with charity a stone?
 5 When but a child he ran away
 And left his parents in dismay.
 When they had wandered three days long,
 These were the words upon his tongue:
 'No earthly parents I confess:
 10 I am doing my Father's business'.
 When the rich learned Pharisee
 Came to consult him secretly,
 Upon his heart with iron pen
 He wrote: 'Ye must be born again.'

i 55. *took on sin*] First, by taking material, and therefore corrupt form; second, as d shows, by his birth through the sin of Mary.

i 56. The first reading was 'And on the Cross he Seald its doom'.

i 57. This comment seems to be ironic – 'only to be worshipped . . .', for B. was no lover of Roman Catholicism or any episcopalian denomination. The text ends suddenly and was surely not thought to be complete.

j. B. headed this section with the title, and may have intended the completed poem to begin here. This is a second draft; the chief differences between it (fragment *k*, NB 52–4) and the first draft (*j*, NB 98) are shown in the notes below. New lines, not in the first draft, are: 3–4, 22–3, 27–54, 65–6, 81–102; and 12–17 were ordered in *j*: 12–15–16–13–14–17, but even in the first draft B. marked the couplets in the margin with numbers indicating that they should be switched.

j 4. *give . . . a stone*] *Matthew* vii 9 (*Luke* xi 11) 'What man . . . if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?'

j 6. *left his parents*] *Luke* ii 42–50.

j 8. *These were the words*] Not a direct quotation. In *Luke* ii 49 Jesus says ' . . . Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?', and in *Matthew* xii 46–50 he rejects the ties of earthly families (cp. also 'To Tirzah', p. 618 above).

j 11. *the rich learned Pharisee*] Nicodemus, who came to Jesus by night to consult him (*John* iii 1–21).

j 14. *Ye must be born again*] *John* iii 7.

- 15 He was too proud to take a bribe;
 He spoke with authority, not like a scribe.
 He says with most consummate art,
 'Follow me: I am meek and lowly of heart'—
 As that is the only way to escape
 20 The miser's net and the glutton's trap.
 He who loves his enemies betrays his friends;
 This surely is not what Jesus intends,
 But the sneaking pride of heroic schools
 And the scribes' and Pharisees' virtuous rules.
 25 For he acts with honest triumphant pride;
 And this is the cause that Jesus died.
 He did not die with Christian ease;
 Asking pardon of his enemies—
 If he had, Caiaphas would forgive;
 30 Sneaking submission can always live—
 He had only to say that God was the devil
 And the devil was God, like a Christian civil,
 Mild Christian regrets to the devil confess
 For affronting him thrice in the wilderness:
 35 He had soon been bloody Caesar's elf,
 And at last he would have been Caesar himself—
 Like Dr Priestley and Bacon and Newton.
 Poor spiritual knowledge is not worth a button,
 For thus the Gospel Sir Isaac confutes:
 40 'God can only be known by his attributes,
 And as for the indwelling of the Holy Ghost
 Or of Christ and his Father—it's all a boast,
 And pride and vanity of the imagination,
 That disdains to follow this world's fashion.'
 45 To teach doubt and experiment
 Certainly was not what Christ meant.
 What was he doing all that time
 From twelve years old to manly prime?

j 15. *a bribe*] There is no specific reference in the Gospels to an attempt to bribe Jesus; perhaps B. is thinking of Satan's tempting in the wilderness, when he offered power to Jesus.

j 16. *authority . . .*] *Mark* i 22, *Matthew* vii 29.

j 18. *Follow me . . . heart*] *Matthew* xi 28–9.

j 23. i.e. 'Jesus, when he thinks of pride, thinks of – and condemns – the arrogance found in those who consciously adhere to a moral code, whether classical-heroic or Hebraic.'

j 37. *Bacon and*] Reads 'Sir Isaac' in the first draft. Dr Priestley was the well-known Unitarian minister, deist and scientist, discoverer of oxygen.

Was he then idle, or the less
 50 About his Father's business—
 Or was his wisdom held in scorn
 Before his wrath began to burn
 In miracles throughout the land
 That quite unnerved Caiaphas' hand?
 55 If he had been Antichrist, creeping Jesus,
 He'd have done any thing to please us;
 Gone sneaking into synagogues,
 And not used the elders and priests like dogs,
 But humble as a lamb or ass
 60 Obeyed himself to Caiaphas.
 God wants not man to humble himself—
 This is the trick of the ancient elf.
 This is the race that Jesus ran:
 Humble to God, haughty to man,
 65 Cursing the rulers before the people
 Even to the Temple's highest steeple;
 And when he humbled himself to God,
 Then descended the cruel rod:
 'If thou humblest thyself thou humblest me;
 70 Thou also dwell'st in Eternity.
 Thou art a man; God is no more:
 Thy own humanity learn to adore,
 For that is my spirit of life.
 Awake! arise to spiritual strife,
 75 And thy revenge abroad display
 In terrors at the Last Judgement day.
 God's mercy and long-suffering
 Is but the sinner to judgement to bring.
 Thou on the cross for them shalt pray—
 80 And take revenge at the Last Day!'

Jesus replied, and thunders hurled,
 'I never will pray for the world:

j 63-4 were in reverse order in the first draft.

j 69. Reads 'Why dost thou humble thyself to me' in the first draft.

j 71. This line contains a Swedenborgian doctrine, developed by B. Swedenborg was the opposite of Unitarian; to him God was the perfect, the divine Humanity. B. brings to this an imaginative conception of the infinite glory of true, eternal Man according to which this line does not diminish the grandeur of God in the least.

j 80. Followed by an altered but deleted couplet, which read:

This corporeal life's a fiction
 And is made up of contradiction.

Once I did so when I prayed in the garden;
 I wished to take with me a bodily pardon.'
 85 Can that which was of woman born
 In the absence of the morn,
 When the soul fell into sleep
 And archangels round it weep,
 Shooting out against the light
 90 Fibres of a deadly night,
 Reasoning upon its own dark fiction
 In doubt, which is self-contradiction . . . ?
 Humility is only doubt,
 And does the sun and moon blot out,
 95 Rooting over with thorns and stems
 The buried soul and all its gems
 (This life's dim windows of the soul)—
 Distorts the heavens from pole to pole,
 And leads you to believe a lie
 100 When you see with, not through, the eye,
 That was born in a night, to perish in a night,
 When the soul slept in the beams of light.

n

What can be done with such desperate fools
 Who follow after the heathen schools?
 I was standing by when Jesus died;
 What I called 'humility' they called 'pride'.

l

I am sure this Jesus will not do,
 Either for Englishman or Jew.

j 83. *John* xvii 9: 'I pray for them: I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me; for they are thine.' Thus Jesus, in Gethsemane, did not pray for the world in so many words. B. probably means that Jesus, when he prayed (*Matthew* xxvi 39ff, *Mark* xiv 35–6, *Luke* xxii 42) 'if it be possible, let this cup pass from me', was praying to be given an excuse to let this world stay as it was – a moment of weakness.

j 85. *Can that* . . .] This sentence has no main verb, and peters out at 92.

j 86. *the morn*] The true morning of eternal light.

j 87. *sleep*] Eternity is the only true waking; B.'s own myth of Albion, in *Four Zoas* and *Jerusalem* particularly, turns on Albion's sleeping the sleep of death – i.e. of mortal existence.

j 99–102. Cp. 'Auguries of Innocence' 125–28, p. 615 above.

n NB 52. This was long read as part of j (after line 20).

l. This is *l* in the *Erdman/Bentley* listing, NB 54.

39 The Ghost of Abel

A Revelation in the Visions of Jehovah
Seen by William Blake

In 1821 Byron's *Cain, a Mystery* – a romantic drama of Lucifer's temptation of Cain, and the killing of Abel, resembling in style an inferior *Faust Part II* – appeared. B. replied with this little variation on it. He picks up certain of Byron's themes: first, the chief argument of Lucifer and Cain, in which Jehovah is denounced for his treatment of Adam and Eve, first tempting and then punishing: 'Cursed be / He who first invented life that leads to death!' (*Cain* II ii 18–9). B. uses this only to deny it: life does not lead to death; mortal 'life' is unreal, and only Eternity knows true life. From elsewhere in *Cain* B. takes up Adam's puzzled misery and Eve's fierce rejection of sin and sinner. Finally he takes up the biblical line Byron had reshaped – *Genesis* iv 10, which in *Cain* iii is spoken by 'the Angel of the Lord': 'The voice of thy slain brother's blood cries out, / Even from the ground, unto the Lord.' B. writes that the punishment of Cain is therefore due not to Jehovah, who only wishes forgiveness and reconciliation, but to the vindictiveness of Abel's shade.

The Ghost of Abel is B.'s only known attempt at the dramatic form except the *King Edward III* fragment in *Poetical Sketches*, over forty years earlier.

Pl.1 TO LORD BYRON IN THE WILDERNESS:

What doest thou here, Elijah?

Can a poet doubt the visions of Jehovah? Nature has no outline; but Imagination has. Nature has no time; but Imagination has! Nature has no supernatural and dissolves: Imagination is Eternity.

[39.1. *in the wilderness*] Byron also was persecuted for *Cain*.

What doest thou here, Elijah?] 1 *Kings* xix 9, 13. When Elijah destroyed the heathen prophets on Carmel, Jezebel threatened to kill him, and he escaped in despair 'to Horeb, the mount of God' (and also, as would not escape B., the mountain of the Law). There he heard the voice of God, before and after the wind, earthquake and fire, 'What doest thou here, Elijah?' So also Byron is resting on the old law, and not putting himself vigorously into the new revelation of forgiveness. *Nature has no outline*] In *Cain* II i, Lucifer shows Cain the distant worlds of the universe, all beautiful, and all to die. B. controverts this: Nature is not the truth, but only the veil over the truth, the shadow of the undying, eternal reality.

*Scene: a rocky country. Eve fainted over the dead body of Abel which
lays near a grave. Adam kneels by her; Jehovah stands above.*

Jeh.— Adam!

Adam— I will not hear thee more, thou spiritual voice!
Is this Death?

Jeh.— Adam!

Adam— It is in vain: I will not hear thee
Henceforth! Is this thy promise that the woman's seed
Should bruise the serpent's head? Is this the serpent? Ah!
5 Seven times, O Eve, thou hast fainted over the dead.
Ah! Ah!

Eve revives

Eve— Is this the promise of Jehovah? Oh it is all a vain delusion,
This death and this life and this Jehovah!

Jeh.— Woman, lift thine eyes!

A voice is heard coming on

Voice— O Earth, cover not thou my blood, cover not thou my blood!

Enter the Ghost of Abel

Eve— Thou visionary phantasm, thou art not the real Abel!

Abel— Among the Elohim a human victim I wander; I am their
house,

11 Prince of the Air; and our dimensions compass zenith and nadir.
Vain is thy covenant, O Jehovah! I am the accuser and avenger
Of blood. O earth, cover not thou the blood of Abel!

Jeh.— What vengeance dost thou require?

Abel— Life for life! Life for life!

Stage direction. *lays*] Common usage at this period, where we would expect *lies*.
1.1. *I will not hear*] Adam's rejection of the spiritual is like Albion's in *Jerusalem*.
Yet he does not deny its existence (17) — only its strength.

1.3-4. *the woman's seed . . . serpent's head*] From *Genesis* iii 15; cp. also *Everlast-
ing Gospel* f 53-4: 'You shall bow before her feet, / You shall lick the dust for
meat.'

this] Abel's body; he, not the Serpent, has been killed.

1.6. *delusion*] Eve's disaster destroys her faith, and she cannot see beyond earthly
life and death.

Stage direction. *Ghost*] i.e. the spectre, Abel's evil, shadowy self — as Eve imme-
diately realizes. (For *Spectre* see *Jerusalem* pl.6.1n.)

1.10. ELOHIM] See *Milton* 13.22n. B. seems to have changed his feelings about
them. They were creators of Adam and ineffectual guards of mortality; they have
become the bearers of the covenant of reconciliation (2.23-4). See also *Jerusalem*
61.1-2, 73.24.

- Jeh.*— He who shall take Cain's life must also die, O Abel.
 16 And who is he? Adam; wilt thou, or Eve thou, do this?
Adam— It is all a vain delusion of the all-creative imagination.
 Eve, come away and let us not believe these vain delusions:
 Abel is dead and Cain slew him. We shall also die a death
 20 And then—what then? Be as poor Abel, a thought, or as
 This! Oh what shall I call thee, Form Divine, Father of Mercies
 That appearest to my spiritual vision? Eve, seest thou also?
Eve— I see him plainly with my mind's eye. I see also Abel living,
 Though terribly afflicted as we also are; yet Jehovah sees him
 Pl.2 Alive and not dead. Were it not better to believe vision
 With all our might and strength, though we are fallen and lost?
Adam— Eve, thou hast spoken truly: let us kneel before his feet.

They kneel before Jehovah

- Abel*— Are these the sacrifices of eternity, O Jehovah—a broken spirit
 5 And a contrite heart? Oh, I cannot forgive! The Accuser hath
 Entered into me as into his house, and I loathe thy
 tabernacles!
 As thou hast said, so is it come to pass: my desire is unto Cain,
 And he doth rule over me. Therefore my soul in fumes of
 blood
 Cries for vengeance: sacrifice on sacrifice, blood on blood!
Jeh.— Lo, I have given you a lamb for an atonement instead
 11 Of the transgressor, or no flesh or spirit could ever live.
Abel— Compelled I cry, O earth, cover not the blood of Abel!

*Abel sinks down into the grave from which arises Satan
 armed in glittering scales with a crown and a spear*

- Satan*— I will have human blood and not the blood of bulls or goats,
 And no atonement, O Jehovah! The Elohim live on sacrifice
 15 Of men: hence I am God of men: thou human, O Jehovah.
 By the rock and oak of the druid, creeping mistletoe and
 thorn,
 Cain's city built with human blood, not blood of bulls and goats,
 Thou shalt thyself be sacrificed to me thy God, on Calvary!

1.17. *delusion*] To Adam the imagination is only the inventor of delusions, not the creator of reality. But Adam is still capable of vision (22).

2.4–5. *Psalm* li 17, 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise'.

2.10. *a lamb*] As a ram was substituted for the sacrifice of Isaac (*Genesis* xxii); also the passover lamb, and Christ as 'lamb of God'.

Jeh.— Such is my will: *Thunders*
 that thou thyself go to eternal death
 20 In self-annihilation, even till Satan self-subdued put off Satan
 Into the bottomless abyss, whose torment arises for ever and
 ever.

On each side a Chorus of Angels entering sing the following:

The Elohim of the heathen swore vengeance for sin! Then
 thou stoodst
 Forth, O Elohim Jehovah, in the midst of the darkness of
 the oath, all clothed
 In thy covenant of the forgiveness of sins: 'Death, O Holy!
 Is this brotherhood?'
 25 The Elohim saw their oath eternal fire; they rolled apart
 trembling over the
 Mercy Seat, each in his station fixed in the firmament by
 peace, brotherhood and love.

The curtain falls

The Voice of Abel's Blood [*Design*]

1822 W Blake's original stereotype was 1788

2.19–21. B.'s interpretation of the imprisonment of the Beast, Satan, in the bottomless pit for a thousand years (*Revelation* xx 1–3).

2. *Design*: Figures in the margin: at the foot of the text, Cain leans despairingly over Abel's body, while a fierce Satanic figure, labelled 'The Voice of Abel's Blood' rises from Abel.

1822 . . . 1788] B.'s earliest attempt at illuminated printing seems to have been the series of little tracts entitled *There is No Natural Religion* and *All Religions are One* which could very well belong to 1788. See pp. 55–7.

Appendix

Doubtful and Spurious Attributions

I

TO THE NIGHTINGALE

This poem, which is otherwise unknown, was hand-printed by George Cumberland, 3 Jan. 1784, as an example of etched script. Keynes, with some support, suggests (*Book Collector* 30: 335ff) that it may be B.'s, admitting that there is no external evidence. The style seems too conventional; besides, B. never treats a theme as naturalistically as this (lines 6–12). The poem may well be Cumberland's own, but is printed here in case I am proved wrong.

Come lovely Chauntress of the lonely Bow'r,
(Allured by vernal airs to chequer'd shades)
And lightly sit upon the moss grown tree,
Now where the dark stream glides, and the soft flow'r
5 Rears its enamel'd head to grace the glades;
Come there and mildly pour thy mellow Minstrels'y.

And I with open eyes will drink thy Song,
With cautious trembling steps advancing near,
Chiding the low hung boughs that bar my way,
10 Then gently stretch my weary limbs among
The Fern, and part the woodbine shoots, and peer
About to find thee perch't upon the bending spray.

O then begin thy undulating note
Check't by faint Echos from the distant grove,
15 And oft recall the sweetly wandering air;
Till, bursting forth, the jolly peal shall float
Upon the Breeze, and tell a tale, to move
Bald Apathy, or smooth the wrinkled brow of Care.

And may no hind thy secret haunt disclose
20 Or wanton Heifer near the thicket stray
Rudely to break thy song, thy breast affright;
But whilst Attention hears thy gentle lay,
Soft Eve advance, clad in Her mantle gray,
And Cynthia's silvry beams illuminate the night

2. *Allured*] Keynes reads, uncertainly, *alluned*; the word *may* be *attuned*, but *allured* makes most sense.

II

THE FELPHAM RUMMER

A 'rummer', or rum goblet, early 1800s, with an etched sketch of an angel (or devil), and these engraved words. Offered for sale with no provenance, Nov. 1982. If the figure is a devil, the 'purpose' is to let the drinker see it as the glass is raised; but was drink 'immoral' in 1803? The couplet seems slack; B. usually despises 'Moral Virtue'. But if our B. was not the engraver, who was? See Essick (sceptical) and Bentley (cautiously hopeful), *BQ* 18:72, 79–83; 94–99.

i

BLAKE IN ANGUISH AUG 1803

ii

THOU HOLDER OF IMMORAL DRINK
I GIVE THEE PURPOSE NOW I THINK

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A number of passages from B.'s commentaries, etc., such as the Chaucer Prospectus, the Descriptive Catalogue (1809), A Vision of the Last Judgement, and the draft Public Address (both 1809–10) are to be found in the notes to the poems. The following index is a page guide to the most important of these passages.

The draft *Prospectus* for the engraving of Chaucer's *Canterbury Pilgrims* (1809)
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The *Descriptive Catalogue* to Blake's Exhibition of 1809

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The *Public Address* (1809–10)

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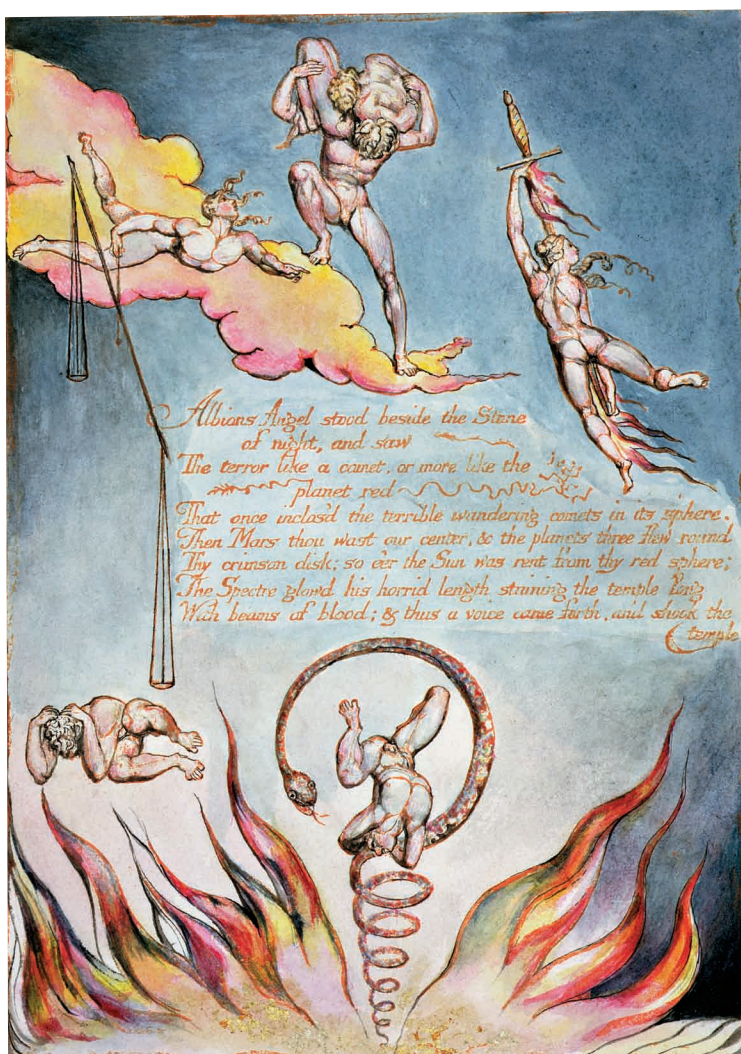
1. London (*Songs of Experience*, 1794). BAL 83199. An early use of one of Blake's favourite motifs, the child leading the old man; and see, e.g., *Jerusalem* 84.11–12.



2. Nurse's Song (*Songs of Innocence*, 1789). BAL 83124 Two "contrary" poems: in *Innocence* the children are free and happy; in *Experience* (opposite) the one, unsmiling child is carefully groomed.



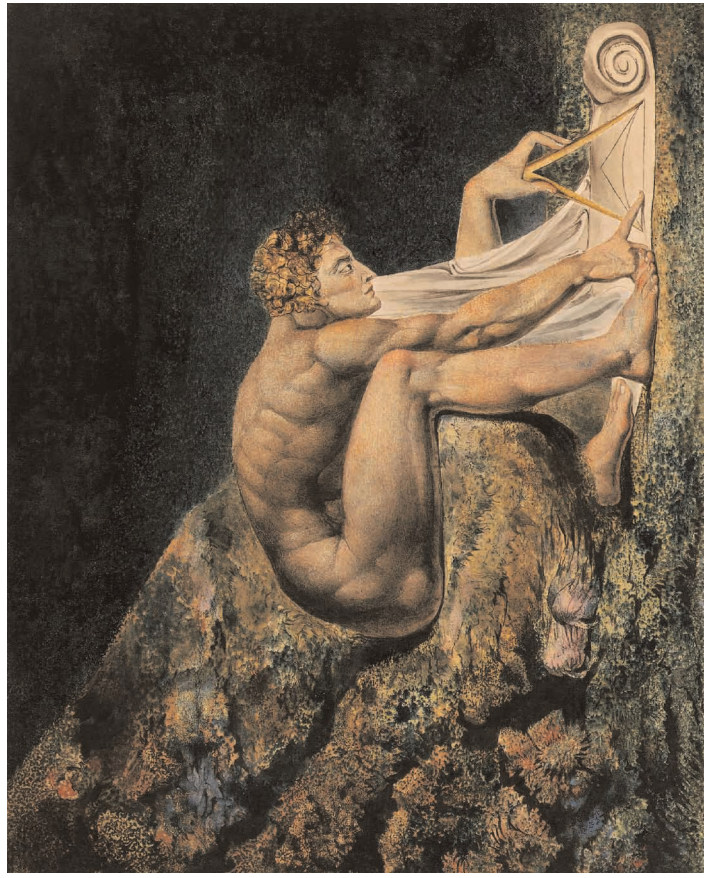
3. Nurse's Song (*Songs of Experience*, 1794) BAL 83139.



4. *America*, pl. 5. 1793. BAL 109650. Blake's vigorous interweaving of text and design, seen at its best in *America*, here with some of Blake's principal motifs: rising and falling movement; flames; and the coiling serpent.



5. *Europe*, pl. 5. 1794. BAL 223019. A darker plate for a darker poem. The black scaly demon (note his horns, and the cross on his sword) is not the cheerful iconoclast of *Marriage*, and the angels too look fearful.



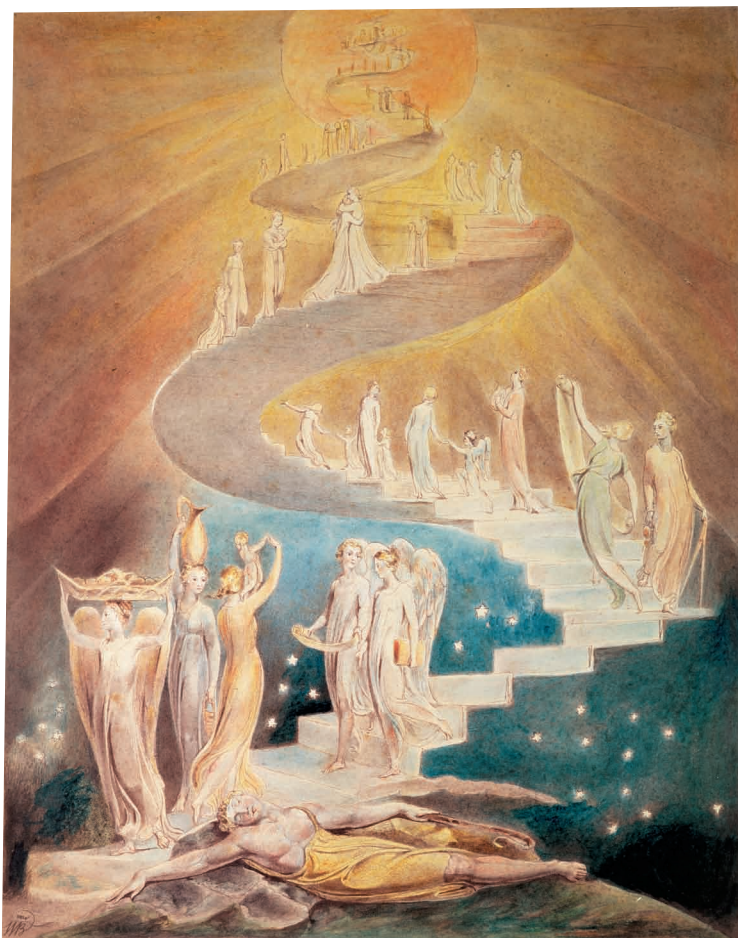
6. Newton. Colour-print, 1794–5. AA 343457. Newton, under water, in the prime of life, but all movements are downwards, and his eyes are only on his calculations.



7. *Urizen*, pl. 5. 1794. g.p.300. The aged oppressor, Urizen, displays his huge, unmanageable book, and covered with arcane symbols; there is no vigour in this religion of impenetrable laws.



8. From the *Paradise Lost* series, 1808: Michael foretelling the Crucifixion (B655/659). Interpreting *P.L.* xii 358–434, Blake adds to the traditional scene, the serpent, coiled but nailed to the cross, and humanity lies trapped at its foot. Eve sleeps underground, “a death like sleep”; but Adam looks up in hope.



9. Jacob's Dream (*Genesis* xxviii 11–12), watercolour, 1805. BAL 7049. A light upward spiral; no downward sense, even in descending figures.



10. The Whore of Babylon, 1809. AN00038708_001. From *Revelation* xvii 3–6: Rahab Babylon, the great shadow of false morality in the later poems: but all her beauty is false. See *Vala* viii 267*n* and *Jerusalem* 70. 17–31 (Plate 10).



11. *Milton*, pl. 16. ca. 1810–11. Milton confronts Urizen. BAL 28501. Again the motifs of youthful vigour against aged decline. Angels glide and sing, but Urizen is enclosed with his stony law in an oppressive cave. Now, however, he may be redeemed by Milton, in his renewed strength.



12. *Jerusalem*: Titlepage (ca. 1820). BAL 172889. A dual message in this one fully-coloured copy. In spite of the glorious tints, in the engraved design angels lament over the fallen beauty of Jerusalem.



13. Jerusalem: pl. 70. BAL 151896. The crushing shadow of Stonehenge over "England's green and pleasant bowers".



14. From 1825. pl. 3. bb421.1.5-4. ps300. Satan destroys Job's family.



15. From 1825, pl. 14. bb421.1.15-16 ps300. Images from *Job*, using motifs of enclosure and crushing horror, and Satan (cp. Plate 5), powerful and bat-winged (a favoured image of spectral evil), contrasting with the angelic choir (see *Jerusalem* pl. 75). By 1825, Blake's aged deity is benign and paternal, far from the oppressive Urizen of Plate 7.



16. From the Dante series, 1824–7. The Circle of the Lustful (Paolo & Francesca). BAL 811. Although the couple are condemned to the Second Circle of Hell, Blake expresses, in their swirling upward movement, his sympathy for their passionate love.