THE SATANIC BLAKE:
THE CONTINUING EMPATHY WITH REBELLIOUS AND CREATIVE ENERGY AS PRESENTED IN 'SATAN ROUSING HIS LEGIONS'

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ABSTRACT

Through an examination of Blake's idea of Satan and his depiction of Satan and the rebel angels in the *Paradise Lost* design *Satan Rousing his Legions*, my thesis will demonstrate four principle findings, in addition to offering a fresh and unconventional interpretation to what is arguably Blake's most profound depiction of Satan. One result is the demonstration that Blake maintained and developed his idea of Satan as a force of revolutionary energy and paradigm of Creative Imagination throughout his life. Secondly, I will demonstrate that Blake's employment of, and references to, a punitive, destructive, and materialistic Satan is in fact a personification of the oppressive aspect of the Church and State. My third determination is that Blake's vision of the Church as the oppressive and repressive tyrant Urizen did not soften as he aged but was steadfastly maintained until his death. And finally, I will establish that Blake did in fact maintain his revolutionary enthusiasm his entire life.

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KEY TO REFERENCES

References to both Young's text and to Blake's illustrations of the text are made to *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's "Night Thoughts"*, 2 vols, ed. John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David V. Erdman (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980) by the number there assigned to each page of Blake's watercolours (e.g. *NT* 118). References to specific plates of Blake's Illuminated Books come from David Bindman's *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000), unless otherwise noted, and consist of the following copies:

Songs of Innocence and Experience, copy W
The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, copy F
Visions of the Daughters of Albion, copy G
America a Prophecy, copy H
Europe a Prophecy, copy B
The Song of Los, copy A
The First Book of Urizen, copy D
The Book of Ahania, copy A
The Book of Los, copy A
Milton a Poem, copy C
Jerusalem The Emanation of the Giant Albion, copy E

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following common abbreviations and short titles are used for Blake's works:

Abel	*The Ghost of Abel*
AR	*All Religions Are One*
Am or *America*	*America a Prophecy*
BoL	*The Book of Los*
CORM	*Christ Offers to Redeem Man*
DesC	*Descriptive Catalogue*
EG	*The Everlasting Gospel*
Eur or *Europe*	*Europe a Prophecy*
FR	*French Revolution*
FZ	*Four Zoas*
GP	*Gates of Paradise*
J or *Jerusalem*	*Jerusalem The Emanation of the Giant Albion*
JAE	*The Judgment of Adam and Eve*
MFC	*Michael Foretells the Crucifixion*
MHH	*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*
Mil or *Milton*	*Milton a Poem*
NNR	*There Is No Natural Religion*
NT	*Illustrations to Young's "Night Thoughts"*
RRA	*Rout of the Rebel Angels*
SE or *Experience*	*Songs of Experience*
SI or *Innocence*	*Songs of Innocence*
SoL	*The Song of Los*
SRL	*Satan Rousing his Legions*
SSAE	*Satan Spying on Adam and Eve and Raphael's Descent into Paradise*
SSD	*Satan, Sin, and Death: Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell*
SWEAE	*Satan Watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve*
Ur or *Urizen*	*The First Book of Urizen*
VDA	*Visions of the Daughters of Albion*
VLJ	*A Vision of the Last Judgment*

The following abbreviations and short titles are used for other works:

Cain	*Cain, A Mystery* (Lord Byron)
PL	*Paradise Lost* (John Milton)
PR	*Paradise Regained* (John Milton)

PART I – INTRODUCTION

‘I must Create a System, or be enslav’d by another Man’s.
I will not Reason & Compare: my business is to Create’
William Blake, *Jerusalem*

Above all William Blake prized the imagination. Blake's early term for the universal imagination is the Poetic Genius, first identified in his inaugural example of Illuminated Printing *All Religions are One* (c.1788) as the source and expression of all true religions and philosophies which are manifested in poets and prophets. For Blake, the 'Eternal Spirit' that gifted the prophets is what he understands to be inspiration, the divine power of God. The gift that this inspiration offers is imagination. Blake believed that the authority of the Bible comes from its origin within the human imagination: "the Imagination being the only source of divine knowledge which Blake recognized."[1] According to Blake, this Poetic Genius is God in each person: 'The true Man is the source he being the Poetic Genius' (*ARO*, Principle 7th); 'The Eternal Body of Man is The Imagination, that is God himself' (*Laocoön*, 1826). Blake came to describe consistently this supreme faculty of both God and man as 'Creative Imagination' and personified it in the character of Los. For Blake, 'spiritual' and 'imaginative' are often interchangeable concepts, and he occasionally uses 'intellect' interchangeably with 'imagination'. According to J.M.Q. Davies, in *Blake's Milton Designs: The Dynamics of Meaning* (1993), Blake understood 'high intuitive intelligence' to be "a kind of inspired common sense that he admired in Christ and referred to variously as the poetic genius or the divine gift of imagination that made every man potentially a prophet."[2]

Blake understands that all things in heaven and earth exist in the imagination: 'The imagination is not a State: it is the Human existence itself.' In his edition of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1975), Sir Geoffrey Keynes states that "Blake regarded human imagination as the essential divine quality by which God manifested himself in Man. This was almost equating Man with God and Art with Christianity."[3] In fact Blake is unequivocally equating Man with God and Art with Christianity. For Blake imagination is

the Divine Vision responsible for the creation of the arts (*id est*, poetry, music, visual arts). Blake regarded the freedom to express this energetic Imagination a necessity: 'I know of no other Christianity and of no other Gospel than the liberty of both body & mind to exercise the Divine arts of Imagination' (*J* 77).

In direct opposition to imagination stands reason. Being a proponent of imagination, Blake was natural adversary to repressive reason, which he personifies as the Father deity Urizen, "the rational faculty devoid of spiritual aspirations or values".[4] This God of Reason is a paradigm of the Hebrew Jehovah, whom Blake sees as domineering, cruel, ignorant, and both oppressive and repressive. In Urizen Blake embodies the "extreme rational legalistic self-indulgence" which Blake associates with the Father.[5] Repressive reason becomes manifest in religious, political, and military laws, beyond which Blake recognized poor education, prejudice, and habit as other forms of oppression which he termed 'mind-forg'd manacles'.[6] Mind-forg'd manacles is a metaphor for the self-imposed restrictions of society's key institutions (such as the church, marriage, and the army) that encourage people to accept their situation in life.[7] Blake believed that man must rebel against imposed restrictions and renounce this cavern of naturalistic perception to actualize 'poetical genius'.[8]

Blake seems to have cultivated his rebellious inclination and demand for personal liberty in early childhood. Impulsive and temperamental, he so disliked rules and regulations that his father decided not to send him to school. Young Blake complained so violently against any kind of scolding or punishment that his father "'thought it prudent to withhold from him the liability of receiving punishment'."[9] Blake maintained this attitude throughout his life and extended it to others. According to biographical anecdotes, Blake occasionally had cause in his personal life to champion the liberty of others. Once he had occasion to

come to the aid of a woman being publicly assaulted by her husband and defend her with furious anger. On another occasion, he spied a servant-boy chained to a log in the yard of a neighbouring residence, and nearly came to blows with the master of the dwelling before satisfaction was reached.

Much of Blake's revolutionary fervour may be attributed to his Dissenting upbringing. As Judy Cox explains in *William Blake: The Scourge of Tyrants* (2004), Dissenters believed "the established church and state were tyrannical…[that only] the authority of individual conscience should be recognised."[10] This recalls the motive of Blake's personification of revolution, Orc, and echoes the sentiments of Satan and his grounds for rebellion, as empathetically depicted in Blake's *Paradise Lost* illustration *Satan Rousing His Legions* (1807, 1808; figs 1 and 2). Ronald Paulson, in *Book and Painting: Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible* (1982), relates the import of the Dissenters' conception of Biblical exegesis and Christianity as a model of revolution on the formation of this conviction.[11] Blake came to view the true poet as a prophet and revolutionary, he "hailed revolution…as an expression of freedom, and of that spirit of life which was, for him, in whatever guise, holy."[12] Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Jr., in *Angel of Apocalypse: Blake's Idea of Milton* (1975), describes Blake as, "[a]n artist of the first order and an iconoclast with a revolutionary temperament;"[13] very much a reflection of the social events of his time.

Cox describes the England of Blake's youth as 'a land of riots', relating Benjamin Franklin's description of "how in 1769 alone, England experienced 'riots about corn; riots about elections; riots about workhouses; riots of colliers; riots of weavers; riots of coalheavers; riots of sawyers; riots of sailors; riots of Wilkites, riots of government chairmen, riots of smugglers'."[14] Cox enumerates revolutions and attempted revolutions

during the last decades of the eighteenth century in America, Geneva, Holland, Poland, Ireland, Naples, and France, to support her claim that "[r]evolution was the central social experience of these years."[15] This wave of revolutionary fervour spreading across Europe and America, in addition to the "dissenting traditions inherited from the English Revolution of the 1640's," influenced Blake fully enough that Cox is able to state: "Revolt framed Blake's life and his art."[16] Cox remarks that, in Blake's lifetime, "these upheavals led to an explosion of hope that ordinary men and women could build a society based on universal equality. This hope affected every aspect of life."[17] Cox also observes that Blake's occupation as an artisan working in London placed him at the heart of the social unrest of his time.[18]

Blake admired the Americans "as a group who said no to the dictates of a social and governmental system of oppression," and believed the American Revolution (1775-83) to be a step toward "the eventual restoration of religious and political liberty in England."[19] In *William Blake, Water-color Drawings* (1957), Peter A. Wick states that "Blake saw the War of Independence leading to the creation of a new world where men would love one another and would share the things of the spirit."[20] English radicals saw the American Revolution as a struggle against injustice. In the 1780's, the 'radical' bookseller and publisher Joseph Johnson introduced Blake to acquaintances with radical views, such as Thomas Paine, Joseph Priestley, William Godwin, and Mary Wollstonecraft. Blake supported the French Revolution (1789-99), as he did the American Revolution: he "looked forward to the possibilities created by the French Revolution," courageously wearing the *bonnet rouge* (symbol of liberty and equality) as he walked the streets.[21]

These events and the hopes they carried became the overarching theme in the Illuminated Books produced by Blake during this period. Cox asserts that Blake "created some of the most powerful images of revolutionary energy and human liberation that have ever been produced."[22] According to Keynes, Rintrah, in 'The Argument' of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790), "chastises Society as he sees it, degenerate and apathetic, devoid of Energy and Imagination, and welcomes the era of Revolution that was dawning in Europe."[23] Quoting Kathleen Raine, Cox states that *MHH* "is an expression of Blake's mood of sympathy with the revolution, seen as the expression of the irrepressible energy of life."[24] Political hopes raised by the American and French revolutions are expressed in Blake's revolutionary Prophetic Books *America* (1793) and *Europe* (1794), while his hopes for the continued spread of revolutionary uprising are described in 'Asia' in *The Song of Los* (1795).

Raymond Lister, in *The Paintings of William Blake* (1986), claims that with the arrival of the Reign of Terror (1792-4), "Blake became disillusioned with political revolution as a solution to society's problems."[25] Cox explains that, following the first executions of royalists in Paris which began the Terror, the reactionary Pitt government responded violently against the English people.[26] New laws against seditious writings ultimately led to the prosecution of over 100 booksellers, including Joseph Johnson for distributing Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*. The belief that Blake became disillusioned with revolution following the Terror, and the resultant reactionary repression which followed in England, has led to the general hypothesis that Blake removed himself from interests in political revolution and focussed on spiritual strife thereafter. This I disagree with. I propose that Blake maintained his revolutionary enthusiasm throughout his life, and that his poetry and art bear witness.

Cox remarks that "William Blake took the dissenters' faith in the Bible to heart and it stayed there all his life. So did the dissenters' hatred of authority and hierarchy."[27] She describes the tension that permeated England during the counter-revolutionary reaction to the Terror as building to a hysteria in which citizens strove to uncover radicals.[28] But by no means did Blake retreat from political writing altogether: "The work Blake produced in the years following the French Revolution is brimming with political, social and philosophical views."[29] As a result, "He was labelled insane by once-radical gentlemen who could not comprehend why he never reneged on the revolutionary enthusiasms of his youth."[30] Rather than further distancing Blake from revolutionary proclivities, the allegation that Blake 'damned the King' and the resultant trial for treason (1803-4) may have galvanized his opinion of oppressive government and kept his fire for revolution smouldering well into his final years.

As seen in the rebellion against capitalistic manufacture in *Vala*, which Blake began in 1796 and eventually reworked and left unfinished as *The Four Zoas* by 1807, Blake clearly continued to harbour a devotion to revolution following the 1792-4 Reign of Terror. Government oppression is a topic again dealt with in his later illuminated poem *Jerusalem* (c.1804-20), in which Cox understands Blake to display his belief in the necessity of revolutionary action in order to create Jerusalem in England for the return of Christ.[31] At the time Blake was working on his *Job* designs (*circa* 1805-1826) he fully accepted Revolution as one of the states of man, according to Damon's interpretation of the series.[32] In their editorial preface to *The Ghost of Abel* (1822), Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant, editors of *Blake's Poetry and Designs* (1979), propose that, although Blake does not attempt to justify revenge or murder, he understands Cain's motives in rebelling against an unjust

God.[33] This suggests the possibility that, although his *bonnet rouge* had long since been retired, Blake continued to endorse rebellion against injustice into the final years of his life. If so, his 1807-8 illustration of the rallying of a force following a rebellion against oppression would likely demonstrate the artist's approval and support, which I submit *Satan Rousing his Legions* precisely illustrates.

This thesis proposes that Blake's purpose for the *PL* design *SRL* is to present Satan and the rebel angels as victorious exemplars of his beloved concepts of revolutionary energy and creative imagination. My claim that, for Blake, Satan is the original rebel against oppression is supported by William Vaughan's explanation in the biography *William Blake* (1999), that Blake's cosmology attributes the cruelty in the world not to the Judeo-Christian tradition of the Fall of Man in the Garden, but as "the consequence of a [prior] cosmic split enforced by the authoritarian stance of the lawgiving Deity. Even the Devil who rebelled against this regime was not the cause of the problem. He was simply the first protestor against oppression. While branded as wicked, the Devil was in fact life-affirming, full of the energy of eternal delight."[34] Vaughan's comment also points to Blake's belief that the demonic Satan propagated by the Church is in fact an aspect of the Church, while Blake sees through this and insists that the true Satan is energetic creativity.

In denying a Satanic reading of *The Rout of the Rebel Angels* (figs. 3 and 4), which is equally applicable to *SRL*, Behrendt reiterates the common conviction among Blake scholars that Blake's idea of Satan radically changed from the time he worked on *MHH* to his engagement with the *PL* illustrations, that is, from 1789 to 1807.[35] In his own interpretation of *RRA*, Lister in turn reiterates Behrendt's claim that by the time Blake began his *PL* illustrations his opinions of both Satan and God had changed, noting a marked 'sympathetic'

understanding towards God.[36] Blake understood that reason limited the power of the human imagination: 'Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy'. In *RRA* Christ is confined by the circumference of the reason of the Old Testament god Urizen, while the rebels, the energy that loathes restraint,[37] are outside of this binding orb. Even in apparent defeat, the rebels are not dominated by the reason of an unyielding god. It seems to me that scholars overemphasise Blake's so-called softening in his attitude toward God in his later years; Tristanne J. Connelly makes the same observation in *William Blake and the Body* (2002):

> Another trapdoor for any unattractive opinions in Blake is the traditional theory that Blake changed between his early and late works, becoming more otherworldly and misogynistic, transferring his radical desires for liberty to the spiritual realm and consigning the evil natural world and women to each other. I call this a trapdoor because I believe that Blake never altered his opinions.[38]

As I will demonstrate, Blake's last works in Illuminated Printing prove that he did not alter his opinion of God the Father as a Urizenic tyrant, and, interestingly, the last work Blake completed (aside from a sketch of his wife) literally on his death-bed, was a copy of *The Ancient of Days* (1827) – widely understood to be a depiction of Urizen in the process of limiting mankind – for Frederick Tatham.

Scholars have condemned the Satan of *SRL* to the same interpretational fate of Satan in the subsequent *PL* illustrations, in *Milton*, and in the *Job* illustrations, as an example of Error, the Adversary, pride, corruption, and the like. As I will show, critics interpret Satan and the rebels in *SRL* overwhelmingly negatively, describing them as: 'devils', troubled, self-absorbed, imprisoned, Despair and Spectre forms, pathetic failures, subjugated and impotent turncoats, visionless, despondent, fallen, and tormented. Viewers are thus cautioned against any affirmative interpretation of the scene which is regarded as a desperate state of

defeat and doom, a profound calamity that represents Blake's bleakest vision. I contend that mistaken analogies, erroneous conflations, anecdotal evidence, personal bias, and cursory and inaccurate examination have effected and propagated a suspect interpretation of *SRL*.

An examination of Blake's idea of Satan, and his depiction of Satan and the rebel angels in the *PL* design *SRL*, demonstrates four principle findings, in addition to offering a fresh and unconventional interpretation to what is arguably Blake's most profound depiction of Satan. First, Blake maintained and developed his idea of Satan, initially expatiated upon in *MHH*, as a force of revolutionary energy and paradigm of creative imagination throughout his life. Evidence drawn from Blake's literary and visual art supports the proposition that Blake saw Satan as a rebel against oppression and reason, a paradigm of energy, imagination, and freedom. In addition, Blake's Satan has been overlooked as a Christ-like image of rebirth, liberation and human potential; a composite image of Orc, Los, Christ, and Blake himself. In fact, Blake maintained and developed a positive concept of Satan into the late-middle of his career – when he completed the *SRL* designs – and beyond.

Secondly, in establishing Blake's continuing affirmation of Satan, I will demonstrate that Blake's employment of, and references to, a punitive, destructive, and materialistic Satan is in fact a personification of the oppressive aspect of the Church and State which Blake abhorred. The inversion of Good and Evil Blake establishes in *MHH* remains an integral part of his art and poetry throughout his career. The Church, as Urizen, takes on the traditional Biblical role of Satan: when Blake speaks of a repressive, tormenting, punitive Satan, he is speaking of the worldly Church. The convention pervading Blake studies which maintains that Satan's aspects of energy and imagination were discarded by Blake by the

time he made his *PL* illustrations – because Blake had come to see Satan as Error, Adversary, and the God of this World – will be shown to be incomplete.

By demonstrating Blake's continued support of Satan as a champion of creative freedom, I will establish my final two conclusions. Namely, that Blake's vision of the Church as the oppressive and repressive tyrant Urizen did not soften as he aged, as is commonly understood, but was steadfastly maintained until his death. And finally, that Blake did in fact maintain his revolutionary enthusiasm his entire life, rather than renounce it in fear and disappointment early in his career.

My thesis follows a two-part interdisciplinary analysis. First I proceed with a chronological analysis of a selection of Blake's Illuminated Books to demonstrate that Blake championed Satan as a paradigm of energy, rebellion against oppression, and creative imagination, and did so throughout his career. This will also uncover the separate Satan which is actually a personification of the oppressive Church (and sometimes State) and equivalent to Urizen. In turn, this will show that Blake continued to statically regard God and Church (organised religion) as tyrannical and oppressive.

The second part closely analyses the *PL* design *SRL*, with supporting references provided by many examples of Blake's graphic art. This provides the visual equivalent of the textual analysis as evidence in support of my thesis. Even in scholarly works devoted specifically to Blake's *PL* illustrations, each design is generally glossed over in one or two pages of criticism.[39] A single design has yet to be the sole focus of an extended treatment of research and criticism. My focus is primarily on the *SRL* watercolours, with emphasis on the Thomas-Huntington 1807 version, drawing upon analogies occurring throughout the span of Blake's *oeuvre* of literary and visual art and related materials, including *Paradise Lost* (in

particular Book I, which the design illustrates) and a detailed study of gesture and physiognomy from various sources familiar to Blake. It has been suggested that by the time Blake came to illustrate *PL* he was losing interest in poetry (as seen by the sporadic effort and extended period of time involved in completing *Milton* and *Jerusalem* between 1808 and 1818) and realizing the efficacy of visual media in expressing his ideas.[40] This adds further significance to the judicious recommendation that Blake's graphic art be considered when studying his literary art.

PART II – TEXTUAL-THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION

‘And all this Vegetable World appeared on my left Foot,
As a bright sandal formd immortal of precious stones & gold:
I stooped down & bound it on to walk thro’ Eternity.’
William Blake, *Milton a Poem*

Satan and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

'The tigers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction'
William Blake, Proverb of Hell, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

An examination of Blake's Illuminated Book, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* shows how he viewed the Church as the very Satan that it portrayed as evil and demonstrates Blake's understanding of repressive religious moral codes and restrictive social laws and his enthusiastic defence of revolutionary action to create a free state in which the human imagination could thrive. That Blake maintained and developed this philosophy throughout his career is demonstrated in his Illuminated Books and graphic art, and is particularly evident in the *SRL* designs which bear a close relationship with *MHH*.

Blake critics almost universally agree that in *MHH* it is Blake's own voice which is in support of Satan as an emblem of passion and energy, and of revolution as a means to imaginative freedom. In his biography *William Blake: His Life* (1991), James King states that in 1788, after Blake's break from Swedenbörgianism, "Blake had become convinced that heaven and hell were connected. By 1790, he had come to believe that the world of hell was the only alternative open to him. In fact, it was superior to the world of heaven and, paradoxically, it was the source of revolutionary fervour."[1] Blake had come to realize that when reason became identified as 'moral goodness', passion and energy become branded as evil.[2] In *William Blake* (2000), Kathleen Raine describes Blake's philosophical outlook as follows: "Free, life is mild and loving; impeded it is rebellious and violent. Energy enchained…becomes warlike and fierce. All Blake's sympathies, in [*MHH*], are with lion and devil, giant and fiery serpent of 'the nether deep'."[3] Cox sees *MHH* as "a spectacular example of how the French Revolution inspired Blake," quoting Raine's statement that "This

book is an expression of Blake's mood of sympathy with the revolution, seen as the expression of the irrepressible energy of life."[4]

Almost as universally, critics dismiss a 'Satanic' interpretation of Blake's *PL* designs on the assumption that Blake decided to recant his 'Satanic' perspective shortly after completing *MHH*. King views Christ rather than Satan as the hero in both sets of Blake's illustrations to *PL*, asserting that by the time Blake came to produce his *PL* illustrations, "he was much more suspicious of Satan than he was when he embedded his critique of *Paradise Lost* into *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*."[5] Wittreich explains that the tradition of Blake criticism which once proposed that *MHH* "is the central work in Blake's canon, 'the most complete and concise expression of his philosophy that can be found,'" is now usurped by the current trend of criticism which argues that Blake repudiated the attitudes represented in *MHH* "by the time he came to write the major prophecies."[6] Robert N. Essick, in *William Blake at The Huntington* (1994), asserts that, "In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (c.1790), Blake's 'Devil' had offered a radical rereading of *Paradise Lost*, which reversed the conventional understanding of the poem and made Satan its hero."[7] Even so, Essick does not concede the possibility of a heroic Satan in the *PL* illustrations, preferring to believe that Blake followed traditional conventions of *PL* illustration, even though close examination of Blake's design and iconography supports a 'Satanic' intent beneath the surface of a Miltonic facade.

Regarding the interpretation of Blake's *PL* illustrations, Bette Charlene Werner, in *Blake's Vision of the Poetry of Milton* (1986), presents the *vox populi* of critics when she disregards the "diabolic, ostensibly true reading of *Paradise Lost* by the devil in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* [which] seems to favour a positive characterization by Blake

of Milton's Satan," on the assumption that Blake's understanding of *PL* had become "much more considered and sympathetic" in the "considerable" time that elapsed since *MHH* was written, aided by "Blake's extensive and close involvement with Milton's poetry that was encouraged by his association with William Hayley at Felpham."[8] Behrendt also finds it efficacious to divide Blake's evaluation of *PL* into two separate periods, the second beginning in 1800 with Blake's move to Felpham and his association with Milton biographer William Hayley. Behrendt, recognising Hayley as "an important figure in the Romantic reassessment of Milton's achievement," is certain that Hayley's influence shaped Blake's critical opinions of Milton, which also accorded with many of Hayley's convictions in spite of personal and intellectual differences between the two.[9] It seems that corroboration for this hypothesis may be found in *MHH* itself, where Blake affirms his approval of intellectual evolution when he states, "The man who never alters his opinion is like standing water, & breeds reptiles of the mind" (plate 19).

To think that Blake's understanding of *PL* would have remained immature by the years 1789-93 (the years he worked on *MHH*) would be to severely undervalue his cognitive capacity. Behrendt calls attention to the actuality that "Milton had 'shown his face' to Blake early in the artist's life and had remained a strong influence upon him ever since."[10] Blake's involvement with *PL* from his youth ("possibly as early as eleven years old"[11]) prefaces a profound and prolonged understanding of the work by 1789-93, making the brief time spent with Hayley a moot point. Davies specifies that "the work of Milton's that is most pervasively present as a shaping influence on Blake during the decade between 1790 and 1800 when he resided at 13 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth, is, of course, *Paradise Lost*."[12] An example of this is when Butts, *circa* 1791, found Blake and his wife Catherine in their

Lambeth garden naked reciting *PL*. I cannot fathom how Blake's short three year association with the poetaster Hayley could have compelled a complete reversal of his understanding of Satan in *PL*, or how Blake's views of *PL* could be radically revised from painting 'heads of the poets', Milton included, for a frieze in the Felpham home library of a man whose opinions on art and poetry Blake neither valued nor respected. Even in this visage of Milton, Behrendt notes, "however much Hayley may have influenced Blake's finished portrait of Milton, its style and its masterful manipulation of iconography are distinctively Blakean."[13] I suspect that, if Hayley had little influence upon Blake's commissioned painting of Milton, he would likely have had even less influence upon Blake's understanding of *PL* formed by more than two decades of study. I am confident that a radical transformation of Blake's understanding of *PL* never occurred and, while his opinion of Christ in *PL* may arguably have softened, his opinion of Satan as a rebel against religious and political tyranny and a paradigm of unfettered imagination remained stalwartly constant to the end of his life.

Immediately on plate 2 of *MHH*, 'The Argument', Blake asserts his optimism for revolution with roaring Rintrah, who personifies "the wrath of the poet-prophet, Blake himself, predicting the results of the era of revolution which was dawning in Europe and America."[14] On plate 3 Blake outlines his doctrine of Contraries and rejects as inappropriate the terms 'Good' and 'Evil' as false 'Angelic' terms, replacing them with his revised terms 'Reason' and 'Energy'.[15] The following plate elaborates on the ideas of Good equating to Reason and Evil to Energy by inverting their respective meaning through 'The Voice of the Devil'. This Devil accuses religious codes of propagating the Error that Energy is bodily and therefore Evil, that Reason is spiritual and therefore Good, and that God will punish man for indulging his Energies. The Devil refutes this dogma and proposes Contraries which he

asserts are true, namely that 'Energy is the only life', it is 'Eternal Delight', and the purpose of Reason is to limit and control Energy. When Satan rebels and is cast into Hell, he is faced with Error 3: 'That God will torment Man in Eternity for following his Energies.' By realizing the truth of Contrary 2, that 'Energy is the only life and is from the Body and Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy', he overcomes Error 3, understanding that it is a fallacy perpetuated by 'Bibles or sacred codes'. By embracing Contrary 3, 'Energy is Eternal Delight', the rebels reject the limits instituted by the Urizenic Father proving the truth of Contraries 2 and 3; *SRL* is Blake's record of this.

In *Reading Blake's Designs* (1995), Christopher Heppner understands that "The text [of *MHH*] asks us to sympathize with the Devil of Energy, who represents the impulse to break free into an unrestrained enjoyment of desire, and to reinterpret 'Hate' as prophetic anger."[16] In the illustration at the bottom of the design of plate 4 (fig. 5), Heppner sees that the pale angel on the left (Reason) has snatched the infant ('Human existence' from plate 3) from the dark devil (Energy) whom he has restrained with the chain described in plate 5.[17] Rather than rescuing an innocent child from a corrupting demon, the angel is the source of oppression which binds and exercises control over unrestrained joy; it is the "'Good' which has to be overcome."[18] Keynes' interpretation of this scene parallels Heppner's.[19] It is important to note that the leaping 'Devil' here is shackled, while the leaping, or rising, rebels in *SRL* are not. Thus the rebel angels in *SRL* are now free from the limiting restraints of God/Reason/Urizen and, in particular, Error 3 ('That God will torment Man in Eternity for following his Energies'), hence they are depicted as springing upward because they are forms of energy liberated from the confining suppression of the bounds of reason.

Wittreich claims that the Devil's proposed Errors and Contraries are distorted and misleading, mainly because he interprets Energy to be sexual and demonstrates that Milton openly approved of physical sexuality in his prose and in *PL*.[20] But this perspective is limited and overlooks Blake's idea of energy encompassing vision and imagination expressed in one's freedom to make one's own choices and choose one's own beliefs without the limitations that reason (enforced by church, and by extension government) demands.

Davies observes that "Some of the most fundamental objections to Milton's religion are raised by 'The voice of the Devil' on plate 4 of the *Marriage*."[21] Behrendt also attributes to *MHH* some of Blake's sharpest criticism of *PL*, acknowledging that, although occasionally speaking for Blake, the comments of the Devil should be distinguished from Blake, although his extremist view does possess elements of truth and perception.[22] Behrendt recognises that the speech of the Devil is devised to motivate 'productive dialectical examination' of religious orthodoxy, noting that "at the heart of the Devil's comments lies Blake's early assessment of the castrating effects of religious orthodoxy upon the intellectual and imaginative vision of even a strong poet like Milton when that poet attempted to incorporate its dogma into a work of prophetic art."[23] He sees in Blake's criticism the accusation that Milton shunned his responsibility of enlightening a nation of readers, and instead justified a repressive orthodoxy in an elaborate apology that influenced generations of an entire country of readers.[24] Although Blake was certain that Milton possessed 'genuine prophetic quality', Milton mistakenly obscured his vision with orthodox thought and misled generations of readers.[25]

Keynes' explication of the doctrine of Contraries and the inversion of Good and Evil in plates 3 and 4 offers direct support for part of my thesis:

> Without these contraries there could be no progression, that is, human thought and life need the stimulus of active and opposing forces to give them creative movement. In the light of this principle Blake gave the qualities, Good and Evil, meanings opposite to their usual acceptation, and in the fourth plate announced in plain terms how the wrong interpretation had arisen, stemming from the conventional moral codes. To him passive acceptance was evil, active opposition was good. This is the key to the paradoxes and inversions of which the whole work consists. Angels and Devils change places. Good is Evil. Heaven is Hell. Though freely using satire and paradox, Blake gives in this book some of the most explicit statements of his mental attitudes, which he elaborated in later Prophetic Books and restated even more clearly in the phrases of the *Laocoön* plate in 1820.[26]

Central to my thesis is the hypothesis of this inversion of Good and Evil, specifically that Blake often uses the name 'Satan' in his later works as a metaphor for the Church (and sometimes the State), an inversion recognised by Keynes as occurring in Blake's later works and throughout the entirety of his career, as evidenced by the *Laocoön*. Blake understands that religion created the idea of good and Evil as a means of control or enslavement: if one is passive, obedient to reason, he is Good; if the energy of imagination activates one's awareness, he is Evil. If Evil is a fiction designed to be a weapon of control, and the locus of imagination, energy, and awareness is Hell, then the fallen angels represented in Hell in *SRL* cannot be demonstrative of evil suffering in burning torment for its sins. Rather they are rebels against oppression thriving in the centre of mental energy and freedom.

Keynes asserts that plates 5[27] and 6 deal with "the superiority of active Imagination over passive Reason."[28] They also further develop Blake's reversal of the conventional understanding of a Good God and an Evil Devil through the example of the oppression of Energy by Reason as demonstrated in *PL*.[29] According to Raine, Blake defined the ground of his disagreement with Milton's Puritan theology in *MHH*, that being "Milton had allowed

the demon Reason to curb the energy of his Desire: 'Those who restrain desire do so because theirs is weak enough to be restrained'."[30] The holy angels were engaged by the Father to quell the rebellion (restrain the desire) of the rebel angels precisely because their desire was also weak enough to be restrained and governed by the Father. This subservience recognised by Blake explains why he invariably positions holy angels in his art in symmetrical order, often obediently surrounding the Deity.

In these lines Blake explicitly identifies Christ the Messiah with Reason the Father, as he acts as a restrainer of desire in his capacity of vengeful henchman; as such he acts in the same capacity as the Adversary in Job – "as an instrument of God for inflicting pain and suffering."[31] For the first books of *PL* (of which *SRL* is illustrative) this observation of Christ/God's role as punisher, blind reason, and judgment is undeniable. Rather than seeing the fall of the rebel angels as Reason casting out Desire, Blake – who associates himself with the Devils – explains that 'the Devils account is that the Messiah fell & formed a heaven of what he stole from the abyss', clearly implying that Satan operated from motives more Christian than Christ. Consequently, this line can be seen as the motive and rationale inspiring the *SRL* design. While in *The Divine Vision: Studies in the Poetry and Art of William Blake* (1968) Samuel Foster Damon states that in *MHH* Blake is "suggesting broadly that the Messiah is really the Devil,"[32] I would argue that the suggestion is in fact explicit.

Before Blake describes his 'Memorable Fancy' of *MHH* plate 6, he declares in lines 5 and 6 that 'the Jehovah of the Bible being no other than _he ____ who dwells in flaming fire'. Keynes asserts that this line was originally, 'the Jehovah of the Bible being no other than the Devil who dwells in flaming fire', Blake removing the name 'Devil' from his copperplate because, being used several lines previous, it became redundant to repeat.

Keynes explains that this "Jehovah was for Blake an avenging Deity, whom he afterwards called Urizen, whereas his idea of a Christian God was one who, like Jesus, the artist and the source of energy, was willing to forgive sins."[33] Blake is here baldly adjudging the God of the Christian Church to be in fact the demonic Satan it uses to provoke the fear of retribution into those who transgress its moral and legal codes.

Plate 6 also states: 'Note. The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & God, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of the Devils party without knowing it.' Here Blake associates liberty and true poetry with the devils and Hell. Keynes explains Blake's reasoning for this comment as follows:

> [Milton] had created a Satan endowed with energy and fire, more attractive to the perceptive reader than his God, who was Destiny, an inescapable despot. His Son had become an uninteresting abstraction, or 'Ratio', derived from the senses; the Holy Ghost, because ignored by Milton, was 'Vacuum'. Milton was therefore 'a true Poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it'.[34]

Wittreich explains the historical association of the term 'Devil's party' to be applied to anti-establishment parties and revolutionaries, stating that Milton had previously been labelled of 'the Devil's party' and that it is used here as a term of praise, acknowledging "that Milton was consciously radical in his politics and in his theology."[35] It should be apparent that Blake – who privileges desire, energy, inspiration, and imagination over reason, restraint, and slavery – should also be of the Devil's party and acknowledge that the rebel angels, the original rebels against Reason, fought for individual freedom and recognized in their pseudo-defeat the opportunity for victory through the application of Imagination in creating a heaven of their own.

Plate 11 offers a "brief account of the origins of ancient religions and of the Priesthood by whom mankind is restricted."[36] According to Heppner, the explicit argument

of Plate 11 is "that a judgmental God is a badly imagined God, and that the path to true humanity leads beyond that conception. Like Adam and Moses we make Gods in our own image, and when we bow down before those images and give them a reified power, we destroy our own capacity for freedom."[37] The rebel angels refuse to bow down before this badly imagined God, move beyond that conception, and seize their freedom by revolting. Keynes claims that plate 14 argues "in favour of liberation by Revolution," as 'the fire at the end of six thousand years' relates to the French and American revolutions.[38] For Blake, Satan cannot be reproached for acting upon his desires, as the 'Proverb of Hell' states: 'Sooner murder an infant in its cradle than nurse unacted desires' (10:10-11). Regarding this line, Keynes states that "while we should doubt Blake's capability of infanticide…this proverb would seem to classify 'unacted desires' as the greater crime. Blake indeed preached against all oppression, spiritual and physical, and voiced paradoxical exhortations to complete self-expression...."[39]

Following her description of the publisher Joseph Johnson's printing house, a gathering place for Blake and other freethinkers and fellow dissenting print-workers, Marilyn Butler discusses the import of the printers in the 'Memorable Fancy' of plates 15-17:

> In a mode of fellowship Blake in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* casts himself and his fellow-workers as the ink-blackened figures humorously known as printer's devils. By taking the term literally, he transforms Johnson's shop in St Paul's Churchyard into Hell, but the so-called devils trade places with strict Christians or self-appointed Angels. The devils' thinking turns conventional hierarchies, such as Heaven above Hell, upside down. Blake urges his readers to think 'by contraries' – antithetically – to value hell as a productive, energising chaos, and to try out the delights of disobedience. [40]

Here again Blake's preference for the liberty of Hell over the restrictions of Heaven is repeated as dissenting and freethinking vision contradicts conventional religious morality in an attempt to initiate clarity of perception.

In 'A Memorable Fancy' of plates 17-20, an Angel attempts to terrify Blake by showing the author a horrific and threatening vision of his lot in conventional Eternity for not obeying the dictates of God and Church by following his own energies. As soon as the Angel departs, the fearful scene dissolves and Blake finds himself enjoying harp music in a pastoral setting. In return, Blake takes the Angel through a Church and into a pit under a Bible where he shows him the gruesome monkey house of corrupted Christianity of which the Angel is a partisan. Blake answers the Angel's threat of damnation by denying the Angel's metaphysics and declaring that the Angel worships Leviathan in a religion which springs from cold reason.

In the final 'Memorable Fancy', on plates 22-24, Blake sees a Devil – Keynes claims that this 'Devil in a flame of fire' is Blake himself[41] – propounding his anti-conventional Christian philosophy to a dogmatic Angel. This Devil dispels the Angel and its voice of reason, finally converting it to a Devil, after explaining how Jesus ignored the rational law of the Decalogue and 'acted from impulse, not from rules'.[42] The image of Satan in *SRL*, particularly the 1808 version in which he is standing in flames, could be the very image of this Devil rising in flames, and by extension Blake himself. By arguing for the honouring of God's gifts in men, Blake's supports a belief in the brotherhood of mankind above an abstract deity, vexing the Angel. Blake goes on to reject the Angel's claim that Christ sanctioned the Decalogue by reciting each of the laws which Christ rebelled against and broke. Thus, to act from impulse (Energy) is to be virtuous and Christ-like – this Satan did

when he rebelled against the thrall of the Father. Finally, the Angel embraces the Devil's philosophy in a flame of fire and is converted into a Devil himself. Wittreich offers an important observation regarding this conversion: "What the Angel at the end of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* relinquishes…is not the positive but the negative in Christian vision; he relinquishes not action but all that impedes action and thus enables the struggle of contraries to resume."[43] The audience, like the Angel at the end of the poem, is expected to "cast aside the negative aspects of Christianity."[44]

Keynes regards the 'Song of Liberty' on plates 25-27 as an "apocalyptic finale to the central theme of the book," which is, "the superiority of the creative views of a rebellious Devil to those of a conventional and conservative Angel."[45] Keynes describes this 'Song of Liberty' as an "ode celebrating Revolution and the liberation of the subconscious mind in the triumphal reunion of the Devil and the Angel. Now every living thing becomes holy through Man's equation with God through his Imagination. Tyranny has collapsed and the artist is free."[46] In Blake's view it is man's imagination, not his rationality, which overcomes tyranny and equates him with God. Bindman recognises that this "unequivocal desire for Revolution is the dominant note of the Illuminated Books which follow."[47]

Satan and Orc

Orc is first introduced, although unnamed, in *MHH* as the fiery child who overcomes the 'starry king' Urizen ('A Song of Liberty', plates 25-7); he personifies the spirit of the energy of life and the violence of revolution.[48] He is first named and fully developed in Blake's revolutionary Prophecies *America* (1793) and *Europe* (1794), whose main themes are mankind in revolt against the forces of oppression and the centuries of oppression during the Christian era, respectively. Satan and Orc share a close relationship, for Orc is essentially an aspect of Satan, specifically the spirit of energy become revolutionary violence. There are strong parallels between Orc and the descriptions of revolution in these two Prophecies and Satan and his rebel angels in *SRL*.

In *The Awakening of Albion: The Renovation of the Body in the Poetry of William Blake* (1974), Thomas R. Frosch describes the titanic force called Orc as a "feeling of great energy in upsurge, energy often appearing as bodily and sexual, which runs against the limits and threatens to overwhelm them in seeking fulfillment…who is simultaneously the power of social revolution."[49] Blake had in mind Satan's struggle with the restrictions of the Father when he endowed Orc with the Satanic aspects of energy and revolution which make up his character. The image of this struggle on *America* 7 (fig. 5a) depicts the 'retributive justice' of the tyrannical deity – hurling figures from his cloud into a flaming pit – while symbols of his violent justice assume the form of angels carrying scales and a sword.[50] This illustration is another example of Blake's use of the image of the Father casting the rebel angels out of Heaven, here associating Orc with Satan. With the exception of his left leg being pulled toward his body, the posture of the central falling figure of Orc-Satan in plate 7 is practically

identical to the central falling angel (believed to be Satan) in the 1808 version of *RRA*, and similar to same figure in the 1807 version, suggesting Blake considered the expulsion of the rebels a vengeful act. Finding the figures of Urizen and Orc to be 'mirror images' of each other on *America* plates 10 and 13, respectively, Erdman sees these as companion plates and recognises between them "a dramatic contrast between fire and water, rising and descending energies, youth and old age."[51] This contrast squarely places the rebel Orc as the Contrary to the rational and repressive Urizen, as the rebel Satan is the Contrary to rational and repressive Father-Jehovah.

Essick's description of the *America* 12 illustration of Orc could double as a description of Satan in the *SRL* illustration: "Orc, the passionate revolutionary, rises from the underworld in flames… His devilish powers are emphasized by his snaky locks."[52] The elements in Essick's description of Orc – a passionate revolutionary rising in flames in the underworld – verily describe Satan rising up from the lake of fire in Hell. Blake's description of the American rebels rousing themselves also could well be appended to *SRL* as a subtitle:

> Fiery the Angels rose, & as they rose deep thunder roll'd
> Around their shores; indignant burning with the fires of Orc
> And Bostons Angel cried aloud as they flew thro the' dark night (13:1-3)

This caption could equally describe Satan calling out to his legions as they rise up in the flames of Hell and the surrounding dark clouds of smoke. It appears that, for Blake, Orc rebelling against oppressive tyranny – and by extension, all rebels against tyranny – is a recapitulation of the revolt of the original rebel, Satan.

Orc is compared to an eagle, lion, whale, and serpent in *America* 3 (13-15) and again in plate 4 (12-14), before being described as 'A dragon form clashing his scales' (5:15). The serpent theme is continued in the text of *Europe* as well as the designs, in which the title-

page is dominated by the coiled serpent Orc, who again appears as a coiled serpent extending along the left margin of plate 9. Analysis of the specific iconography of these creatures reveals the brilliance of Blake's application of animal symbolism in endowing Orc with complex qualities and close associations with Blake's understanding of Satan. In addition to its medieval iconographical association with the conquest of evil, the eagle is symbolic of victory, 'the soaring spirit', rejuvenation, renewal, and therefore Ascension, Resurrection, and the Christian spirit.[53] The lion represents strength, fortitude, valour, courage, and resolve; "He is the earthly counterpart to the eagle."[54] Because of the lion's legendary ability to revive its dead newborn cubs after three days, it is also a symbol of the Resurrection and therefore Christ. It can also be a symbol for Satan, "[W]hen unbridled pride and fierceness are intended."[55] The lion traditionally appears as a symbol of both destroyer and saviour.[56] In Christian art the whale is a symbol of the Resurrection, yet is also "likened to the Devil, who draws unbelievers into the depths of Hell [as] Jonah described the interior of the whale as 'the belly of Hell' (Jon. 2:2)."[57] The dragon, 'violent and dramatic', is associated with Satan and Hellmouth,[58] and is also linked to the sea serpent-whale, serpent, and the snake. It is also associated with vigilance and, as an emblem of warriors, terror.[59] In his *Dictionary of Symbols: An Illustrated Guide to Traditional Images, Icons, and Emblems* (1998), Jack Tresidder claims that the snake is the "most significant and complex of all animal symbols."[60] The serpent is Milton's symbol for the Tempter, and in this regard is associated with evil. Blake often used the serpent as a symbol for the priesthood of organized religion, or associated it with Urizenic materialistic, naturalistic, and rationalistic society. But, as the creatures Blake associates with Orc contradict such interpretations, Blake is here referring to the historical association of the viper with revolution and his own usage of it to represent

creative activity,[61] as the snake or serpent is also representative of wisdom and prophetic vision, in addition to Satan.[62]

It is clear that, in addition to the necessary revolutionary qualities of terror, strength, and fortitude in victory over evil, Blake incorporates into the metaphorical description of Orc creatures that are symbolic of both Christ and Satan simultaneously. The aspects of Ascension, Resurrection, revolutionary destroyer and saviour, and prophetic vision relate Orc to Christ and to Satan as Blake envisions him and consequently depicts him in *SRL*. As Orc is an aspect of Blake's vision of Satan, then Satan can be seen to embody the qualities with which Blake endows Orc.

Satan and Los

Blake continues his character associations with Satan and incorporates, in his terms, the angelic rebellion in Heaven into his succeeding Illuminated Books *The First Book of Urizen* (1794) and *The Book of Los* (1795). As "a sceptical reworking of the Pentateuch," these two Books of Blake's second trilogy are concerned, not with revolution, but with "the Bible, its use to control minds and its relations with other Middle Eastern religious traditions."[63] In *Urizen*, Blake describes Creation as the limitations imposed directly upon the creative and energetic by his character Urizen, whom Blake develops specifically to illustrate his conception of the oppressive and punitive God of Christianity.[64]

On plates 12-17, Los gives birth to Enitharmon by parthenogenetic cellular division, has intercourse with her, and she becomes pregnant, giving birth to Orc. This account recalls Satan and Sin in *PL* II:749-67, where Satan's head opens up and he gives birth to Sin, who springs forth in flames from his skull (749-58). Satan and Sin soon have intercourse and she becomes pregnant, finally giving birth to Death in Hell (761-68, 781-89). Blake is clearly demonstrating a relationship between Los and Satan in this parallel comparison. By doing so, Blake is endowing Satan with the characteristics of his principal mythological figure and great hero, with whom Blake himself identifies. Los is an Apollonian figure associated with the sun and poetry; the fiery personification of prophecy equated with the prophet Elijah; he is an artist, blacksmith, spiritual revolutionist and inspiration to Blake; as the Christ-like 'Son' figure of Blake's Trinity, he is creator and champion of man; he is the Poetic Genius, the expression of the Creative Imagination. For Blake, Satan shares these characteristics with

Los, and is therefore the antithesis of both Jehovah-Urizen and the demonic Satan propagated by the Church, which is in fact an aspect of Jehovah-Urizen and the Church.

In *The Book of Los*, Los is also shown to be analogous to the Satan of *PL*. Los is first described as 'The Eternal Prophet, bound in a chain, / Compell'd to watch Urizen's shadow, / Raged with curses & sparkles of fury' (3:31-33). Los is enraged by the binding of Urizen's rule and curses, just as Satan refuses to endure the servitude of the Father's laws and holds a council (*PL* V:772-802). Finally, just as Satan and his crew rebelled against Heaven in Book VI of *PL*, Los, 'Till impatience no longer could bear / The hard bondage: rent, rent, the vast solid / With a crash from immense to immense' (4:15-17), and hurls himself from heaven into the bottomless void through which he falls for ages (4:23-36). Los' twice rending before plunging into the vacuum echoes the two battles in Heaven before the angels throw themselves from Heaven on the third day of battle, into the bottomless pit to fall through Chaos for nine days (VI:864-73).

Los and Satan both rebel from oppression and hurl themselves out of the realm of their oppressor. Los realises reality is in the mind (4:49-53) and chooses to begin to fashion his new world in 'the fierce fires / That glow'd furious in the expanse' (5:8-9), beginning by building 'Furnaces' and an Anvil and Hammer of adamant (5:20-22). *SRL* illustrates the moment of dawning realization in Satan, as in Los, that 'The mind is its own place, and in itself / Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven' (I:254-5), and Satan accepts Hell as his new kingdom, building first mines and foundries to fashion ore; metalworking like Los, whose furnace Blake identified with the Lake of Fire and the subconscious. The parallels between Los and Satan illustrate the emphasis on the imagination and creative energy Blake associates with Satan in Heaven and following his fall, and demonstrate Blake's disregard

for Satan's degradation into error as propagated by the Church and *PL*, which Blake perceived as determined to convolute Satan's energies into the corruption and destruction of man as seen developing in the course of the text of *PL*.

Satan and *Milton* and *Jerusalem*

The Satan of the *PL* illustrations is commonly identified by scholars with the Satan of Blake's *Milton a Poem* (c.1804-11), when in fact Satan in *Milton* is more appropriately analogized with the Tempter and Adversary of Milton's *Paradise Regained* and Blake's *Job*. When one considers that, as Behrendt elucidates, Blake's purpose is "to illustrate the process and consequences of imaginative awakening…a journey in eternity that culminates in [Milton's] triumph over his error and his embrace of truth,"[65] it begins to seem more relevant to associate the Satan of the *SRL* with the character of Milton in Blake's illuminated prophecy of the same name. The parallel is striking between Milton's journey to imaginative liberation from the error of puritan rationality, and Satan's quest for imaginative and energetic freedom from the error of the restraints of the Urizenic Father.

Many scholars dismiss the probability of Satan being an image of poetic imagination in the *PL* illustration *SRL* by adhering to a model of Satan taken from the later works of *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, rather than the earlier illuminated works such as *MHH*. One reason for this motivation appears to be convenient grouping: Blake stopped developing illuminated texts for a decade between 1795 and 1804. He did not print an illuminated work again until *Milton* in 1810/11, fifteen years after his last completed work. This lacuna created two epochs in Blake's life in which to align his works. As *Milton* was being written *circa* 1804 it could almost be presupposed that the *PL* illustrations of 1807-8 are more closely related to *Milton* than works more than a decade earlier. As Raine informs us, Blake made "his first series of drawings for *Paradise Lost* soon after the completion of his own poem, *Milton*, in 1807."[66]

For example, Werner is of the opinion that "Blake's interpretive illustrations to the poetry of John Milton can best be understood in light of Blake's poem *Milton*. That work provides an explicit statement of Blake's encounter with Milton as an experience of persuasive influence as well as intense creative struggle."[67] This line of thinking follows Davies' understanding that, later in his life, Blake "came to associate Satan more generally with error and with selfhood in a sense quite compatible with Milton's portrayal of him."[68] Werner believes the role of Satan in the *PL* illustrations can be properly understood only through a scrutiny of the Satan in Blake's later poem *Milton*. By adhering to this restricted perspective, Werner consequently overlooks the entirety of Blake's works up to the point when Blake began *Milton*, which encompasses the bulk of Blake's prophetic Illuminated works and the entirety of his purely visual art.

Anthony Blunt, in his introduction to Martin Butlin's *William Blake: A Complete Catalogue of the Works in the Tate Gallery* (1971), states that "Blake's thought was complex and often obscure in its expression, and his symbolism, like all worthwhile symbolism, changed subtly as the problems and ideas which it had to express changed. Nevertheless there are certain central doctrines which Blake seems to have held steadily throughout his life, and the variations of emphasis which he placed on them can be to some extent indicated in the process of examining his development."[69] Blunt draws attention to revision and permanence in Blake's imagery, by both of which Satan is affected. While it may be that Satan develops from a paradigm of rebellious energy into the symbol of Error and punishing law, this is a development into two separate entities which can be differentiated. This division indicates that the Satan of Energy continued to remain a permanent image in Blake's art. Blunt's sensible advice on examining Blake's development to apprehend

variations of emphasis is restated in Davies' cogent explanation for the necessity of looking beyond *Milton* and into Blake's poetic and artistic *oeuvre* to explore the number of possible meanings in his *PL* illustrations.[70]

In *Milton* Satan is labelled variously as Reason, Accuser, instigator, deceiver, manipulator, tyrant, murderer, oppressor, blandisher, 'mighty Fiend', and lawgiver; he is the Spectre of Albion, the Creator of laws and punishments (9:21-28), acknowledged to be Urizen (10:1), known as the divider of Nations (10:21), and worshipped as a false God (11:10-15). While the Reprobate class are "fiercely independent free-thinkers who – like the Devils in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* – act from impulse and not from rules,"[71] Satan is a member of the class of the Elect, self-satisfied hypocrites who perpetually torment the Reprobate and Redeemed classes and control material success. In *Blake's Poetry and Designs* (1979), Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant clearly differentiate between the Satan of *Milton* and the Devil of *MHH*: "[Satan] is not to be confused with 'the Devil' in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Satan is the essential evil of Negation, but 'the Devil' personifies Energy and should be classed with the Reprobate rather than the Elect," and suggesting rather a likeness with the Devil in *Paradise Regained* because he controls worldly success.[72]

Up to this point in *Milton*, Satan has been identified as the Biblical force of evil and with the ruling class who control the populace. When he appears to Blake as the Covering Cherub in Puritan garments (39:5-8) Milton openly acknowledges that Satan is his Spectre and states: 'Thy purpose & the purpose of thy Priests & of thy Churches / Is to impress on men the fear of death; to teach / Trembling and fear, terror, constriction; abject selfishness' (39:37-9). Blake recognises Satan in the Covering Cherub, who "turns out to be Milton's

perception of God as he appeared to Moses on Sinai (or Horeb): a fiery jealous God, a projection from Milton's puritanical desire for holy perfection."[73] Satan here is the oppressive established Church with its doctrine of punishment and its tyrannical ruling deity. However, in *SRL*, Satan and his legions have lately rallied against this deity and his oppressive doctrines, making it implausible for Satan to represent what he has clearly just rebelled against.

When Milton declares, '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' (12:30-2), he realizes Satan is the selfhood that he must annihilate. Johnson and Grant explain that "Milton is changing his conception of Satan; no longer is the principle of evil embodied in a rebel angel; instead, it lies in one's own self-deception and self-righteousness."[74] As Milton moves toward a confrontation with selfhood, the Satan of the Church, his journey parallels that of Satan's in *PL*: 'Onwards his Shadow kept its course among the Spectres, call'd / Satan, but swift as lightening passing them. Startled the Shades / Of Hell beheld him in a trail of light as of a comet / That travels into Chaos: so Milton went guarded within' (14:17-20). Blake's sighting of Milton, 'Then first I saw him in the Zenith as a falling star' (14:46), recalls Mulciber's fall in *Paradise Lost* (I:745). Johnson and Grant also associate Milton with the artisan god of metalworking, Mulciber-Hephaestus, when they suggest a connection between "the lameness of Vulcan the blacksmith god," Milton entering Blake through his left foot (14:48).[75] Implicit in associating the combined Milton-Satan with the artisan-god Mulciber while following a course corresponding to Satan's in Hell is the suggestion by Blake that Satan shares in Milton's creative imagination, as is depicted in *SRL*.

In *Jerusalem*, Blake condemns more vigorously the Church's doctrine of punishment and denial of mercy and forgiveness which he identifies as Satan. In his verse preface 'To the Jews' (plate 27), Blake associates Satan with moral and self-righteous laws, public executions and Druid human sacrifices, and the bloody dispersion around the globe of the law of punishment for sin. Blake's tirade against Deism in his prose preface 'To the Deists' (plate 52) equates worldly and vengeful religion to the worship of Satan.[76] For Blake, the Deist religion was the Synagogue of Satan - the worldly Church, Urizen's temple – and he believed, "the only God who can be derived from nature is a bloodthirsty, unforgiving tyrant."[77] In calling the 'Religion of the Pharisees' the same as Deism, Blake refuses to differentiate between the two, labelling the 'Patriarchal Religion' and Deism as the religion of Satan. In plate 27 Blake recognises Satan as both the Spectre of Albion and his own selfhood, as Milton does in *Milton*, this selfhood in plate 89 taking the form of the Covering Cherub, the image of selfhood as in *Milton*. In plate 98 Blake identifies Albion's Spectre as the 'Patriarchal Druid' who is responsible for the sacrifice of humans through laws of punishment and wars of religious intolerance (48-9), further identifying the Church as Satan, the Covering Cherub, and Albion's Spectre.

In *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, Blake condemned the Church as a bloodthirsty, unforgiving tyrant because of its doctrine of punishment, identifying it as Satan, the Covering Cherub, and Albion's Spectre, and in doing so associates the images and significance of the three with one another. The Covering Cherub is Blake's symbol of ultimate evil, based on the Prince of Tyre who claimed to be God in Ezekiel 28. This false claim of divinity is what affords Blake the association between the traditional Christian doctrine of the Church and the Covering Cherub. As Blake's prime image of error, the inverse of Jesus as emblematic of

Eternal Form[78], Blake identified the Covering Cherub with the cherubim guarding Eden, and therefore as an impediment for fallen man to reach Divine Humanity and recognise the Holy Spirit or human imagination,[79] a sentiment repeated in Johnson and Grant's comment that the Covering Cherub "always seeks to keep humanity from reclaiming Paradise."[80] According to Damon, in *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake* (1988), "For Blake…the Covering Cherub sums up the Twenty-seven Christian heavens, which shut man out from eternity…[and] represents the false dogmas of the Church Militant."[81]

The Satan of *Milton* and *Jerusalem* is clearly a different entity than the Satan of *SRL*. In *Milton* Satan is first identified with the evil Adversary of the Bible, then as the ruling class who govern society, then as the Church, and finally with selfhood. In *Jerusalem* the name Satan is applied to the Church as a condemnation for its doctrine of retributive justice for sin which Blake sees as Albion's selfhood and his own, and which must be destroyed. The rebellious Satan of *SRL* is an image of energetic imagination and cannot be likened to the evil Biblical pawn; he resembles the Reprobate class, the 'fiercely independent free-thinkers' like the Devils in *MHH*, not the Elect. Nor is he the vindictive jealous God used by the Church to control by fear; the Church itself is that Satan. Finally, the image of unbound freedom of Satan in *SRL* is not conducive to a vengeful God, a false Puritan creation of from Milton's selfhood.

Blake clearly had not dismissed the philosophy asserted in *MHH*, as the line, 'I know of no other Christianity and of no other Gospel than the liberty both of body & mind to exercise the Divine Arts of Imagination' (*J* 77), echoes his conviction that 'The worship of God is, Honouring his gifts in other men each according to his Genius' (*MHH* 22). Is it

simply because *Milton* is more contemporaneous to the *PL* illustrations that it is more relevant and yields a more cogent character elucidation of Satan than Blake's works up to the illustrations? Or is it that the Satan of *Milton* more readily fits the mould of Adversary better than the Devil of *MHH*, therefore providing the contrast necessary to cast the Son in the construct of spiritual hero and Redeemer and emphasize the mercy and forgiveness in Blake's Christianity? Determined analogies between the Satan of *SRL* and the Satan in *Milton* and *Jerusalem* have led to the assumption of a single, suspect identification of the *SRL* Satan and the neglect of plausible alternatives.

PART III – THE ILLUSTRATIONS: A GRAPHIC CONSIDERATION

‘To Generalize is to be an Idiot To Particularize is the Alone Distinction of Merit’
William Blake’s annotation to *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*

Blake, Milton, and Details

While in childhood Blake read *Paradise Lost*, became fascinated by Milton, and remained so throughout his life. Davies claims that "Aside from the Bible, no other cultural edifice played a more seminal part in Blake's creative development than Milton."[1] King states that of Blake's *Poetical Sketches* (1783), begun in his twelfth year and published in his twenty-sixth, his poetry at this early age already demonstrates "a remarkable knowledge of Milton."[2] In Pamela Dunbar's opinion, expressed in *William Blake's Illustrations to the Poetry of Milton* (1980), "Milton's influence is apparent almost everywhere in Blake's works… It informs almost all of his poetry and many of his drawings… It far exceeds that of any of his other artistic mentors."[3] Blake had such a close attachment to Milton that he was one of Blake's regular visionary visitors.[4]

Raine recognises that "Blake's relationship with Milton – lifelong and intimate – was at once one of admiration for the poet who was for him type and exemplar of 'the inspired man', and disagreement with the Puritan theologian."[5] Blake's admiration for Milton's Los-like poetic imagination held in tandem with his scorn for the restrictive element of Milton's Urizen-like puritan morality is widely acknowledged. On Blake's knowledge of Milton, Damon states: "He knew his Milton by heart – he apparently was the first man to understand what Milton was writing about – and in spite of his great admiration, disagreed with some of Milton's conclusions."[6] Harold Fisch, in his *The Biblical Presence in Shakespeare, Milton and Blake: A Comparative Study* (1999), states that "Blake is not only inspired by Milton; he incorporates and rewrites Milton's poems so as to render them into an instrument of the true spiritual revolution."[7] Blake saw that the inspired vision of Milton's poetry was obscured by puritan moral severity and scholastic rationalizing.[8] This understanding has led Johnson and

Grant to recognise that in *Milton* Book I, even Milton himself is "unhappy in the heaven he had imagined in *Paradise Lost*."[9]

Blake's *PL* designs are generally praised by scholars for their critique of the poem. In *A Milton Encyclopedia* (1978), William B. Hunter, Jr. praises Blake's designs within the context of *PL* illustration as the pinnacle of non-verbal criticism.[10] Behrendt believes that "Blake's designs represent the most concentrated effort by any of Milton's illustrators to explain the poetry," that the designs "set out not merely to interpret the poem but likewise to correct misunderstandings that resulted both from what Blake regarded as doctrinal and aesthetic errors on Milton's part and from the mistaken criticism of previous commentators, verbal and visual."[11] Werner asserts that Blake's "[Milton] designs go beyond the literal rendition or translation of words into pictures. They represent Blake's rethinking of Milton's themes, in which the insights that he sees are isolated, while the ideas he regards as confinements or distortions are rejected. [He] then accentuates the areas where he perceives their visionary truth to reside."[12] Werner believes that "Blake's *Paradise Lost* illustrations include his finest and most finished works of Milton illustration."[13] Werner also recognizes the importance of *PL* through its influence on Blake's artistic *oeuvre*: Blake completed two full sets of twelve watercolour designs (1807 and 1808), and a partial set of three watercolour designs (1822), for *PL*, illustrating it more than any other Milton poem; he treated various *PL* subjects with several sketches, tempera and watercolour paintings, and prints; and several of his illustrations of biblical subjects are related to his *PL* works, as are many of his Illuminated Book illustrations.[14] In *The Divine Vision: Studies in the Poetry and Art of William Blake* (1968), Northrop Frye observes that "intense concentration on the illustrating of Milton's poems, [is] an activity which extended over a great part of Blake's

life."[15] This illustrates the importance and necessity of a broad review of the body of Blake's visual art to accurately determine the significance of Satan in the *SRL* illustrations, and thereby in Blake's visual and poetic art as a whole.

In *Blake's Job: William Blake's 'Illustrations of the Book of Job'* (1966), Damon cautions that "Though Blake was…a systematizer, he seldom if ever presented his system completely and mechanically: he had an annoying way of omitting a factor, or introducing variations, so that his reader must start thinking again."[16] Blake is clear that significant understanding can be found in the details: 'I hope that none of my Designs will be destitute of Infinite Particulars which will present themselves to the Contemplator.'[17] Again in his description *A Vision of the Last Judgment* (1810) he advises:

> the Spectator…attend to the Hands & Feet to the Lineaments of the Countenances; they are all descriptive of Character & not a line is drawn without intention & that most discriminate & particular. As Poetry admits not a Letter that is insignificant so Painting admits not a Grain of Sand or a Blade of Grass Insignificant, much less an Insignificant Blur or Mark. (*VLJ* 83)

Heppner points out that Blake's direction here should be understood as being literal, because, although Blake's best figures can communicate with their entire bodies, "the hands and feet and lines of the countenance" are most consistently his carriers of meaning.[18]

Behrendt explains, "Blake's choice of detail is never without method; he scrupulously includes textual details to suggest the precise contexts within which he wishes us to view the designs, contexts which contain the keys to our comprehension of the abstract critical statements made visually about the vision encoded within the language of the texts."[19] Heppner also suggests "that any commentary must account for all of the significant details in a design, and also for the relationship between those details and the context from which they originate or to which they refer."[20] In addition to a thorough examination of the

all aspects of the *SRL* design itself, Heppner is here insisting upon an analysis of the relationship of those aspects of the design in context with both *PL* and Blake's own art and poetry. Essick recognises the importance of a consideration which takes into account examples from Blake's *oeuvre*, in his statement that "it is possible to coordinate motifs in the Milton or Bible illustrations with equivalents, pictorial or literary, in the illuminated books and to interpret Blake's designs as critical commentaries on the texts illustrated."[21]

Wittreich explains that in the eighteenth century, illustration "was expected to be more than decorative; it was a mode of explanation and enlightenment."[22] As such, "Neither mere ornament nor simply pictorial quotations of poetic lines, Blake's designs impress a whole complex of images upon the mind so as to reveal the higher conceptions and deeper meanings of the texts they illuminate."[23] Heppner draws attention to the duality of meaning in Blake's designs, in that Blake stated that his designs "contain explicit meaning," while allowing that "meaning is the product of an interaction between artist and reader/viewer, and thus subject to continual revision and recreation."[24] Lister also acknowledges that the multiplicity of meaning in Blake's works, which leads to variant readings and interpretations, is one of his great strengths.[25] Davies recognises that the belief system which Blake brings to his interpretation of Milton's poem can imply a Blakean interpretation, as "When the interplay between figures, gestures, and motifs in the *Paradise Lost* designs is attended to as part of an intricately orchestrated narrative sequence, it becomes possible to see that they present not Milton's but Blake's own devil's party version of the fall."[26] Yet critics continue to insist upon adopting a Biblical-diabolical perspective in interpreting Satan's role in the *PL* illustrations, disregarding the likelihood of a reading beyond that of

sinful-demonic fallen angels to one which appreciates Blakean concepts privileging rebellious energy and creative liberty.

Provenance of the *Paradise Lost* Illustrations

There are no records extant of Blake being offered or seeking a commission to illustrate any of Milton's poems commercially, yet Blake produced two complete sets of illuminative (as opposed to decorative) watercolour designs for Milton's most popular work, *Paradise Lost*. Because Blake did not ascribe to his *PL* designs numbers or quotations from the poem, they are arranged in an order approximate to the text, often appear in differing orders and with varied titles in different studies and volumes. In 1807 Blake executed his first set of watercolour illustrations to *PL*, now in the Huntington Library, believed to have been privately commissioned by Rev. Joseph Thomas of Epsom.[27] Blake's second set, produced a year later for Thomas Butts, now largely resides in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, with the exception of three dispersed illustrations.[28] Both sets consist of twelve illustrations. Because eleven of the Butts (1808) watercolours are reworkings of the Thomas (1807) set, there is a similarity in subject and composition between the two sets. Aside from the synoptic illustration *Satan spying on Adam and Eve and Raphael's Descent into Paradise* of the Thomas set being replaced by *Adam and Eve Asleep* in the Butts set, the main difference between the two sets is their size: the Thomas set is much smaller than the later Butts set.[29] Consequently, the Thomas set is commonly referred to as the 'small set', while the Butts set is called the 'large set'. Stylistic differences are also apparent: while the free-flowing manner in which the smaller Thomas set was painted created delicate figures, the larger Butts set is more ornate, has more distinct ink outlines, and its figures have a more

solid, commanding appearance akin to those of Michelangelo. In each set, Blake basically followed the traditional 'one plate, one Book' format of book illustration.[30] About half of the plates are devoted to illustrating a single dramatic event central to the poem, while the remainder incorporate two events from a single Book.

Blake began a third set of illustrations in 1822 for his friend, the painter John Linnell, although only three illustrations were completed: *Satan Watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve*, *The Creation of Eve* (both in The National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne), and *Michael Foretelling the Crucifixion* (in The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). The design, style, and size of the illustrations in the Linnell set are remarkably similar to their correspondents in the Butts set.

The first two Books of *PL* are the most popular among book illustrators, with 'Satan summoning his Legions' being the most frequently illustrated subject from Book I.[31] Blake executed four versions of this illustration, two in tempera and two in watercolour, in addition to several pencil sketches of the scene. The watercolours entitled *Satan Rousing His Legions* are entirely episodic (unlike the synoptic designs for several of the successive illustrations) and illustrate lines 299-334 of *Paradise Lost* Book I. Milton describes the scene (I, 60-350) beginning with Satan and his high commander, the 'Cherub' Beëlzebub, lying nearest to him; their glorious lustre is gone and they are chained to the lake of fire in pain and despair. Satan discusses the situation with Beëlzebub and, refusing to be weak and miserable, sees a dreary plain to which they can escape from the liquid flames. According to God's will, though he mistaken believes he does so by his own strength, Satan rises from the wave of fire, expands his wings, and flies to the burning soil of the dry land, followed by Beëlzebub. Satan decides to rally his angels for an attack on heaven and walks to the shore of the

burning sea, his shield on his back and his spear held as a staff supporting him. He sees his army of Cherubim and Seraphim, hideously transformed, covering the burning lake and calls them out of their astonished state. The innumerable host immediately spread their wings and spring up, filling the thick air. Satan signals the 'bad Angels' with his spear to alight on the brimstone plain where he and Beëlzebub await; obeying, the plain is soon filled with their number.

The Temperas

The Victoria and Albert Museum *Satan Calling up his Legions, An Experiment Picture*, *circa* 1795-1800 (fig. 6), Blake's first tempera, was originally entitled 'Satan calling up his Legions, From Milton's *Paradise Lost*; a composition for a more perfect Picture, afterward executed for a Lady of high rank. An experiment Picture.' Blake's second and final tempera, the Petworth House *Satan Calling up his Legions*, *circa* 1800-5 (figs. 7 and 8[32]), was, according to his *Descriptive Catalogue*, painted for a 'Lady of high rank', presumably the Countess of Egremont, following his earlier 'experiment'.

Blake's dissatisfaction with the outcome of his attempt to render 'darkness visible' led to several reworkings of these paintings, the result of which did little to help alleviate the near complete obscuring of the scene with darkness. Werner explains Blake's dissatisfaction with the outcome of these two temperas as follows: "The attempt to render the sublimity of Milton's infernal landscape proved to be, in a practical sense, uncongenial to his talents at the same time that it violated his theoretical insistence on linear clarity."[33] Whereas the later watercolour versions are lightly tinted with greys and pinks, the temperas are different in design and disposition from the watercolours, focussing more on figures and atmospheric

conditions; the temperas are dark compositions in deep reds and browns, with much space devoted to the infernal landscape.

Blake's tempera versions of *Satan Addressing his Legions* emphasize the sublimity of Milton's infernal landscape.[34] While Blake's visual iteration of Milton's description of Hell is quite literal, Milton makes no mention of the column of fire with which Blake illuminates Satan. The lustre of Satan's former glory 'had yet not lost / All her original brightness' (I:591-2), although 'Darkened so, yet shone / Above them all the archangel' (I:599-600). Although Satan's former glory is nearly consumed save for 'eyes / That sparkling blazed' (I:193-4), and he is situated in an environment that is so absent of light, aside from the glimmering of livid flames (I:182), that he cannot promptly distinguish Beelzebub writhing immediately beside him (I:78) – 'No light, but rather darkness visible' (I:63) – Blake wilfully disregards Milton's description and emphasizes Satan's presence by imbuing him with added luminosity from a supplementary light source. The technique of using an ancillary light source to emphasize the significance of Satan is again employed in the watercolour illustrations.

In addition to that fact that both temperas offer a far more complex landscape than the later watercolours, the more distinct Petworth House version depicts approximately double the number of figures of the Thomas/Huntington watercolour (1807), which itself numbers seventeen rebel angels compared to the eight in the Butts/Victoria and Albert watercolour version (1808). Only in the temperas does Satan stand above the reclining angel and do two angels dwell in the cave. Werner describes the fallen angels as "ghastly and debased forms of various crouching, sprawling, and crawling figures, who stare, writhe, or howl in tortures of repentance."[35]

The Drawings

Blake created several drawings depicting Satan rising from the burning lake and arousing his crew. The Notebook drawing 'Satan...With head uplift above the wave' (fig. 9) depicts *PL* I:192-5: 'Satan … / With head uplift above the wave … his other parts besides / Prone on the flood'. Rapidly sketched is Satan's prone body, his arms pushing his upper-body off the surface of the lake, his curly hair wild. On the right Blake included Satan's 'ponderous shield … like the moon' (284-6), which is not mentioned by Milton until Satan has alighted on dry land and begins his approach to the shoreline to rouse his comrades. Another Notebook drawing, 'Satan rearing himself upright with shield and spear' (fig. 10), depicts an upright standing, curly-haired Satan with arms spread and raised**,** brandishing his spear and shield. He is shown as a heroic nude, devoid of genitals, wings, or scales. Paraphrasing lines 221-2, David V. Erdman and Donald K. Moore, in *The Notebook of William Blake: A Photographic and Typographic Facsimile* (1977), describe this scene as "His mighty stature he rears from off the pool".[36] More likely the drawing represents Satan rousing his legions, as when Satan rouses himself from the lake he does so with 'expanded wings' (225) which are not illustrated in this sketch. In addition, Satan is not described with his shield and spear until he approaches the shoreline to rouse his comrades from the burning lake, his shield hung across his back and his spear used as a support (I:283-96), which he shortly uses to direct the risen angels to shore (I, 347-8).

Although Blake often represented Satan as a heroic male nude, as in figures 9 and 10, and the quick sketch 'Satan with a Sword' (fig. 11), he occasionally endowed him with attributes of the demonic. Martin Butlin, in *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*

(1981), describes the University of Texas sketch of 'Satan Calling up his Legions', *circa* 1805-10 (fig. 12), as depicting "Satan, with ribbed wings from his shoulders down to his ankles, stand[ing] full-face, his arms raised apparently clutching a bow and scourge; there are flames behind. An imploring figure, hands clasped, kneels in each corner with head turned to look up at Satan,"[37] but with body facing away. This drawing, roughly contemporaneous with the watercolour illustrations, shows Satan with demonic visage and nude body, including understated yet visible genitals, brandishing threateningly his weapons. These demonic and threatening aspects are completely eradicated in Blake's watercolour versions. The praying figures directed away from Satan are also replaced with figures almost uniformly gazing toward Satan.

The pencil and sepia sketch *Adam and Eve Expelled from Eden* (c.1820-5; fig. 13) shows Satan on the left of the page rousing his legions. Satan is depicted nude with dragon-wings (as in the University of Texas version), pointed ears, demonic visage, and horn-like protuberances on the front of his head, but without weapons or scales and only the suggestion of genitals. Rather than directing the angels by waving his 'uplifted spear', Satan is simply pointing toward the dry land.

The Watercolours – Thomas-Huntington (1807)

In his first watercolour version of *SRL* (1807; fig. 1), Blake reduces the surrounding landscape of the temperas to emphasize the importance of Satan in the work and focus on the characters of the design. Seventeen figures (including one obscured head at the left border) are visible in this composition. All are naked, wingless (although Milton describes them with wings [I:225, 332, 345]), and beardless, aside from the figure lying on his back beneath

Satan, who is blank-eyed and bearded. Only the three figures at the bottom-left of Satan's dais remain manacled; the figure directly below Satan assumes a position reminiscent of that of Orc in the frontispiece to *America*. A figure reclines behind Satan with his head cradled in his hand, the only figure – aside from the seemingly lifeless bearded figure – who does not fix his gaze on Satan but turns away. The remainder of the fallen angels are in various stages of shaking off their confusion and rising out of the flames at Satan's command; two have already taken up their spears. The classical form of Satan stands in the center of the scene, conspicuously illuminated by a shaft of light separating the dark storm clouds, his shield and spear propped against a boulder behind him (unlike Milton's description of Satan hanging his massive round shield on his back and grasping his great spear as a staff [I:284-96]), and his arms raised in summons.

The Watercolours – Butts-Victoria and Albert (1808)

The Butts-Victoria and Albert (1808) version of *SRL* (fig.2) is similar in composition to the Thomas-Huntington (1807) version (fig. 1), although the sides are cropped to create a more compact illustration directing even greater attention toward the central figure of Satan who dominates the scene. The reduction of the scene has reduced the number of figures present to eight; absent are all of the rising angels, all of the figures on the right of the composition are replaced by a bearded head and a crowned head, and the figures in the foreground are reduced to the encaved figure, the supine bearded figure, the chained foetal figure, and an additional central head in flames. Of the foreground figures now in this version, only the encaved angel appears as if he may be preparing to leap up and out of his cave, while the prone, cruciform bearded figure now occupies a more central position at the

bottom of the illustration. The chained foetal figure with his legs drawn to his chest is moved from the center to the right corner; his head is now inclined over his right shoulder, rather than directed above him to Satan on whom his eyes rest in the 1807 version. The increasing prominence of Satan as the central character throughout the various iterations of *SRL* indicates Blake's desire to emphasize the significance of the figure of Satan.

The Rebel Angels

Jacob Tonson's edition of 1688, which marked the beginning of *PL* illustration, included designs by Henry Aldritch, Bernard Lens, and John Baptist Medina. As Behrendt describes, "with no visual precedent upon which to draw in depicting Satan, [Medina and Aldritch] evolved a figure combining the traditional figure of biblical illustration and an Italianate satyr… Here, once again, Medina and Aldrich established a precedent widely followed by their predecessors. They were likewise followed in their choice of antique Roman military garb and equipment for Satan."[38] Many of Blake's contemporaries, including Edward Burney, William Hamilton, Henry Fuseli, John Martin, John Flaxman, George Romney, James Barry, Thomas Stothard, Richard Westall, Sir Thomas Lawrence, and William Hogarth, also produced scenes from *PL*. They all generally adhered to the convention depicting the fallen angels with arms, military raiment and armour, and demonic-satyric attributes. Thomas Stothard's 1792-3 *Satan Summoning His Legions* (fig. 14) design shows a youthful winged Satan clothed in Roman breastplate and scale-armour leggings while grasping a long spear. According to Behrendt, this is indicative of the dependence upon the designs of fellow artists, rather than the text of the poem, which contributed to the perpetuation of the visual misreading of *PL* by illustrators who ignored Milton's character descriptions by simply relying on established designs.[39]

Blake disregards the iconographical tradition of *PL* illustration and depicts Satan and his rebels devoid of demonic attributes and without the arms, antique military garb, or headgear popular in the renderings of his contemporaries. He also ignores the traditional portrayal of angels in Christian art by presenting them as wingless. As Wittreich states,

"when Blake deviates from traditional representations, he does so in order to move closer to the meaning of a poetic text."[40]

Specifically, Blake's *SRL* does not depict the fallen angels as demons because he does not view them as such, nor does Milton describe them in this manner. Beelzebub is textually depicted on the burning lake 'weltering' at Satan's side (I:8-81). He is almost unrecognizable as the 'transcendent brightness' of his 'outward lustre' has been ruined (I:84-97), while the glory of the other rebel angels is described as withered, singed by heaven's fire (612-14). Blake omits the stereotypically demonic aspects shown in *Devils fighting* (fig. 15), plate 12 of the *Divine Comedy* illustrations (1824-27) and in *Satan in Council* (fig. 16), *Paradise Regained* illustration #5 (c.1816-20). He also refuses even to darken the lambent bodies of his rebel angels in *SRL*, even when it is precisely this diminished luminosity which accounts for the totality of their hideous change (I:313), not the appearance of disfiguring demonic visual aspects. According to Cesare Ripa, in *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's 'Iconologia'* (1971), the curly blonde hair of the rebel angels, especially prominent on Satan in the 1808 version, represents intelligence, in particular ingenuity of thought, thereby illustrating the power of creative imagination in the rebel angels.[41] Essick claims that Michelangelo was "the artist whom Blake admired above all others."[42] Therefore it was not unusual for Blake to model his figures after Michelangelo's, although it is Michelangelo's heavily-muscled, wingless, nude male angels which Blake's rebel angels resemble, rather than the darkened, clawed demons typical of the Italian master's *The Last Judgment* (fig. 17). This depiction is in keeping with Milton's text which describes the angels as 'godlike shapes and forms / Excelling human' (358-9) when they alight upon the shore following Satan's summons.

Rather than girded with armaments, all of the rebel angels in both *RRA* and *SRL* are depicted naked (as is Satan in every *PL* design in which he appears) and, aside from two rising angels grasping spears on the right border of the 1807 version of *SRL*, unarmed (Satan's spear – the symbol of spiritual warfare – and shield, although visible, have been discarded behind him). God, Christ, and all of the heavenly angels are consistently depicted in the *PL* illustrations clothed in gowns or tunics – even if Michael's short tunic appears diaphanous to the point of insubstantiality – with the exception of the nude Raphael in the 1807 version of *Raphael's Descent into Paradise*, although his genitals are covered by the topmost set of his six pairs of wings which also cross his hips and thighs. In both series of designs, Blake more often depicts the Father's loyal servants armed than he does the rebels.[43]

In lines 284-296, Milton first describes Satan's weapons: a shield hung upon his back and a spear he uses as a walking stick to aid his ambulation across the burning surface as he makes his way to the beach to summon his legions. Satan then directs the risen angels to land with his upraised spear (347-8). Although Milton describes Satan with his shield slung across his back and his spear in hand when he calls up his comrades, then directing the risen angels with uplifted spear, when Blake illustrates the scene he shows both implements discarded against a rock behind Satan.[44] Also primarily absent are the spears and shields the rebel angels carry as they gather around Satan wearing their helmets (547-8). Blake's depiction of the rebels as unarmed presents them outside the traditional context of warriors and dissociates them from war and violence.

Although Milton describes the rebel angels as winged (I:332), Blake presents them in both *RRA* and *SRL* as wingless. Behrendt's explanation for the winglessness of the rebel

angels states that "Blake abandons this traditional iconographic reference to the rebels' angelic origins, showing them in hell as troubled, imprisoned figures without wings. Blake implies that Satan and the rebels are wingless in Hell, that in their own element their appearance differs from that in which they are customarily perceived in heaven and on earth."[45] Wittreich suggests that any attempt to explain an intentional alteration of a poem by an illustration should have its foundation in "an awareness of both the text and the tradition of illustration surrounding it," as not all deviations spring from misunderstanding or correction, rather they may be perceived as interpretation.[46] Behrendt associates winglessness with suffering the imprisonment of Hell. I would like to propose another possibility: the rebel angels are not in a state of torment. Rather, Blake deliberately depicts the rebel angels naked, unarmed, and wingless to separate them from the subservient and militaristic angels devoted to the vengeful Father. Blake's own mythological figures are generally not depicted armed, while Blake frequently depicts heavenly angels with arms and armour or military garb, usually with wings, and almost invariably clothed. By disarming the rebels, Blake is able to divorce them from the militant implication carried by the armed holy angels, while their 'naked human form divine' distinguished them from their restrictively clothed counterparts whose wings are the brand of their servitude.

Insofar as none of the rebel angels in *SRL* suffer contorted postures or wear expressions of anguish, they cannot be considered to be in agony. Nonetheless, scholars continue to insist that the rebel angels in *SRL* display the visible torment of the falling figures in *RRA*. Dunbar refers to the fallen angels only as 'devils'. She insists that the fallen angels of *SRL* lack "the heroism with which Milton endows his devils," being instead a group of subjugated and impotent turncoats. In a blanket statement, Dunbar claims that the

attitudes of most of the 'devils' in *SRL* are "clichés in Blake's rhetoric of the visionless state – knees or heads clasped, arms outstretched with body supine or floating in the air, kneeling or crouching positions."[47] Although recognizing both Satan's gesture of encouragement to his fellow rebels, and the position of Satan, the rising angels, and the chained angels at the bottom of the composition of *SRL* as "an attempt by Blake to suggest progressive movement within a single frame," Dunbar interprets the scene as 'devils' depicted in 'defeat and doom'.[48] Werner considers the members of Satan's crew to be self-absorbed in their own sorrows,[49] Behrendt regards them as "troubled, imprisoned figures,"[50] and Warner sees them as 'Despair forms'.[51] Bindman views Satan's legions as "a pathetic group of fiends, who represent not a huge force but forms of Satan's own despair, exposing the hollowness of his hopes of empire over the universe."[52] Rather than perceiving the machinations of conquest or the markers of suffering and defeat as inherent in the *SRL* illustrations, I propose that Satan and his comrades represent a dawning realization of personal freedom in the triumph of imagination.

The negative interpretations of the scene in *SRL* can be shown to be inaccurate when the characteristics of the figures are subjected to the close scrutiny called for by Blake.[53] Comparison with Blake's established gestures and expressions of fear, horror, and despair is fruitful in disproving the speculation that his rebel angels are expressive of these emotions, as is an examination of the physiognomical gestures expressed by his rebel angels. In *Urizen* 6, 'Los howling' (fig. 18), Los' arms are crossed in front of him around his neck, his hands clutching at his ears, while his jaw is agape and his mouth forms an 'O' as he 'howld in a dismal stupor'. While Dunbar states that "a kneeling and head-clasping figure with staring eyes and open mouth, who is represented in the lower right-hand of the tempera versions,

closely resembles the Los of the furnaces depicted in the [sixth] plate of *The Book of Urizen,*"[54] no such figure exists in the watercolour versions of *SRL*. There is a single figure on the bottom left of the 1808 version of *RRA* who has his arms crossed in front, but the howling pain is completely absent from his face, which instead carries a stern focus on the direction of his fall. Whereas some of the falling angels in both versions of *RRA* have open mouths, they are only partially open and lack the round gape of the howling 'O' of Los. Not a single figure in either version of *SRL* suffers the anguish of violently emotional melancholy implied in Los' head-clutching, howling gesture.

Blake's graphic work offers many examples of figures demonstrating horror and suffering, often expressed by a handful of repeating gestures. In *America* 6 (fig. 19), in the grouping of the terrified family at the bottom right corner, suffering from the retributive wrath of the Urizen visaged Prince of Albion, an agonising man kneels clutching his hair with both hands. This image of suffering the wrath of a vengeful deity – occurring again in the two falling figures of plate 7 – is apparent in several figures in both versions of *RRA*, yet completely absent from both versions of *SRL*. Elucidating *The Body of Abel found by Adam and Eve* (c.1826; fig. 20), Lister explains that "Cain, who has slain his brother and dug a grave in which to bury him, prepares to run away, tearing his hair, horrified at what he has done."[55] None of the angels in *SRL* tear at their hair in horror of what they have done, because they are not horrified, rather they are vindicated in their actions. Nor do any of the angels display Blake's characteristic gesture of fear – an upright stance, elbows against the sides, hands placed out from the body with the palms out and fingers together and one foot drawn back behind the other – such as the "fearful recognition of guilt, condemnation, and disaster," [56] expressed in the *Night Thoughts* illustration *NT* 18 and 53 (figs. 21 and 22), or

the hair-on-end gesture of horror in *Job* 9 (fig. 23). Blake's angels are not even 'grovelling and prostrate…astounded and amazed' (I:280-1), as Beelzebub describes them immediately prior to Satan's summons.[57]

The figures that Werner identifies in the tempera versions of *Satan Calling up his Legions* (see figs. 6-8) as the "ghastly and debased forms of various crouching, sprawling, and crawling figures, who stare, writhe, or howl in tortures of repentance," and are "expressive of the horror of a fallen existence,"[58] are not present in either of the watercolours. Although the watercolours contain no figures screaming in terror, nor do their ideal physiques depict the 'hideous change' in their appearance described by Milton (I:313), Dunbar believes that they are depicted as human to reinforce Blake's "proleptic representation of man in the fallen world."[59] The fact that some of the falling angels in *RRA* cover their eyes, ears, or mouths with their hands, indicates to Dunbar "the lack of sensory experience which pertains to the fallen state."[60] As none of the angels in *SRL* appear to have limited senses, it appears that Dunbar is imposing a judgment upon the angels of *SRL* based upon her premise for the falling angels of *RRA*, and it does not apply. Dunbar also overlooks Blake's glorification of the Human Form Divine.

Warner recognises that "[Blake's] descriptions of Fallen Form, and the creation of it, are horrific, for he describes the warping and disfigurement of an ideal form, the human body."[61] As I have stated, Blake chooses to present his rebel angels in ideal god-like forms, rejecting the traditions of demonic and deformed representations so far as to disregard even Milton's description of diminished luminescence. Blake's rebel angels are in fact direct contradictions to Fallen Forms, being more properly described as Eternal Forms. Warner states that energy is a significant quality of Blake's conception of Eternal Forms, which are

depicted in constant motion.[62] In the 1807 version of *SRL*, the better example here, all but three of the figures can be conceived of as in motion. From the summoning gesture of Satan and the angels preparing to spring upward, to the clearly relevant rising and leaping angels, most of the figures in *SRL* are depicted in motion. This motion would tend to suggest the figures here are examples of eternal forms, as would the strong, clear outline of the figures, which illustrates Warner's assurance that "an essential quality of Eternal Form is extreme clarity of outline,"[63] itself a paraphrasis of Blake's instruction that the 'distinct, sharp and wirey' bounding line is an integral part of the Eternal Form.[64]

The falling angels in *RRA* are depicted with grotesque mask-like faces and knotted foreheads, while in *SRL* they appear far more serene even though the illustration occurs chronologically later in the narrative. Rather than being depicted as more demonic after their fall, which would conform to Judeo-Christian mythology, the rebel angels become physically more beautiful. In fact, the rebel angels are all depicted as ideal male nudes devoid of demonic physical markers. None of the angels are burdened by the heavy clothing Blake associated with repression; each of the rebel angels displays an unclothed freedom not extended to the angels in heaven.[65] Although Dunbar recognises that they are "stripped of their traditional demonic attributes,"[66] she, like most scholars, persists in ascribing the label of 'devils' to the rebel angels.

According to Milton, the roused angels wear 'looks / Downcast and damp; yet such wherein appeared / Obscure some glimpse of joy to have found their Chief / Not in despair' (I:522-5). Downcast faces and gazes – a troubled expression in Blake's lexicon of gesture – are not to be seen in *SRL*. Bindman points out that in the *PL* design *The Son Offers to Redeem Man* (1807), Urizen's head is below his shoulders in a posture Blake associates with

despair[67], while in the frontispiece of *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793; fig. 24) Oothoon's head hangs down in shame of institutionalised enslavement. All of the fallen angels (excepting the supine and reclining pair) have their heads raised upward. Blake focuses more on 'the glimpse of joy' on the angels' faces than on their downcast appearance to reinforce the affection the angels have for their leader.

Warner relates Bo Lindberg's explanation that "attitudes or gestures embodying a special meaning in one work of art, tend to carry this same meaning in other works by the same artist or by another. That is: they have a conventional meaning. Artists use *pathos-formulae* as writers use words; and like the meaning of a word, the meaning of a pathos-formula can be modified or altered by context."[68] To this explanation Warner adds the qualification that when Blake chose his own visual vocabulary he used it consistently.[69] Blake would have begun his study of iconography, emblems, symbols, and gesture in his tenth year when entering Henry Pars' drawing school. Warner infers that "For Blake, the study of the language of gesture would have been both necessary and natural to his early training in Henry Pars's drawing school, and the most famous treatises of theory of gesture [notably those of Charles LeBrun, Gerard de Lairesse, and Johann Caspar Lavater] were surely familiar to him."[70] Dunbar recognises a resemblance between the facial features of the six Whitworth heads and several of the physiognomical diagrams in Lavater's *Physiognomy*: "Blake engraved several designs for the 1788 and '89 editions of this work, and his writings often showed an interest in the 'science' of physiognomy and its relation to character."[71]

The expressions on the faces of Satan's crew accurately reveal their emotional and mental states. As he was not in the habit of copying from life models, Blake was largely familiar with physiognomy through the work of Charles LeBrun (1619-90), the chief painter

to the French Monarchy and Chancellor of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. LeBrun's essay on codifying the depiction of emotions through facial expressions, *Expression des Passions* (1698), was widely influential to both artists and actors throughout eighteenth-century Europe. Janet Warner suspects that John Williams' English translation, entitled *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), was the edition familiar to Blake and she details several clear examples of Blake's debt to LeBrun's *Physiognomy* in her study *Blake and the Language of Art*.[72]

LeBrun believed that "the Face is the Part of the Body where the Passions more particularly discover themselves." He emphasised the 'Eye-brow' as "the only Part of the whole face, where the Passions best make themselves known; tho' many will have it to be the Eyes."[73] None of the angels reveal a desire to re-enter Heaven by looking back toward the origin of their fall, rather all of the angels in both watercolours (aside from the reclining and prostrate figures) turn their faces toward Satan and fix their gazes upon him. Aside from the chained foetal angel and the head of an angel (1808 version only), all of these angels clearly express the emotion of 'Tranquility' (fig. 25), 'Astonishment' (fig. 26), or 'Admiration' (fig. 27) – all classified under the general category of Admiration – as illustrated and described by LeBrun. LeBrun described the state of Admiration as a 'surprise', "the chief and most temperate of all the Passions," in which "the body becomes as a statue, without motion."[74] According to LeBrun there is little change to the face in Admiration, but if there is any:

> 'tis only in the elevation of the Eye-brow; but both Ends will be even, and the Eye rather more opened than ordinary; the Pupil in the center between the two Eye-lids, without motion, and fixed upon the object admired. The Mouth also will be somewhat open, but without alteration, any more than the other parts of the face.[75]

Tranquility, as illustrated by LeBrun, shows the face absolutely calm and expressionless, mouth closed, and eyes fixed, while Astonishment is Admiration slightly amplified: the eyebrows are raised slightly higher, and the eyes and mouth are opened slightly further.[76] All of these angels have eyes 'fixed upon the object admired', and most have faces with little expression and mouths that range from closed to slightly open, expressing Tranquility and Admiration. A few of the angels have slightly wider eyes and mouths expressing Astonishment. This is best exemplified by the angel's head protruding from the flames in the 1808 version, whose expression can be described as identical to that of Saul in *The Conversion of Saul* (fig. 28), the example of Blake's incorporation of LeBrun's Astonishment given by Warner.[77]

The chained foetal figure in the center of the 1807 version and at the bottom right corner in the 1808 version exhibits an expression slightly in advance of Admiration, best described as Esteem (fig. 29) or Veneration (fig. 30). As LeBrun explains:

> All the effect of this Passion [Admiration] is an entire suspension of motion, to give the Soul Time to deliberate upon what she was to do, and attentively consider the object that presents itself to her; which if uncommon and extraordinary, what was but, at first, a simple emotion of Admiration, then becomes Esteem.
>
> Esteem is represented by a fix'd attention and sedate motion of the Parts of the face that seem fully directed towards the object which causes such attention: For then the Eye-brows will appear to be advanced over the Eyes and bent down towards the Nose, the other part somewhat elevated; and the Pupil raised up.
>
> The veins and muscles of the Forehead and those about the Eyes will appear somewhat full, the Nostrils drawing downwards, and the Cheeks gently falling about the Jaws.
>
> The Mouth a little opening, the corners drawing back and hanging down.[78]

Both examples of the chained foetal angel face Satan, have raised eyebrows and pupils, full

forehead muscles about the eyes, and slightly opened mouths with lowered corners. While the foetal angel in the 1808 version better displays 'Cheeks gently falling about the Jaws', while the corresponding angel in the 1807 version has pupils raised higher under the brow and corners of the mouth falling slightly more, as is the case when Esteem is heightened to Veneration.[79] LeBrun explains the significance of the position of the eyes and mouth in Veneration:

> This declension of the Eye-brows and the Mouth expresses the submission and respect of the Soul towards the object, which she deems above her; the Pupil raised up denotes her elevation to the object which she contemplates and judges worthy her Veneration.[80]

To contrast these facial expressions of emotion with despair, one can look to both LeBrun's description and illustration of the physiognomy of 'Extream Despair' (fig. 31) and Blake's representation of it. LeBrun relates that this passion is expressed by:

> the Forehead wrinkled from the upper part quite down; the Eye-brows depressed over the Eyes, and very much bent towards the Nose; the Eyes all on fire and full of Blood; the pupil seeming unsettled, but hid under the Eye-brow, and, when at the bottom of the Eye, flashing and continually darting itself about; the Eye-lids swelled and livid; the Nostrils thick, open and rising upwards, the tip of the nose drawing downwards, and the muscles and tendons very much swelled; as likewise all the veins and nerves of the Forehead, Temples, and of all the four parts of the Face; the upper part of the Cheeks plump, visible and strongly pressed about the Jaw, the mouth open, drawing extreamly back, and more open at the corners than in the middle; the under Lip thick, hanging down, and, as well as all the other parts of the Face, of a livid colour; the Hair strait and standing on end.[81]

One of Blake's finest examples of the physiognomy of despair occurs in the frontispiece of *VDA* (see fig. 24). In the mouth of a cave on the rocky coast of Albion, Bromion is shackled to the rock by his ankles, while both his and Oothoon's arms are bound to each other's behind their backs, and Theotormon sits curled up above them. Bromion's gaping mouth, wide-eyed stare, flared nostrils, livid cheeks, thick lower lip, and wild hair indicate that he is

terrified by a presence just beyond the page.[82] Although Bindman states that the howling Bromion's hair stands on end because "his manacles are mind-forged,"[83] Bromion is clearly expressing an aspect of Extream Despair as detailed by LeBrun. In fact, the illustration LeBrun employs as an example has such a remarkable likeness to Bromion that one could expect it was the model for Bromion.[84] Bromion's look of terror and flaming hair are both absent from the figures of the fallen angels, indicating the absence of despair.

In his commentary on the colour print *Elohim Creating Adam* (1795; fig. 32), Heppner describes the stern face, wrinkled brow, and open mouth of the Elohim as illustrating "'Astonishment,' 'Fright,' 'Fear,' 'Dejection,' and 'Pain'," with the face of Adam recording "a very similar feeling, though with a more resigned sorrow."[85] Adam's facial expression is similar to that of the uppermost rebel angel at the right margin of Butts/Boston version of *RRA*, but has no parallel in *SRL*. Nor do any of the rebel angels in *SRL* appear to have the expression of pain and torment apparent in the visage of *Nebuchadnezzar* (1795; fig. 33), suggesting that pain, torment, and fear are not present among the rebel angels in *SRL*. The tranquility, admiration, astonishment, esteem, and veneration, expressed by the physiognomy of the fallen angels in the watercolours, are incompatible with defeat, doom, sorrow, despair, or pathos.

Rising Angels

According to Behrendt, "There are, for Blake's human figures, essentially two conditions – the unconfined freedom of unimpeded energy; and the constricted, fettered, weighted and cramped state of the prisoners of Urizen's universe of mechanized nature."[86] Aside from the foetal angel, the supine cruciform figure, and the reclining angel, all of the

angels are in the process of rising; they are either in a crouching position prepared to leap off the floor of Hell and into the air, in the process of leaping, or are already in mid-air. Werner acknowledges that the Huntington version "shows some progressive enspiriting of the demons…[with] those to either side of the commander bestirring themselves and beginning to rise," at the behest of Satan.[87] Although the rising angels in *SRL* 1807 can be seen rousing themselves, at Satan's instigation, from their state of oppressive confinement and into unrestricted states of freedom and energy, this observation is not universally held. Several scholars contend that the angels are still falling from their rout, are unwillingly being forced from the floor of hell, or are representations of suffering or cruelty. Examining the meaning and usage of Blake's leaping figures and the gestures in which they are depicted, casts considerable doubt upon these contentions while the confirming the alternative hypothesis that they are exemplars of energy and creativity.

Dunbar suggests that several of the rising angels are actually not ascending, but are still falling.[88] Warner goes further and regards the whole of the rising angels as falling.[89] A comparison of the rising angels in *SRL* with the falling figures in *RRA* (aside from the obvious – they are not inverted as are the falling angels in *RRA*) and Blake's *A Vision of the Last Judgment* (1808) leaves little doubt that none of the angels in *SRL* continue to fall from their rout in heaven. Rather, the leaping angels in *SRL* closely resemble the 'Resurrection of the Just' figures on the left of *VLJ* (fig. 34), as opposed to the falling angels in *RRA* who are nearly identical in some cases to the 'Resurrection and Fall of the Wicked' on the right of the watercolour. This associates the leaping angels with the Just rather than the Wicked, as claiming them to be falling would imply. Although the falling angels in *RRA* have been associated visually with the falling Wicked in Blake's versions of The Last Judgment,[90]

critics have been negligent in associating the rising angels in *SRL* with the rising figures of the Just in those same works, even though the poses are quite distinct.

Blake's debt to Michelangelo's *The Last Judgment* (see fig. 17) can also be seen in the figures of the rising angels of *SRL*, the vertical arrangement of the composition, and the organization around a central key figure: Christ, with a single raised arm in *The Last Judgment*, and Satan, with both arms raised in *SRL*. Blake borrowed the postures and figures for his mythic heroes from the Sistine Chapel more than any other source,[91] so it is not unusual that the only known work by Blake in the medium of oil is a *circa* 1776 sketch (fig. 35) of one of the 'The Saved' figures rising on the left of Michelangelo's *The Last Judgement*.[92] That the rising angels in *SRL* have leg positions strikingly similar to that of this figure, again suggests an association of the rebel angels with the just and the saved.

Dunbar does not believe that the rising angels of the tempera versions do so of their own volition at Satan's encouragement, but "are being driven upwards…by two enormous, steel-grey tongues of flame."[93] Werner claims that the same figures are "carried along on infernal updraughts," giving a visual context to Milton's 'Whirlwinds of tempestuous fire' (I:77).[94] Alternatively, the forms of the rising angels in *SRL* watercolour correspond to those in 'The Whirlwind of Lovers' in Blake's Dante illustration, 'The Circle of the Lustful: Francesca da Rimini' (fig. 36). These figures in the Whirlwind, most of whom are visibly smiling (some are even kissing and embracing), share the same leaping posture with raised arms of those in *SRL*. This design has been widely regarded as a 'correction' of Dante's promoting of the religious morality and legalistic punishment which Blake abhorred, and as such depicts a blissful scene in place of one of suffering. As none of the *SRL* rising angels display visible suffering, their calm faces gazing fixedly upon Satan, it seems unlikely that

they are being forcefully driven off the floor of Hell, a scenario also absent from the description of the scene in the text of *PL*.

Blake associates soaring figures with free imagination, and his rising angels in *SRL* recall the tiny figures rising up in the flames of Hell on the title-page of *MHH* (plate 2) which exemplify the imagination and energy of Hell.[95] These figures, representing the poet Blake, are seen on various plates of *MHH*, "joyously striding on flames and diving into them."[96] They represent a stark contrast to Keynes' description of the group of apathetic figures lounging at the bottom of *MHH* 2 as a 'state of sterility', illustrating "the 'barren climes' of a society devoid of creative energy and imagination."[97] Warner recognises the upward-leaping figure as an image frequently recurring in Blake's designs, which she observes to consistently signify psychic energy, creative desire, and the essential energies of nature, noting the likely source of Blake's inspiration to be Fuseli, who often used the same figure to represent non-corporeal energy.[98] She describes this figure type as springing upward from either leg, "with one leg bent and one arm reaching up or sideways."[99] Of the rising angels in *SRL* 1807, the one on the right margin most perfectly illustrates this posture. Warner acknowledges this particular rising angel as a representative of this leaping form, but implies that it is a destructive and cruel representation by associating it with the plague-scattering leaping figures of *Europe* 9 (fig. 37).[100] This is a specious and inappropriate comparison. The figure in *SRL* is not spreading disease – the only indicator by which the *Europe* 9 figures can be considered destructive – and cannot be considered to indicate a cruel and destructive nature.

Warner acknowledges that Blake's terms and figures of desire and energy are often synonymous, and claims, "Despair and desire are antithetical ideas in Blake's work….

Visual symbols of desire have the opposite dynamic [of despair images] – they are upward-soaring, open, flying. They are meant to suggest infinite capacity and sometimes godliness."[101] Warner differentiates between straight-legged soaring figures which are compelled to rise, and those bent-legged leaping figures whose autonomous energy propels them upward.[102] A fine example of the bent-legged rising figure is the small nude near the top right corner in Blake's *Various Personifications, verso* (fig. 38) from Blake's Notebook. This figure appears to be leaping into the air off its left foot, looking upward, with both of its arms raised and bent at the elbow. According to Warner's formula, the bent-legged rising angels of *SRL* 1807 leap upward of their own accord, refuting claims of compulsion, and in doing so display energy and infinite capacity which must negate interpreting the scene as an environ of despair.

Warner labels the leaping figure on the left of *Jerusalem* 100 (fig. 39) as an 'Energy figure'.[103] This figure's torso and bent legs are essentially identical to those of the rising angel at the left of *SRL* 1807; the only difference between the pair is that the 'Energy figure' carries the sun on his back, whereas the rising angel thrusts his arms upward. This should indicate that the rising angel is in fact an example of energy, syllogistically concluding that the remaining rising angels in *SRL* 1807 are also energy figures. Interestingly, this angel rising on the left exhibits a resemblance to the small figure labelled 'Joy' near the bottom left corner of Blake's *Various Personifications, recto* (fig. 40) from the Notebook. Although the figure in the Notebook is seated on a chair, its arms are raised above its head with the hands coming together in a point. The rising angel described carries its arms above its head and its hands come together in a similar fashion, further suggesting joy in the liberated state of the angels.

The energy of the leaping figure carries with it the inherent connotation of liberation. Cox recognises this when she observes that "The *Songs of Innocence*…illustrations are bursting with life, with figures leaping, running and flying as if released from their physical constraints."[104] Similarly, the rising angels of *SRL* are leaping up, released from their physical restraints of shackles and imaginative restraints of servitude; their newly won freedom resembling a state of innocence. Whereas three of the angels are still visibly chained to the floor of Hell (two of these are poised to leap up and sever their bonds), the rising angels have completely shed their restraints, unlike the leaping figure of *NT* 16. Essick acknowledges that, although leaping, the figure remains constrained, when he states that "Blake's design [*NT* 16] illustrates the line of text preceded by an asterisk: 'Oft bursts my song beyond the bounds of life.' The poet soars upward, lyre in hand, but the chain on his ankle indicates his bondage to fallen nature, represented by the briars at the lower right."[105] In *America*, the unbound figure of Orc, broken chains still trailing from him, rising in the top left corner of plate 5 (fig. 41), is likely the product of a sketch from the page dubbed, 'Studies of Human Limbs', *circa* 1793 (fig. 42). Of this sketched image, Keynes states, "The [figure] of a floating man with broken chains trailing from his arms...typifies America released by revolution."[106] These two images are comparable to the rising rebel angels in *SRL* 1807, both in image and in meaning; the rebels have also been freed through their revolt.

The absence of chains on the rising angels suggests that their chains are 'mind-forg'd', and the angels who realize they are free have had their fetters dissolve. Dunbar proposes that disappearance of the restraints "may well reflect [Blake's] belief in 'mind-forg'd manacles' – abstract fetters which have been created by the mind and which must

therefore be broken through mental rather than through physical exertion."[107] With the exception of the foetal angel, the few angels who remain chained to the floor demonstrate by their preparation to leap that they too have just realized that what appeared initially to be defeat is actually their freedom won from their oppressor. The energy, creative desire, and infinite capacity exemplified by the leaping form allow the angels to visualize their success rather than resign to defeat: 'I must Create a System, or be enslav'd by another Man's. / I will not Reason & Compare: my business is to Create' (*J* 10:20-1).

The long tradition of the use of hand, finger, facial, and bodily gesture by orators, actors, and artists was imparted through instruction manuals, and Blake's two pages of labelled sketches dubbed *Various Personifications* demonstrate that he espoused the categorization of bodily gestures being formulated during the eighteenth century. Warner explains that the language of gesture was "a language of facial expressions, hand and body gestures, and of pantomimic attitudes."[108] Pantomime enjoyed enormous popularity in England during Blake's lifetime and, whether or not Blake had direct knowledge of pantomime, it had an impact on gesture in art widely understood by artists.[109] In *William Blake the Artist* (1971), Ruthven Todd states that, from their introduction in 1818 until near Blake's death in 1827, Linnell escorted Blake to many art exhibitions and dinners with potential patrons, asserting also that Linnell accompanied Blake to the theatre.[110] If we can be certain Blake attended the theatre after 1818, it is not unreasonable to speculate that he may have attended prior to this date.

In the early eighteenth century, dance master John Weaver published scripts of his productions which included detailed descriptions of emotions, descriptions which Warner perceptively recognises in many figures in Blake's 1800-5 Biblical designs.[111] Warner

admits that Blake's knowledge of Weaver's work is speculative but insists that, "It is not necessary for Blake to have read Weaver to be using these gestures; but it is apparent that the code of meanings for gestures in both dance and painting was part of the general lore understood by artists in these fields."[112] The hand gesture signifying Admiration can be seen in several of the rising angels in the 1807 version of *SRL*. According to Weaver, "Admiration is discover'd by the raising up of the right Hand, the Palm turn'd upwards, the Fingers clos'd; and in one Motion the Wrist turn'd round and Fingers spread; the Body reclining, and Eyes fix'd on the Object."[113] Although the movement of rotating the wrist is imperceptible, the right hand of some of the rising angels (the left hand of others) appears to be in mid-rotation with the fingers yet to be fully spread. While the bodies of the rising angels cannot be said to be reclining (as they are leaping), their gaze is most definitely fixed on 'the Object', that being Satan.

Warner speculates that Blake would have been familiar with the highly influential treatise on hand gesture, John Bulwer's *Chirologia: or the Natural Language of the Hand and Chironomia: or the Art of Manual Rhetoric* (1644 and 1648), as several of Blake's designs bear a marked resemblance to Bulwer's illustrations.[114] Warner suggests that Blake became increasingly more conscious of hand gesture throughout his career, forming a decisive meaning and careful representation of hand gestures by 1806.[115] Specifying this date should signify that the hand gestures in the *PL* illustrations hold specific and definite meaning, as Blake particularises in his description of *A Vision of the Last Judgment* written in 1810, informing the viewer of the significance of the hands and feet in describing character.

The rising angels appear to hold their hands in an open clutching fashion similar to Bulwer's rhetorical alphabet illustrations (fig. 43) of *Admiratur* ('F') and *Hortatur* ('G'). Bulwer describes the gesture of *Admiratur* as: "The palme (the Fingers all joyned together) turne'd up and by the return of the wrest in one motion, spread and turn'd about with the *Hand*, is an action convenient for *admiration*."[116] *Hortatur* is explained as: "The hollow *Hand* raised above the shoulder with some kinde of grave motion of the wrest, doth *cheere, exhort, embolden*, and *encourage*."[117] Therefore, the hand gestures exhibited by the rising angels confirm a positive interpretation of the scene in expressing admiration, support, and encouragement for their leader and cast doubt on claims that the rebel angels are suffering in a state of despair.

It is important to note that none of the angels hold their hands in the gesture of *Despero* – "posture of *feare, abasement of mind*, an *abject* and *vanquished courage*, and of *utter despaire*"[118] – indicated by the limply hanging hands with fingers pointing directly downward in the illustration marked by the letter 'H' in Bulwer's alphabet of natural expressions (fig. 44); yet another indication which defies the description of the scene as one of despair. Nor do any of the angels clutch their hands together in Bulwer's *Ploro* ('C'), described as "a naturall expression of *excessive grief*, used by those who *condole, bewail*, and *lament*."[119] Also germane to this scene is Bulwer's description of *Oro* ('B' in the alphabet of natural expressions), which states that "To raise the Hand conjoyned or spread out towards heaven is the habit of *Devotion*, and a naturall and universall form of *Prayer* practised by those who are in *adversity* and in *bitter anguish* of *minde*…."[120] Blake depicts Bulwer's gestures of *Ploro* (grief) and *Oro* (anguish) through Job's wife and Job himself, respectively, in *Job* 4 (fig. 45), demonstrating his familiarity with these gestures. This

observation is relevant because it helps dispute the claims that *SRL* depicts suffering and confusion. Since Blake chose not to depict any of the angels with their hands raised in the manner of one in adversity or mental anguish, this implies that these figures are not suffering.

Restrained Angels

Dunbar qualifies her interpretation of *SRL* as 'devils' depicted in 'defeat and doom', with the claim that the cramped postures of the 'devils' chained to the floor of Hell convey their restrained predicament.[121] Rather than cramped and restrained, the few remaining shackled angels[122] can be convincingly described as commencing the leap in which many of the angels (*SRL* 1807) are depicted, thereby demonstrating the realization that they are no longer bound by the fetters which are the restraints of Christian dogma.

In Blake's alternative title-page design, *The Resurrection of the Dead* (fig. 46), for Blair's *The Grave*, the leaping figures suggesting the 'energies of resurrection'[123] are in the process of breaking the chains which bind them to the surface below. The raised knee posture, according to Connelly, "the fashion of many of Blake's gravity defying figures,"[124] is echoed in the leg position of the crouching figures. Several of the figures in the title-page design assume a posture of readying to spring upward: crouched on one knee with the other leg positioned to propel themselves upward. This posture of the legs split into a lunging posture is frequently seen in Blake's designs and is indicative of upward movement, often with explosive force. In *Urizen* 9 (fig. 47) the figure – variously identified as Los or Urizen – with his legs in this posture pushes mightily upward against the rock overhead, while in *Jerusalem* 95 (fig. 48), "Albion looks up, rises from the rock in just wrath, and is about to

walk 'into the Heavens'"[125] This pair of examples illustrate the upward movement indicated by this posture, which is repeated in the *SRL* designs. Three of the rebel angels in *SRL* 1807 and in the caverned angel in the 1808 version demonstrate variations of this pose; they are beginning to "rouse and bestir themselves" (I:334) at Satan's command, the word 'themselves' emphasizing their own efforts to rise. The crouching angel at the bottom right of *SRL* 1807 has already slipped his bonds, lending credence to the proposition that the remaining chained angels in *SRL* are in the process of freeing themselves and leaping up in response to their leader's request.

The Reclining Angel

The figure seated on the rock[126] directly behind Satan (in front of Satan in the temperas), generally referred to as 'the reclining figure', has been compared to the figures of many different works of art in attempt to understand its significance. Baker states that this figure reclines, "with back turned, in the pose of a River God or the Theseus,"[127] Davies associates the posture with the classical Dying Gladiator,[128] while Dunbar relates the posture to Milton's description in *PL* (I:446-52) of Thammuz-Adonis and the myth of the River Adonis being annually coloured by his blood.[129] While his posture is recognised as reminiscent of the monumental pose of the heavily muscled fourth century Roman *Hercules Farnese* statue (fig. 49), it is also similar to figures in several of Blake's own works, notably that of Lot in Blake's tempera *Lot and his Daughters* (c.1799-1800), although Lot faces the viewer. Blake has positioned the figure in seated *contrapposto,* a balanced but asymmetrical twisting attitude considered the epitome of harmony and balance and much admired and repeated by Italian renaissance artists, and characteristic of many of Michelangelo's figures.

This figure has also been compared to Albion lying on coastal rocks with his consort in *Milton* 38 (fig. 50), a scene which Essick interprets as Albion with his emanation Jerusalem lying 'upon the Rock of Ages' near 'the Sea of Time and Space' in "a desperate state [that] represents Blake's bleakest vision of our own, one that leaves humanity stranded in an obdurate and menacing world."[130] Aside from the rock upon which both figures are depicted, there are few similarities between them. While Albion lies in an entirely supine, semi-cruciform posture, with all vigour drained from his body (as his limply hanging right arm suggests), the *SRL* figure is semi-reclined into more of a seated position and is in an alert, if meditative, posture.

I believe that the reclining figure of *SRL* is more closely related, both visually and metaphorically, to Blake's Renovated Man of plate 21 of *MHH* (fig. 51) and plate 8 of *America* (fig. 52). Blake's Renovated Man is a figure symbolic of the possibility of an awakening and is based on the central reclining figure in Michelangelo's drawing *A Dream of Human Life* (fig. 53).[131] Heppner states that "Blake took more motifs from this one drawing than from the whole of the Sistine ceiling,"[132] and it is the central reclining figure in that drawing by Michelangelo which most precisely resembles that of the reclining figure in *SRL*. The composition of *Songs of Innocence* 10, 'The Divine Image' (fig. 54) emphasizes a spiritual awakening through Christ resurrecting two figures in the lower right hand corner. Christ, with upraised arm, stands above a reclining figure who supports his torso with his left arm, while another figure rises at Christ's command (another contextual association of the *SRL* with innocence); a composition bearing close similarities to the relationship between the figures in *SRL*. Rather than viewing this scene as a representation of desperation resulting from abandonment and unrelenting danger, I support an interpretation – in accordance with

an understanding of referents more germane to the composition the scene – of a spiritual awakening of the rebel angels concomitant with the realization of their liberty won.

One neglected possibility for the identity of the reclining figure is that he is Mulciber, described by Milton as the architect of Pandaemonium. Mulciber is the euphemistic ('he of the gentle touch') appellation of the fearsome Roman fire-god Vulcan, identified with the Greek artisan-god Hephaestus. Hephaestus, who created countless works of art and built the palaces of the Olympian gods, was born lame and remained forever so. In art, Hephaestus is generally depicted lame, an animated cripple bent over his anvil; his feet are occasionally shown back-to-front, and he sometimes walks with the aid of a stick. As such, it would be an implausible representation if Hephaestus was depicted standing, leaping, or crouching (as are the other rebel angels); more accurate would be to present him either sitting or reclining, as is the figure in the *SRL* designs.

As a god of fire and volcanoes, Hephaestus is often personified by fire. Considering this nature of Hephaestus and the landscape and environment of Hell, it seems logical that Hephaestus would occupy a position of central prominence and physical size second only to Satan himself, finding himself in a location that appeals to his character. His lounging posture evokes that of Capaneus in Blake's illustration to Dante, *Capaneus the Blasphemer* (fig. 55), defiant in his resistance to the torments of Hell. Also, as evidenced by Blake's divine smith Los, and Blake's own career in metal-working which he considered akin to sculpture, Blake was of the brotherhood of Hephaestus, the discoverer of the ways of working metals and patron of blacksmiths, craftsmen, artisans, sculptors, and metal-workers. Being so, Blake may have desired to place Hephaestus-Mulciber in a position of significance.

Werner notes that the 'languorous pose' of the reclining figure in the bottom right corner of the *Paradise Regained* illustration, *Satan in Council*, "suggests that he may be the sensualist Belial."[133] To reject this affiliation it must be noted that the reclining angel's posture varies from the 'Belial' figure's in its contrapposto twist and thoughtful composure which defies a languorous interpretation, separating it from possible associations with the 'devilish' connotations of the 'devils' of *PR*. Dunbar holds that reclining figure to be Beëlzebub lying beside Satan on the lake of fire in Hell, following the rebel angels' routing in *PL*. Dunbar suggests that the 'mournful resignation' of the disconsolate Beëlzebub reflects that part of his opening speech in which he proposes that God may have left them alive so that they may endure the suffering of his wrath and slavery in Hell (I:143-52).[134] Casting doubt on this figure's identity as Beëlzebub is the fact that he is seated upon the rocky shore where Satan is standing, rather than lying in the lake of fire where Beëlzebub first addressed Satan. Rather than expressing 'mournful resignation', the facial expression of the Hephaestus-Mulciber figure – although his shoulder obstructs much of his profile – is closer to that of the peacefully sleeping bearded figure in Blake's sketch *The Dead Bad Doers* or *Dead Ardours* (c.1794-6; fig. 56), who is in a similar position to the reclining figure of Hephaestus-Mulciber, although the bearded figure rests his head on his right hand and faces the viewer. Though difficult to confirm due to the obstruction of a clear view of the face, LeBrun's physiognomy supports a peaceful rather than mournful interpretation of the figure as its visage most closely resembles his illustration of 'Tranquility' (see fig. 25).

The possibility of Blake employing the figure of the saturnine character of Melancholy in Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Melancholia I* (1514; fig. 57) as a source for his reclining figure should not be overlooked. Although it may at first seem a contradictory

image to invoke in attempting to disprove that the reclining figure in *SRL* is in fact not melancholy, examination proves otherwise. Certainly Blake found the inspiration for his imagination in energy rather than melancholy, yet Blake found constant inspiration in his copy of the *Melancholia I* print (as well as Milton's *Il Penseroso*[135]), which occupied a permanent position beside his work table. Dürer's winged figure of Melancholy sits with her head propped up by her arm. Her melancholia-darkened face is pensive, representing Agrippa's subdivision of *Melancholia imaginativa*, the imaginative condition particular to those employed in the arts.[136] Objects and tools of artists and artisans litter the room in a disorganised clutter, dispelling any suggestion of rational (Urizenic) order. Blake's lifelong love of Dürer and the importance of this particular work as an object of creative inspiration to Blake – as testified by its position at Blake's work area – suggest that his reclining figure could represent qualities dear to Blake, such as the deep, thoughtful imagination perceptible on the face of both figures.

After *circa* 1790 Blake began to associate left and right with values, relating the left to the physical or sinister and associating the raised or forward left hand or foot with material or reasonable actions. Since Blake saw the head as the seat of the rational intellect and the hand as "the means of accomplishment…differentiated from the creative vision,"[137] the Hephaestus-Mulciber figure, who rests his head on his left hand, could be construed as planning the construction of Pandaemonium. This assumption is supported by Damon's statement that Blake saw architecture as the art of Urizen, and, according to Blake, "Classical architecture, especially the dome surmounted by the cross, symbolises the worldly religion based on reason."[138] Undoubtedly, the architecture of the Pandaemonium temple is decidedly classical with its pilasters, Doric columns, architrave, and frieze (I:713-16). But

this account of Blake's view on architecture overlooks the fact that architecture is art, one of the four eternal arts (*Milton* 27:55-6), and to Blake art is a manifestation of the Poetic Genius. According to his *Laocoön*, 'A Poet, a Painter, a Musician, an Architect: the Man Or Woman who is not one of these is not a Christian'. In particular, Gothic architecture for Blake symbolizes true Christianity: 'Gothic is living Form…Living Form is Eternal Existence' (*On Virgil*). Blake is also careful to omit any trace of Urizenic influenced rational architecture from his watercolour.

With his reposing posture and thoughtful mien, in addition to being the patron of Blake's art, it is possible that this reclining Hephaestus-Mulciber figure is in fact not an example of 'mournful resignation', suffering, or slavery, but an image of artistic imagination and creativity. Additional support for this hypothesis comes from the seated figure resting his head on the hand of his bent left arm in the sketches *Various Personifications*, whom Blake labels 'Study' (fig. 58). This figure engenders an inversion of interpretation to its essentially identical tempera counterpart that Werner identifies as "expressive of the horror of a fallen existence," and suggestive of "a character locked within his own experience of torment."[139]

The Supine Cruciform Figure

Positioned just off-center at the bottom of *SRL* 1807, and again in the central foreground of the 1808 version, lies a white-haired and bearded supine cruciform figure. In the watercolours, the bearded figure's head is tilted back so that his face is clearly visible. He is the only figure in the design whose eyes are closed or blank, and the only figure aside from the reclining figure who does not look directly toward Satan.

The supine cruciform figure prefigures the similarly positioned figure of Death at the base of the cross in the succeeding *Michael Foretells the Crucifixion* (figs. 59 and 60) design and shares a resemblance with the figure of Death in *Satan, Sin, and Death* (figs. 61 and 62) and in *The Judgment of Adam and Eve* (figs. 63 and 64). In accord with these visual associations, Werner identifies the supine cruciform figure as Death, representing here "the stony sleep of spiritual death."[140] In the tempera versions, the bearded figure is depicted in a huddled posture, his left hand placed on his head, sitting over another figure, whom Dunbar perceives as having been strangled by the bearded figure.[141] Dunbar also asserts that the bearded figure in *SRL* is Death, whose tangibility (as opposed to his transparency in *Satan, Sin, and Death*) "suggests that his nature has already become realized – in other words, that the scene is an allegorical representation of life in the fallen world."[142]

I disagree with the interpretation of the supine cruciform figure as Death. Werner and Dunbar base their assumptions on visual similarities between the supine cruciform figure and Death in the *PL* illustrations: in each appearance, excepting *Satan, Sin, and Death* 1808, Death is depicted as bearded, and *Michael Foretells the Crucifixion* he assumes the supine cruciform posture. Overlooked is the important fact that in *Satan, Sin, and Death*, *The Judgment of Adam and Eve*, and *Michael Foretells the Crucifixion*, all of the designs in which Death appears, he wears the spiked gothic crown consistently used by Blake as an emblem of tyranny. This fact is more significant in identifying the figure of Death than his transparency in *SSD*, lack of beard in *SSD* 1808, and gown worn in *JAE* and *MFC* (all attributes of which are absent from the prostrate cruciform figure), because he is invariably depicted wearing an identifying crown illustrated in accordance with Milton's description of him: 'what seemed his head / The likeness of a kingly crown had on' (II:672-3). The supine

bearded figure at the bottom of *SRL* does not wear Death's crown, suggesting that he does not signify Milton's character of Death. It therefore follows that, if this figure does not represent Death, then the rebel angels are not stricken with 'spiritual death' and the scene cannot be interpreted as an 'allegorical representation of life in the fallen world'.

If not Death, then who or what might this singular character in the *SRL* design represent? I propose that the supine cruciform figure, rather than representing Milton's Death, in fact represents Urizen, or more precisely the death and/or defeat of Urizen. This defeated figure recalls Blake's drawing *Christ Trampling Down Satan* (c.1800; fig. 65), depicting a bow wielding Christ stepping on the bearded supine figure of Satan, clearly intended as a representation of the Urizenic Father. Blake is implying that Urizen is Satan, that the restrictive law-making Church is in fact the evil which it ascribes to Satan. Being trampled under the foot of Christ is not the force of energy and imagination that Blake understood Satan to be, but the punitive Church of the Old Testament God Jehovah being defeated by the paradigm of forgiveness and self-sacrifice which Blake understood Christ to be.

The supine cruciform figure in *SRL* lies with his arms outstretched from his sides in a variation of the "pose of power and thwarted creativity,"[143] and with one knee raised toward his chest. This is the posture in which Urizen is so frequently depicted in Blake's designs, such as *America* 10 (fig. 66), although in *SRL* the figure is portentously reclined to a supine position. Dunbar notes that the cerement-wound corpse of Death in *MFC* (see figs. 59 and 60) is positioned in a markedly similar posture, in "an attitude in which Blake frequently depicts his tyrant-figures." In addition to the visual discrepancies already noted, the rationale for interpreting the figure of Death as defeated in two separate designs is inexplicable –

Death is depicted alive in the intermediate *JAE* design (see figs. 63 and 64) – suggesting that one of the figures may not be Death. As the crowned and bearded figure in the *PL* designs is universally and correctly regarded as the figure of Death, and Christ's sacrifice is an act 'Defeating Sin and Death' (*PL* XII:431) as depicted in *MFC*, it is unlikely that the figure in *SRL* is in fact Death.

In her discussion of cruciform figures, Warner recognises as a variation the "prone or supine figures, flat on the ground, viewed head-on," and offers the figure lying at the base of 'A Poison Tree' (fig. 67) in *Songs of Experience* as an example.[144] Warner's cursory examination of the supine cruciform figure common to Blake's designs leads her to the conclusion that this most often connotes mortality, as this figure is often wound about by a serpent or laid upon a bier.[145] Warner states that when a supine or prone figure with outstretched arms is flat on the ground and viewed head-on, "This appears to mean death by violence, spiritual or physical murder…. There appears to be no regenerative use made of this form: when the opposite state is to be indicated, the upright standing figure is to be used."[146] This interpretation seems to correspond to the scene depicted on *Jerusalem* 9 (fig. 68), where the corpse-like body of Albion is outstretched in a supine cruciform posture at the bottom of the plate, inducing Hamlyn and Phillips to observe that "Albion lies sleeping, like a fallen warrior. Misguided and perverse, he has chosen the wrong direction."[147] Warner's claim that the prostrate cruciform figure has "connotations of lost divinity,"[148] supports my proposition that Urizen no longer has influence over these rebels, verifying their triumph over the forces of the Urizenic deity. It may also be possible that, in this instance, the cruciform posture is meant to represent the evil parody of Christ which Urizen and the Church have become through the perversion of the Son's sacrifice and ideals.

The raised knee posture is exemplified by Urizen in the *Europe* frontispiece and *The Ancient of Days* designs (fig. 69). In each, Urizen's left leg is raised, as is his counterpart's in *SRL*. In *The Life of William Blake* (1971), Mona Wilson states that the 'Palgrave copy' of *Europe*, once owned by George Cumberland, has the poetical quotation '*Paradise Lost*, VII, lines 225-31' written under the frontispiece in Cumberland's hand, likely after Blake's suggestion.[149] Elisabeth Luther Cary, in *The Art of William Blake: His Sketch-Book, His Water-Colours, His Painted Books* (1907), assures us that *The Ancient of Days* illustrates those lines of *PL* rather than the text of *Europe*,[150] and Lister also considers *PL* VII:225-7 as a probable source of the design.[151] Lines 225-231 of *PL* contain Milton's description of God circumscribing the boundary of the world with his golden compass.[152] *Urizen* 7 also recalls the passage from *PL* and *The Ancient of Days* design, when Urizen '…formed golden compasses…And began to explore the Abyss' (39-40).[153]

A fine example of the arms-raised posture is the watercolour entitled *A Destroying Deity: A Winged Figure Grasping Thunderbolts* (c. 1820-5; fig. 70). Generally acknowledged as similar in theme and in composition to the less finished sketch *Urizen Scattering his Thunderbolts* (c. 1805-15), it was sold in 1957 "as related to *Paradise Lost*, but no specific incident seems to be illustrated."[154] In addition to having similar arm postures, the Urizenic Destroying Deity and the supine cruciform figure wear similar beards, appearing shorter than that with which Urizen is generally depicted. The beard of the Destroying Deity is rolled back upon itself and flows up its cheeks as if blown upward by winds. Similarly, the beard of the supine cruciform figure can be seen as folding back upon itself by the force of gravity. The notch visible at the center of the chin on the figure in *SRL* 1808 is comparable to that of the Destroying Deity, lending credence to this speculation.

Interestingly, Blake sometimes used aged bearded figures to personify ignorance and materialism,[155] in which case the supine bearded figure might suggest the death of ignorance and materialism.[156] The arm and leg position, and the white beard and hair of the supine cruciform figure confirm his correspondence with Urizen, establishing a connection with Urizen and being symbolic of his defeat and his powerlessness over the rebel angels. *The Ancient of Days*, *Urizen* 7, and *A Destroying Deity* all demonstrate a link between Blake's Urizen and the Father in Milton's *PL*, the restrictive authority of the pair, and the rebel angels' defeat of that authority.

Immediately prior to Satan's summons, Beelzebub describes the angels remaining on the lake as 'grovelling and prostrate…astounded and amazed' (I:280-1). While none of Blake's angels are grovelling, only the blank visage of the supine cruciform angel could be construed as expressing astonishment or amazement. If this figure is taken to represent the defeat of Urizen (the removal of the controlling deity from the activities of the rebel angels), and, if his expression is that of astonishment or amazement, then it can be surmised that he is filled with shocked disbelief that the rebels have defeated him and overcome his repressive influence. According to Blake, "He who does not imagine in stronger and better lineaments, and in stronger and better light than his perishing and mortal eye can see, does not imagine at all" (*DesC* IV). This is why Blake attributes sight as Urizen's sense,[157] because he is unable to appreciate the power of the imagination, and why depicting him blinded or with closed eyes is to depict him powerless or defeated: 'limiting the Senses may be giving a form to error that it may be cast out.'[158]

If Urizen is presented dead or defeated, then the freedom of imagination won by the rebels cannot now be taken away from them. The apparent lifelessness of the figure would,

then, represent the death of tyranny, meaning the fallen angels are no longer the subjects of the tyrannical deity. Recognizing that this figure demonstrates an inverted cruciform posture further validates my proposition that the rebels are triumphant. Blake's assertion that 'The Modern Church Crucifies with the Head Downwards' (*VLJ*) can be understood as a metaphor for the worship of a condemnatory God of retributive justice in conventional Christianity. Wittreich contends that to crucify Christ with his head downwards "means that Blake believes the historical development of Christianity has been toward the reassumption of an all-surrounding…abstract moral law. Thus the historical Christ of the modern church is the upside-down man, while the upright Christ is the perpetually immediate visionary act."[159] If this supine cruciform figure is actually an image of Urizen – overlord of the fallen world[160] – then his lifeless figure may be interpreted as the triumph of the rebel angels over the tyrannical god of reason and a symbol of his powerlessness in the 'fallen' world of the rebel angels – a world of their own to be fashioned as their imaginations deem fit. Urizen's limitations on the angels have been cast off; the finite circumscription of the imagination has been returned to the infinite.

The Foetal Angel

The figure of the angel drawn up into a foetal position appears in each version of *SRL*, in both watercolour and tempera. In the tempera versions the foetal angel is seated in the bottom left corner staring directly forward, and is the only figure remaining resigned to being bound by chains. In the 1807 watercolour, this figure is positioned directly beneath Satan with his head raised slightly and his gaze fixed attentively on Satan above. In the 1808 version, the manacled figure with his legs drawn to his chest is moved from the center to the

right corner; his head is now inclined over his right shoulder, rather than directed above him, toward Satan on whom his eyes rest.

As detailed earlier, the physiognomy of the foetal angel clearly expresses Esteem and Veneration directed toward Satan, not despair at his situation, yet it may be a misinterpretation of this figure which prompts the observation of 'Despair forms'[161] among Satan's rebels. The huddled figure at the bottom right in Michelangelo's drawing, *A Dream of Human Life* (see fig. 53), is the probable source for Blake's variations of the figure of Despair. The figure of 'Mind' imprisoned in *NT* 105 (fig. 71) is the variation of Blake's figure 'Despair' closest in appearance to the huddled figure from which it was inspired in Michelangelo's drawing.[162] Blake's primary gesture for despair is the clutching of the head with both hands, as seen in the small figure labelled 'Despair' (fig. 72) from Blake's *Various Personifications*. This figure is kneeling, head facing downward, with his hands clasped behind his neck and his elbows flared out to the sides and upward to indicate his despair. In *NNR* 6 (fig. 73), depicting a seated figure clutching at his head with both hands, Blake writes that, 'If any could desire what he is incapable of possessing, despair must be his eternal lot.' In *VLJ* Blake describes his falling, head-clutching figures as embodying 'attitudes of Despair and Horror' and 'States of Misery'. *MMH* 16, 'Ugolino and his sons in prison' (fig. 74), depicts five figures with huddled bodies and covered faces – the central figure has a raised face and a howling 'O' shaped mouth – indicating a fear and suffering absent from the rebel angels in hell in *SRL*.

In recognising the huddled, head-clutching figures often recurring in Blake's designs consistently represent despair, Warner generally labels Blake's self-enclosed, circular, huddled forms as despair figures, made recognisable by the "torment and anguish [which]

are evident in their expressions."[163] Two of the examples Warner gives as despair figures are the seated figure viewed from the front, hunched over with its knees drawn up as in *Jerusalem* 41 (fig. 76), and the headlong-falling head-clutching figure as in *Urizen* 5 (copy G; fig. 75).[164] This falling head-clutching figure is seen repeated in the *PL* design *RRA*, which may be cause for critics to assume that this image of despair extends to the scene of the rebel angels in Hell depicted in *SRL* and label the foetal angel as a despair figure.

A similar conflation may result from Dunbar's recognition of a resemblance between Los in *Urizen* 6 (see fig. 18) and the "kneeling and head-clasping figure with staring eyes and open mouth…in the lower right-hand corner of the [*SRL*] tempera versions,"[165] with the foetal angel in the *SRL* watercolours. In *Urizen* 6, Los is depicted howling in bewildered agony (anguish is demonstrated by pulling at one's hair), melancholic and frightened (fear is depicted by wide eyes and knitted brow) by the separation of Urizen from his side. The resemblance of howling Los to the foetal angel in the temperas is tenuous, and entirely wanting in regard to the same figure in the watercolours. Los is kneeling with his arms bent around his neck and his hands clutching at his hair or ears, while his mouth is agape and his eyes wildly stare, furrowing his brow. The foetal angel in *SRL* is seated with his knees drawn up to his chest, his relaxed arms crossed at the wrists in front of his ankles, his head slightly raised, and his eyes fixed upon Satan.

There are two of Blake's designs which we can be certain of representing Despair. First, the text of *NNR* 7 assures us that the figure shown is indeed representative of despair (see fig. 73). Second, the figure in Blake's *Various Personifications* labelled 'Despair' again assures us that this figure unquestionably represents despair (see fig. 72). Common to both of these designs is the self-inflicted violence of tearing at themselves, reminiscent of the

traditional Biblical tearing at one's own clothes and hair when suffering from desperate bereavement, such as performed by Cain in Blake's own *The Body of Abel found by Adam and Eve* (see fig. 20). I believe that Blake's huddled figures are often misinterpreted as Despair when they actually represent Misery and variations of misery. There is a small figure labelled 'Misery' (fig. 77) in Blake's *Various Personifications* who is seated with his legs pulled up to his chest, his arms in front of him crossing at the wrists, and his head resting on his knees with his face looking forward. Although appearing dejected, this figure does not display the acute suffering and self-mutilation visible in Blake's Despair figures.

In *Jerusalem* 51 (fig. 78) the huddled center figure in Vala's 'court of despair' is Hyle, the Prime Minister of Vala's court and the representative of 'mere rationalism'.[166] Hyle is huddled with his wrists crossed in front of his ankles and his head bowed below his shoulders. David V. Erdman, in *The Illuminated Blake* (1992), asserts that the gesture of Hyle recalls that of Theotormon in *VDA* 7 (fig. 79),[167] 'shut up from cold despair'. Here Theotormon is pictured seated with his legs pulled to his chest, ankles crossed, and his forehead resting upon his hands on top of his knees. On the full page illustration of plate 2, Theotormon is shown crouched into a compact ball with his arms wrapped around himself, his ankles crossed, and again his head lowered and face completely covered (see fig. 24). I disagree with the claims that these are despair figures, as I disagree with Warner's example of *Jerusalem* 41 (see fig. 76) as an image of despair and the suggestion that the figure in *A Dream of Human Life* (see fig. 53) is the source for Blake's variations of the figure of Despair. Rather, I propose that these figures are variations of Blake's gesture of Misery, and that Michelangelo's sketch is the source for that state of being, as they all lack the violence and pain of Blake's Despair. All of these Misery figures are seated, have crossed ankles or

wrists, and heads lowered by varying degrees. Crossed arms or legs are a repressive gesture, used by Blake to indicate self-enclosure and self-absorption, while concealing the face with hands or bent head are gestures of shame, and, I submit, the lower the head is dropped the more abject the shame implied.

Blake's figures of Misery (as differentiated from Despair) share an undeniable resemblance in posture to the foetal angel of *SRL*, with the significant difference that the *SRL* foetal angel has his head raised up. In *SRL* 1807 his head is raised straight up, while in *SRL* 1808 his head is raised and canted to his right to view Satan. The raised head implies a respect and acknowledgement of Satan, and negates the shame often implied by the gesture of Misery. The foetal angel's position and manacles clearly associate him with the huge winged figure of Orc stopping the breach in the wall on *America* 1 (fig. 80), and again at the bottom left corner of *America* 3 (fig. 81), and as such with the force of revolution, although his raised head could be a sign of the success of their revolt.

A nearly identical figure to the foetal angel appears in Blake's *The Mission of Virgil* (fig. 82) illustration to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The figure on the bottom right is seated with his knees drawn to his chest, although he is engulfed in flames and does not have his hands crossed. This figure has been interpreted as an enslaved subject of the repressive god Jehovah seen above, and as "an entombment of Dante, enslaved by fear, being freed by Virgil's encouraging message, as shown by the shackle chain breaking."[168] If these two figures are considered to be analogous, the figure in *SRL* could be interpreted as representing the enslavement by the repressive Father from which the fallen angels have recently escaped. The foetal angel has yet to be fully freed from his fear of the tyrant-god, and has yet to fully recognize their victory. His crossed-hands, a repressive gesture, show that he has not yet

chosen to release his mind-forg'd shackles as the others have, and as has the figure in the Dante illustration, but his raised head demonstrates that he is in the process of freeing himself from the Urizenic restrictions.

The only huddled figure in the *SRL* designs is the foetal figure in the bottom front row of the watercolours, yet he exhibits no signs of 'torment and anguish'. Significantly, the foetal figure in *SRL* does not display the head-clutching, facial expression of anguish as does the Despair figure of the howling Los of *Urizen* 6, nor does he bury his face in his knees as does Warner's example of despair in *Jerusalem* 37. Rather than despair, this figure in *SRL* seems to exhibit a serene calmness as he gazes intently at Satan. The foetal angel does not cover his face with his hands or bend his head to conceal his face in Blake's gestures of shame, nor does he even have the downcast face which represents a troubled disposition – gestures also absent from the other angels in *SRL*. The foetal angel cannot be described as huddled with his head bowed, huddled clutching his head, kneeling clutching his head, seated clutching his head, falling clutching his head, or expressing torment or anguish, all indicators of Despair. Warner's recognition of Blake's connection between despair and frustrated desire and crouching head-clutching figures,[169] as per Blake's statement in *NNR* plate 7, can then have no validity concerning this design. If Satan and his crew have achieved the freedom which they fought for, then their desires have been fulfilled, not frustrated, effectively severing any connection between themselves and despair, making this a scene of joy and liberation (as seen in the leaping angels) and leaving no room for misery.

The Caverned Angel

The caverned angel is nearly identical in both watercolours, although he is flanked on each side by tongues of flame in the 1807 version. He crouches in a cave at the bottom left corner of the design; his left wrist manacled and chained to the ground; his hands are at his sides, bracing himself on the ground; his left leg[170] is bent in front of him, positioned to propel himself upward; and his face and gaze are both fixed intently upon Satan.

In *Jerusalem* 3:1-4, Blake associates the emblem of the cave with Mount Sinai and Moses' receipt of the Law,[171] although the cave in Blake's works is often treated to a Platonic interpretation as symbolic of the material world or of the human body in which man is confined by the body's five senses. Dunbar allies herself with this philosophy and notes that the close enclosure and lack of exit in the *SRL* cave indicate that it is a representation of the constricting material world.[172] Yet here Blake has designed his caverned angel as poised to leap free of the cave,[173] as the rising angels in the 1807 version have already done. Raine notes, "Michelangelo's prisoners, struggling from their rocky confinement, would have signified, for Blake, life freeing itself from the oppression of matter, like the figure of Earth in his own Gates of Paradise."[174] The caverned angel is not struggling against his stony confine as is Apollo's prophetess Pythia in Blake's *The Overthrow of the Pagan Gods* (1809 and 1815; figs. 83 and 84) designs for Milton's *Nativity Ode*, whom Lister describes as 'demented', "pressing her arms against the roof as if she were trying to enlarge it."[175] Nor does the angel sit placidly in his cave like the foetal angel in the tempera versions of *SRL*, or dejected like Orc in his 'root cellar' in *America* 3 (see fig. 81).

Blake's encaved rebel angel does not appear 'demented', nor even distressed; he simply looks up at Satan with his head at an awkward angle from his neck and torso. He does not struggle against the rock, but recalls Orc as he prepares to free himself by leaping free

from the cave. Orc was bound by Los to a mountain top by a 'chain of jealousy' (*FZ* 5:155), but his imagination rages in a cave of fire far beneath him (*FZ* 6:265; *J* 14:3). Although he is chained in caves (*FZ* 7:5), Orc's imagination reaches everywhere and permeates everything (*FZ* 5:114-42). *America* 3 shows the image of Orc shackled to a rock and, simultaneously, in a brooding rage, encaved under the roots of a barren tree. Interestingly, in the design of *MHH* 20, Keynes identifies a miniature figure as Blake sitting in the roots of a tree,[176] which may suggest that Blake envisioned himself as the rebellious energy of Orc. The next plate, *America* 4 (fig. 85), shows Orc crawling out of his cave to the surface, his face raised, and his bent leg poised to propel himself upward, as he is depicted in plate 5, soaring skyward with his chains trailing behind him (see fig. 41). The depictions of Orc encaved and preparing to leap out of his cave closely parallel that of the caverned angel, and the progression of Orc from encaved to leaping in the three consecutive *America* designs is repeated in the various figures of seated, crouching, and rising angels in *SRL*.

The position of the chest, shoulders, arms, and head, as well as the facial features and profile of the seated figure of Blake's Renovated Man at the top of *America* 8 are nearly identical to that of the caverned angel of *SRL* (see fig. 52). Bindman, indicating that "the awakening man is another Blakean leitmotiv,"[177] describes this image as "the naked figure of a young man awakening to immortal life," after the empire of the 'Old Order' has been usurped.[178] Erdman interprets this figure as representing freedom from slavery as detailed by the text accompanying the design.[179] This same image of the 'Regenerated Man', used earlier in *MHH* 21, is explained by Keynes as Blake, after escaping the Swedenbörgian Angel's vision of Eternity, "[feeling] happy and renewed after having disposed of the

Angel's falsities, and he is seated…among rays of light beginning to penetrate the dispersing clouds of error."[180]

Blake associates the subterranean with the mind,[181] an association repeated in *William Blake and the Psychology of his Symbols* (no date), through Emily S. Hamblen's explication for Blake's cave metaphor: "a symbol of the instinctive life in man; the subconscious region of personality."[182] The cave is also the origination and repository for Orc's imagination, symbolized as fire which, in *MHH*, is also "identified with the forces of the subconscious, the sources of inspiration."[183] The flames of revolt incubating in Orc's fiery cave lead to revolution and, according to Damon, "Revolution, which clears away ancient errors, is a conflagration, whether the flames of Orc or the Tyger burning in the forests of the night."[184] The angel preparing to leap out of the cave can be interpreted as overcoming the restrictive mind forg'd manacles, poised to leap from the restriction of the stony law of Urizen/The Father's Decalogue and acknowledge the freedom of energy and imagination that the fires of revolution have won even as their battle has seemingly been lost.

The combined image of the foetal and caverned angels in the landscape of Hell could also represent the birth of a new existence iconographically corresponding to the formation of Urizen in his eponymous Illuminated Book. In *Urizen*, Blake repeatedly mentions the infernal chains, the cavern, and the Abyss during Urizen's ontogenesis, depicting the fully-formed Urizen in a cave on plate 8 (fig. 86) in almost exactly the same posture as the caverned angel in *SRL*: crouching, his hands at his sides propping himself up, and his right leg bent in front of him with which he will push himself upward. The embryonic Urizen is surrounded by

> a roof, vast, petrific around
> On all sides he fram'd: like a womb;
> Where thousands of rivers in veins
> Of blood pour down the mountains to cool
> The eternal fires beating without (*Urizen* 4:28-32)

This description of Urizen's womb is echoed in the rocky, cascading, fiery landscape of Hell surrounding the foetal angel. Urizen develops into a foetus in a bright, shining lake (*Urizen* 9:22) of amniotic fluid comparable to the lake of fire upon which the foetal angel of *SRL* is seated; the foetal postures of Urizen in plate 20 (fig. 87) and the foetal angel of *SRL* also share a close likeness. The river cascading down the rocks seeming to terminate immediately at the side of the caverned angel's cave in *SRL* 1807 is reduced to a rill which unites directly to the cave in the 1808 version, symbolically corresponding to the human umbilicus and placenta. Connolly offers the treatises of the brothers John and William Hunter as a probable source of anatomical art for Blake' peculiar gestational iconography,[185] and describes the design of *Urizen* 9 (see fig. 47) as "a visual rendering of Blake's 'caverned man'."[186]

The "struggle with embodiment as limitation"[187] that the poem *Urizen* portrays must be abstracted from *SRL* as violence is absent in the gestation of the caverned angel, unlike that of Urizen in *The Book of Urizen* and Adam in the colour print *The Creation of Adam*. The caverned angel of *SRL* does not struggle futilely against the solid enclosure of a 'claustrophobic womb' as does Urizen, rather he looks out of the cave and prepares to leap forth in the direction of his gaze. This depiction of gestation-birth in *SRL* is not emblematic of coming into the material body, and therefore the body of death, but of the birth of freedom from limitation, as suggested by the bent-kneed posture of the angel which prefigures the leap into the air as demonstrated by several of the angels in *SRL* 1807. The image of the dead and defeated Urizen on the floor of hell ensures that this interpretation of a birth is not that of

Urizen, but a rebirth (as seen in the Renovated Man association with *America* 8) of the rebel angels into an existence open to the creative imagination and free from the oppressive dictates of the Urizenic lawgiver.

Satan

'The mind is its own place, and in itself / Can make a Heaven of
Hell, a Hell of Heaven.'
John Milton, *Paradise Lost*

The possibility of the *SRL* Satan representing energy, imagination, or victory over the limiting rationality of the Urizenic Father has been generally neglected in Blake scholarship. Interpretation of Satan in the *PL* designs seems biased toward a traditional Biblical interpretation which insists on condemning in the narrative of *SRL* to a negative account of defeat, doom, and suffering, clearly disregarding the Blakean perspective of the energies of Hell. Werner is of the opinion that "while the impression conveyed by the lighting in the tempera paintings [of *SRL*] might suggest some degree of favorable consideration by the artist, a careful look at the figure of Satan in each of Blake's [*PL*] designs works against an affirmative interpretation."[188] Behrendt reveals his opinion of Blake's vision of Satan in his statement that "Satan's essential characteristics, as revealed both in the context of these [*Paradise Lost*] designs and in the wider context of Blake's entire verbal and visual canon, are simultaneously the causes and the effects of his own fall. His character is shaped by the inordinate pride manifested in his vain and self-deceiving assumption that he could be the Father's opponent, though in ruin, and be free after his fall."[189] Behrendt resists acknowledging any positive aspects presented by Satan's character in any of Blake's work: he appears only to see the inordinate pride, vanity, and self-deception imputed in his Biblical fall, failing to recognise Satan as a Blakean paradigm for revolutionary energy, freedom, and imagination. I believe that Blake deliberately demonstrates these very concepts, so dear to

him, in the physiognomy, body type, and posture of Satan, and reinforced by the additional figures in the composition.

Physiognomy

> 'the expression of the Passions…[is] the most essential part of our art'
> Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses*

Unfamiliarity with period physiognomical catalogues and custom, and casual eisegesis, result in the common misinterpretation of the much-debated and misunderstood visage of Satan in *SRL*. It is a difficult and unrewarding task to attempt to find an affirmative comment in the scholarly criticism commenting on the facial expression of Satan in the *SRL* watercolours, which is generally treated to a cursory inspection and dismissed as expressive of pain or uncertainty. Bindman sees Satan, "not as threatening, but as a pathetic failure."[190] Rather than as a fierce rebel, Hagstrum believes Blake depicts Satan as a "young, handsome god in pain and isolation."[191] Dunbar explains that "Satan's alarmed gaze…reflects his inner uncertainty and the strains of his recent experiences," and turns to Milton for support, stating that he too "emphasizes his careworn expression – one of the first signs of his fall from grace – and the searching attitude he strikes: 'round he throws his baleful eyes / That witnessed huge affliction and dismay / Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate'" (I:56-8).[192] Similarly, Behrendt also sees Satan's mental distress being obvious in his troubled expression.[193] Werner claims that "while Satan assumes a proud pose, his expression of dismay belies the boastful gesture. In detailing the furrowed visage of the ruined archangel, Blake probes Satan's realization of profound calamity, showing the consciousness 'rackt with deep despare' beneath the vaunting attitude."[194]

In *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts: Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems* (1978), commenting on the difficulty in applying a verbal explanation of Blake's visual characterization wherein radically different identifications result from readings of the same depiction of a face, Roland Mushat Frye submits that "if there are ways to read the human physiognomy, they remain very much within the realm of indefinite art rather than of precise science."[195] Fortunately there is available to the enquirer physiognomical sourcebooks, such as LeBrun's *A Method to Learn the Passions*, by which can be ascertained, with relative accuracy, a 'verbal explanation' to Blake's 'visual characterization' of Satan in *SRL*. A careful study of Satan's physiognomy discovers that his expression appears to be a compound of details from several of LeBrun's passions rather than a single specific emotion. Admiration (see fig. 27) is displayed by his somewhat opened mouth. His eyebrows indicate a suggestion of Esteem (see fig. 29) in their advancement toward the eyes and bend toward the nose, as does the full appearance of the muscles of the forehead and around the eyes, the downward drawing nostrils, and cheeks falling gently about the jaws. Fright (figs. 88-90) may be indicated by the underlying muscles of the brow swelling, pressing against each other, and lowering toward the nose, as in Esteem. And, if there is a sparkle in his pupil (especially likely in the 1808 version) and a disturbed motion in his eye, Fear (fig. 91) may also be present.[196] This compound physiognomy befits the main, and most complex, character in the illustration. An explanation of Satan's physiognomy more relevant to the composition than simply adding to the complexity of the character is found in LeBrun's description of the passion Hope (fig. 92):

> When Desire hath taken possession of the Heart, and there is an appearance of obtaining our Wish, then is excited in us the Passion which we call Hope.

> But as this Passion is apt rather to affect us *inwardly* than *without*, we shall say little of it, observing only that it keeps all parts of the body in a suspense between Fear and Certainty; insomuch that if one part of the Eye-brow denote fear, the other part expresses Certainty; so that we find the different effects of this Passion to be every where blended through all the parts of the Face and Body.[197]

This statement by LeBrun certainly aids in understanding the complexity of Satan's visage and the uncertainty and differing evaluations it has produced. In expressing several different emotions at once, Blake is following LeBrun's guidelines to attempt to demonstrate the 'inward' passion of Hope externally. The burgeoning recognition of victory in defeat is presenting itself to Satan – as it is to the crouching angels readying to leap, and more so in the angels leaping into the air – and expressing itself as Hope in his visage, not the pain, pathos, dismay, threat, or alarm often suggested or asserted. Although Dunbar asserts Satan's declaration 'Here at least / We shall be free' (I:258-9) is a 'facile boast',[198] the hope Blake endows in Satan's visage declares his earnest intentions in direct contradiction to Milton's declaration that Hell is a place where 'hope never comes / That comes to all' (I:66-7).

In 'The Argument' to Book I, Milton states that "Satan with his angels lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion". In reporting the opening scene of the rebel angels on the Burning Lake in Book I (47-220), Satan is described as chained (I:210), floating on the lake of fire with 'eyes / That sparkling blazed' (I:193-6), and, while lying in pain upon the burning lake, 'round he throws his baleful eyes / That witnessed huge affliction and dismay / Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate' (I:56-8). The pride and hate recognisable in Satan's pained and malicious eyes are all descriptors of Satan's state after nine days lying in torment upon the lake of fire and applicable to that moment. Affliction and dismay punctuate the condition of the rebel angels as they lay upon the lake of fire, but the precise moment Blake illustrates is the

moment of, and immediately following, Satan's summons.[199] By the time Satan comes to rally his confounded comrades, he is acknowledged superior in form to his comrades: tall, retaining some of his luminosity, having deep scars visible on his face, careworn cheeks, courageous brows, and cruel but remorseful and compassionate eyes. Blake places Satan in a position literally above the angels, towering above them with the largest physique, his torso and face luminous.[200] The pronounced brows of courage and compassionate eyes are retained, absolved of any cruelty.

In the earlier separate painting *Satan Watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve* (1806; fig. 93), possibly the original concept for the 1807 series,[201] Satan is depicted quite differently than in the corresponding 1807-8 versions or in *SRL*. Here he is seen hovering wingless in flames above the bower, "His face is contorted, and his hands clutch at his head, as if tearing his hair in rage or despair."[202] The expression of Satan in *SRL* is clearly not despair as Blake or LeBrun knew it. The troubled and alarmed expression of pain, suffering, mental distress, dismay, uncertainty, isolation, and the realization of profound calamity construed by critics could well be a misinterpretation of the complex physiognomy of hope. Hope, far from being representative of pathetic failure, represents the truly heroic in its ability to find success in apparent defeat and transmit the understanding of that success to others, and thereby earning the admiration seen in the rebel angels. Nullifying absolutely the proposition of isolation is the admiration of the rebel angels and their almost unanimous attention directed toward Satan.

Body and Gesture

'The head Sublime, the heart Pathos, the genitals Beauty, the hands
& feet Proportion.'
William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

Warner regards the design of *SRL* as depicting Satan in his role as "the traditional archetype of pride",[203] overlooking the paucity of images of pride in Blake's *oeuvre* and ignoring the multiplicity of images of the heroic nude, the Human Form Divine. In the *Laocoön* Blake states that 'Art can never exist without Naked Beauty displayed'. Satan is depicted naked in Hell, where apparent surfaces are melted away displaying the infinite. The false has been cleared away and the truth, the Naked Human Form Divine, remains. In this state of purity Satan cannot represent falsehoods, pride, fiendish aspects, or pseudo-heroism; he has been purged by the salutary corrosive fires of Hell and resurrected.[204] In each *PL* design in which they appear, Blake's Satan and rebel angels display their divine form in their nakedness, while Christ, the Father, and the holy angels are invariably covered by gowns in each of their appearances in the *PL* illustrations,[205] a convention commonly adhered to by Blake throughout the whole of his angelic designs. This presentation of the rebel angels in their naked form divine effectively separates them from their obedient counterparts and suggests their liberated state in contrast to the confinement by their law-giving master.

Werner opines that "a careful look at the figure of Satan in each of Blake's [*SRL*] designs works against an affirmative interpretation," and considers Satan to be pseudo-heroic, prideful, defiant, egotistical, dismayed, and ruined.[206] Werner, acknowledging that "while Satan assumes a proud pose," claims that "his expression of dismay belies the boastful gesture."[207] As I have already demonstrated, Satan's expression is not one of dismay, therefore his 'proud pose' is not a boastful gesture but genuine in its heroic posture.

Werner acknowledges the potential for a sympathetic misreading of Satan's character, claiming that

> Satan's heroic stance in the midst of flames could signify Blake's approbation of the fallen archangel as a fiery embodiment of the spirit of rebellion or as a figure of untrammelled energy. The diabolic, ostensibly true reading of *Paradise Lost* offered by the Devil in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* seems to favor a positive characterization by Blake of Milton's Satan. According to the Devil of Blake's satire, *Paradise Lost* records the history of the restraining of desire by usurping reason…[208]

But Werner rejects this positive interpretation of the *SRL* design with her statement,

> *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* commentary comes, however, from a considerably earlier period (1790-93) than the illustrations (1807-8). The problem predates the era of Blake's extensive and close involvement with Milton's poetry that was encouraged by his association with William Hayley at Felpham. The Devil of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* offers a reading of *Paradise Lost* that Blake's illustrative series do not support. By the time that he came to illustrate the poem, Blake had made a much more considered and more sympathetic reading of *Paradise Lost*.[209]

Werner is assuming that the Devil in *MHH* is conveying Blake's entire understanding of *PL* with her statement that '*Paradise Lost* records the history of the restraining of desire by usurping reason'. While this statement is certainly true of Blake's interpretation of Milton's poem, the Devil of *MHH* has no motivation to champion Blake's belief in Christ as Redeemer as he is essentially a rhetorical device used to illustrate the conflict between energy and restraint as promulgated by the satire. Whether Blake was as sympathetic to the role of Christ in *PL* in 1790 as he was in 1808 is moot; his opinion of the Father as a Urizenic restraining figure exemplary of the Church and the rebel angels as emblematic of energies and desires remained unchanged in that time period, and essentially so to the end of his life.

Werner goes on to postulate that Satan is given a classical form by Blake to demonstrate his false heroism.[210] As persuasive as this hypothesis sounds, Werner's premise

is belied by the flaw that Satan's classical form expresses Blake's disapproval. True, Damon states that by 1804, after a visit to the Truchsessian Gallery, Blake claimed to have rejected all classicism.[211] Prior to this, Blake had prized the classical human form – receiving casts from his father in boyhood – and philosophy.[212] Blake scorned classical epics for honouring and inspiring war, calling them 'the silly Greek and Latin slaves of the Sword'.[213] Yet, although he included Ovid in his later tirades on classical literature, Blake was reported to have "delighted in Ovid, and, as a labour of love, had executed a finished picture from the *Metamorphosis*…[which] hung in his room."[214] And, according to his own *VLJ*, 'Ovid's Metamorphosis & others of the like kind are Fable; yet they contain vision in a sublime degree'. Blake also includes 'the Greek Learned & Wise' among the saved in his watercolours of *VLJ* (1806-9).

By 1809 Blake would have as strong a dislike for Greek art, a 'false imitative art', as for he had for oil painting.[215] "In the last two decades of his life, Blake developed a complex critique of classical civilization. He believed that many of its great artefacts preserved the forms of more ancient, Hebraic art, but that the spiritual meanings of these original images had been destroyed by the Greeks, Romans, and contemporary classicists for their self-serving purposes."[216] Seeing the Hebrew art as original genius, he therefore came to see classical art as imitative art: "For Blake, the worldly church militant distorted Christ's message just as surely as classical civilization had perverted the spiritual vision it had inherited."[217] Blake's greatest dislikes of classicism are war and its counterpart empire, but in his art he used Classical architecture, usually represented by the domed basilica, to symbolise the worldly religion based on reason. Later in his life Blake would coin the aphorism 'Grecian is Mathematical Form: Gothic is Living Form'.[218] Blake believed that

mathematical form, represented by Urizen, embodied Greek art and architecture, rationalist and empiricist thought, and the neoclassical Establishment; Gothic form was represented by Los and Christ and embodied living form, organic unity.[219]

Even a casual scanning of Blake's visual art will alert the viewer that Blake did not entirely abandon his early enthusiasm for classical art in his depiction of the human form, which Blake typically represents in Gothic or Classical form. Blake's disdain for Greek and Roman politics, his modulating vituperation toward classical philosophers, and assimilation of classical architecture as the symbolization of rational thought did not impose invidious ideals on his understanding and appreciation of the classical figure as imparted through the High Renaissance art of Michelangelo, Raphael, and Giulio Romano, in particular. I doubt it is possible to exaggerate the importance of the influence of the High Renaissance and Gothic styles on the development of Blake's own style. I believe that in nearly every example of original art that Blake created, and even much of his commercial work, the combination of High Renaissance and Gothic influence can readily be seen. As Blake's appreciation of Gothic art grew it became a part of his mythology representing spiritual and living art, and contrasting with the classical art which he increasingly viewed as dull, mechanical, and materialistic, whereas at the beginning of his career he saw both Greek and Gothic as great inspirational art.[220] Yet the human figure continued to invariably be depicted in Gothic or Classical forms throughout Blake's career, as observed by Andrew Wilton, in "Blake and the antique" (1976), in his statement that "the visual lessons which he imbibed from his youthful study of classical art remained inherent in his style as an artist."[221]

A probable development of Blake's interest in, and exposure to, the art of Raphael and Michelangelo is the profound influence High Renaissance art had on his own art and on

forming his ardent philosophy on art. The High Renaissance period, spanning approximately the first half of the sixteenth century, was heavily influenced by Neoplatonic thought, which held that "through the contemplation of beauty, the inherently corrupt soul could transform its love for the physical and material into a purely spiritual love of God."[222] Although classical content can still be seen in much High Renaissance art, artists knew that intuition and creativity were the means to truth and beauty, not rigid adherence to the strict mathematical line and rationality of classical art. Blake saw Michelangelo as an artist of the 'true Style of art' which he equated with medieval Gothic Christian art.[223] More than from any other source, Blake borrowed from the Sistine ceiling, particularly the postures and figures of Michelangelo's mythic heroes.[224] The visual cone of Renaissance perspective produces a cube, representative of a stage for Roman historical compositions, whereby temporal and spatial continuity is rigorously adhered to.[225] Michelangelo began to disregard this, his style becoming less proportional and more abstract, influencing the direction of art away from Renaissance ideals.[226] Michelangelo deviates from High Renaissance standards with his emphasis on individual experience by his focus on the human figure and his disregard for space and perspective in favour of the block (sculptural) form – figures in his paintings are often represented as compact and motionless, much like a sculpture. [227] This influence can be seen in the asymmetrical spatial arrangement of Blake's rebel angels and in the size differential between Satan and the angels of *SRL*.

The heroic male nude based on the study of classical antiquity is generally regarded as Michelangelo's greatest single contribution to art, his "principle vehicle of artistic expression".[228] High Renaissance art stressed physical beauty, restrained emotion, and an atmosphere of nobility.[229] Michelangelo expanded upon classical style by incorporating

subtle expression (facial) to suggest mental and emotional complexity not seen in antiquity. The contrasting oppositions between active and passive common to Michelangelo's work is also recognisable in the various figures of *SRL*.[230] Blake's heavily-muscled angels – wingless, nude males like Michelangelo's – share an affinity with the classical form, with Satan clearly representing the nobility of Michelangelo's heroic nude male and incorporating the great master's method of subtle facial expression. Clearly the use of classical human form – used by Blake throughout his career as seen in the examples of the engraving *Joseph of Arimathea* (1773; fig. 94) and the sketch *Old Parr When Young* (1820; fig. 95) – to depict Satan does not carry negative connotations for Blake. Essick admits to recognising 'residual potency' in Satan's heroic physique,[231] while, according to Dunbar, "Like Milton, Blake was bewitched by the classical ideal and remained under its influence long after he had rejected it as a source of spiritual wisdom."[232] Since Blake does not deprecate the classical human form, Werner's claim that Blake's representation of Satan as pseudo-heroic based on that form is flawed.

Blake's debt to Michelangelo's *The Last Judgment* (see fig. 17) can be seen in the figures of the rising angels, the vertical arrangement of the composition, and organization around a central key figure – Christ, with a single raised arm in *The Last Judgment*, and Satan, with both arms raised in *SRL*. Weaver describes the gesture of Astonishment as "Both Hands are thrown up to the Skies; the Eyes also lifted up, and the Body cast backwards,"[233] as demonstrated by the posture of the figure of Blake himself on *Milton* 29 (fig. 96). It is possible that the raised arms of Satan have contributed to the understanding that Satan is astonished, but according to Weaver's description Satan must have his eyes raised and his torso thrown back, which he clearly does not. If astonishment cannot be suggested simply by

raising the arms then this gesture must have other significance. Weaver states that "To Shake the Hand open, raised above our Head, is an exulting Expression of Triumph."[234] Although we cannot see if Satan is shaking his hands, they are both positioned above his head and opened in Weaver's description of triumph.

The mutual trade in visual imagery between Blake's contemporaries is apparent in Davies statement that, "Blake's two opening infernal scenes are among the designs more clearly indebted to the tradition of Milton illustration, and his frontal presentation of 'Satan Arousing the Rebel Angels' most closely resembles those by Lawrence and Westall"[235] (fig. 97). During the 1790's Blake's friend Henry Fuseli had been constructing a Milton Gallery, although it eventually became a financial disaster (fig. 98). Fuseli was praised for being "the only true translator [Milton] has ever possessed," because his Milton Gallery exhibited Milton's "uncommon and heterodox opinions,"[236] although Behrendt believes that "Fuseli's insistence on Satan's heroism, …maintained even as the artist records his gradual degeneration, reinforces the critical error or hero substitution."[237] Behrendt summarizes the tradition of *PL* illustration as deviating from Milton's focus on the central significance of the Son's offer to redeem man by erroneously emphasizing Satan as the heroic figure of the poem, believing that this "critical error of heroizing Satan was starkly apparent to Blake."[238] Although acknowledging that the Satan of *PL* was admired in the eighteenth century for his theatricality, and in the Romantic period for his rebelliousness, Behrendt insists that this is an erroneous reading of the poem which disregards the 'correct' Christocentric interpretation.[239] If the 'error' of heroizing of Satan was apparent to Blake, he disregarded it and chose to depict Satan in just such a heroic fashion, in the manner of the 'victorious hero' shared by several of his friends and contemporaries.[240] This elucidation has direct

significance to Satan in *SRL* because, as he raises his arms in summons, he is raising his arms in triumph as the liberated victorious hero. Although the rebel angels have supposedly been defeated, the duality of meaning in Satan's pose (summons and victory) confirms the success of the fallen angels in their rebellion.

Far from offering an affirmation of Satan's victorious posture, Davies offers a shopping list of unfavourable interpretations of Satan's gesture aimed at disconfirming a favourable construal of the rebel leader.[241] I would not argue that Satan's posture does not imply a summons, a cruciform gesture, an expression of his authority, a commanding gesture, or an archetypal act of self-assertion, but I would argue against Davies' manipulation of these implications in order to unfavourably colour their meaning. Davies' explanation is attempting to convince the viewer that Satan's posture represents the domination of his cohorts through his authority, yet Ripa's personification of Dominion demonstrates that the "imperious gesture of command" is one arm raised slightly before the body with the index finger pointing to the ground in a gesture clearly dissimilar to that of Satan's outstretched arms.[242] Of course the gesture as one of summons is correct and entirely immaterial as to Satan's motivation, and as a parody of Christ I will consider shortly. As for indicating authority and command, I do not believe that the composition places emphasis on these qualities but, as Satan is the leader and commander of the rebels, his posture may well be indicative of such without any negative connotation. Davies' suggestion that Satan's stance and gesture could represent the archetypal act of self-assertion, which was precisely the violation of hierarchy for which he was expelled from heaven, I concur with. I do so through the Blakean perspective privileging revolutionary energies aimed at liberty from

rational oppression and punitive laws, and as such I do not believe Blake saw anything inherently evil in Satan's violation.

Blake's artistic *oeuvre* is abundant with the image of the upright-standing nude male with arms raised, which offer fruitful comparison with the posture of the Satan of *SRL*. Blake's quintessential emblem of freedom and energy, *The Dance of Albion* (or *Albion Rose* or *Glad Day*; fig. 99), although not identical to the figure of Satan in *SRL*, is too similar to be overlooked. Blunt identifies this image with Divine Humanity and the 'fire of inspiration', suggesting that it expresses "the idea of dawn and the victory over darkness."[243] Lister suggests the likelihood that "Albion's triumphant attitude represents the dawn of what Blake called 'fourfold vision', the supreme clarity of true spiritual insight."[244] Paulson calls this "Blake's image of reaction against the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament God," stating that in this design, "rising out of enslavement is equated with the bursting of Scamozzi's textbook diagram of the proportions of the human body—breaking out in an expansive sunburst, his hair twisted into flamelike points. This figure, who is sheer fetter-breaking energy, is somewhere on the ladder of illumination though short of the knowledge of the Prophets."[245] Essick describes this figure of Albion as "Blake's image of liberated human potential," recognizes its relationship to the ideal human proportions of the Vitruvian Man, and also suggests its possibility of being a spiritual self-portrait of Blake completing his apprenticeship and embarking on his engraving career.[246] Essick dates Blake's 'invention' of the image at 1780 and the first state of the Huntington etching/engraving at *circa* 1793, associating the design with Orc, "the embodiment of revolutionary energy," and further regards the sunburst[247] emanating from the figure as associating him with Los, "the representative of active imagination."[248] David Erdman, in *Blake: Prophet Against Empire*

(1969), states that "'Albion Rose', or 'Glad Day', is Blake's representation of the English people doing their dance of insurrection."[249] Cox explains that "Blake made contradictory engravings in the aftermath of the Gordon Riot. 'Albion Rose' is an image of exaltation, energy and liberation. It could express the unity and purpose of the mob. The lines which relate to the engraving are 'Albion rose from where he labour'd at the mill with slaves'."[250] When all four of Albion's divided Zoas are re-united, Albion's Emanation Jerusalem will be awakened and Albion will be the 'Universal Man'; *Albion Rose* is the realisation of universal liberty. Like Albion, Satan and his crew rise up out of slavery against established authority with the realisation of universal liberty. Compared to this image of Albion, "in Blake's later poetry the personification of all humanity," Satan strikes an image of the triumph over the trammels of humanity. As an image of Albion rising "in a heroic act of self-sacrifice,"[251] it anticipates Satan's own voluntary self-sacrifice to brave alone the unknown in attempt to discover the actuality of Eden and humankind. The image of Satan in *SRL* shares in Albion's ideal proportions and, as an image of liberated human potential, Albion's connotations of inspiration and spiritual insight. As Blake's image of revolution, with aspects of victory, reaction against the Old Testament God, 'fetter-breaking energy', 'rising out of enslavement', and the Orc-like 'embodiment of revolutionary energy', Satan is also equated with Albion by virtue of his posture. Finally, recognizing a correlative relationship between the image of Albion and Satan, having connections to Orc and Los effectively dissociates Satan from the possibility of representing Urizen-Reason or fallen humanity.

In his sketch *Old Parr When Young* (see fig. 95), Blake's heroic concept of the legendary figure of Thomas Parr displays a markedly comparable body type to Satan in *SRL*, as well as a similar stance (although Parr's arms are only slightly raised). The parallel

between the pair carries greater significance than the purely visual when Essick's connection between the figure of Parr and Blake's idealization of the Strong Man is considered.[252] In his *Descriptive Catalogue* Blake describes the Strong Man, one of the three general classes of men depicted in his lost painting *The Ancient Britons*, as representative of 'the human sublime', 'a receptacle of Wisdom', 'a sublime energizer', with strength in compactness rather than bulk, and 'raging with the inspirations of a prophetic mind'. Comparing Parr with "Blake's other great male nude, *Albion Rose*," Essick believes that "Parr's impressive physical presence is the outward expression of a mental state, the inspired or 'prophetic mind'."[253] Buy using the heroic figure of the Strong Man to depict Satan, Blake is imbuing Satan with the idealized nature of the Strong Man and undermining the perceived fallen impression of the composition as dictated by the text of *PL*.

The posture of Satan corresponds to that of Milton's pose of 'inspired man' on *Milton* 13 (fig. 100).[254] In this design, illustrating the line, 'He took off the robe of promise, & ungirded himself from the oath of God' (12:13), Milton is the 'inspired man' casting off 'the rotten rags of memory' in 'the grandeur of inspiration' to liberate the natural, naked man concealed underneath. Although Milton's arm position is lower than that of Satan in *SRL*, the rest of their bodies are nearly identical: Milton is pushing forward with his right foot, with most of his weight supported by his advanced left foot, a posture precisely repeated by Satan in *SRL* 1808.[255] Behrendt explains that this pose "in Blake's visual language typically represents a joyful unleashing of energy and a participation in visionary delight."[256] The significance of Milton's posture, rejecting material rationality and embracing the inspiration of energy and imagination, finds a parallel in Satan's rejection of the rational law of the Urizenic Father, the 'unleashing of energy' in the rebellion of the angels, and in the

imaginative 'visionary delight' the rebels find in recognising their freedom and desire to build their own Jerusalem in the 'Hell' they find themselves in. Satan appears to correspond to the template for 'inspired man' as demonstrated by the Milton of *Milton* 13.

Endowing an Apollonian association with Blake's depiction of Satan is not novel denotation. Warner cites *Satan in his Original Glory* (fig. 101) as an example of Blake's frequent use of the 'Apollo attitude' in representing regenerated states.[257] Blake's *Nativity Ode* illustration, *The Overthrow of the Pagan Gods* (figs. 102 and 103), presents Apollo raised on a dais variously crushing a serpent in his left hand (1809 version), and grasping a bow with the same hand (1815 version). Warner ascribes Blake's oft-used figure of Apollo to Vincenzo Cartari (fig. 104), whose highly influential mythographer's manual, *Imagini Della Dei Gl'Antichi* (1556), was published in England as *The Fountain of Ancient Fiction* (London, 1599).[258] During the eighteenth century the Apollo Belvedere was regarded by many to be the standard of ideal beauty and generally esteemed to be "the finest known work of antiquity";[259] in Blakean terminology, displaying the Naked Human Form Divine, as does Albion in *Albion Rose* and Satan in *SRL*. Behrendt denies any possible confirmatory signification of the figure of Apollo in *The Overthrow of the Pagan Gods* in his observation that "Blake's prominent depiction of the figure [of the Apollo Belvedere] here suggests the eclipse of Milton's classical poetic by the Christian, an eclipse that also reflects Blake's subversion of the neoclassical aesthetic."[260] Conversely, Davies rejects the claims that Blake illustrates Apollo (in the 1809 version) as a living and triumphant figure simply because "he wished to show Apollo forsaken by his indwelling spirit at the very height of his powers."[261] Instead, Davies asserts that Blake's Apollo is "based on that neoclassical touchstone of sublimity and grace, the Belvedere Apollo," that Blake "seems to have deliberately enhanced

the sense of Apollo's vitality and vigour by counterpointing him against the rigid idol petrifying on the hill behind him," and that there is a deliberate parallel between Apollo crushing the serpent and the myth of the infant Hercules strangling the snakes, because Blake is attempting to "distinguish his own vision of man's redemption from Milton's by transforming Apollo into a redeemer."[262] Although Dunbar describes *The Overthrow of the Pagan Gods* as being "devoted to a representation of the diverse forms of evil," she also notes that the 1809 depiction refers to God's command in Genesis that the serpent will have its head bruised by the offspring of Eve and it shall bruise her offspring's heel, and as such the image "constitutes a tribute to the tradition which saw Apollo as a 'type' of Christ."[263] Davies sees Apollo as a fourfold vision, an image of the fourfold man, and considers the absence of the star of Bethlehem from the later Huntington version as further evidence "that it is with Apollo's exemplary triumph that man's salvation lies, rather than with the birth of a secret child."[264] One can see the positive connotations which accompany the adaptation of the figure of Apollo as a model upon which Blake based his *SRL* Satan, namely the associations with ideal beauty (naked human form divine), triumph, vitality and vigour, and the potential to be Christ-like in self-sacrifice and the coalescence of man's fourfold aspects (body, reason, emotions, and imagination).

Cruciform Posture

Satan's association with Christ becomes more particular with the consideration of the cruciform posture he assumes in *SRL*. In each version of *SRL*, Satan stands upon a rock with his arms raised, commanding a central position on the composition which recalls that of Christ in Michelangelo's *The Last Judgment* and in Blake's versions of the same motif. Like

Christ on the cross raised on a small hill as in representations of Calvary, Satan is similarly elevated on a rock with his arms raised to suggest a cruciform pose. In Werner's opinion, "[Blake] regards the crucifixion as a triumph. It becomes in his understanding an image of liberation from the 'selfhood' that is a model for truly human life."[265] Satan assumes these projections of triumph and liberation by Blake's deliberate depiction of the rebel angel in the cruciform posture.

Although Blake frequently depicts Christ in the cruciform posture, Satan has on occasion been associated with this posture prior to the *SRL* illustration. *Urizen* 5 (copy G; see fig. 75) depicts the headlong 'Fall' from heaven of a cruciform Los and two companions, each coiled round by the serpent of Urizen's rational thought.[266] Erdman notes that this falling cruciform image recalls the dialectic of the adversaries in *MHH* which envisions "a Satan 'falling headlong wound round by the tail of the serpent' or a Messiah crucified 'with the Head Downwards', prophetic of resurrection."[267] Los is here associated with Christ through his cruciform posture and by the figure on either side of him, resembling Christ's crucifixion with the two thieves. Los becomes associated with Satan through the plate's association with the falling angels in *RRA*: aside from the entwining serpents, the figure grasping his head on the left is nearly identical to the falling angel on the bottom right corner of *RRA*, while the central figure of Los prefigures the central figure of Satan in *RRA*, including a similar head position, albeit with arms outstretched rather than bent behind his head. Again in *Urizen* 16 (fig. 105) Los assumes the cruciform posture amidst flames, prefiguring Satan in the *SRL* design and affiliating the pair.

In Blake's art the frequent image of the crucified Christ is a metaphor for his self-sacrifice.[268] According to Behrendt, "As Jesus dies for man, man must die—sacrifice his

self-centeredness, or spectre—in order to redeem his emanation in an act of 'Friendship & Brotherhood' that reintegrates his psyche and thus regain paradise. This, then, is the Blakean import of the Crucifixion as a symbol."[269] In accord, Warner states that the standing form of the arms-outstretched figure suggests "divine sacrifice or *union* of man and divine."[270] Davies comment on Satan's gesture in *SRL*, that "the way his arms are extended in a cruciform gesture, which parodies that of Christ offering to redeem man, seems intended as a proleptic allusion to Book II, where he represents his vengeful mission to them as self-sacrifice,"[271] attempts to abnegate any confirming associations between Christ and Satan. Damon notes that a cruciform posture facing away from the viewer denotes an inward act of self-sacrifice,[272] which would logically imply that the inverse – a cruciform posture facing outward from the page, or facing toward the viewer – could imply an outward act of self-sacrifice. By instigating and leading the rebellion against the Urizenic Father, Satan has sacrificed himself for the freedom of his comrades and his posture foreshadows his self-sacrifice – vengeance being irrelevant to disproving a genuine sacrificial act – in volunteering to journey into the unknown to find Paradise.

Warner believes that the standing cruciform pose is an important visual symbol in Blake's graphic art, representing the Poetic Genius-imagination which Blake equates with Christ and the body of man in his writings.[273] In *All Religions are One* (1788) Blake states that, 'The Poetic Genius is the true Man and that the body or outward form of Man is derived from the Poetic Genius' (Principle 1st). Warner recognises Blake's unwavering association of the creative faculty of imagination with the body throughout his life, pointing to the line in the *Laocoön* plate of 1820 stating, 'The Eternal Body of Man is The Imagination, that is God himself The Divine Body [Yeshua] Jesus'.[274] After indicating the association between God,

man, the Poetic Genius, and the imagination in *ARO*, Principles 1 and 7, represented by figures with outstretched arms, Warner observes, that this arm position "is not so much sacrifice as creativity."[275] Satan expresses this creative imagination in his standing cruciform posture, what Warner calls the visual equivalent of equating Christ with the imagination and the imagination with the form of man.[276]

Explaining cruciform symbolism, as seen in Blake's *PL* illustration *The Son Offers to Redeem Man* and the separate paintings *The Ascension* and *The Dance of Albion*, Behrendt states that this posture is

> indicative throughout Blake's visual canon of visionary energy, suggesting the positive, joyous aspect of the Crucifixion as imaginative liberation and redemption. Both Milton and Blake—the latter in particular—were acutely aware of the metaphorical implications of the Crucifixion, which emblem carries with it in Western art connotations not of death and self-sacrifice only but also of brotherhood, redemption, and creativity.[277]

Although Behrendt refuses to apply these qualities to the symbolism of the cruciform posture assumed here by Satan, the expression of positive, joyous visionary energy, creativity, imaginative liberation, and brotherhood are as applicable under the immediate circumstances here as they are in other instances where the posture is used. To deny the possibility that Satan could represent such aspects because he is a paradigm of error, pride, and sin is to disregard much of Blake's philosophy – and the entire subtly expressed intention of this design – and assume the rational dogmatic doctrine which Blake abhorred. As far as redemption is the act of delivering from sin or saving from evil, Satan's posture could be construed to be representative of redemption in that he and his crew are now free (saved) from the evil of the rational and tyrannical law-giving deity, and they are free from sin because, according to Blakean perspective, rebelling against oppression is not a sinful act, even when (or especially when) that rebellion is against a deity of the received religion.

Behrendt explains Blake's further understanding of the Crucifixion, seeing it as

> the emblem of the conscious annihilation of the selfhood in an act of love and integration effected *from within*, by conscious choice. Blake celebrates, not Christ's passion and death, but rather the archetypal imaginative redemption and reintegration of mankind it represents, the mental act by which man transcends his mortality—his vegetable body—and enters the paradise of fourfold vision.[278]

As an act of imaginative redemption Satan has delivered the rebel angels from the sin of rational religion and saved them from the evil constraining deity. But this is where Satan falls short and Christ triumphs as the Saviour of mankind. Although Satan shares some parallels with Christ, he is not a surrogate for Christ as his concern is primarily for himself and his comrades, whereas Christ is a paradigm for the liberation from the material world and his selfless concern is for humankind's return to eternity.

Behrendt believes that "Satan is obviously modeled upon the figure of Fire Blake created for the seventh plate of *The Gates of Paradise*, which figure Blake consistently associates with man's psychological energy, his desires and aspirations, indeed both with Orc and the Devil of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*."[279] He comments on the fallibility of Orc, the Devil, and Satan, yet recognises Satan represents 'contrary possibilities' as an emblem of apocalyptic purification (Orc) and apocalyptic self-sacrifice and creative energy seen in the cruciform posture recalled in *The Dance of Albion*. Behrendt even acknowledges that "Here [in *SRL*]…Satan represents contrary possibilities in that energy is always *potentially* liberating…[and] To understand and applaud Satan's resistance to the Father's impositions is potentially liberating…[as] Energy in resistance to reason is creative and constructive."[280] Following this reasonable and well-thought (albeit contradictory to his remonstration of Satan) deliberation on the potential signification of Satan, Behrendt completely subverts any positive characterization of Satan by conflating the representational

image in *SRL* with the Satan of the consecutive illustrations for *PL* and the temporally later actions of Satan in *PL*. Completely out of context with the illustration under discussion, Behrendt attempts to justify his claim of Blake's opinion of the Son's rightful position as sole author of liberating imaginative creativity in *PL* by stating, "Satan is himself a contrary: humanity must evaluate and act upon (and ultimately reject as error) what he represents…; energy perverted to repression of creativity, however, is destructive."[281] Here Satan has yet to embark on his *PL* journey into the 'perversion of energy' – and it is a highly dubious claim to suggest that Satan repressed creativity – so to insist upon condemning him to a representation of something he has yet to become risks misinterpreting this specific image and overlooking its essential and subtly iconoclastic meaning.

Warner recognises the figure with outstretched arms as one of the visual images most often recurring in Blake's designs with consistent meaning; outstretched arms signifying creativity or, "in their fallen state, power perverted to tyranny."[282] Although recognising in this posture the possibility of regenerative and demonic aspects, Warner insists that the outstretched-arms posture is invariably associated with some aspect of divinity.[283] Warner enumerates the traditional connotations associated with the outstretched-arms posture to include self-sacrifice, death, and regeneration (each related to the symbol of the Cross), as well as creativity, relating it to "the main themes of Blake's poetry and thought: man's essential divinity and capacity for regeneration or, from the aspect of fallen vision, man's own error of turning that divine creativity into mental tyranny or spiritual death."[284] Warner differentiates between the significance of the cruciform posture as seen in Albion (*Albion Rose*) and Satan (*SRL*), claiming the figure personifies man at his spiritual extremes: Albion emphasizing sacrificial overtones, while Satan is a demonic variant.[285] Unfortunately,

Warner offers no justification as to why Satan represents a demonic variation of Albion (aside from the implication that Satan must be universally perceived as demonically evil), casting much doubt as to why Satan should be assumed to represent anything different from Albion.[286] As previously noted in relation to the prostrate cruciform figure, Blake commonly depicts Urizen in the cruciform posture specifically as an exemplar of divine creativity perverted into mental tyranny. As Satan in *SRL* shares no signifying analogies with Urizen, in fact proving diametrical to Blake's demonic tyrant, he cannot be considered representative of fallen vision, a parody of Christ, or perverted creativity.

Behrendt draws attention to the cruciform posture of Milton on *Milton* 13 – also seen in *Dance of Albion* – stating that it "recalls Blake's view that the Crucifixion represented Christ's triumph over the cross, the symbol of vengeance for sin. Its inclusion here likewise signifies a stage in the process of Milton's repudiation of his error, linking him with the self-realizing Christ (and the Albion of *Jerusalem* 76) at the moment of his transformation."[287] It follows that for Satan to assume this posture his defeat and expulsion into Hell for his 'sins' is actually his triumph over the vengeful Jehovah. As an example for his observation that "obvious similarities of gesture imply that Blake wished us to recognize in the characters a continual interchange not just of characteristics but, indeed, of roles," Behrendt identifies plate 76 of *Jerusalem* (fig. 106), "which informs us visually that Albion and Jesus are types of one another, the point Jesus makes to Albion in the text on plate 96."[288] Even though Satan is presented in a similar posture to both Albion and Christ, there seems to be a refusal to acknowledge an 'interchange of roles' between Satan, Christ, and Albion, although, according to Behrendt's claim, Blake wishes us to recognise precisely this.

In the depiction of Christ in the preliminary sketch 'Jesus Parting the Clouds', (c.1797; fig. 107), Blake presents the Saviour in a similar cruciform posture to Satan in *SRL* – although Christ is in *contrapposto* – and similarly positioned between clouds. In the finished design of this sketch for the frontispiece of *Night Thoughts*, *NT* 1 (c.1795-7; fig. 108),[289] Christ is depicted essentially the same, although in leaping *contrapposto,* and a pair of angels holding his discarded shroud have been added to the foreground. Grant *et al* recognize Blake's debt to the tradition of Transfiguration painting in the influence of Raphael's *The Transfiguration* (c.1522) and Grunewald's *The Transfiguration* (c.1616).[290] The two clothed angels on either side of the bottom of the design, kneeling with heads bowed and downcast eyes, demonstrate their subservient position to Christ.[291] This is in contrast to the rebel angels, almost all of whom gaze intently at Satan, a reaction more demonstrative of the exaltation and glorification of a transfiguration. In accord with the Biblical account of the Transfiguration – 'And there was a cloud that overshadowed them' (Mark 9:7) – Satan in *SRL* is 'overshadowed' by a dark, billowing cloud, as is the tradition in Christian art in depicting the Transfiguration. Whereas the Transfiguration of Christ served as a declaration from God, to Peter, James, and John the Evangelist, that Christ was indeed his son (Mark 9:2-7), Blake's transfiguration of Satan seems to be his declaration that Satan is an emblem of the poetic imagination, untrammelled energy, and righteous rebellion. Not antichrist, but anti-Church.

My observation of the similarity between the Satan of *SRL* and Blake's Transfiguration of Christ in *NT* 1 is not entirely unparalleled. In reference to *SRL* 1807, Butlin comments that "Wilton sees the composition as a restatement in Blake's own terms of the traditional 'Resurrection' or 'Transfiguration'."[292] In addition to being more

contemporaneous, Blake's own watercolour, *The Resurrection* (c.1805; fig. 109), carries with it more compositional analogues bearing contextual ramifications with *SRL* than does the Transfiguration of *NT* 1. Not only does the posture of Satan resemble that of Christ, the entire composition of *The Resurrection* shares an affinity with *SRL*, particularly the 1808 version. Christ and Satan share similar postures, are central to both designs, are both environed by illumination and bordered by a backdrop, and are both raised above the other figures depicted. In both designs the primary figures are raised above a central supine cruciform figure, with figures drawn together at either side. A figure on the bottom left of *The Resurrection* is seated up against an arch resulting in a conspicuous resemblance to the caverned figure in *SRL*. The compositional arrangement of the two works seems to imply purposeful intention on Blake's part, that being the allocation to *SRL* of the content inherent in *The Resurrection*. Consequently, the scene of *SRL* can be viewed as the resurrection of Satan, rather than his defeat. Add to this the implication of the vignette in 'The Divine Image' (see fig. 54) of *Songs of Innocence*, also depicting a scene not unlike that of *SRL*, where Christ is resurrecting two figures in the lower right hand corner – one is reclining in a pose similar to that of the Hephaestus-Mulciber figure of *SRL* – and this design emerges as the resurrection of the rebel angels, effectively abnegating the ubiquitous fallen-defeated analyses.

Blake depicts a radiance surrounding, and emitting from, several cruciform figures in his designs, such as Christ in *NT* 1 and *The Resurrection*, Milton in *Milton* 13, and Albion in *Albion Rose*, creating a pattern into which Satan in *SRL* appears to conform as he stands in aglow in cruciform posture. Ripa associates beams of light with wisdom and hope:[293] the enlightenment of wisdom being related to the intelligence indicated by Satan's curly blonde

hair, while the latter recalls the passion depicted by Satan's expression. In 'The Argument' of *PL*, Milton describes Hell as 'a place of utter darkness', a statement he reiterates in Book 1 (l.72) after his famous characterisation of this flaming dungeon as 'no light, but darkness visible' (I:63). It seems that Blake attempted to create this environment of 'darkness visible' in his tempera versions of *SRL*, yet he chose to illuminate Satan, forcing Werner to concede to the possibility of a favourable consideration by Blake.[294] The luminosity of Satan is increased in the watercolour versions, as is the external illumination of Satan – this time provided by a shaft of light shining directly down upon him. Shortly following Satan's rousing of his legions off the floor of liquid flames, the rebel angels erect Pandemonium and with it 'starry lamps and blazing cressets fed / With naphtha and asphaltus yielded light / As from a sky' (I:728-30). It must be considered impossible for the light shining down upon Satan to be attributed to the pseudo-daylight illumination offered by Pandemonium's lamps as there is yet no evidence of construction in Blake's illustration of a scene preceding the erection of the capital of Hell. Noting that the design of *Milton* 13 is nearly equally illuminated by Milton's nimbus and the sun, Behrendt suggests that "the radiance of the imaginatively resurrected and purified Milton…at the very least equals that of the natural sun… The natural new day is paralleled by a spiritual new day, the rebirth of Milton the man into his spiritual, imaginative form."[295] Although Satan cannot be said to wear a nimbus, the light parting the clouds directly above him can be clearly seen to concentrate around his head. As a sunrise in Hell would be unlikely and inappropriate, Blake manages the insinuating glow and shafts of light to represent the dawning of a new day for the rebel angels. In accord with the Biblical accounts of the Transfiguration,[296] the traditional depictions of the Transfiguration and Resurrection in Christian art, and Blake's renditions of

those scenes, Satan appears in *SRL* illumed from without and within to identify him as a Christ-like model of imagination.

The Extremities

> 'attend to the Hands and Feet'
> William Blake, *A Vision of the Last Judgement*

According to Warner, "The symbolic gesture of outstretched arms…can be associated consistently with the main themes of Blake's work: the essential divinity of man, his capacity for regeneration, his error in turning the divine creativity into mental tyranny or selfhood."[297] A close inspection of the orientation and gesture of the hands will offer a key to define which outstretched arms signify divinity and regeneration, and which represent perverted creativity.

Satan's hands are held out with the fingers somewhat spread and placed flatly even, resembling Bulwer's illustrations for *Protego* ('protect') and *Suffragor* ('support') in his diagrammatic alphabet of natural expressions (signified by the letters 'O' and 'T', respectively; see fig. 44). Bulwer describes the multiplicity of possible implications of the gesture of *Protego* as:

> allure, invite, speak to, cry after, call, or warne to come, bring into, exhort, give warning, admonish, protect, pacifie, rebuke, command, justifie, …enquire, direct, instruct, order, shew a generous confidence, hardiness, and authority; give free liberty of speech, manifest a readiness to answer, and make an apology for our selves, and appear to undertake a business.[298]

Bulwer states the meaning of the gesture of *Suffragor* as follows: "To hold up the hand is a naturall token of approbation, consent, election, and of giving suffrage."[299] The gesture of *Protego* signifies Satan's interest in the well-being of his angels and subsequently their

arousal from the burning lake, while the gesture of *Suffragor* emphasises Satan's approval of his rebels and their democratic (as opposed to the autocratic order imposed in heaven) social order. While the hands in both versions of *SRL* combine attributes of both gestures, the perpendicular emphasis of the hands in the 1807 version suggests more closely the vertical emphases of *Suffragor*, while the slightly oblique manner of the left hand in the 1808 version bears closer resemblance to *Protego*.

Bulwer comments on the power of emphasis given to a manual gesture when both hands are used and raised up as in his diagram for *Imensitatem aperit* (signified by the letter 'T'; see fig. 43) in his rhetorical alphabet of manual significations:

> We may use likewise the advantage of both hands when we would present by some ample gesture the immensity of things; some places far and wide extent, a great number, almost infinite, large affections, or when the voice is reiterate by conduplication.[300]

His description evokes the vastness of hell while 'large affections' reiterates and reinforces Satan's genuine concern for his comrades.

Satan's left hand almost conforms to the gesture of *Triumpho* ('triumph') in Bulwer's diagrammatic alphabet of natural expressions (signified by the letter 'P'; see fig. 44), although close inspection reveals the digits in *Triumpho* to be spread wide while Satan's remain close. Bulwer's description of this gesture substantiates this observation:

> To put out the raised Hand, and to shake it as it were into a shout, is their naturall expression who exalt, brag, boast, triumph, and by exultant gesture expresse the raptures of their joy; they also who would declare their high applause, or would congratulate and they who have Drunke, do commonly use the same gesture. In congratulatory exclamation either in the behalfe of our selves or others welfare, it is usuall and naturall.[301]

Although the temptation to assert the bragging and boasting implied by this gesture validates the supposition that Satan is doing precisely that, Satan does not appear to be shaking his

hand and clearly this is not a raucous or drunken scene of 'high applause' or 'congratulatory exclamation' which, in addition to fingers not spread wide, must result in the refutation that Satan's hand conforms to Bulwer's gesture of *Triumpho*.

Behrendt hypothesizes on the implication of Satan's posture, in particular his hand gesture:

> Satan is scarcely in control of the situation, as his hand gestures attest. His raised hands, palms outward, suggest that he is, not rousing his rebels, but *silencing* them. This detail is most important, for it reveals Blake's intention here of showing, *not* the traditional rally, but instead the first act of Satan's demonic parody of the Father in heaven, his first attempt to impose order on the chaos that surrounds him. His lack of success in this attempt should immediately serve to confute those who would argue that Blake champions and heroizes Satan.[302]

In support of his hypothecate supposition, Behrendt refers to Blake's tempera paintings of this scene, arguing that in these, "Satan's posture is more commanding; his body arched actively with his hands raised, palms upward, as he exhorts his rebels."[303] Although the active arch in Satan's body in the tempera versions escapes my perception, his palms are clearly inclined upward. Bulwer's example of this gesture, entitled *Invito* in the alphabet of natural expressions (signified by the letter 'W'; see fig. 44), and his description for it reinforce Behrendt's claim that this is clearly a gesture of 'invitation':

> To shew forth the Hand, and so forthwith to call backe as it were and bring it againe unto us with a waving motion, is a naturall Gesture, and a vulgar compellation, which we significantly use in calling for men whom we bid to come neare and approach unto us…[304]

This is a simple gesture uniquely employed to indicate summons, which it clearly performs when used by Satan in the temperas. Blake did not abandon this gesture for his watercolours because he wanted to portray an ineffectual and dictatorial Satan attempting to silence his comrades. As I have shown, the gesture of Satan in the watercolours is not a gesture of

silencing, which Behrendt indicates as a most important detail. In fact the gesture for silencing is markedly different from Satan's gesture. Bulwer's diagram of *Silentium postulo* (signified by the letter 'Q' in the alphabet of natural expressions; see fig. 44) shows the hand in a semi-closed position, with the fingers forming a 'C' shape. Bulwer describes *Silentium postulo* as "a figure of crabbing audience, and entreating a favourable silence."[305]

Blake altered Satan's hands in the watercolours to indicate gestures of greater complexity which afford meaning beyond simple summons. As I have demonstrated, Satan's gesture does indicate invitation, but also implies authority, approval, democracy, and affection, among others. Also applicable may be Ripa's example of the upraised hand representing 'Disobedience', "the deliberate and voluntary transgression of divine and human laws," which indicates, "the firm resolve needed to so transgress."[306] Bulwer's gestures of *Dimitto* (signified by the letter 'X' in the alphabet of natural expressions; see fig. 44) and *Execratione repellit* (signified by the letter 'X' in the rhetorical alphabet of manual significations; see fig. 43) both appear in their diagrams to be similar to Satan's hand gestures, although studying their images and descriptions rejects them as relevant. Both of these gestures are directed toward the recipient: *Dimitto* uses one hand waving in front to "prohibit, bid one be gone, keep off, forbid…;" *Execratione repellit* employs both hands turned to the left side as "a more passionate forme of detestation, as being a redoubled action."[307] An example of *Dimitto* is the frightened Job in Blake's *Job* 9 (see fig. 23), while *Execratione repellit* is employed in the Lady's reaction to the Comus and his gang of creatures in *Comus with his Revellers* (c.1815; fig. 110). Satan's arms being raised up from his sides must then preclude implication of rejection demonstrated by the gestures of *Dimitto*

and *Execratione repellit*, as the claim of silencing must be rejected by an examination of Satan's digital placement.

Further implications of Satan's hand gesture can be inferred from an observation by Warner. In Blake's engraving of *Job* 14 (fig. 111), Warner describes Job's right hand as given 'creative' fingers and his left hand as having slightly open fingers, which she believes suggests "the awakened vision of Job".[308] Warner also notes the 'creative-hand' position of both Job's hands in plate 20 (fig. 112).[309] The finger position of Satan in *SRL* is nearly identical to Job's in plate 14, although Satan's hands are bent farther backward than Job's. The importance of this variation in hand position is made clear by Warner's observation that the down turned hand is often associated with "creativity turned to rationalism and abstraction" in Blake's designs, while "The pattern of using a receptive palms-up or -outward position on Adam, Albion, or Christ figures was a usual practice of Blake's, as even a cursory examination of designs will reveal."[310] This occasion of hand/finger placement would appear to present Satan as a creative Albion-Christ figure rather than an image of warped creativity. Through hand gesture, we can see that Satan is not exercising authority and imposing order, his motivation is concern and compassion. He is attempting to assuage the suffering of his comrades through encouragement. His hands-facing-out gesture precludes the interpretation that he is symbolic of creativity warped into 'mental tyranny or selfhood', instead expressing divine creativity, or, in Blakean terms, Poetic Genius.

In the 1807 version of *SRL*, Satan's right foot leads while his left leg appears to support him. This may indicate his firm placement in the spiritual action of Blake's right-side symbolism. In the 1808 version Satan is slightly heavier and now leads with his left foot which seems to be supporting the bulk of his bodyweight. Leg and foot position in this

version is seemingly identical to that of Carari's Apollo figure in *Imagini*, Milton casting off his rags in *Milton* 16, and recalls that of Albion in *Albion Rose*, although Albion's right leg is extended more obliquely. Does this mean that, although his left foot is forward, Satan shares the energy and imagination expressed by the figures in these designs? Behrendt notes the alteration in foot placement between the two designs and states that "[this] foot alteration would seem to suggest Satan [in *SRL* 1808] is advancing now in the Material (or 'Reason'-dominated) world, rather than in the spiritual, a conclusion apropos of Satan's first essays in hell."[311] That Blake began to associate left and right with values early in his career has led to much scholarly speculation and emphasis in Blake's work. Satan's foot position in *SRL* 1808 could just as well indicate that his rear right leg positioned on the ball of his foot is about to stride forth into the realm of the spiritual and imaginative – or it could be arbitrary. I believe that Satan was always a paradigm of energy and imagination for Blake and therefore need not be depicted moving toward the spiritual or away from the rational. It appears to me that Blake sometimes made concerted effort to ascribe values to the sides of the body, while many other times body position was left to caprice. As a proponent of Satan's place in Blake's work as a metaphor for energy and imagination I would argue that Satan's foot position in both designs is indicative of Blake's positive aspects of imagination and spiritual actions.

While I am 'attending to the hands and feet', I will use the opportunity to illustrate the import of the absence of fetters on Satan. In describing the Dragon in the Huntington version of *The Old Dragon* (c.1815; fig. 113), Davies states: "The looseness of the greenish tethers round his ankles…is a sobering reminder that the banishment of corporeal war can be achieved only by ceaseless imaginative effort."[312] Although the Dragon has the imaginative

capacity to visualize an existence free from oppression, he failed to pursue his imaginative endeavours beyond the achievement of his instigation of violent rebellion. As a result of his limited imagination, he is unable to realize that his failed coup and expulsion from Heaven is not further oppression bound in Hell, but actually the liberation of his crew and himself, left free to construct a city and society from their own imaginations designed to their own parameters. The limits of the Dragon's imagination is what creates the self-imposed 'mind-forg'd' suffering and bondage. Although described by Milton as being chained to the burning lake (I:210), by the time Satan comes to rouse his comrades in *SRL*, Blake depicts him free of chains. Blake does so because he shows that Satan is free of the mental bonds of oppression forced upon him and his angels by the Urizenic Father. When Satan decided to rebel in heaven he became free from those bonds regardless of the outcome of the battle. Although in Hell, Satan recognises the triumph of the rebel angels over enslaving reason and realizes the opportunity to create a New Jerusalem in Hell: 'I must Create a System, or be enslav'd by another Man's. / I will not Reason & Compare: my business is to Create' (*J* 10:20-1). Some of the rebels remain shackled because they are only just realizing, or have yet to realize, that they are in fact free of the restrictive bonds placed upon them, while others have no chains because they are inspired by Satan to the knowledge of their freedom won.

Absence of the Demonic

Frye claims that Milton refrained from presenting Satan as a distorted fiend because he did not want him to appear ridiculous, as the medieval representations of demons had generally become seen in their absurdity.[313] Blake's designs to *PL* are more than simple

literal illustration, they are Blake's criticism and interpretation of Milton's poem, and as such sometimes deviate from Milton. Yet, although critics interpret the scene of *SRL* as 'devils' in defeat and doom, despair forms, troubled, imprisoned, despondent, pathetic failures, representative of the visionless state and the fallen world, Blake chose to omit fiendish physical markings, such as seen on the horned devil representing Death the hunter in *NT* 117 (fig. 114). Blake often depicts satanic figures with demonic attributes, and by examining a sample of these we can see that these are generally not representations of Blake's idea of Satan but are often Biblical constructions or foils to illustrate Blake's idea of Urizen. Blake chose to depict Satan as an ideal human nude form because he is a purposeful representative of Blake's dearest ideals.

Milton describes a winged Satan, first mentioning his 'expanded wings' as he rears up from the burning lake (I:225). In *SRL* Satan is depicted wingless because he represents Blake's image of the human divine. This technique effectively separates Satan, and the rest of the rebels, from the religio-mythologic heavenly host by presenting an image of the human potential to the viewer. Satan does not yet even have the bat-wings with which he is endowed in other *PL* illustrations and which have been suggested as indicating his progression into Error. In the sketch 'Satan Calling up his Legions' (c.1805-10; see fig. 12), Blake presents Satan with a monstrous visage, ribbed dragon-wings running the length of his body, and wielding weapons above his head. Keynes identifies the left half of the sketch *Adam and Eve Expelled from Eden* (c.1820-5; see fig. 13) as "Satan calling up his legions with a background of flames," and dates the composition at *circa* 1807.[314] Satan is here again depicted clearly demonic: he has the same monstrous visage and dragon-wings, and now with pointed ears and horn-like protuberances on the front of his head. If these two

sketches are considered preliminaries to the *PL* designs then one can see that Blake considered using a demonic figure to represent Satan – a commonly repeated image in the tradition of *PL* illustration – but chose against it. This forethought suggests Blake intentionally chose to depict Satan in a manner which would preclude him from a demonizing interpretation.

When illustrating the Bible in watercolours for Thomas Butts, Blake depicts Satan in the manner of the Biblical Devil. In *Michael Binding Satan* (1805; fig. 115), Blake follows the Biblical idea of evil, depicting Satan with green scales and webbed spines, and a human head as a fusion of Satan, the Serpent, and the Old Dragon. For the watercolour of *The Devil Rebuked* (c.1805; fig. 116), a version of which he had used previously in his illustration *NT* 532 (c.1795-7; fig. 117), Blake illustrates the death of Moses as described in Deuteronomy 34, and the archangel Michael 'contending with the devil he disputed about the body of Moses' in Jude 9. Here Blake has six white, feathery-winged angels in thin, soft gowns lifting the burial shroud of Moses, the only colour on them being their flushed cheeks and brown, auburn, or golden coloured hair. Michael's appearance is similar to the other angels, although with ginger-coloured curly hair, as he confronts the Devil in mid-air with his left arm raised and his finger pointing upward in a gesture exclaiming 'The Lord rebuke thee' (Jude 9). Blake depicts Satan in a decidedly devilish manner, with spiked hair, shaggy beard, and contrasting dark skin and black bat-like wings; his arms and legs are pulled in, and his head cocked awkwardly to the left, as he hovers next to Michael. Apparently Blake depicted a Biblically demonic Satan to satisfy the biblical predilection of Butts, as Blake's own earlier version of the scene on *NT* 532 depicts Christ separating the two nude, classical figures, both devoid of demonic or angelic features.

The Satan depicted in the *PR* illustration, *Satan in Council* (see fig. 16) provides an ideal contrast to Satan as Blake depicted him in *SRL*. Dunbar declares Satan's absurd posturing is a comic touch by Blake, and notes that Satan's ruffled hair, expression of anguish, and reptilian wings are traditional iconographic attributes.[315] Werner expands upon this façade in further detail, acknowledging an impression of greatness in the Satan of *SRL*, although in ruin, and flatly states that the Satan of the *PR* illustration *Satan in Council* is depicted in direct contrast to the Satan of *SRL*.[316] If the Satan depicted in the *PR* design is an absurd and vain caricature of a victor, recognisable as an image of Blake's Spectre, why is the Satan of *SRL* not depicted similarly? The short answer is that Blake did not intend to portray Satan as a fallen, impotent degenerate. Commenting on Blake's refusal to depict Satan standing upright in the *PR* illustrations, Dunbar asserts that "Upright posture is a clear indicator of steadfastness of vision."[317] If this is so, the upright stance of Satan in *SRL* clearly indicates his 'steadfast vision', while his Naked Human Form and posture demonstrate the sincerity of his purpose, that being a representation of Blake's values.

Blake's emblem book *The Gates of Paradise* offers an early vision of Satan as energy and liberation in his 'For Children' original version of 1793, then in the *circa* 1818 version entitled 'For the Sexes' the image is altered and text is added to present an image of Satan-Urizen. Plates 7 of these series, entitled 'Fire' (figs. 118 and 119), depict a nude male grasping a sword and shield with his arms raised in Apollonian-Albion fashion. Blake clearly associated this figure with Satan, as to a sketch of this emblem (see fig. 11) he appended the lines from *PL* describing Satan's rise from the lake of fire in Hell: 'Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool/His mighty stature' (I, 221-2). This figure then refers to both the purgative fire element of the emblems and Satan of *PL*. Of the early version of this emblem

in 'For Children', Erdman suggests that "In the spirit of the Proverbs of Hell this might signify 'Enough or Too Much'—although true liberation is shown not with clutched weapons but with broken chains, in for example *America* [5]."[318] I have already examined the relationship of liberation between the figure of Orc unchained on *America* 5 and the rising angels of *SRL* but, according to Erdman's proposition, Satan too must symbolize the state of liberation. For, according to Erdman's stipulation, Satan has abandoned his spear and shield, in direct contradiction to Milton's description, and assumed this pose of 'true liberation'.

For his 1818 version 'For the Sexes', Blake altered the figure of 'Fire'. Dunbar describes the alteration of the emblem as a darkening and demonizing to indicate a fallen state.[319] Erdman's later description parallels that of Dunbar: "In [the revised emblem] scales are forming on the warrior and on the flames (to suggest their transformation into serpent's coils); rising has turned to falling, the eyes are shut 'Blind' and the emblems of 'Two Horn'd Reasoning' grow on his head."[320] After the title of this emblem, 'Fire', Blake has added to this later revised version the caption, 'That end in endless Strife', also adding three plates of text at the end under the heading *The Gates*, the first two he entitled 'The Keys of the Gates', upon which he offers his description of the emblem of 'Fire'.[321]

In the text and the illustration, Blake offers several references peculiar to Urizen as Blake's metaphor for the Jehovah of the Old Testament, the Church and established religion, and the state. Blank eyes signify the lack of vision caused by the error of spiritual and moral blindness which lead to war ('shield & spear'). The 'Two Horned Reasoning Cloven Fiction' refers to Blake's personification of reason Urizen. Blake used the image of Urizen with the medieval satanic attribute of cloven hooves on *Job* 11 (fig. 120): "Grasped from below by

devils, Job turns in horror from a cloven-hoofed, serpent-entwined God tormenting him with the punishing laws inscribed on the stony tablets to which he points."[322] The restrictive Mosaic Decalogue is precisely what Blake refers to with 'Two Horned Reasoning', a phrase which recalls the traditional Christian depiction of Moses from the twelfth century with two horns projecting from his head, the a result of the mistranslation of *cornutam* from the Latin Vulgate, meaning both 'shining' and 'horned'.[323] Blake accuses Jehovah and the Urizenic laws of the Church for creating the idea of good and evil ('Rational Truth Root of Evil & Good'), banishment from Paradise ('Flaming Sword'), and the restrictive convention of female sexual chastity ('Freezing her Veil'). The 'endless Strife' proclaimed on the emblem is the lack of harmony suffered by humanity and caused by the forced law of the Decalogue.

On the title-page of the later version Blake posits Christ's doctrine of forgiveness against the propagation of the incriminating and penalizing Old Testament laws, written by 'Jehovah's Finger' when he 'walkd among the Stones of Fire' on Sinai. The final plate, entitled 'To The Accuser who is The God of This World', Blake depicts a black, bat-winged demon hovering over a recumbent traveller, and delivers his condemnatory declaration.[324] Here Blake explains that the evil Satan adopted and propounded by the Church is in fact the Church itself ('Thou art Worshipd by the Names Divine / Of Jesus & Jehovah') using Satan as a dupe to control the masses' obedience. In his watercolour *Christ Trampling Down Satan* (see fig. 65) Blake depicts the Church's Satan defeated by Christ, clearing showing that Satan to be the Church itself in the image of Jehovah, Moses, and Urizen. By appearing to be referring to the Biblical Satan when accusing the Church itself of being satanic, Blake affords himself protection from persecution and exemplifies his advocacy of the observation of details being the key to perception.[325] Blake affirms his adherence to the tenets of energy

and liberation embodied in his vision of Satan in the lines 'thou art still / The Son of Morn in weary Night decline'. Blake sees past the satanic rhetoric of the Church to the original rebel against tyranny.

Commenting on the *PR* designs, Dunbar observes an association between Christ and Satan in which Satan shares a relationship with Urizen based on the adoption of Urizenic qualities.[326] Scientific empiricism, physical violence, and materialism are attributes Blake ascribes to the Church and state, not to Satan. Blake personifies these attributes as Urizen while the Church does so as Satan. Blake recognises that the Church's Satan is a projection of its own destructive characteristics, hence, he depicts the Church as a demonic biblical Satan and presents the Church's version of the malefic Satan as Urizen, *id est* the Church itself. *Job* 3 (fig. 121) depicts the result of an uncaring God dispensing suffering and death on the innocent as a test of loyalty. A demonic Satan is perched at the top of the scene – sooty black, bat-winged, and wearing a sinister grin – spreading fires of misery; he is passing judgment on joy, sexual pleasure, and the arts (musical instruments are visible). This is a Urizenic act, not a 'Satanic' one, and a visual example of Blake using a demonic image of Satan to represent the violent oppression of the Church. The tenth design for *PR, The Third Temptation* (fig. 122), provides a visual example of Blake presenting the Biblical aspersion of Satan by depicting the falling Tempter as Urizen.

Warner believes there is a relation "between the Spectre, despair, and pride in Blake's work."[327] As evidence, Warner cites *Job* 6 (fig. 123) and *SRL* as designs "in which the Spectre is drawn as Satan (the traditional archetype of pride) in conjunction with the huddled, falling, and prostrate Despair forms."[328] Although the punishing scale-covered Satan of *Job* 6 may be open to interpretation as a Spectre/Despair form[329] it seems that the

conflation of tradition external to Blake's *SRL* design, while seemingly applicable, results in erroneous interpretation. Even a casual glance at the examples of Satan in these two designs will show that they are radically different from one another: the heavily-scaled, pointy-auricled, joyously sneering Satan of *Job* shares little in common with the Satan of *SRL*. Further suggesting the unlikelihood of the Satan of *SRL* being Spectrous on Warner's grounds is that the Despair forms she observes do not exist in *SRL*: the single huddled (foetal) figure lacks all of Warner's indicators of despair, aside from drawn-up knees; there are no falling figures (again conflating *RRA* with *SRL*); and, by Warner's own descriptions of prostrate despair forms (arms must be at the sides[330]) and prostrate cruciform figures ('spiritual or physical murder'[331]), the supine cruciform figure is not an example of Despair.

Blake's Spectre is a metaphor for rationality and despair, in particular the dark, destructive side of man's nature: his self-centeredness and his reasoning power. Warner identifies that "The visual images for the Spectre include recognisable satanic figures, beasts, batwinged hovering forms, and serpent-dragon forms."[332] Hamlyn suggests Blake's visual incarnation of Spectres may have been "influenced by an engraving of a bat in J.G. Steadman's Narrative, he depicts them as bat-winged creatures associated with the night, vampirism, and ugliness," also suggesting the bat in Dürer's *Melancholia I.*[333] The *SRL* Satan is so unlike Blake's image of the Spectre that a comparison is impossible, although a contrast is fruitful. Los' Spectre on *Jerusalem* 6 (fig. 124), a blackened bat-winged human figure, and the giant Albion's Spectre on *Jerusalem* 37 (fig. 125), a grotesque red-black bat-winged creature with a bird-like head tapering to a pointed beak, illustrate Los' description: 'The Spectre is, in Giant Man; insane, and most deform'd' (*J* 37:40). Satan's divine form is intentionally the polar opposite of the Spectre, both visually and metaphorically.

There is one ineluctable physical element to Satan which suggests the demonic and attempts to undermine his divine form: the slight scaling which obscures his genitals. This is the aspect of Satan invariably seized upon by Blake scholars and critics of *SRL* to certify myriad unpropitious hypotheses. According to Davies, Blake associates the batwings and scales of medieval devils with 'blinkered rationalism', and that repressing 'the throne of God in man' results in the scaly loins of Satan.[334] Dunbar recognizes that the "artistic and sexual freedom which [Satan's] nudity implies is compromised by the lightly-sketched codpiece of scales which he is wearing," particularly that the scales covering Satan's genitals "suggest a distortion of his sexual energies: as with Comus, repressed sexuality is associated with aggression."[335] Regarding Satan's scaled genitals, Werner hypothesizes that "Blake may be alluding to Satan's jealousy of the sexual love of Adam and Eve as well as to the impotence of his fiendish rage against Providence. The scales are surely for Blake a sign of deprivation of energies."[336] Essick identifies Satan's 'baleful eyes' (*PL* I:56) and scale-covered genitals ("omens of the serpent he will become") as markers of his fallen state.[337]

It appears to me that, rather than investigating why Blake would choose to apply scales to only Satan's groin, critics seem to subscribe to generalizations – such as Cary's claim that Blake usually clothes his demons in scales[338] and Keynes description of scales in Blake's art as "the sign of evil, whether seen on Satan's loins or on the trunk of a palm tree, the symbol of suffering"[339] – in order to facilitate dubious conclusions. Undoubtedly, Blake sometimes did associate scales with suffering and evil as the design to *Job* 6 testifies (see fig. 123). This design – depicting a heavily-scaled Satan with a joyous smile delivering a vial of disease and darts of painful suffering to Job – also shows, by the curious halo on Satan's head, that this is an aspect of the tyrannical Father Urizen, thereby associating scales with the

cruel discipline of oppressive Urizen. Scales do also suggest the serpent, which Blake associates with naturalistic and rationalistic society, materialism, and evil, and as such also with Urizen. Recall *Europe* 10:16: 'Thought changed the infinite to a serpent'; interpreted by Erdman to mean Urizen's rational thought engenders the serpent in Eternity.[340] Although "The serpent is a Spectre form analogous to Satan",[341] specifically Urizen functioning in the role of the Biblical and traditional Christian Satan, Blake also associates his spirit of revolution and destroyer of evil, red Orc, with the worm and the serpent in *FZ* and the viper in *America*. Damon enumerates Blake's meanings of the serpent to include hypocrisy, the priesthood, nature, and notes the historical association of the viper with revolution and Blake's usage of it to represent creative activity.[342] In his *Iconologia*, Ripa associates the snake with victory.[343]

An unexplored possibility for the covered genitals on Satan may lie in the modesty of Blake or his patrons. In addition to the *PL* series, Blake also completed a series of illustrations to Milton's *Comus* (c.1801and c.1815) and *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* (c.1809 and c.1815) for both Rev. Joseph Thomas and Thomas Butts. In each of these two series male nudes appear, but with visible genitals only in the case of Apollo in Thomas' *circa* 1809 version of *The Overthrow of Apollo and the Pagan Gods*, and here the male organs are minimized by underdevelopment. Although Blake painted more than 135 illustrations to the Bible for Butts, many with nude males, only *The Blasphemer* (c.1800) depicts a naked male with visible genitals. That a patron would be mortified by the depiction of nudity is not an unreasonable assumption in light of this ratio, and considering Butlin's claim that Satan's genitals in the *PR* design *Satan in Council* had been expurgated while in Linnell's possession.[344]

It seems almost blasphemous to claim that Blake may have had reservations about depicting the male genitalia when he seems such a vocal proponent of the naked human form. Blake certainly believed that God created humans in his image, 'the Human form Divine', that nudity is both the expression of God and Love, and that 'the genitals [are] Beauty' (*MHH* 10). Blake was also not ashamed of nudity, as evidenced by his reciting of *PL* in his garden with his wife – both naked. Blake was so resolute a champion of the naked human form that in his *Laocoön* (1826) he insists that, 'Art can never exist without Naked Beauty displayed'. Be that as it may, in the thousands of examples of Blake's graphic output, many depicting male nudes, exposed male genitals are a relative rarity. In addition to judicious use of drapery, Blake was in the habit of positioning the body so as to cover the genitals of his male nudes, blurring the groin with lines or shading, minimizing the genitals to obscurity, or simply depicting a neuter groin. For example, in the *PL* illustrations in which Adam appears naked he is only once exposing his genitals: his back is turned, he is in profile, or his knee protects his modesty. The single exception is *The Creation of Eve*, in which Adam's genitals are fully exposed, albeit de-emphasised. Lister comments that the genitalia of Adam and Eve, in this 1808 version of *The Creation of Eve*, are 'underdeveloped', "perhaps representing what Blake' believed was the androgynous state of the sexes before the Fall."[345] This is a dubious speculation considering underdeveloped genitalia is a common pattern in Blake's graphic works. Sometimes, in cases where multiple copies of a work exist, Blake will obscure the genitals in one copy and display them in another. In *Milton* 13 (see fig. 100) the dense hatching on Milton's body obscures nearly completely his genitals, although Erdman notes that in copy D his penis and testicles are

distinct.[346] In *Urizen* 16, Los in cruciform posture, surrounded by fire, has his genitals obscured in copy D and in copy B, but visible in copy G.

With the possible exception of the *PL* design of Raphael in *Satan Spying on Adam and Eve, and Raphael's Descent into Paradise* (1807; fig. 126), Blake does not depict heavenly angels naked. Even in this design Raphael's genitals are covered by one pair of 'his' three-fold wings and 'he' covers 'his' chest/breasts with his hands. This modesty could preclude Raphael from being considered nude. Whereas Blake's heavenly angels are depicted clothed, his rebel angels are nude, occasionally with visible genitals. Blake's woodcut 'Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour' (fig. 127) exemplifies this with a clothed 'heavenly' angel beside a naked 'demonic' angel. Although Blake follows in the tradition of *PL* illustration, whereby Satan is often presented without genitals or in a manner which the genitals are covered or obscured so as to be unidentifiable, outside of the *PL* illustrations Blake alternately depicts Satan with and without exposed genitals. In the left half of the sketch *Adam and Eve Expelled from Eden* (see fig. 13) Satan is again depicted clearly devoid of genitals.[347] In his unfallen state in *Satan in his Original Glory* (see fig. 101), Satan is depicted with obscured genitalia – suggesting that arguments for obscured genitalia cannot be based on his fallen state. An 1807 sketch 'Satan, Sin and Death at the Gates of Hell' (fig. 128) depicts a full-frontal, clearly drawn Satan with no genitals; there are no obscuring scales, only a bare groin. The University of Texas sketch of 'Satan Calling up his Legions' (see fig. 12), roughly contemporaneous with the watercolour illustrations, shows Satan a nude body, including underdeveloped yet visible genitals and no scales. In *The Fall of Man* (fig. 129) Satan is depicted at the bottom-left of the design, "a sublime nude, not yet tainted by the Fall,"[348] rousing Sin, Death, and Hell, although with minimized genitals. While Satan,

in 'The Fall of Satan' in the Butts series of *Job* illustrations has his genitals obscured by what appear to be flames, and in the engraved series by hatching, the Linnell version (fig. 130) of the same illustration depicts Satan with the suggestion of genitals. In the *Study for Plate 6, Satan Smiting Job with Boils* (fig.131), Satan is drawn with no scales and suggested genitals, yet in the watercolour, tempera, and engraved versions they are obscured by scaling. It appears that if Blake chooses to depict Satan with exposed genitals, he also chooses to depict them underdeveloped in order to minimize them, a technique which he employs almost universally with his nude males in general.

As Blake sometimes depicts Satan with genitals and sometimes without, so he depicts Satan with scales. In discussing *The Old Dragon* design of Milton's *Nativity Ode* (1809 and 1815; figs. 132 and 113), Davies suggests that manner of the 1809 figure of Satan seems to parallel that of Satan in the *SRL* illustrations, recalling the line in *PL*, "Awake, arise, or forever be fallen" (*PL* I:331).[349] Satan in the 1809 version has his thighs and waist covered in scales, while the corresponding figure of Satan in the 1815 version (the figure with both arms raised) has no scales. In the *PL* designs, Satan is shown with scale covered genitals in *SRL*, *SSD* (1808 version only; his leg obscures his genitals in the 1807 version), *CORM* (1807 version only), and *RRA*. Satan is shown without scale-covered genitals in *SSD* 1807, *SSAE* 1807, and both versions of *SWEAE* (although his genitals are obscured by the scaly serpent entwining him in the latter three examples). In *SRL* 1807, the rising angel immediately to the right of Satan is pictured as a full-frontal nude, as such he also has scales covering his genitals. Blake is using scales in the *PL* designs as a means to obscure Satan's genitals when he is depicted frontally, as he does for the rising angel. This is confirmed when Satan is in profile, as in *SSD* 1807 (see fig. 61), and his leg covers his genitals and

there are no scales to signify anything anywhere on his body. In several of the *Job* designs Satan is depicted with scaled genitals, but also with scaled chest, shoulders, and thighs. Here his scales cannot be attributed to modesty, as they cover more than simply his genitals, but imply Satan's role as Adversary, an extension of the Father. The scales in *SRL* are restricted to Satan's genitals because Blake does not want Satan to appear demonic or as an aspect of the Father. The vague scales represented here might foreshadow Satan's forthcoming decline in the poem, but do not to imply a present evil nature. If Blake intended to present Satan as an evil or fallen figure he most assuredly would have presented him as a darkened, scale-covered, dragon-winged, sinister-visaged figure as he has done in other designs, like the spear wielding Lucifer of *Lucifer and the Pope in Hell* (c.1794) with the full body coverage of scales.

Commenting on the *PR* design *Satan in Council* – Davies suggests the possibility that, analogical to the *SRL* illustrations, all the figures are male, "and therefore to Blake hermaphroditic."[350] Behrendt offers a different possibility with his explanation that Satan's scaled genitals offer a 'brilliant' resolution to the question of whether angels have genitals, in addition to suggesting "Satan's alter ego, the Serpent, the only offspring he could hope to engender, the perverse projection of his own narcissistic nature."[351] In addition to the inaccuracy of the claim that the Serpent is 'the only offspring he could hope to engender', as the birth of Sin from the head of Satan clearly demonstrates, Blake's 'resolution' to the "question previous illustrators had avoided by clothing their figures in some manner,"[352] does not actually resolve anything; at best it avoids the question while enabling Blake to display a nude Satan frontally without having to expose his genitals. Blake does not depict fully nude angels with exposed genitals unless the genitalia are underdeveloped so as to be

minimized. This suggests that the scaling of genitals is a technical solution to a dogmatic dubiety rather than a character symbolisation. Only the rising angel immediately to the right of Satan in the 1807 version is depicted frontally enough to have potentially visible genitals, and he too has scaled genitals. Does this suggest that this rising angel is also associated with Satan's alter ego the Serpent? I doubt that. Rather, I see the scaled genitals of a second fallen angel as corroborative evidence that this is a technical solution – as is using body position, clothing, shadow, and objects – to allow Blake to avoid displaying the genitals of angels.

Obscured genitals are far more common than exposed genitals in Blake's graphic work. With notable exceptions (such as *Albion Rose*), the majority of Blake's nude male figures are positioned so as to obscure their genitals, are simply devoid of external genitals, or are depicted with underdeveloped minimized genitals. While ten of the twelve illustrations to *PL* display male nudes, none of the heavenly angels appear nude, and only Adam in each of the three versions *The Creation of Eve* has exposed male genitals. Blake seems to purposely situate the male nude characters to enable the concealment of their genitals. The scales on Satan may be a device with which to associate him with the serpent and thereby to mark Satan's nascent progression into degradation in *PL*. They may be remnants of the influence of Urizen before the rebellion, or an indication of Satan's association with Orc. Or this may be a technical solution to displaying the frontal nude angel without exposed genitals, but I cannot believe that the vague scaling is indicative of a rational nature, fallen state, or perverted or jealous sexuality.

Hell

'...I was walking among the fires of hell, delighted with the enjoyments of Genius, which to angels look like torment and insanity'
William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

Blake did not believe in a literal Hell. Rather he defined Hell as 'being shut up in the possession of corporeal desires which shortly weary the man'.[353] In *Jerusalem* 77, Blake asks, 'What are the Pains of Hell but Ignorance, Bodily Lust, Idleness, & devastation of the things of the Spirit?' Werner understands that "For Blake hell is a mental state of negation, a constricted and uncreative condition of life, endured in the unquenchable burnings of unexpressed energies. It is a product of the accusing mentality, shackling man with its mind-forged manacles of law."[354] She sees the *SRL* designs as a visual representation of this Hell, commenting that "Particularly in the Victoria and Albert [1808] watercolor, Satan's realms, like Urizen's dens, are shown to be a caverned world of dark confusion, where everyone is 'wrappd up / In his own sorrow,' unregarding of others, and unable to penetrate with his senses beyond the bounds of his own self."[355] As I have demonstrated, the rebel angels of *SRL* are realizing they are freed from mental bonds of laws, are expressing their creative energies and intelligence, and do see beyond the bounds of their own selves, to Satan who is leading them out of the confusion and sorrow of an existence suffering under the restrictions of a Urizenic deity. When Satan observes that 'The mind is its own place, and in it self / Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n' (I:254-55), he is outlining his rationale for rebelling against God. For Satan, Heaven was a hell because there his creative energies and mental desires were restrained by the unyielding rule of God. Only by being cast into Hell is Satan free to create, with the assistance of his comrades, a heaven for the third of the host

who could no longer bear the oppression endured in the realm of the lawgiver. For Blake, the biblical Hell is what the rebels have broken free of and they can now enjoy the hell of energy and delight described in *MHH*

In 'The Argument' of *MHH*, Blake applies the metaphor of 'Hungry clouds' to describe the threatening atmosphere of revolution (2:2, 22), then depicts these clouds on several plates of *America*. The dark clouds on the frontispiece have an opening (eye) above the angel Orc, paralleling the separation in the clouds above Satan in *SRL*. In *America* 14:10-12, Blake describes the rise of Orc: 'In black smoke thunders and loud winds rejoicing in its terror / Breaking in smoky wreaths from the wild deep, & gath'ring thick / In flames as of a furnace…' These lines accurately describe the setting of *SRL*: 'black smoke' (often identified as clouds) rising from 'flames as of a furnace' in the 'wild deep' of Hell, 'gath'ring thick' and breaking in a 'smoky wreath' above the risen figure of Satan. Even though the scene of *SRL* accurately follows the description of Orc's rise in *America*, clearly identifying Satan with revolutionary energies of Orc, critics seem to prefer to discern the ominous in the landscape of Hell.

Davies chooses to invoke the dark clouds to support his claim that the Satan of *SRL* is a manifestation of Blake's Urizen as follows.[356] As evidence for this hypothesis Davies offers the *Ancient of Days* / *Europe* frontispiece design, in which the Creator is engaged in the Urizenic act of defining the limits of the universe, comparing how "the similarity in the way Satan and the Creator are both hemmed in by billowing clouds is remarkable," which Davies believes to be a deliberate attempt by Blake to unify Satan with Milton's rationalist Father.[357] Unfortunately, as further evidence of his hypothesis Davies offers the image of Christ inscribed within the rose orb of *RRA*, formally and thematically a mirror image of *The*

Ancient of Days, "making it virtually certain that Blake had *The Ancient of Days* in mind when working on the *Paradise Lost* designs."[358] This is unfortunate because, as I see it, the obvious similarity between Christ launching arrows from a bow situated outside the orb in *RRA*, and the Creator's compass projecting from the orb in *The Ancient of Days*, links those two together far more effectively than the dark clouds connect Satan and the Creator. It appears to me that Satan is forcing back the Urizenic clouds, rather than being encompassed by them as is Urizen in *The Ancient of Days*, and as both the Father and Christ are in the *PL* design *CORM* (fig. 133), indicating Satan is denying and disregarding the controlling influence of the Father/Urizen rather than being subject to it. This hypothesis is reinforced by the radiance and beams of light penetrating the dark clouds and illuminating Satan.

Dunbar suggests that the landscape elements that are not described by Milton but are included in the illustration – rock faces; dark, billowing clouds; a tiny cave in the lower left corner – are aspects which Blake associates with the fallen or material world.[359] In fact Milton describes Hell's smoke in Book I on line 237, then again, 'There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top / Belched fire and rolling smoke' (670-1). Although not specifically rock-faced, the hill is mentioned again on line 679, and, although not specific to the landscape of Hell, Milton refers to the rejoicing of the rebels 'As when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds / Ascending' (II:488-9). Rock is specified by Milton when some of the rebel angels, to occupy their time, 'Rend up both rocks and hills' (II:540), suggesting that these hills are indeed rocky. Finally, Milton does directly describe 'many a fiery Alp / Rocks, [and] caves' (II:620-1), evidently overlooked by Dunbar but not by the entire tradition of *PL* illustration. Dunbar also claims that the rock faces in the temperas (largely eliminated in the watercolours) and the cloud canopy in the watercolours give the impression of defeat and

doom.[360] Dunbar believes that although the clouds are parted around Satan, they continue to 'hem him in', ignoring the shaft of light illuminating Satan as the clouds part for him.

Rather than depicting the state of utter confusion, of 'huge affliction and dismay' (I:57), envisioned on Milton's lake of fire, Blake's rebels form a scene of emergent organization as they obey Satan's command. Immediately upon hearing Satan's voice, the angels spring up from the lake, oblivious to plight and pain in their rush to obey their general's voice (331-8) with a reflexive obedience that justifies the devotional gaze apparent in the faces of the angels in *SRL*. This organization of the rebel angels prefigures the organization of the democratic council to be held in Pandemonium in Book II, and recalls the two previous councils held by the rebels in Heaven in books V and VI.

'The Argument' of Book I outlines Satan's speech to his legions, whereby Satan 'comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven'. Immediately in the poem, Satan establishes his concern for his comrades, and the hope (seen in his visage) of regaining heaven is fulfilled with the realization that that if they are free of the control of the Father they can create their own heaven. Satan demonstrates his concern for his comrades when, immediately upon spying a 'dreary plain', he plans to rouse his suffering legions to the area of relative safety from which they may consult upon what they 'may gain from hope' or 'what resolution from despair' (I:180-91). Before he removes himself from the fiery lake, again Satan's concern for his fellow angels is displayed when he exclaims to Beelzebub:

> But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
> The associates and copartners of our loss
> Lie thus astonished on the oblivious pool,
> And call them not to share with us their part
> In this unhappy mansion (I:264-8)

In describing his cohorts as ‘friends’, ‘associates’ and ‘copartners’, Satan demonstrates an egalitarian perspective and willingness to share in the reign of Hell which proves that he is not an autocrat and the organization of Hell is not a parody of the dictatorship of heaven.

Upon reaching the beach of the flaming lake Satan calls to his stupefied legions (299-301), ‘Awake, arise, or be forever fallen’ (330). His heart swells with pride upon viewing his gathered comrades (571-2), again showing concern and responsibility for his comrades when Milton describes the signs of compassion and remorse in his eyes when he looks upon his comrades gathering around him, condemned for following him in his revolt (604-8). The angels stand faithful around Satan, irregardless of their distress (611-12); they lean forward in mute, rapt attention when Satan prepares to speak (615-18), a devotion not lost on Blake as demonstrated by the regard paid to Satan by the rebel angels in *SRL*. Because of his concern and feelings of responsibility for his angels, three times Satan bursts into tears when preparing to address his legions (619-21). Satan suggests they abandon another attempt at war, instead to work in secret against heaven and discover the truth of God’s favoured creation equal to angels, and to this effect he advises a meeting of full council to a achieve a resolution (643-62), here again proposing the democratic governance of hell, unlike the despotic autocracy of heaven.

Behrendt accuses Satan of creating “a parodic counterpart to the repressive hierarchical system of heaven.”[361] I cannot see how this assumption could possibly be defended, as almost immediately upon rising from the lake Satan organizes a democratic council which includes every rebel angel – the ‘full council’ of Satan and his crew of ‘associates’ that Milton describes in ‘The Argument’ to Book I – that in no way resembles the dictatorship of Heaven. Then, to the sound of harmonious music, groups of rebel angels

work together to erect the temple-like edifice of Pandaemonium, both dignified and ornate, out of the mist (I:710-17).[362] Behrendt's use of the term 'vacated' seems an attempt to reinforce the assumption that Satan is an isolationist by implying a voluntary removal, when in fact Satan and his crew were forced with great violence out of Heaven. In fact 'positive, constructive action' has been taken by Satan in successfully rebelling against the repressive and oppressive deity of Heaven, instituting a democratic government of equal peers, and building a heaven out of Hell. Following this, Satan offers to sacrifice himself for his comrades with a benevolence which Behrendt denies. In contrasting Satan's pride with Adam and Eve's humility, Behrendt states that "Just as Satan's pride turns his attention inward upon himself, so does the humility of Adam and Eve turn theirs outward, not in exaltation of self, but in love and service to one another. Theirs is the state of benevolent selflessness recommended by the 'Proverb of Hell' that states that 'the most sublime act is to set another before you'."[363] But when Satan engages in this 'sublime act' of 'benevolent selflessness' by volunteering to risk himself for his angels and embark on his uncertain journey to discover Eden and humankind it is inexplicably called selfish pride and cannot be considered self-sacrifice.

Blake's non-linear presentation of *MHH* is a statement of his rejection of logical exposition as a product of reason. Blake recognizes this concept in the non-sequential format of *PL*, and embraces this rejection of rationality in the asymmetrical format of the illustrations of the rebel angels in the poem. It is important to note that the asymmetrical compositional arrangement of *SRL* does not denote disorganization, but the absence of symmetry. Heppner believes that "the number of angels used by Blake [in a composition] is dependent upon such considerations as whether the design requires symmetry or asymmetry,

one or several orders of angels, many or few."[364] The *PL* designs including the rebel angels would seem to require asymmetry (the chaos of a rout in battle and the beginning of a regrouping after defeat), several orders of angels (as there were rebels from most of the orders), and many angels (as 1/3 of heaven's host rebelled and fell). But there is deeper meaning to the symmetry, or lack thereof, in Blake's designs. The arrangement of the rebel angels in *SRL* (as in *RRA*) is not symmetrical[365] as are the holy angels depicted in the *PL* designs *SORM* and *RRA*. In each example of multiple angels in *PL*, the rebel angels are depicted asymmetrically while the heavenly angels are organized symmetrically. Symmetrical organization is a technique Blake universally employs when depicting multiple holy angels in his visual art, for example the six angels within the aureole in *God Blessing the Seventh Day* (fig. 134). When Blake writes, "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,"[366] he explains the rationale for depicting his holy angels in a uniform manner. This demonstrates that the angels who are bound by the yoke of the Urizenic Father are forced to conform to a rational, ordered system while the rebels more chaotic asymmetry demonstrates their energetic, imaginative freedom. Even the torso of the reclining Hephaestus-Mulciber angel is positioned in the balanced but asymmetrical attitude of *contrapposto*. The *PR* design *Satan in Council* (see fig. 16) demonstrates a somewhat symmetrical arrangement of devils around the throne of the demonic Satan, offering a visual example of the parody of the hierarchy of heaven which Behrendt claims to find in *SRL*, but which is clearly compositionally distinct.

Milton ignores the centuries-old artistic tradition of depicting devils in Hell busying themselves with the joys of sadistic tortures, choosing instead to describe them variously

engaging in tournaments, creating music, holding theological debates, and in the exploration of Hell. Blake's vision of Hell is also absent of tortures: '...I was walking among the fires of hell, delighted with the enjoyments of Genius, which to angels look like torment and insanity' (*MHH* 6). Marilyn Butler sees this as an analogy to contemporary London, "a world full of mental activity, exhilarating to be in."[367] Blake associates the subterranean with the mind, and in *MHH*, "fire is identified with the forces of the subconscious, the sources of inspiration"[368] According to *MHH* the flames which surround the 'Devil' represent energy, life, and eternal delight. Pale-red flames rise among the rocks and angels in the 1807 version, while the flames are orange in the 1808 version, contrasting with the black flames the traditional black flames of Hell that give heat (torture) but not light (insight), as seen in Blake's *Job* 11.[369] Blake identifies the Lake of Fire with the subconscious – the Furnace of Los that purifies by burning away error and falsity.[370] Fire consumes error (*MHH* 24), as a devil in a flame converts an angel on a cloud, and the conflagration of the flames of revolution destroys error, as stated by Damon: "Revolution, which clears away ancient errors, is a conflagration, whether the flames of Orc or the Tyger burning in the forests of the night."[371] Satan rises in the flames akin to Orc and analogous to the phoenix: indications of error and a fallen state must be denied as the flames of revolution and Hell are purifying, and the realization of successful revolt engenders a rebirth of the creative genius.

1808 Version Revisions

Blake made several revisions to his second *SRL* design, the most striking being the magnification of the central figure of the composition, Satan, and the resultant cropping of the design removing many of the figures depicted in the 1807 version. The cropping of the design has eliminated all of the rising angels in the 1808 version, leaving only the caverned angel appearing as if he is preparing to leap up and out of his cave. Werner acknowledges that the 1807 version shows some of the rebel angels heeding Satan's command to rise, although she sees the 'devils' of the later Victoria and Albert [1808] version as 'largely unheeding'.[372] Largely unheeding maybe, but as the caverned angels demonstrates, not snubbing. Behrendt believes that this signifies that Blake is depicting a slightly earlier moment than the 1807 version, as the angels have yet to begin to arise at Satan's direction.[373] Although plausible, I believe it is likely that Blake cropped the design to reduce the figures in the scene and emphasize the significance of the central figure of Satan, his magnification allowing him to dominate the scene, and reducing his reliance upon subordinate figures to emphasise his significance. Although Dunbar insists that Blake's alteration of the 1808 version of *SRL* has all of the figures, aside from Satan and 'Beelzebub', remaining chained to the floor, there is no way to ascertain whether the head in the flames and the bearded and the crowned figures at the right of the composition are chained or not.[374]

Whereas the 1807 version incorporates seventeen angels, for *SRL* 1808 Blake has reduced the number to only eight. The number eight is significant because, following the number seven, Biblically representing perfection, eight becomes a transcendental or eternal number. According to Gertrude Sill's *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art* (1996),

"Eight is the number of regeneration… Eight represents Resurrection, for on the eighth day after his entry into Jerusalem, Christ arose from the grave."[375] In his *Dictionary of Symbols* (1998), Jack Tresidder describes the number's regenerative value as the symbol of "renewal, rebirth or beatitude… Octagonal baptismal fonts also incorporate the symbolism of renewal or new beginnings derived from the fact that eight follows the symbolic 'complete' number, seven, and begins a new cycle."[376] It follows that if the rebel angels of *SRL* 1808 enjoy a beatific state of supreme happiness in their rebirth, then they cannot be suffering in a wretched fallen state as has been so often aforementioned.

Blake develops the Biblical concept of the Seven Eyes of God – described in Zechariah 4:10 as 'seven…eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth', and in Revelation 5:6 as the seven eyes of the Lamb 'which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth' – into the Seven Eyes of God who were chosen to descend into the world to atone for the sins of man in *Vala*.[377] According to Heppner, "The Seven Eyes of God in their fully developed form are a metaphor for a historical, sequential process of revelation."[378] In *Milton*, Blake presents the Seven Eyes of God (also referred to as the Seven Angels of the Presence) as the Starry Seven, where "The 'Eighth Image Divine' (*Mil* 15:5) is the Individual, without whom God is incomplete. He is the Eighth, being added to the seven Eyes of God (the Seven Angels of the Presence)."[379] According to Damon, the Starry Eight are "Milton's humanity and his seven guardian angels… The Starry Eight become Jesus…and Jesus becomes one with mankind."[380] This association could imply that Satan is the 'Eighth Image Divine' and, with the seven rebel angels depicted, offers an image of resurrection as his cruciform posture implies.

The numbers seven and eight also have associations with Los. Frye states that "The human world is the world of the sons of Los, who are not the spirits of the arts so much as the imaginative attitudes which produce all genuine work (c.f. *M* 30:14). Of the sons of Los, seven are particularly mentioned in *Milton*."[381] If the seven sons of Los are equated with the seven angels surrounding Satan in the 1808 version, then Satan can be seen as a representation of Los, giving further reason for the reduction in number of figures from the 1807 version.

Also significant to the revisions of the latter version of *SRL* is the pair of heads presented at the lower right margin of the composition. The uppermost head has clearly defined flames of hair on his head, or possibly the hair shaped into the likeness of a crown. If the figure's hair is flaming, it may well represent his imagination burning with the fires of revolution, possibly representing Moloch, the fearless angel who voted for continued war with heaven in *PL* II:51-108, and whom Blake depicts beardless with a crowned head in *The Flight of Moloch*, c. 1815 (fig. 135). It is possible that Blake endowed the figure with a crowned head to illustrated him in accordance with Milton's description of Death: 'what seemed his head / The likeness of a kingly crown had on' (II, 672-3); which would correspond to the beardless figure of Death in the 1808 version of *SSD*, which replaced the earlier bearded figure of Death. Because Blake consistently used the spiked gothic crown as an emblem of the physical tyranny of despotism, it may be that the crowned figure is representative of tyranny. If so, I would argue that this figure's character reflects the tyranny of the Urizenic Father and, invoking Behrendt's hypothesis that this scene is representative of a slightly earlier moment than the 1807 version, has yet to overcome his mind-forged manacles and leap up into the realization of imaginative freedom won. I would propose the

same reasoning for the bearded head immediately beneath the crowned head. Because the image of Urizen lies defeated beneath Satan, this bearded head cannot represent Urizen. Rather, as Blake sometimes used aged bearded figures to personify ignorance and materialism,[382] this head, like the crowned one, may be reflecting Urizenic qualities not yet discarded as victory has not yet been acknowledged by some of the rebels. Since none of the rebels in either version notice the defeated Urizen beneath them, they must rely on Satan's example and the power of their own imaginations to realize their freedom from the yoke of oppression, which the intelligence indicated by their curly blonde hair ensures.[383]

The final significant alteration made by Blake to the succeeding *SRL* design is the addition of a single head protruding out of the Lake of Fire. If this figure is to be considered simply as a head depicted without a body, then it could be seen as representing the seat of the rational intellect, with the rational intellect considered evil by Blake.[384] A particular example of Blake's use of disembodied heads occurs in his *Paradise Regained* design *Satan in Council* (see fig. 16), in which only the front pair of devils have bodies, while the rest are depicted only as melancholy or bestial heads, which Dunbar recognises as appropriate, "as to Blake the rationalizing intellect of fallen man was at the service of the devil."[385] Werner elaborates on this in her exposition of the heads depicted in *Satan in Council*: "Blake's inclusion in most cases of only the heads of the fiends, 'in contradictory council brooding incessantly,' accords with his interpretation of Satan and his cohorts as personifications of spectrous reasoning powers, ravening, self-consuming, and endlessly active, but to no constructive purpose."[386] Similarly, in Blake's engraving and designs for *Job* 11, 'Job's Evil Dreams' (see fig. 120), he includes heads at the bottom of the illustration which reach up out of the flaming pit of Hell to torment Job. These heads are in stark contrast to the head in the

1808 version of *SRL*: whereas the head in *SRL* is that of an idealized male, the figures in *Job* are clearly demonic, evident by their expansive scaling, talon-like nails, pointed ears, prominent brows, and, discernible in the watercolour versions, spiked hair and sinister gazes. The heads in *SRL* differ markedly from those of *Job* because they are not representative of the same subject; they are not demonic or fallen. Since this particular head in *SRL* 1808 is not melancholy, bestial, brooding, or fiendish, cogent explanation may lie elsewhere.

This head in the 1808 version emerges from a flaming pit with his mouth agape slightly further than any of the other angels in the design in what may be perceived as the semblance of a roar. If so, then this may be the representation of Blake's personification of wrath, in particular "the just wrath of the prophet,"[387] Rintrah. Being one of the son's of Los, who wields the hammer at Los' forge (*J* 16:11), his inclusion here among a representation of Los and his seven sons is appropriate. As the 'King of Fire' (*Eur* 8:8) his placement in the flaming lake is telling, while the 'The Argument' of *MHH* where 'Rintrah roars & shakes his fires in the burden'd air; / Hungry clouds swag on the deep' (2:1-2) is descriptive of this scene and its cloud formations. As a prototype of Rintrah, Wittreich offers Rimmon the Babylonian storm god and Christian fallen archangel, as Rintrah's roaring has Hebraic associations with *Rimmon*, meaning 'roarer', and *Rinnah*, meaning 'rage', indignation', and 'song'.[388] Rimmon's placement here is pertinent, as he is enumerated by Milton as one of the prime fallen angels, in order and might (I:506). This figure's associations with Rintrah and Rimmon would suggest again, as an unfallen prophet and revolutionary, that this scene is not indicative of a fallen state or existence. Further, by resisting the degradation into evil and being an exemplar of Blake's marriage of contraries, Rimmon endows this design with – even more than the 1807 version – the potential for the rebel angels to capitalize on their

successful rebellion, envisioning their imaginative opportunity, and making a lasting heaven out of hell.

PART IV – CONCLUSION

'You have the same faculty as I…only you do not trust or cultivate it. You can see what I see, if you choose…'
William Blake in Alexander Gilchrist's *The Life of William Blake*

It is my goal that this thesis has offered a hitherto unexplored alternative to the prevailing negative interpretation of *SRL* as emblematic of Error, suffering, and so forth, by demonstrating the validity of an alternate supportive understanding centering upon the idea that Satan "was simply the first protestor against oppression. While branded as wicked, the Devil was in fact life-affirming, full of the energy of eternal delight."[1] To this purpose I have established that this scene is demonstrative of energy, joy, hope, passion, heroism, liberation, inspiration, steadfast vision, spiritual awakening, and the triumph of personal freedom and the creative imagination. These are aspects with which Blake has early endowed his personal image and understanding of Satan, and which remained constant throughout Blake's life.

Blake's continued and progressive empathy toward Satan – and the rebel angels – is demonstrated in his later art and illuminated verse. For example, both versions of the *Nativity Ode* designs *The Old Dragon* (see figs. 132 and 113) show the Dragon and his crew gazing heavenward, in a spatial arrangement conspicuously resembling that of the composition of *SRL*, while the line of their descent illustrates their recent defeat by the Cherubim in the previous design. Subtle differences in the composition of the two designs work to vary the tone and meaning of the pair. The earlier 1809 Whitworth version clearly outlines the crew's descent down the right side of the composition, the side of the damned (to the left of the throne of God) in Blake's Last Judgment paintings, to be interred in the dark hellish cave of those same paintings. In the much lighter hued 1815 Huntington version the line of descent corresponds to the side of the redeemed in the Last Judgment paintings, the crew is no longer condemned to the hellish cave, and "Blake has intimated that they are victims of a mental war in heaven with the Cherubim by making the figure pointing directly upward do so with both hands, and by placing the stable much further back."[2] The changing

details of these two designs display a progressive empathy for the plight of the fallen angels. "The way [the Dragon] is bound by his own tail [in the 1809 version] suggests that these manacles are 'mind-forg'd"…, self-imposed,"[3] shows that Blake already understood the plight of the rebel angels struggling against Reason when painting this design in 1806, but by 1815 his placing the fallen angels on the side of the redeemed displays a radical advocacy of the Satanic rebellion. Davies postulates that the "apparent incongruities [between illustration and text which] seem to hint that Blake's pictorial commentary may be more dramatically counter-pointed against Milton's hymn than has been recognized…are in fact bold but coherent departures from Milton."[4] This can be seen as scholarly evidence that Blake's illustrations of other authors, particularly those of Milton, can feasibly deviate from the author's intended meaning, which in this case rejects Milton's chastising expulsion of rebellious energy and creative freedom by incorporating into the design subtle references indicative of his support.

Two of Blake's final works in Illuminated printing, *The Ghost of Abel* (1822) and the *Laocoön* (1826), demonstrate that Blake did continue to champion revolutionary energy and imagination, and acknowledge the true Satan as an exemplar of that energy through the inversion of the Church's tenets of Good and Evil. Blake's *The Ghost of Abel* is a response to Lord Byron's unorthodox verse drama *Cain, A Mystery* (1821). Johnson and Grant describe Abel as Blake's counterstatement to Byron's sympathetic figure of Cain because Blake could not justify murder or revenge, even though "Cain's deliberate act of rebellion against an unjust God…may be understandable."[5] Although Bindman is unsure whether Blake wrote *Abel* "in deference or in criticism" of Byron's *Cain*, he observes that "What is apparent is Blake's continued concern with the complex religious and moral questions

addressed throughout the preceding full-scale Illuminated works."[6] It is clear by the response of these scholars that even near the end of his career Blake continues to value rebellion as the prerogative of the oppressed.

Also evident in *Abel* is Blake's disdain for the oppressive Father of the Church and its association with its demonic creation Satan. In *Abel*, Blake develops a novel approach to elaborating on the Old Testament God by reinterpreting "the character of the Divinity in Genesis, separating the vengeful Elohim from the forgiving Jehovah."[7] This is the first time Blake has distinguished between the Elohim and Jehovah conceptions of God and given the Christian deity a constructive aspect. While Jehovah proposes forgiveness, the Elohim – of which Satan the Accuser is an aspect – cannot forgive and demand vengeance through the voice of Abel, 'Life for Life! Life for Life!' (l.14). On line 15, Jehovah admonishes that 'He who shall take Cain's life must also Die', illustrating that "there is no end to a system of justice that demands blood for blood, life for life."[8] Satan as one of the Elohim appears, rejecting the 'Contrite Heart' (l.5) as a sacrifice and demands blood:

> I will have Human Blood & not the blood of Bulls or Goats,
> And no Atonement! O Jehovah the Elohim live on Sacrifice
> Of Men; hence I am God of Men: Thou Human, O Jehovah.
> (l.13-15)

These lines demonstrate Blake's association of the forgiving Jehovah with Jesus the Divine Humanity, and the bloodthirsty Satan with the vengeful Old Testament God, an association confirmed by Johnson and Grant: "To Blake, a God who demands blood must be Satan."[9] This Satan, a creation of the Church, is an aspect of its God, while for Blake the true Satan rejected this doctrine of punishment and oppression and embraced energy, imagination, and revolution.

The *Laocoön*, Blake's last Illuminated work, is concerned primarily with "the central artistic beliefs of his last years," yet includes inscriptions which relate art to Jesus and materialism to destruction.[10] On this plate Blake proposes that the *Laocoön* was originally a Hebrew depiction of Yahweh and his two sons Satan and Adam in the Temple of Solomon, and consequently assimilated into Hellenistic history as a sculpture of a Trojan High Priest of Poseidon and given the name *Laocoön* by Greek copyists. Yahweh is here also labelled in Hebrew 'King Jehovah' and English 'The Angel of the Divine Presence'. For Blake The Angel of the Divine Presence is Satan,[11] the Angel who "is frequently call'd by the name of Jehovah Elohim" (*VLJ*). Blake is clearly demonstrating that this Biblical Tempter and Adversary is an aspect of the legalistic and punitive Biblical God, not the energetic 'Devil' endorsed by Blake in *MHH* and *SRL*.

The two serpents intertwining the figures of Jehovah-Satan and his sons Satan and Adam – aspects of Reason, representing the limits of opacity and contraction – are labelled by Blake 'Good' and 'Evil'. That the name of Adam's first wife, Lilith, appears under the Good serpent demonstrates Blake's continued belief in rebellion against oppression. Although not mentioned in the Bible, according to Jewish folklore Lilith was the first wife of Adam, described in *The Zohar* as a "hot fiery female",[12] who refused to accept a subservient role, demanding equality with Adam. The outcome is described variously as Adam rejecting her and God creating Eve as a more obedient helpmate,[13] or Lilith leaving in anger after her demands were ignored and refusing to return even at the insistence of three dispatched angels.[14] Whereas Lilith became demonized after rejecting the oppression of God and Adam, much like Satan, Blake the iconoclast inverts this conventional thinking and finds Lilith to be 'Good' by virtue of her 'fiery' energy and rebellious nature.

These late works help to demonstrate that Blake did remain supportive of the revolutionary energy detailed in *MHH* throughout his entire life. My claim is supported by Yeats who believed that *MHH* "has the fierce note which never after wholly died out of his work."[15] Agreeing with A.L. Morton, Cox believes that "Blake never stopped seeking a revolutionary solution," and that he "died with as much defiance and hatred of authority as he had lived."[16] Frosch describes Blake "as a flexible poet, whose thinking and writing continually changed, but the changes are those of refinement, strengthening, and expansion, rather than recantation."[17] This supports the idea that Blake continued to believe in the force of revolutionary energy throughout his life, even if it was possibly tempered by his disillusionment with the outcome of the French Revolution and the resultant backlash of suppression by the English government.

Blake's final examples of illuminated printing demonstrate that, even at the end of his life, the Church represented by Urizen was the true Devil with its restrictive and punitive laws. For him the true Satan was representative of the freedoms that the church restricted, not the demonic tempter and adversary propagated by the Bible and Church. As in his final works, Blake's later works are also indicative of this inversion, as noted by Davies.[18] A more severe punishment of physical and mental torture and abandonment than the doctrine of punishment that is espoused by the Father as described in *PL* could scarcely be imagined.[19] This is the doctrine of punishment demanded by the tyrannical God, not created by Blake's Satan, and is the inverse of the doctrine of forgiveness espoused by Christ and is anathema to Blake.

Blake clearly saw the Old Testament God as a demanding and vindictive deity while envisioning Christ as forgiveness: 'Thinking as I do that the Creator of this World is a very

Cruel Being & being a worshipper of Christ I cannot help saying the Son O how unlike the Father. First God Almighty comes with a Thump on the Head. Then Jesus Christ comes with a balm to heal it' (*VLJ* 94). Although Blake saw Christ as forgiver and often depicts him as such, his illustrations of him in *PL* follow Milton's portrayal of him in the poem: a warrior and stooge of the tyrannical god he serves. Behrendt relates that Blake recognises three 'disintegrative situations' in which Christ participates after his offer of self-sacrifice: 1) as an agent of the Father in the Creation, an act of delimiting the boundaries of mankind; 2) as the decisive factor in the expulsion of the rebel angels; 3) and again as the Father's representative in the judgment of man. Behrendt recognises that the Son, acting as a representative of the Father, appears to Blake as a dispenser of affliction, the same role as Satan in the Book of Job.[20] As such Blake believed Milton had denigrated Christ the Redeemer and conformed to the tradition of Atonement.[21]

Raine makes a significant point regarding Blake's understanding of Christ: "Throughout Blake's work, the true world-ruler is 'Jesus, the Imagination', the 'God Within', whose mystical marriage with the soul is celebrated in the last plate of Jerusalem."[22] The image of Satan in *SRL* has several direct associations with Christ, in particular his cruciform posture evoking the Transfiguration, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, declaring that Satan is an emblem of the poetic imagination, untrammelled energy, and righteous rebellion. It is important to note that I do not propose Satan to be a replacement for Christ in Blake's estimation, rather Satan embodies certain aspects of Christ. Satan and Christ do not compete for the same role; whereas Christ is an "imaginative paradigm of love and creative energy for man",[23] the culmination of Blake's vision, Satan is limited to being simply an 'imaginative paradigm of creative energy for man', a path or example of how to

achieve human potential. Behrendt unintentionally explains the significance of Satan to the observer of *SRL*: "since man frequently fails to recognize error, much less reject it, he requires guidance in the form of both exhortation and examples."[24] Satan is here an example by which man can be guided to recognize the error of static rationality, and reject it.

'Enough! or Too much'
William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

ILLUSTRATIONS

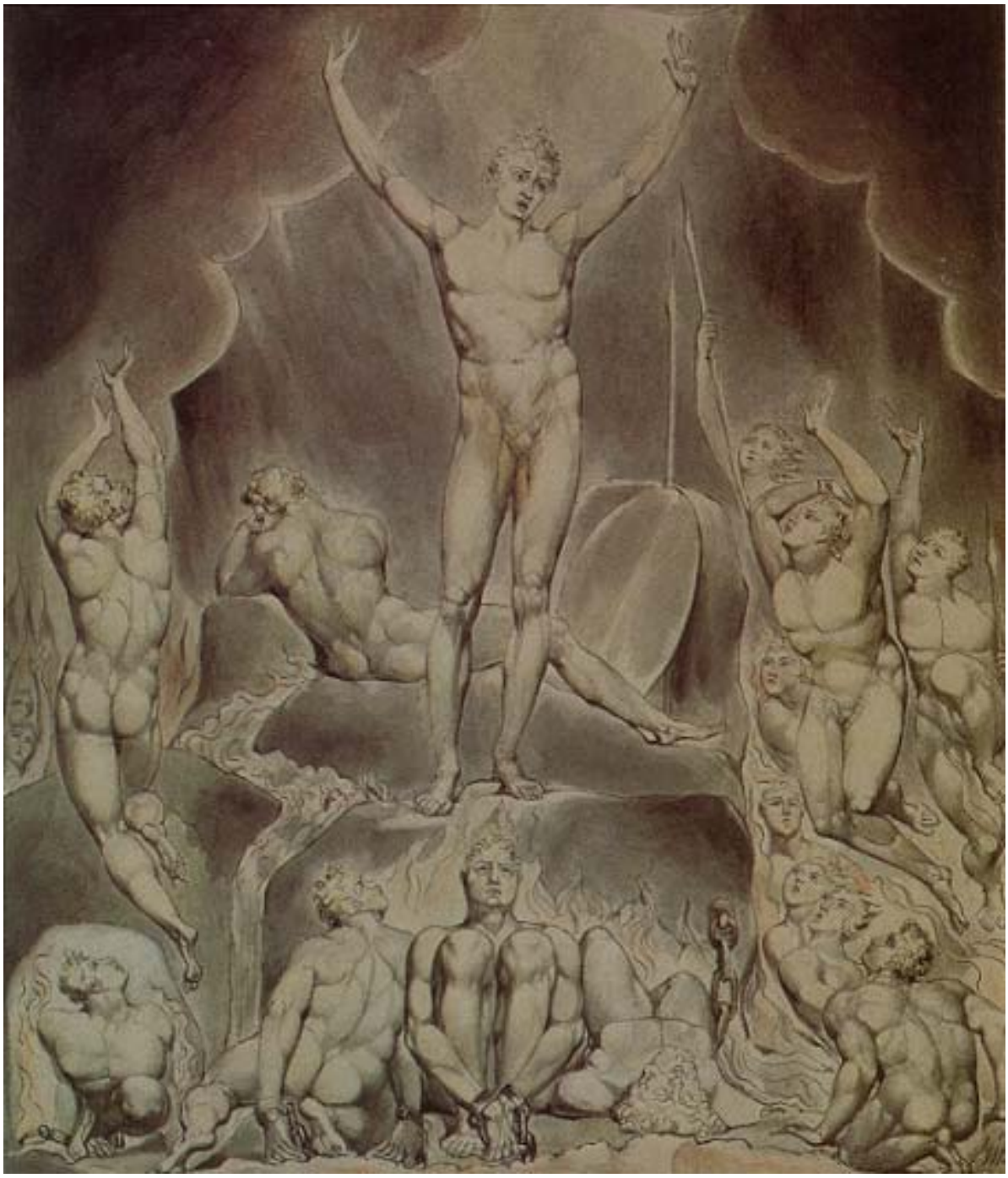

Figure 1. ***Satan Calling up his Legions,*** **1807.** Pen and watercolour, 25 x 21.1 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 632.

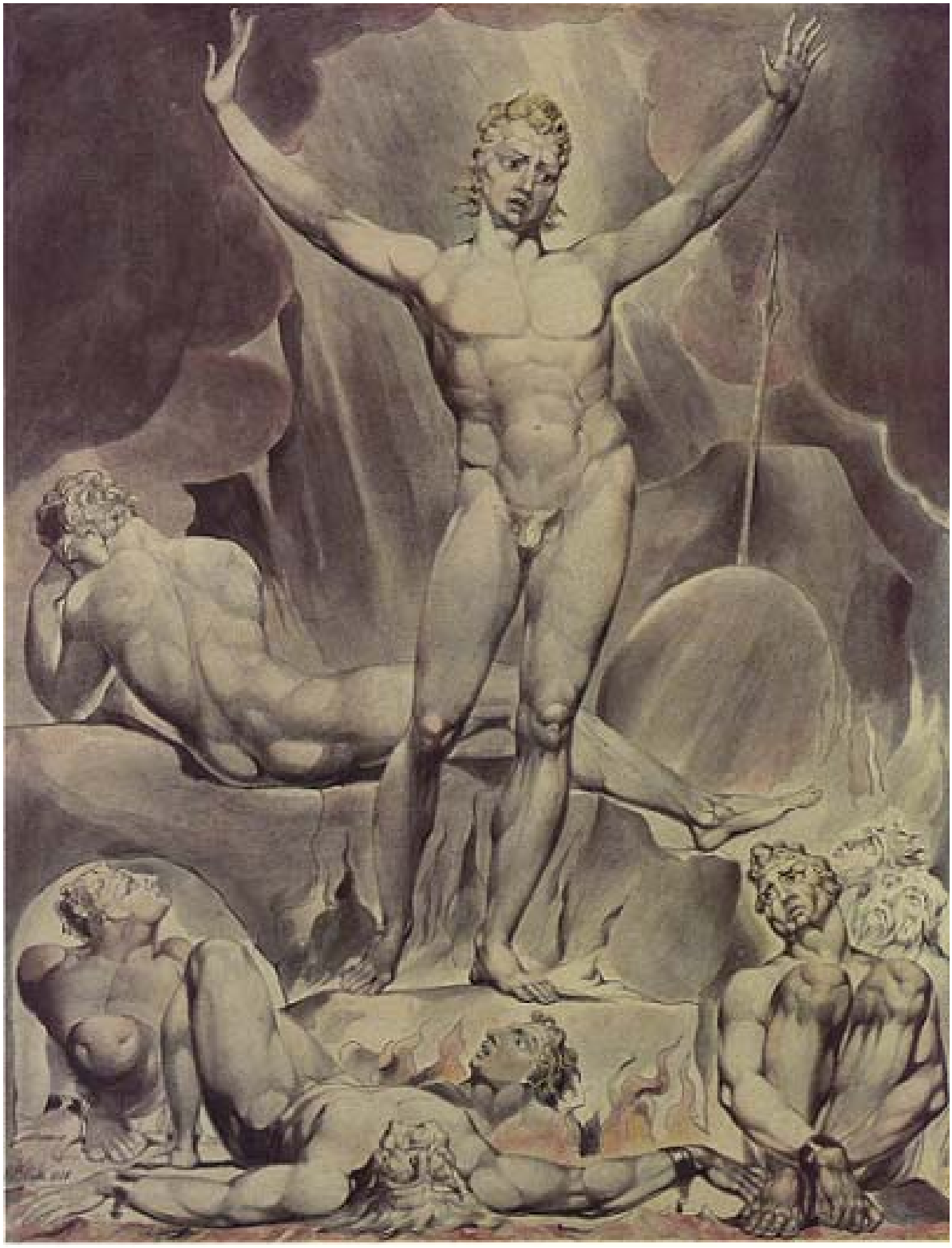

Figure 2. ***Satan Arousing the Rebel Angels,*** **1808.** Pen and watercolour, 51.8 x 39.3 cm. The Victoria and Albert Museum. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 645.

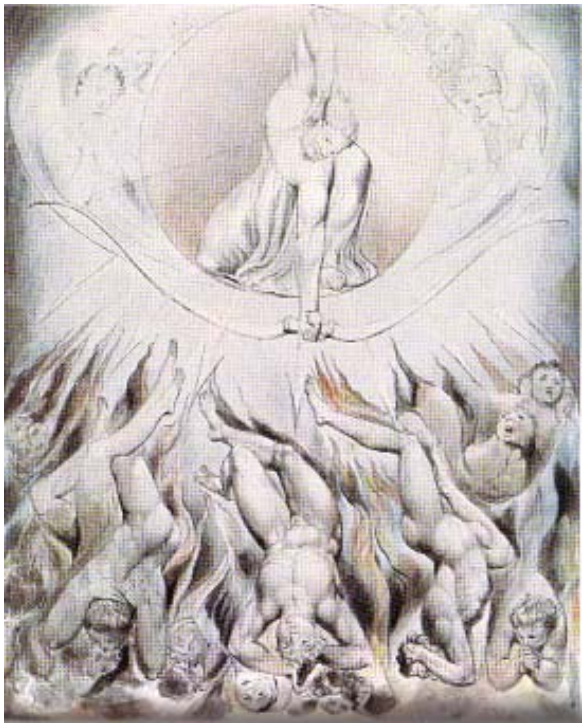

Figure 3. ***The Rout of the Rebel Angels,*** **1807.** Pen and watercolour, 25.7 x 20.8 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 638.

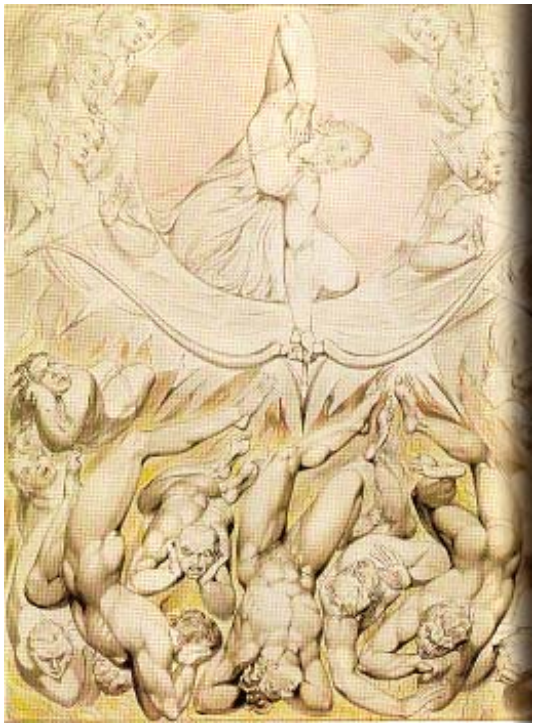

Figure 4. ***The Rout of the Rebel Angels,*** **1808.** Pen and watercolour, 49.1 x 38.2 cm. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 651.

Figure 5. ***The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,*** **plate 4, 'The voice of the Devil' (copy F), c. 1790.** Relief etching, colour printed, with pen and watercolour, 26.3 x 19.5 cm (plates, 16 x 11 cm). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 110.

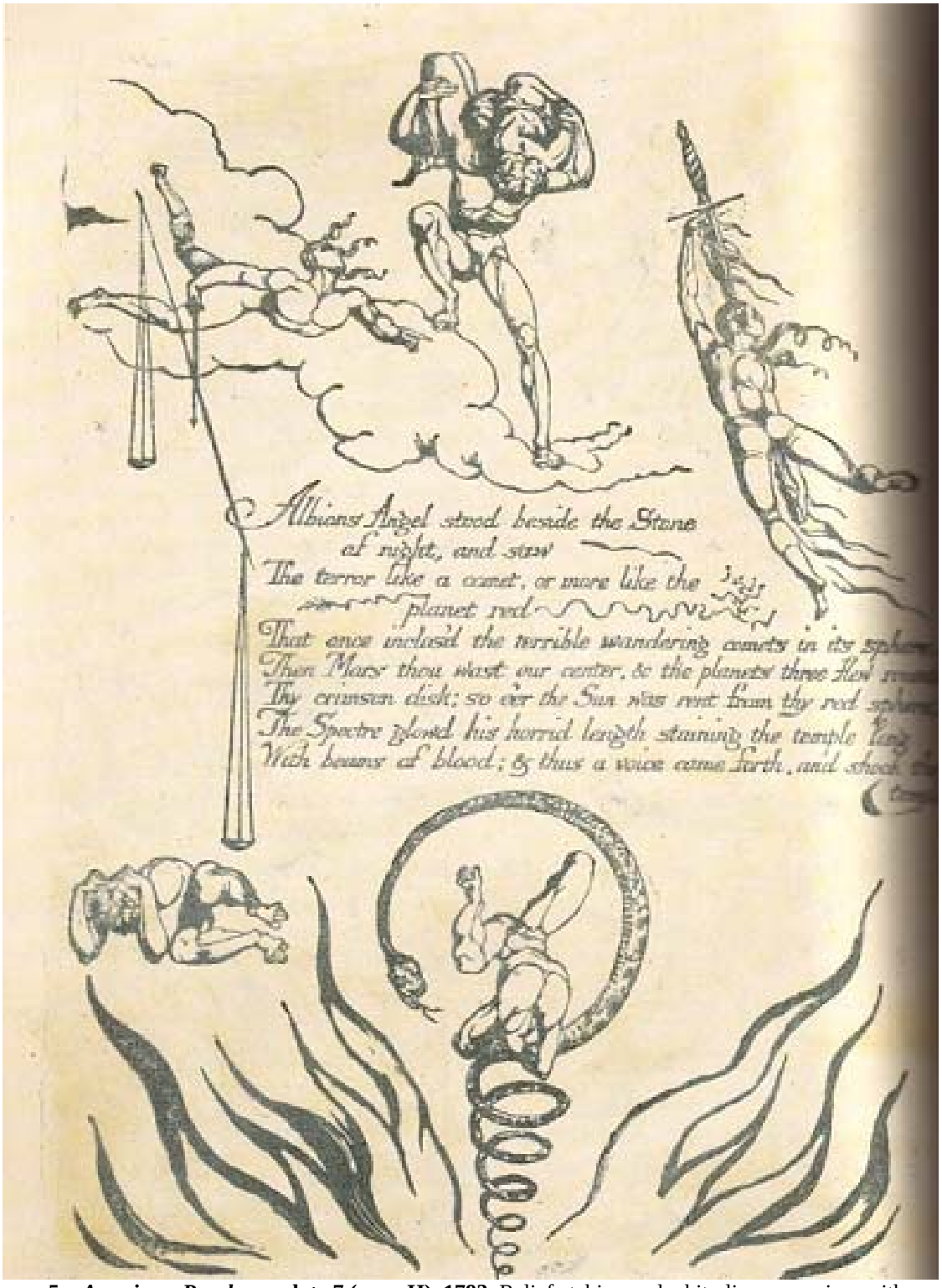

Figure 5a. ***America a Prophecy*****, plate 7 (copy H), 1793.** Relief etching and white-line engraving, with wash, 34.5 x 24.5 cm (plate, 24 x 17 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 160.

Figure 6. *Satan Calling up his Legions, An Experiment Picture,* c. 1795-1800. Tempera on canvas 54.5 x 42 cm. The Victoria and Albert Museum. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 888.

Figure 7. *Satan Calling up his Legions*, c. 1800-5. Tempera on canvas 53.5 x 40.5 cm. H.M. Treasury, The National Trust, Petworth House, Sussex. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 889.

Figure 8. *Satan Calling up his Legions*, c. 1800-5. Tempera on canvas 53.5 x 40.5 cm. H.M. Treasury, The National Trust, Petworth House, Sussex. Darrell Figgis, *The Paintings of William Blake* (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1925) plate 9.

Figure 9. Notebook drawing - 'Satan...With head uplift above the wave'. Pencil. David V. Erdman and Donald K. Moore, eds., *The Notebook of William Blake: A Photographic and Typographic Facsimile* (Revised ed. Readex Books, 1977) N90.

Figure 10. Notebook drawing - Satan rearing himself upright with shield and spear. Pencil. David V. Erdman and Donald K. Moore, eds., *The Notebook of William Blake: A Photographic and Typographic Facsimile* (Revised ed. Readex Books, 1977) N91.

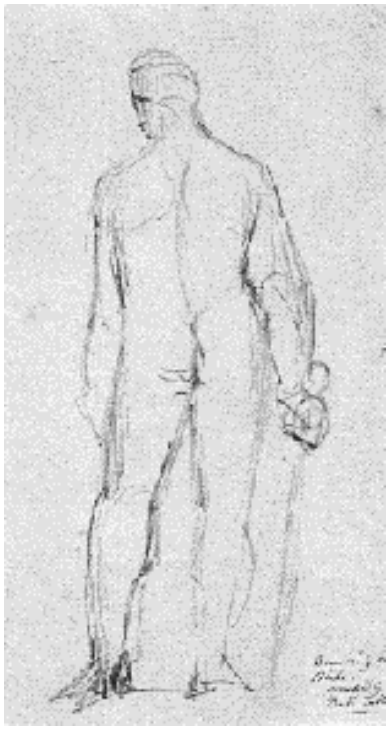

Figure 11. 'Satan with a Sword', c. 1823. Pencil, 21.6 x 12.2 cm. Sir Geoffrey Keynes Collection. Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *Drawings of William Blake: 92 Pencil Studies* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970) 75.

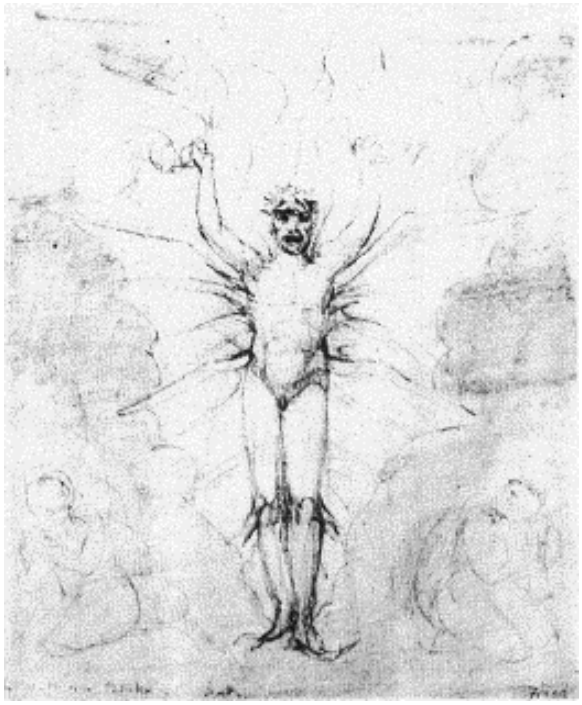

Figure 12. 'Satan Calling up his Legions' (?), c. 1805-10 (?). Pencil, 14.3 x 11.9 cm. The Library, University of Texas, Austin. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 827.

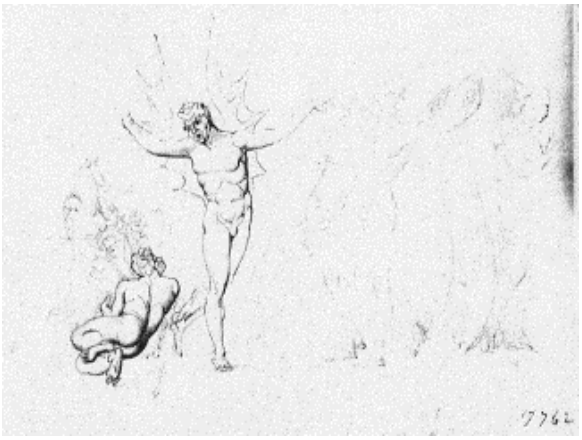

Figure 13. ***Adam and Eve Expelled from Eden*****, c. 1820-5 (?).** Pencil, partly outlined in pen and with some sepia wash, 13.2 x 16.4 cm. The Alice M. Kaplan Collection. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 1026.

Fig. 14. Engraving after Thomas Stothard. ***Satan Summoning His Legions*****, 1792-3.**

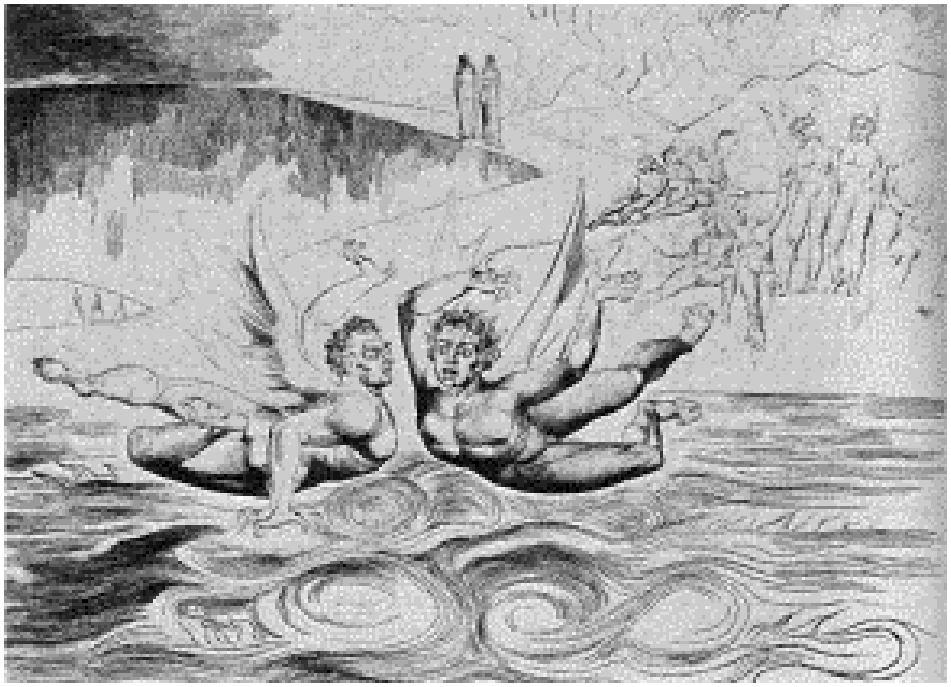

Fig. 15. ***Devils fighting*****, plate 12 to Dante's Comedy, 1824-7.** Engraving, 23.5 x 33 cm. The British Museum. Kathleen Raine, *World of Art Series: William Blake* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 2000) 198.

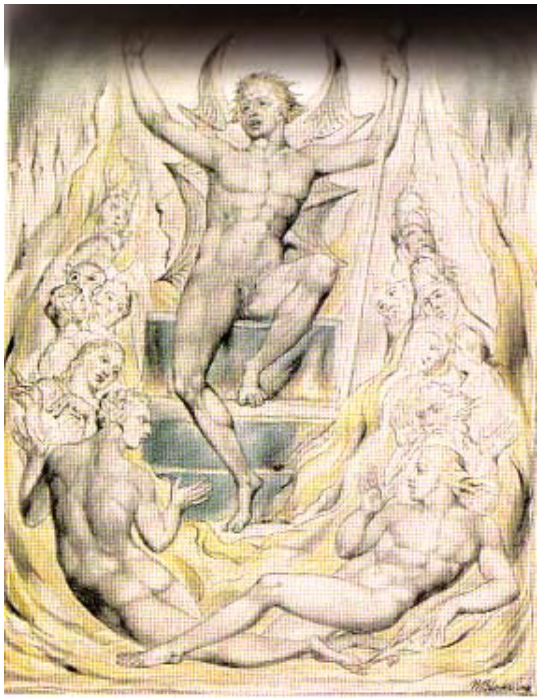

Figure 16. *Paradise Regained V: Satan in Council (Satan Addressing his Followers)*, c. 1816-20. Pen and watercolour over pencil, 17.2 x 13.2 cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 688.

Figure 17. Michelangelo Buonarroti. *The Last Judgment*, Sistine Chapel, Rome, 1536-41. Fresco. Vatican Museums and Galleries, Rome. Nathaniel Harris, *The Life and Works of Michelangelo* (Bath: Parragon Books, 2003) 62.

Figure 18. *The First Book of Urizen*, Plate 6 (copy D), 1794. Relief etching with colour printing, pen, and watercolour, 26 x 18 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 208.

Figure 19. Detail, *America a Prophecy*, plate 6 (copy H), 1793. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with wash, 34.5 x 24.5 cm (plate, 24 x 17 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 159.

Figure 20. ***The Body of Abel found by Adam and Eve*****, c. 1826.** Pen and tempera, in placed over gold, on mahogany, 32.5 x 43.3 cm. Tate Gallery, London. Raymond Lister, *The Paintings of William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) plate 73.

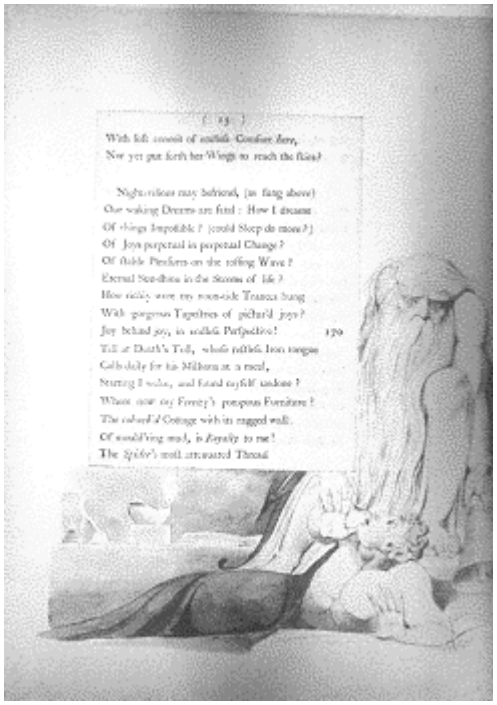

Figure 21. ***Night Thoughts*** **18, Night I, page 13, c.1795-7.** Ink and watercolour on paper, 16 x 12 in. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts*, vol. 1, John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David V. Erdman, eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980).

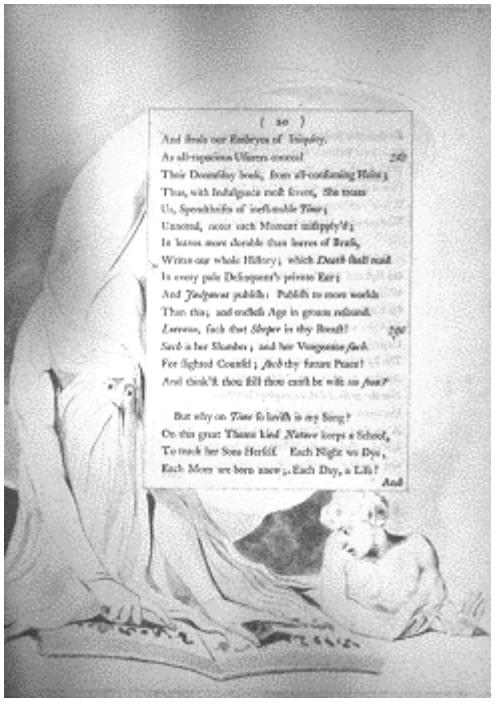

Figure 22. ***Night Thoughts*** **53, Night II, page 20, c.1795-7.** Ink and watercolour on paper, 16 x 12 in. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts*, vol. 1, John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David V. Erdman, eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980).

Figure 23. Detail, *Job*, plate 9, c. 1825. Engraving. William Blake, *Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 10.

Figure 24. *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, frontispiece, plate 2 (copy G), 1793. Relief etching with watercolour, 29.8 x 23.6 cm (plates, 17 x 22 cm). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 143.

Figure 25. 'Tranquility'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 1.

Figure 26. 'Astonishment'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 2.

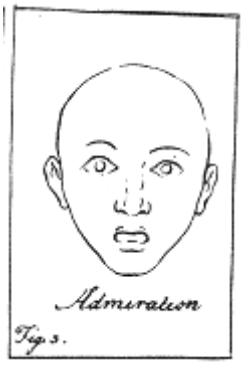

Figure 27. 'Admiration'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 3.

Figure. 28. Detail, *The Conversion of Saul*, c.1800. Pen and watercolour over pencil, 40.6 x 35.6 cm. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 39.

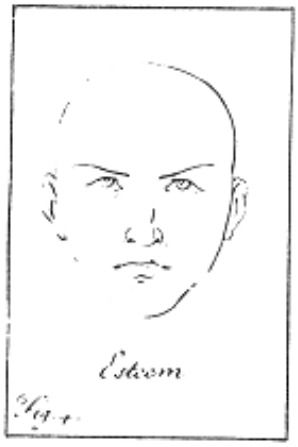

Figure 29. 'Esteem'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 4.

Figure 30. 'Veneration'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 5.

Figure 31. 'Extream Despair'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 33.

Figure 32. ***Elohim Creating Adam*****, c. 1795.** Colour print finished in pen and watercolour, 43.1 x 53.6 cm, on paper apprx. 51.5 x 59.5cm. The Tate Gallery. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 388.

Figure 33. ***Nebuchadnezzar*****, c.1795.** Colour print finished in pen and watercolour, 44.6 x 62 cm. The Tate Gallery. Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 43.

Figure 34. ***A Vision of the Last Judgment*****, 1808.** Pen and watercolour over pencil, 51 x 39.5 cm. H.M. Treasury, The National Trust, Petworth House, Sussex. Raymond Lister, *The Paintings of William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 47.

Figure 35. 'Last Judgment' after Michelangelo, c.1776. Sketch in oils, $20^{1/2}$ x $12^{9/16}$ in. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. Ruthven Todd, *William Blake the Artist* (London: Studio Vista Limited, 1971) 10.

Figure 36. *The Whirlwind of Lovers*, plate 10 to Dante's Comedy, 1824-7. Engraving, 23.5 x 33 cm. British Museum. Kathleen Raine, *World of Art Series: William Blake* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 2000) plate 146.

Figure 37. Detail, *Europe a Prophecy*, plate 8, 'A Prophecy' (copy B), 1794. Relief etching and white-line engraving, colour-printed, with pen and watercolour, 37.5 x 27 cm (plate, 24 x 17 cm). Glasgow University Library. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 183.

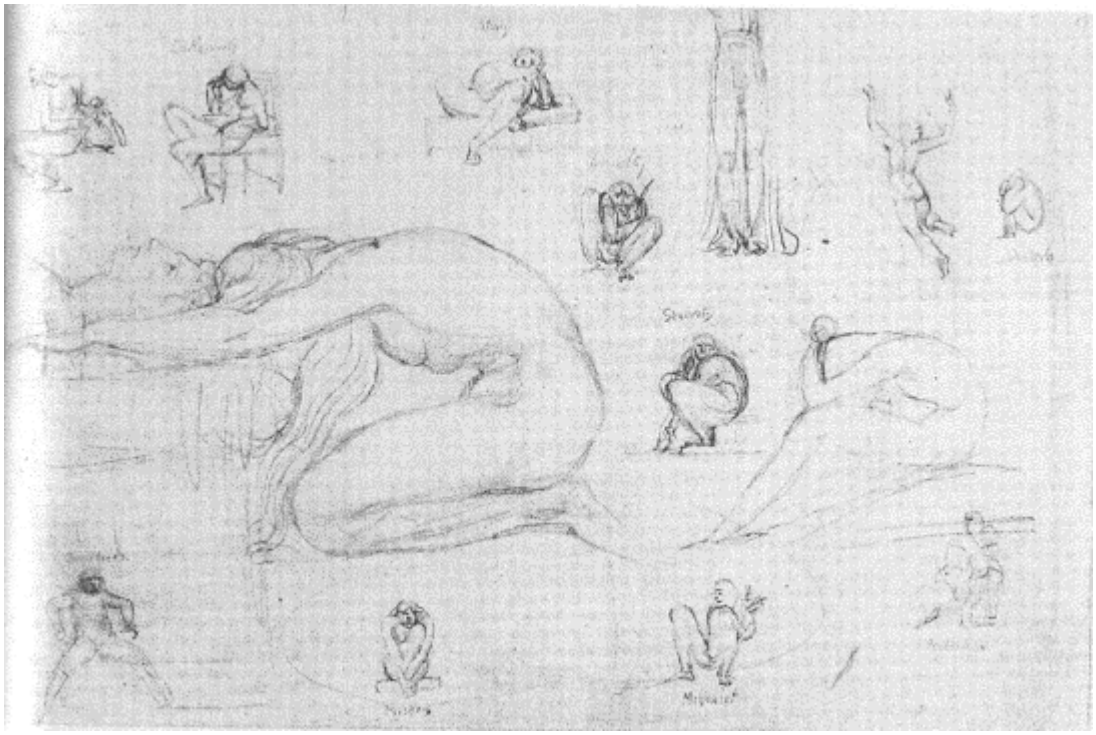

Figure 38. ***Various Personifications, A Death Bed and Other Drawings*** **(verso).** Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 61.

Figure 39. ***Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion*****, plate 100 (copy E), c.1804-20.** Relief etching and white-line engraving, with watercolour, pen and touch of gold, 33.5 x 27.5 cm (plate, 22 x 16 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 397.

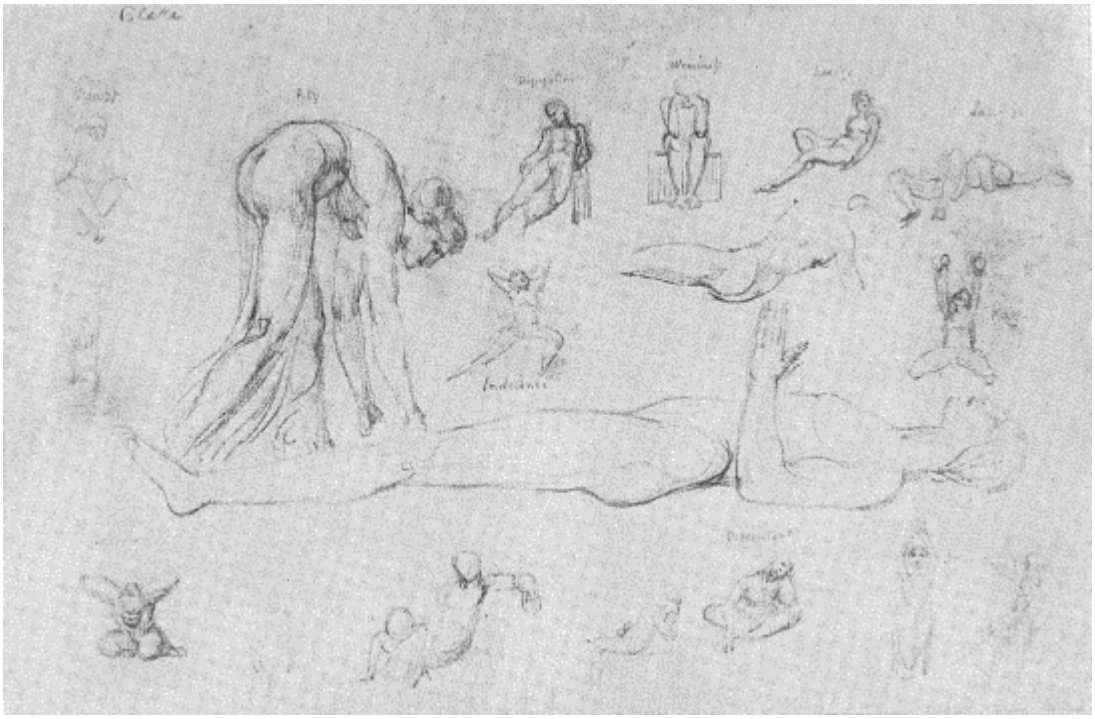

Figure 40. *Various Personifications, A Death Bed and Other Drawings* (recto). Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 60.

Figure 41. Detail, *America a Prophecy*, plate 5 (copy H), 1793. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with wash, 34.5 x 24.5 cm (plate, 24 x 17 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 158.

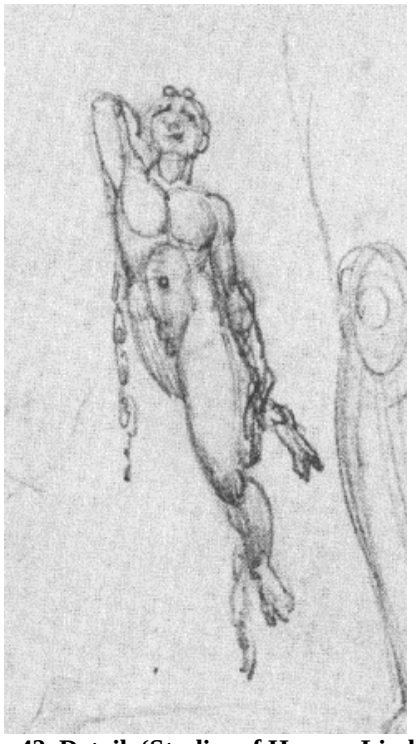

Figure 42. Detail, 'Studies of Human Limbs', c. 1793. Pencil, 200 x 259 mm. Professor CA Ryskamp, Princeton, NJ. Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *Drawings of William Blake: 92 Pencil Studies* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970) 16.

Figure 43. Bulwer's *Chirologia*: Rhetorical Alphabet. Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 50.

Figure 44. Bulwer's *Chirologia*: Alphabet of Natural Expression. Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 51.

Figure 45. Detail, *Job*, plate 4, c. 1825. Engraving. William Blake, *Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 5.

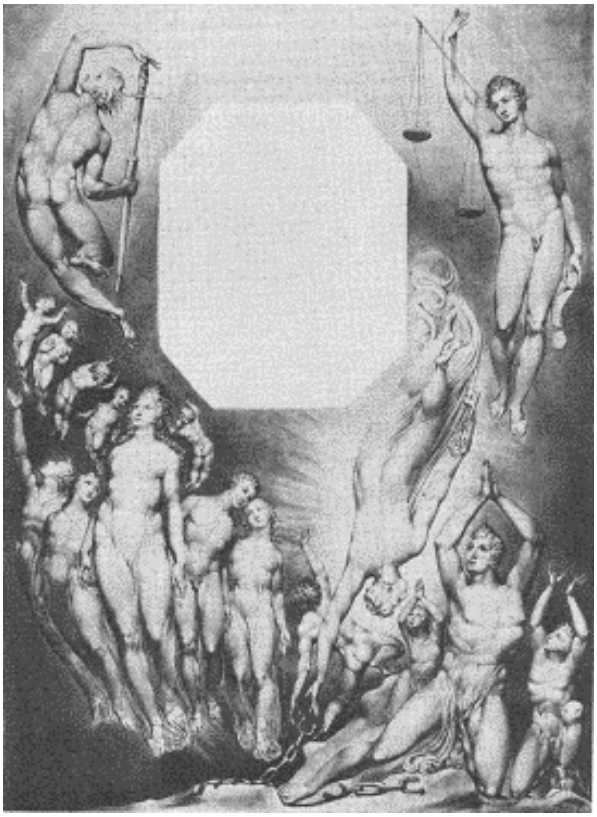

Figure 46. Alternative design for the title-page to Robert Blair's *The Grave: The Resurrection of the Dead*. Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 137.

Figure 47. Detail, *The First Book of Urizen*, Plate 9 (copy D), 1794. Relief etching with colour printing, pen, and watercolour, 26 x 18 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 211.

Figure 48. Detail, *Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion*, plate 95 (copy E), c.1804-20. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with watercolour, pen and touch of gold, 33.5 x 27.5 cm (plate, 22 x 16 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 392.

Figure 49. *Farnese Hercules*, Roman copy after 1st century BCE Greek original, c. 4th century BCE. Marble. National Museum, Naples. www.iml.annenberg.edu/showcasefilesOpen/baths/rootbathsofcaracalla/finalimages/sculpture/hercfarnesesmall.jpg

Figure 50. *Milton a Poem*, plate 38 (copy C), c.1804-11. Relief etching and white- and black-line engraving, with watercolour and grey wash, 23.5 x 16 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). New York Public Library. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 286.

Figure 51. Detail, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, plate 21 (copy F), c.1790. Relief etching, colour printed, with pen and watercolour, 26.3 x 19.5 cm (plates, 16 x 11 cm). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 127.

Figure 52. Detail, *America a Prophecy*, plate 8 (copy H), 1793. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with wash, 34.5 x 24.5 cm (plate, 24 x 17 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 161.

Figure 53. Engraving after Michelangelo's drawing, *A Dream of Human Life*. British Museum. Christopher Heppner, *Reading Blake's Designs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 39.
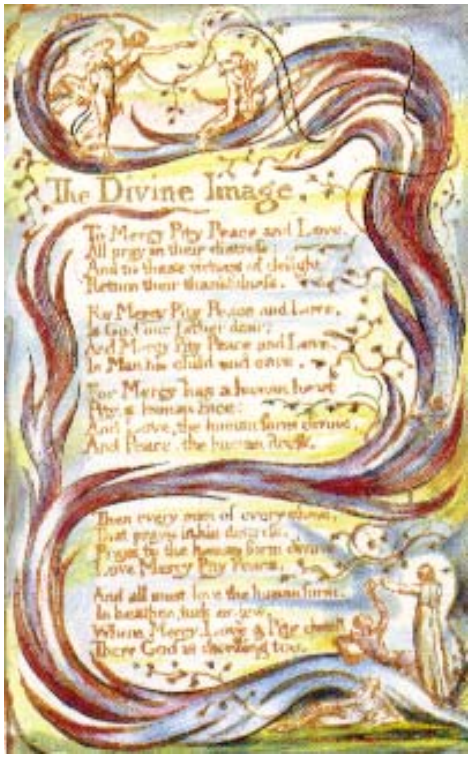
Figure 54. *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, plate 10, 'The Divine Image' (copy W), c. 1789. Relief etching, with pen and watercolour, touched with gold, 11.2 x 7 cm. Kings College, Cambridge. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 60.

Fig. 55. *Capaneus the Blasphemer*, plate 79 to Dante's Comedy, 1824-7. Pen ink and watercolour, 37.3 x 52.7 cm. The National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia. Robin Hamlyn and Michael Phillips, *William Blake* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2001) 86.

Figure 56. *The Dead Bad Doers* (or *Dead Ardours*), c. 1794-6. Pencil, 12.8 x 32.1 cm. Collection of Robert N. Essick. Robert N. Essick, ed., *William Blake and his Contemporaries and Followers* (San Marino: The Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1987) 27.

Figure 57. Albrecht Dürer. *Melencholia I*, 1514. Engraving, 23.9 x 18.9 cm. The Art Institute, Chicago. Walter L. Strauss, *The Complete Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints of Albrecht Dürer* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973) 167.

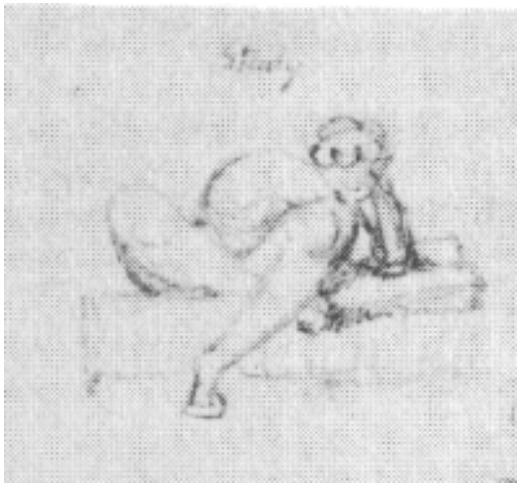

Figure 58. Detail, *Various Personifications, A Death Bed and Other Drawings* (verso). Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 61.

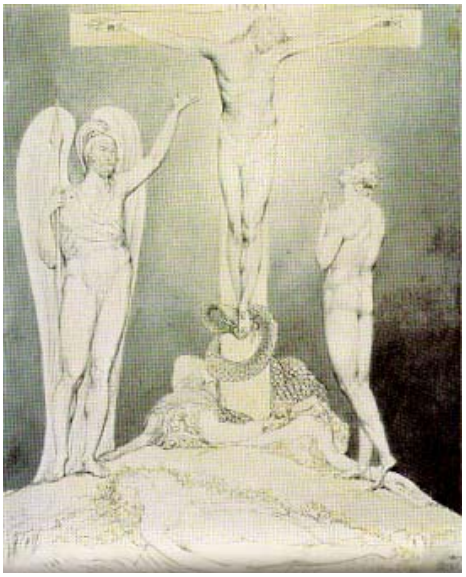

Figure 59. ***Michael Foretells the Crucifixion*****, 1807.** Pen and watercolour, 25.2 x 20.4 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 642.

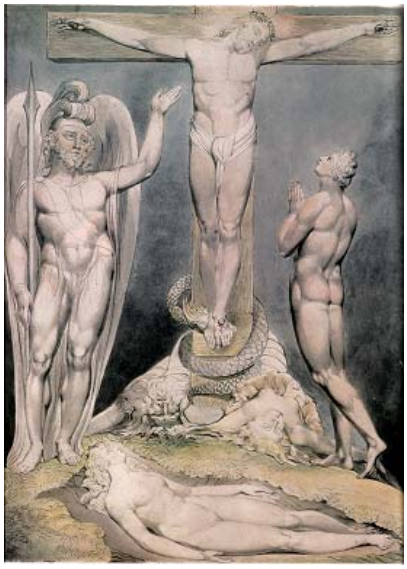

Figure 60. ***Michael Foretells the Crucifixion*****, 1808.** Pen and watercolour, 50.1 x 38.1 cm. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 655.

Figure 61. ***Satan, Sin and Death-Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell*****, 1807.** Pen and watercolour, 24.8 x 20.8 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 633.

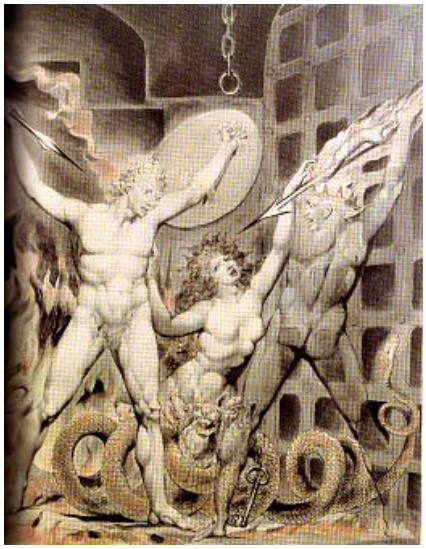

Figure 62. ***Satan, Sin and Death-Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell*****, 1808.** Pen, gold, and watercolour, 49.5 x 40.3 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 646.

Figure 63. ***The Judgment of Adam and Eve 'So Judged He Man',*** **1807.** Pen and watercolour, 25.1 x 20.2 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 641.

Figure 64. ***The Judgment of Adam and Eve: 'So He Judged Man',*** **1808.** Pen and watercolour over pencil, 49.6 x 39 cm. The Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 654.

Figure 65. ***Christ Trampling Down Satan,*** **c. 1800.** Pen and sepia wash over pencil, 23.9 x 13.2 cm. The National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 613.

Figure 66. Detail, *America a Prophecy*, plate 10, frontispiece (copy I), 1793. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with wash, 34.5 x 24.5 cm (plate, 23.5 x 16.7 cm). The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Robert N. Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington: An Introduction to the William Blake Collection in The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994) 41.

Figure 67. Detail, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, plate 49, 'A Poison Tree' (copy W), c. 1789. Relief etching, with pen and watercolour, touched with gold, 11.2 x 7 cm. Kings College, Cambridge. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 91.

Figure 68. Detail, *Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion*, plate 9 (copy E), c.1804-20. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with watercolour, pen and touch of gold, 33.5 x 27.5 cm (plate, 22 x 16 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 306.

Figure 69. *The Ancient of Days*, 1827. Relief etching finished in gold, body colour, and watercolour, 23.4 x 16.8 cm. Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester. Raymond Lister, *The Paintings of William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) plate 75.

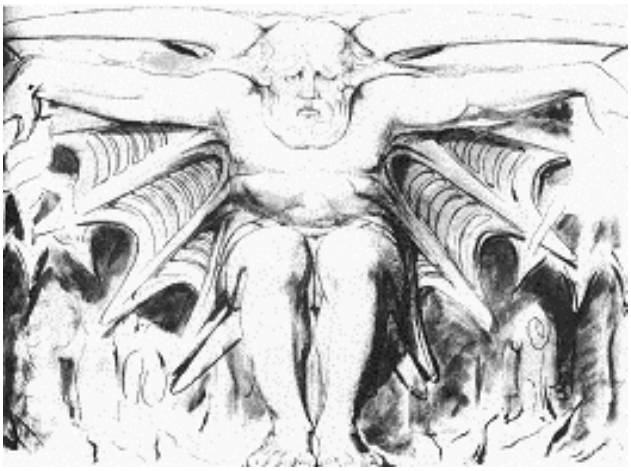

Figure 70. *A Destroying Deity: A Winged Figure Grasping Thunderbolts*, c. 1820-5. Pencil, pen, grey wash, and watercolour, 20.6 x 29.7 cm. The Philadelphia Museum of Art. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 1024.

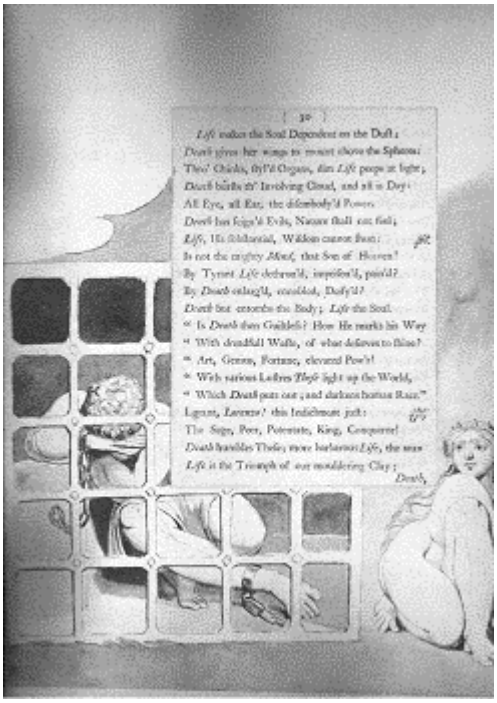

Figure 71. *Night Thoughts* 105, Night III, page 30, c.1795-7. Ink and watercolour on paper, 16 x 12 in. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts*, vol. 1, John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David V. Erdman, eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980).

Figure 72. Detail, 'Despair', 'Various Personifications' drawing 'recto'. Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, The Houghton Library, Harvard University. Christopher Heppner, *Reading Blake's Designs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 43.

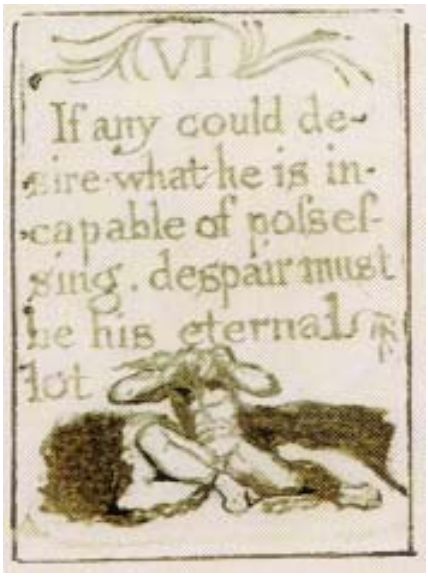

Figure 73. ***There is No Natural Religion*****, Plate 7, page 6 (copy I), c.1788.** Relief etchings, touched with pen, 13.7 x 11 cm (plate, 6 x 4 cm). Pierpont MorganLibrary, New York. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 37.

Figure 74. ***The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*****, plate 16, 'Ugolino and his sons in prison' (copy F), c. 1790.** Relief etching, colour printed, with pen and watercolour, 26.3 x 19.5 cm (plates, 16 x 11 cm). Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 122.

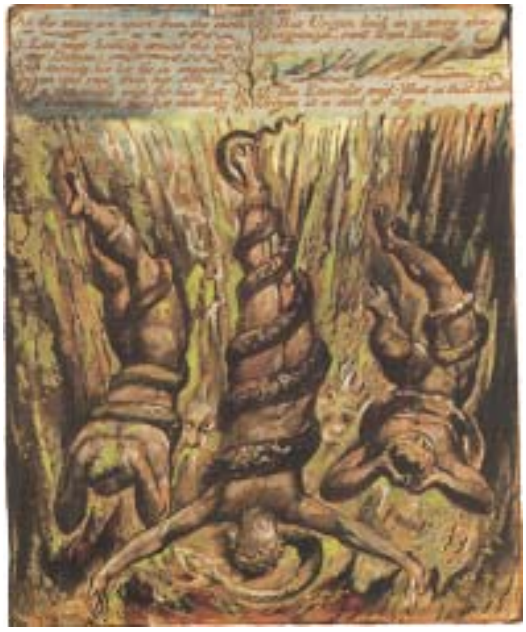

Figure 75. *The First Book of Urizen*, plate 5 (copy G), 1794/1815. Relief etching with colour printing, pen, and watercolour, 26 x 18 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, The National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. William Blake, *The Book of Urizen* (Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 1997) 7.

Figure 76. Detail, *Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion*, plate 41 (copy E), c.1804-20. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with watercolour, pen and touch of gold, 33.5 x 27.5 cm (plate, 22 x 16 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 338.

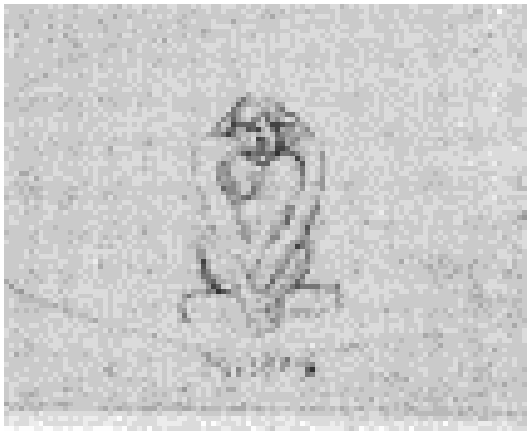

Figure 77. Detail, 'Misery', 'Various Personifications' drawing 'verso'. Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, The Houghton Library, Harvard University. Christopher Heppner, *Reading Blake's Designs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 44.

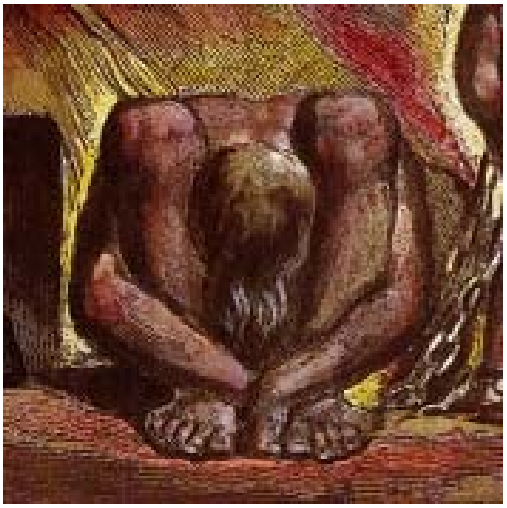

Figure 78. Detail, *Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion*, plate 51 (copy E), c.1804-20. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with watercolour, pen and touch of gold, 33.5 x 27.5 cm (plate, 22 x 16 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 348.

Figure 79. Detail, *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, plate 7 (copy G), 1793. Relief etching with watercolour, 29.8 x 23.6 cm (plates, 17 x 22 cm). Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 148.

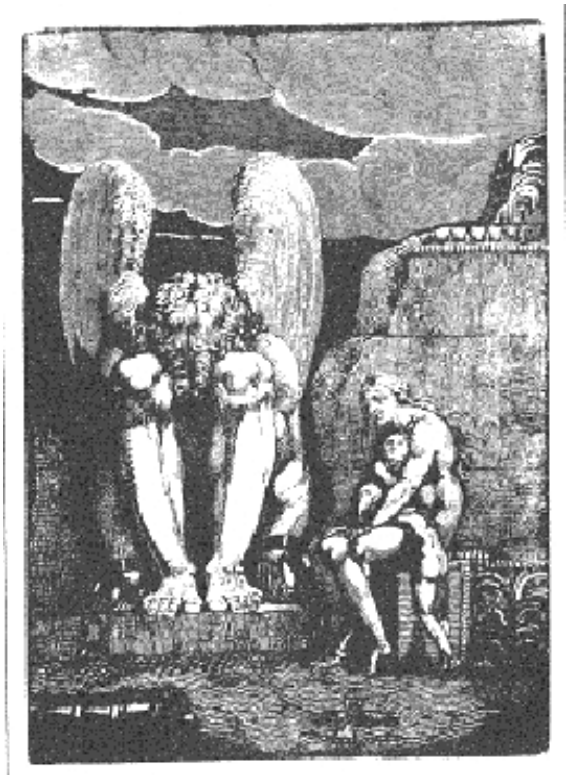

Figure 80. *America a Prophecy*, plate 1, frontispiece (copy H), 1793. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with wash, 34.5 x 24.5 cm (plate, 24 x 17 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 154.

Figure 81. Detail, *America a Prophecy*, plate 3 (copy H), 1793. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with wash, 34.5 x 24.5 cm (plate, 24 x 17 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 156.

Figure 82. *Divine Comedy* Illustration: *The Mission of Virgil*, 1824-7. Pen, ink, and watercolour over pencil, 52 x 36.5 cm. Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery. Robin Hamlyn and Michael Phillips, *William Blake* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2001) 80.

Figure 83. Detail, *The Overthrow of Apollo and the Pagan Gods*, 1809. Pen and watercolour over pencil, 25 x 19.3 cm. The Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 663.

Figure 84. Detail, *The Overthrow of Apollo and the Pagan Gods*, c. 1815. Pen and watercolour over pencil, 15.7 x 12.3 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 669.

Figure 85. Detail, *America a Prophecy*, plate 4 (copy H), 1793. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with wash, 34.5 x 24.5 cm (plate, 24 x 17 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 157.

Figure 86. *The First Book of Urizen*, Plate 8 (copy D), 1794. Relief etching with colour printing, pen, and watercolour, 26 x 18 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 210.

Figure 87. *The First Book of Urizen*, Plate 20 (copy D), 1794. Relief etching with colour printing, pen, and watercolour, 26 x 18 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 222.

Figure 88. 'Fright'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 12.

Figure 89. 'Fright'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 13.

Figure 90. 'Fright'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 14.

Figure 91. 'Fear'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 18.

Figure 92. 'Hope'. Charles LeBrun, *A Method to Learn to Design the Passions* (1734), trans. John Williams, ed. Alan T. McKenzie (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, 1980) fig. 17.

Figure 93. *Satan Watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve*, 1806. Pen and watercolour in pen outline, 26 x 19.5, on paper 26.4 x 19.5 cm. The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 644.

Figure 94. *Joseph of Arimathea*, 1773. Line engraving, 22.8 x 12 cm. British Museum.

Figure 95. *Old Parr When Young*, 1820. Pencil sketch, 29.7 x 18.4 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Robert N. Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington: An Introduction to the William Blake Collection in The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994) fig. 62.

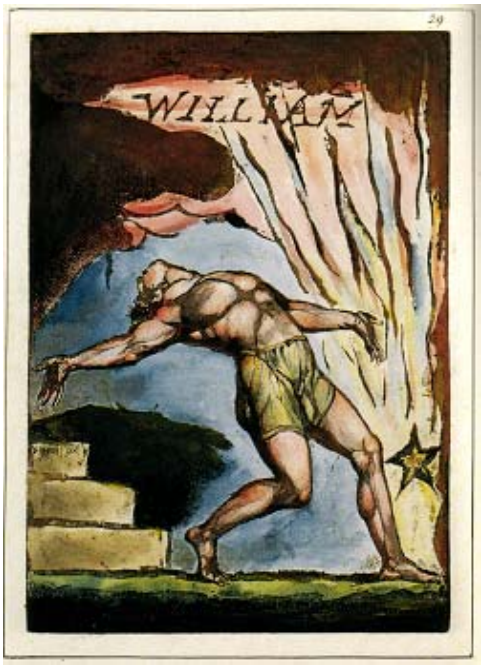

Figure 96. *Milton a Poem*, plate 29 (copy C), c.1804-11. Relief etching and white- and black-line engraving, with watercolour and grey wash, 23.5 x 16 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). New York Public Library. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 276.

Figure 97. Richard Westall. *Satan calling up his legions*, c. 1794.
http://www.stedwards.edu/hum/klawitter/milton/westall/westall1.html

Figure 98. Henry Fuseli. *Satan calling up his legions*.
http://www.stedwards.edu/hum/klawitter/milton/fuseli/fuseli2.html

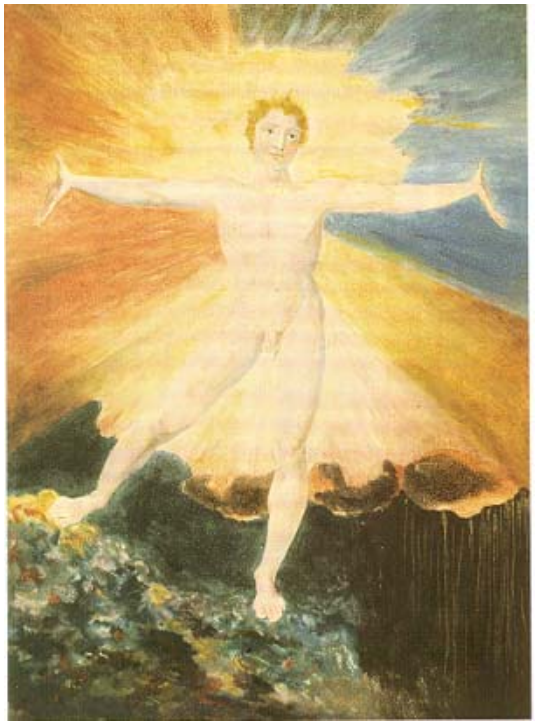

Figure 99. *The Dance of Albion* (or *Albion Rose* or *Glad Day*) c. 1794-6. Colour-printed line engraving, finished in pen and watercolour, 27.2 x 19.9 cm. British Museum, London. Raymond Lister, *The Paintings of William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) plate 10 description.

Figure 100. *Milton a Poem*, plate 13 (copy C), c.1804-11. Relief etching and white- and black-line engraving, with watercolour and grey wash, 23.5 x 16 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). New York Public Library. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 260.

Figure 101. *Satan in his Original Glory*: 'Thou Wast Perfect Until Iniquity Was Found in Thee', c. 1805. Pen and watercolour, 42.9 x 33.9 cm. The Tate Gallery. Raymond Lister, *The Paintings of William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) plate 40.

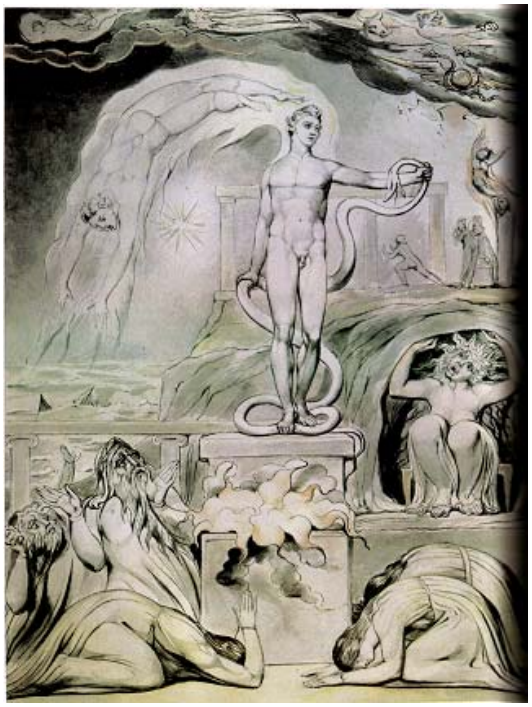

Figure 102. *The Overthrow of Apollo and the Pagan Gods*, 1809. Pen and watercolour over pencil, 25 x 19.3 cm. The Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 663.

Figure 103. *The Overthrow of Apollo and the Pagan Gods*, c. 1815. Pen and watercolour over pencil, 15.7 x 12.3 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 669.

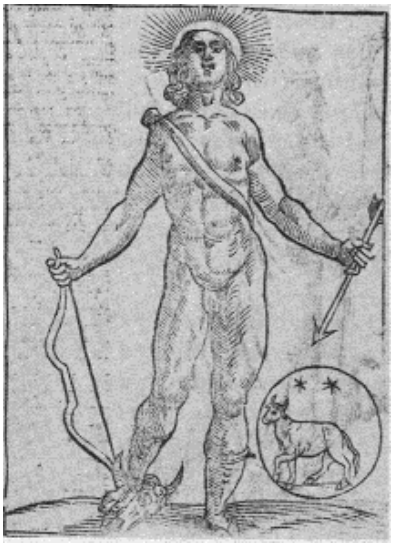

Figure 104. Vincenzo Cartari. *Imagini*: Apollo figure. The Fitzwilliam Museum. Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984).

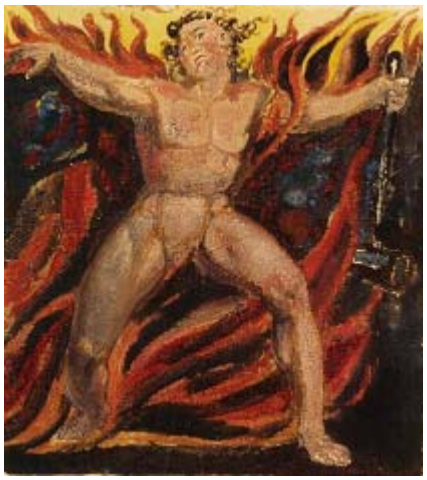

Figure 105. Detail, *The First Book of Urizen*, plate 16 (copy D), 1794. Relief etching with colour printing, pen, and watercolour, 26 x 18 cm (plate, 16 x 11 cm). British Museum, London. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 218.

Figure 106. Detail, *Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion*, plate 76 (copy E), c.1804-20. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with watercolour, pen and touch of gold, 33.5 x 27.5 cm (plate, 22 x 16 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 373.

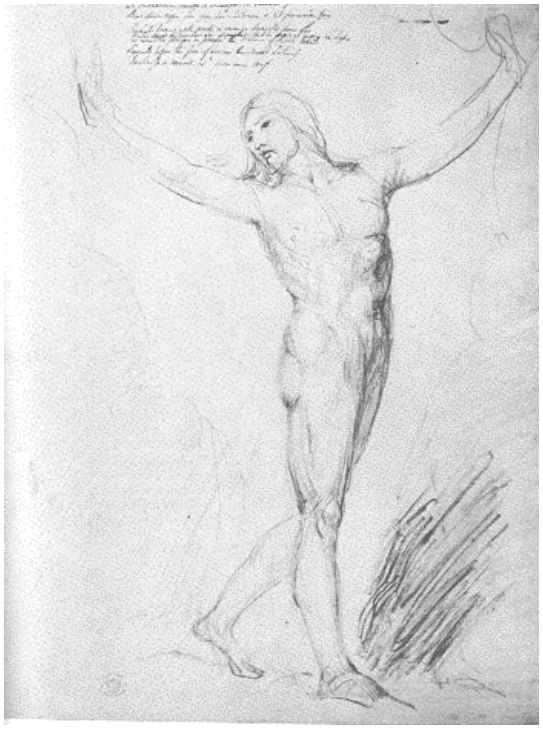

Figure 107. 'Jesus Parting the Clouds', c. 1797. Pencil, 410 x 320 mm. The British Museum, Department of Manuscripts. Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *Drawings of William Blake: 92 Pencil Studies* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970) 30.

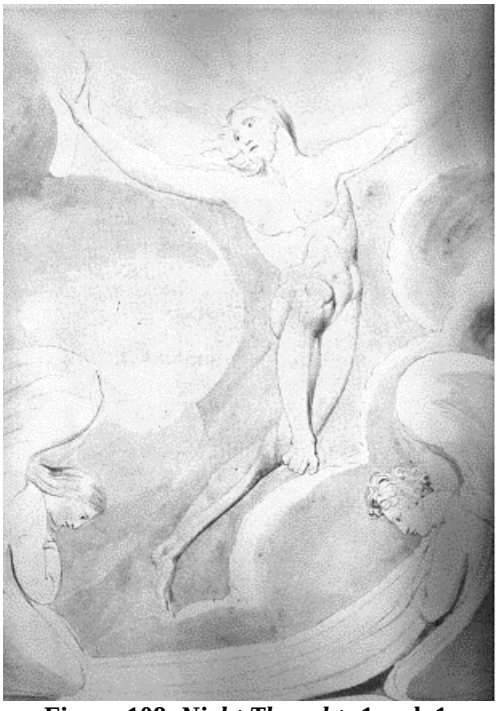

Figure 108. *Night Thoughts* 1, vol. 1, frontispiece, c.1795-7. Ink and watercolour on paper, 16 x 12 in. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts*, vol. 1, John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David V. Erdman, eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980).

Figure 109. ***The Resurrection,*** **c. 1805.** Pen and watercolour over pencil, 42 x 30.3cm. The Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 573.

Figure 110. Detail, *Comus with his Revellers*, c. 1815. Pen and watercolour, 15.4 x 12 cm. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 624.

Figure 111. Detail, *Job*, plate 14, c. 1825. Engraving. William Blake, *Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 47.

Figure 112. Detail, *Job*, plate 20, c. 1825. Engraving. William Blake, *Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 53.

Figure 113. *The Old Dragon*, c. 1815. Pen and watercolour over pencil, 15.8 x 12.2 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 668.

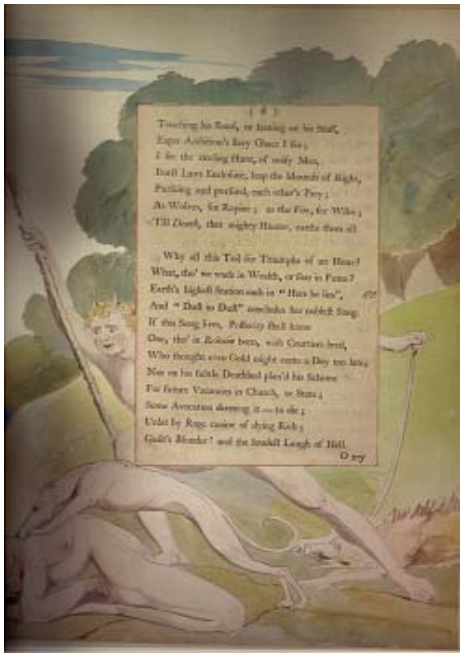

Figure 114. *Night Thoughts* 117, Night IV, page 8, c.1795-7. Ink and watercolour on paper, 16 x 12 in. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts*, vol. 1, John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David V. Erdman, eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980).

Figure 115. *Michael binding Satan*, c. 1805. Pen and watercolour, 35.8 x 32.4 cm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Kathleen Raine, *World of Art Series: William Blake* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 2000) 125.

Figure 116. ***The Devil Rebuked; The Burial of Moses*****, c. 1805.** Pen and watercolour, 42.3 x 32.3 cm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 536.

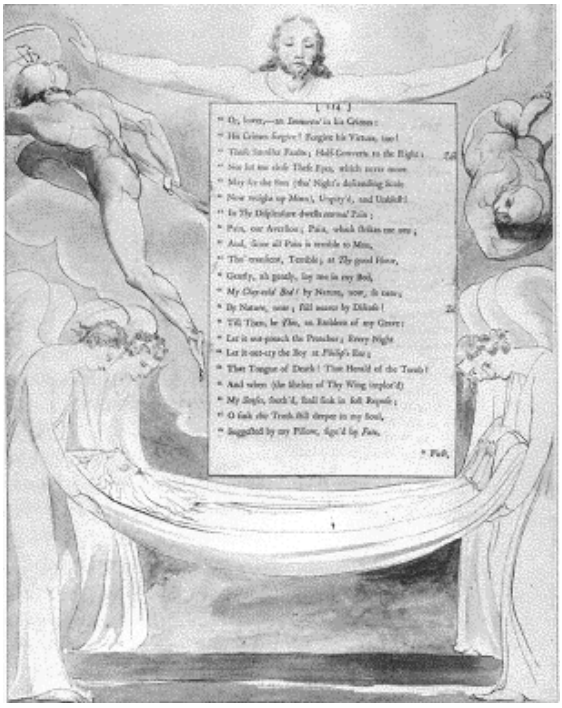

Figure 117. ***Night Thoughts*** **532, Night IX, page 114, c.1795-7.** Ink and watercolour on paper, 16 x 12 in. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts*, vol. 1, John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David V. Erdman, eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980).

Figure 118. ***For the Children: The Gates of Paradise*****, plate 7, 'Fire', c. 1793.** Line engraving and etching. David V. Erdman, *The Illuminated Blake* (New York: Dover Publications, 1992) 271.

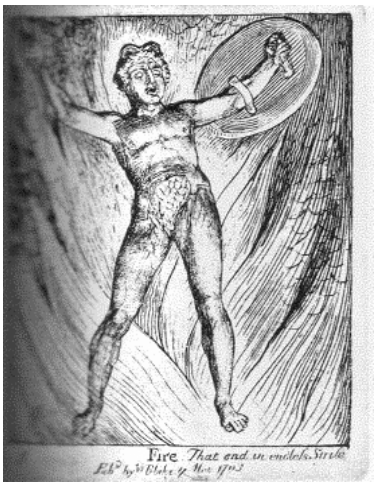

Figure 119. ***For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise,*** **plate 7, 'Fire', c. 1818.** Line engraving and etching. The British Library. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 137.

Figure 120. Detail, *Job*, plate 11, c. 1825. Engraving. William Blake, *Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 12.

Figure 121. *Illustrations to the Book of Job*, plate 3 – 'Job's sons and daughters destroyed', 1825-6. Line engraving with stipple and etching, 19.7 x 15.2 cm. Private Collection, England. William Blake, *Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 4.

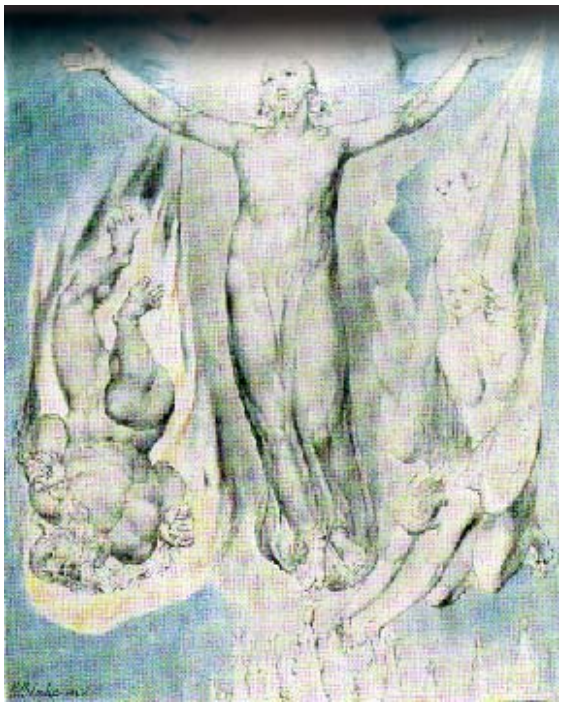

Figure 122. *Paradise Regained X: The Third Temptation (The Temptation of the Pinnacle)*, c. 1816-20. Pen and watercolour over pencil, 16.5 x 13.3 cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) plate 693.

Figure 123. Detail, *Job*, plate 6, c. 1825. Engraving. William Blake, *Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 53.

Figure 124. *Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion*, plate 6 (copy E), c.1804-20. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with watercolour, pen and touch of gold, 33.5 x 27.5 cm (plate, 22 x 16 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 303.

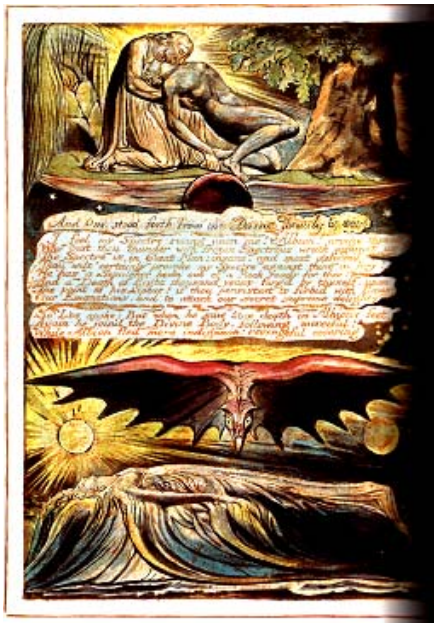

Figure 125. *Jerusalem The Emanation of The Giant Albion*, plate 37 (copy E), c.1804-20. Relief etching and white-line engraving, with watercolour, pen and touch of gold, 33.5 x 27.5 cm (plate, 22 x 16 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut. David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 334.

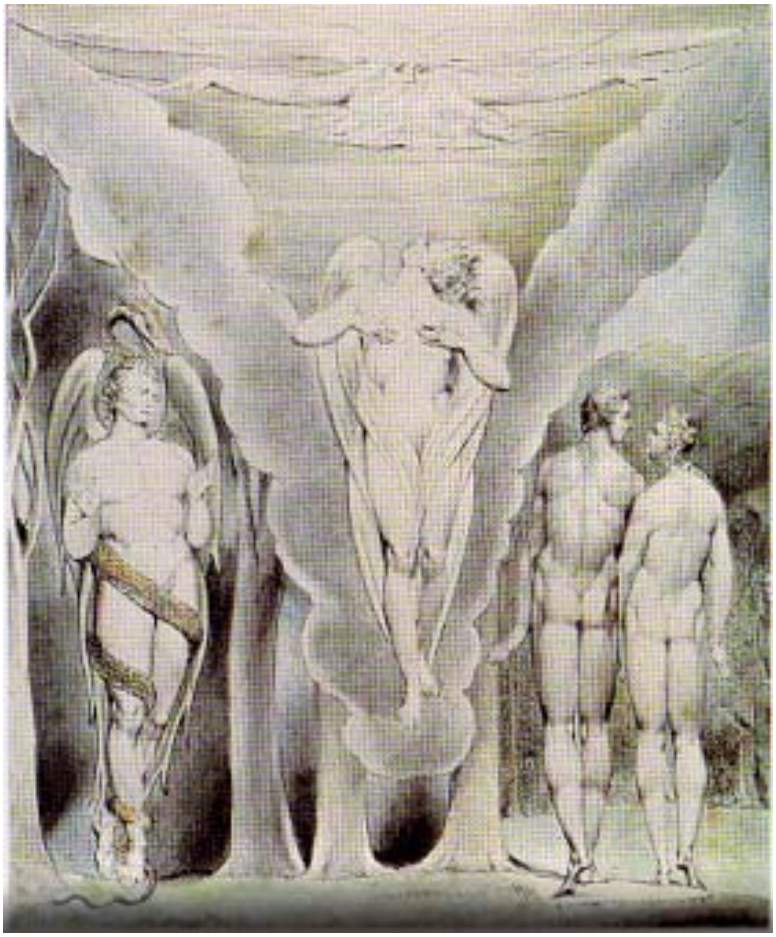

Figure 126. ***Satan Spying on Adam and Eve, and Raphael's Descent into Paradise*** **(*Raphael Descending into Paradise*), 1807.** Pen and watercolour, 25.1 x 20.4 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 635.

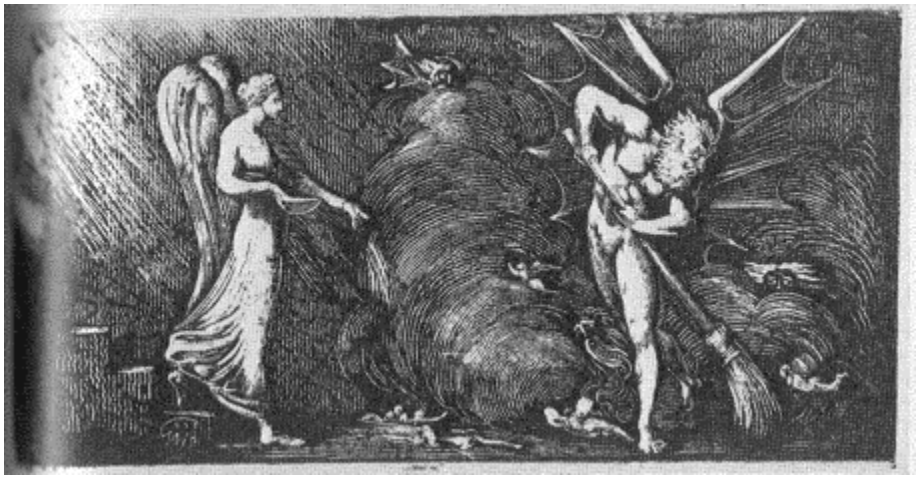

Figure 127. 'Sweeping the Interpreter's Parlour'. Woodcut on pewter, second state, 3 1/8 x 6 5/16 in. The British Museum. Ruthven Todd, *William Blake the Artist* (London: Studio Vista Limited, 1971) 137.

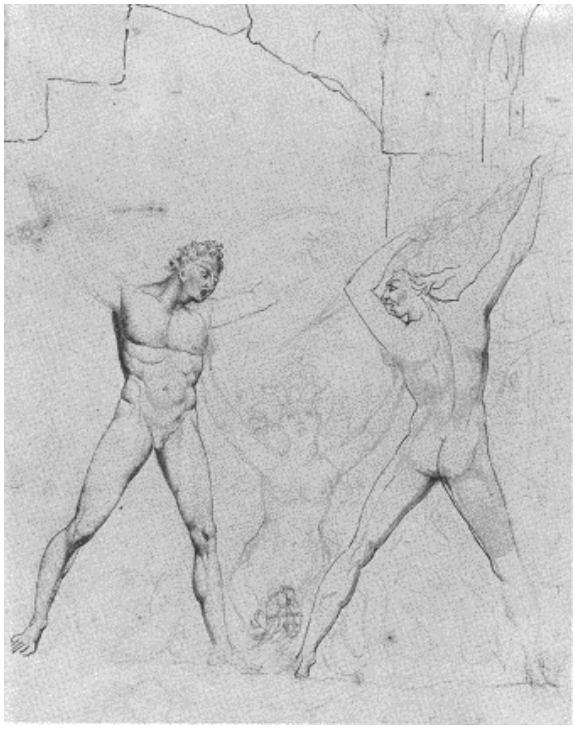

Figure 128. 'Satan, Sin and Death at the Gates of Hell', c. 1807. Pencil, 253 x 202 mm. John Work Garrett Library, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *Drawings of William Blake: 92 Pencil Studies* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970) 42.

Figure 129. Detail, *The Fall of Man*, 1807. Pen and watercolour with some scratching out, 48.3 x 38.7 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 869.

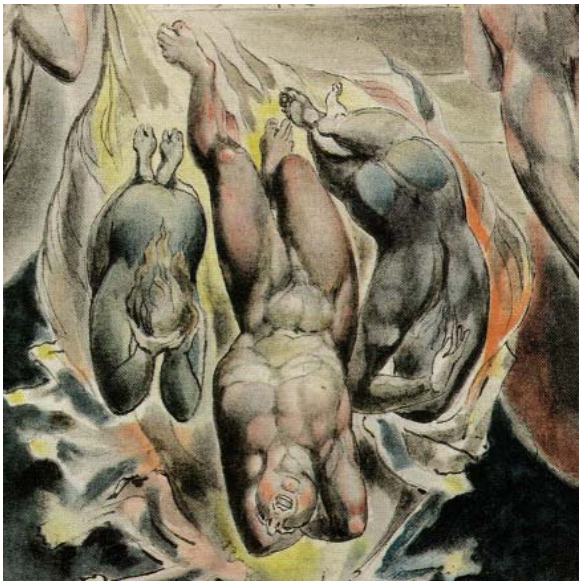

Figure 130. Detail, *Illustrations to the Book of Job: The Linnell Set*, 'The Fall of Satan', 1821. Pen, pencil, and watercolour, 30.3 x 22.9 cm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. William Blake, *Blake's Illustrations for the Book of Job* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1995) 28.

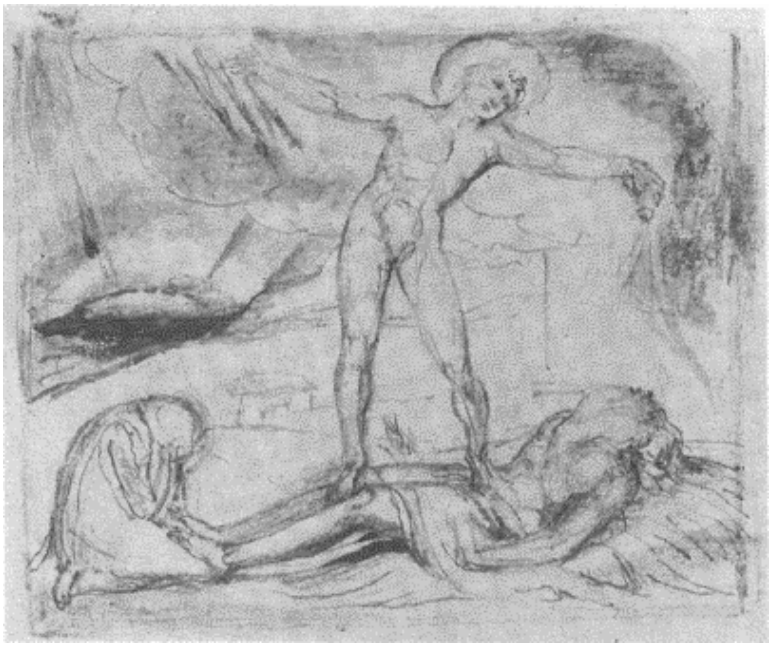

Figure 131. ***Study for Plate 6, Satan Smiting Job with Boils*****, 1823.** Pencil, pen, and wash, 9.5 x 11.5 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 766.

Figure 132. ***The Old Dragon*****, 1809.** Pen and watercolour over pencil, 25.3 x 19.3 cm. The Whitworth Art Gallery, University of Manchester. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 662.

Figure 133. ***Christ Offers to Redeem Man*****, 1808.** Pen and watercolour, 49.6 x 39.3 cm. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 647.

Figure 134. ***God Blessing the Seventh Day*****, 1805.** Pen and watercolour, 42 x 35.5 cm. Private Collection, Great Britain. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 511.

Figure 135. ***The Flight of Moloch*****, c. 1815.** Pen and watercolour over pencil, 15.7 x 12.4 cm. The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), plate 670.

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NOTES

PART I – INTRODUCTION

[1] Harold Fisch, *The Biblical Presence in Shakespeare, Milton and Blake: A Comparative Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 216.
[2] J. M. Q. Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs: The Dynamics of Meaning* (West Cornwall: Locust Hill Press, 1993) 1.
[3] William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, ed. Sir Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) ix.
[4] Raymond Lister, *The Paintings of William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) plate 5 description.
[5] Stephen Behrendt, *The Moment of Explosion: Blake and the Illustration of Milton* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1983) 57.
[6] Judy Cox, *William Blake: The Scourge of Tyrants* (London: Redwords, 2004) 39.
[7] Cox, 58.
[8] Thomas R. Frosch, *The Awakening of Albion: The Renovation of the Body in the Poetry of William Blake* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974) 25
[9] James King, *William Blake: His Life* (London: Winfield and Nicolson, 1991) 6.
[10] Cox, 22.
[11] Ronald Paulson, *Book and Painting: Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982) 116: "What many Englishmen saw in the mid-seventeenth century and again toward the end of the eighteenth was that Christianity itself was the great underlying model of revolution. This reading depended upon a major deconstruction of the Bible, a veering away from the official interpretation of the Church Fathers, the commentators, and the Anglican clergy; and its home was among the dissenters, for whom the basic idea was that one goes to the Bible and reads it for himself. One discovers what the Bible said before it fell into the hands of the Fathers. This tradition of dissenter interpretation helps to explain the readings Blake arrived at, but it also draws attention to the dissenters' reputed history of rebellion and regicide, subversion and innovation."
[12] Kathleen Raine, *World of Art Series: William Blake* (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 2000) 52.
[13] Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Jr., *Angel of Apocalypse: Blake's Idea of Milton* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1975) xvi.
[14] Cox, 29.
[15] Cox, 12.
[16] Cox, 12-13. The closest Blake came to actively participating in radical revolutionary activities was when he was returning home on the evening of June 6, 1780, and was unwillingly swept up in the Gordon Riot mob of 60,000 people, initiating indiscriminate arson attacks as they headed for Newgate Prison. Unable to remove himself from the front ranks of the fearsome throng, he was compelled to witness the liberation of all three hundred prisoners and the destruction and burning of the prison (c.f. King, 38; Cox, 29-31).
[17] Cox, 15.
[18] "He had a unique perspective among the poets. He was rooted in the artisan community of London, he inhabited workshops, not drawing rooms. He did not observe the social upheavals of the era – he lived them, as a craftsman battling against mechanisation, a freethinker facing the standardisation of art and as a fiercely independent mind forced to depend on rich patrons." Cox, 16.
[19] King, 27.
[20] Peter A. Wick, ed., *William Blake, Water-color Drawings* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1957) 5.
[21] Cox, 12, 38.
[22] Cox, 11.
[23] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, v.
[24] Cox, 51.
[25] Lister, 12.
[26] Cox, 15: "William Pitt's government unleashed a reign of terror against British radicals in 1792. His war against ordinary people went on for much longer. More people were executed for crimes against property than in England during those years than were executed during the Terror in France. Shelley called this period the 'age of despair'."

[27] Cox, 19.
[28] "After the withdrawal of *The French Revolution*, Blake gave up his hopes of reaching a mass audience and retreated into more obscure and private language. He may well have been intimidated. Hysteria was in the air. Town after town formed citizens' associations to suppress radical meetings and seditious writings. One was formed in the parish of Lambeth." Cox, 48.
[29] Cox, 49.
[30] Cox, 43.
[31] Cox, 83.
[32] S. Foster Damon, *Blake's Job: William Blake's 'Illustrations of the Book of Job'* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1966) 4, 26. Damon lists the five states of man as: Innocence, Experience, Revolution, The Dark Night, and The New Life.
[33] Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant, eds., *Blake's Poetry and Designs* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979) 359.
[34] William Vaughan, *William Blake* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) 30.
[35] "Attempting to read both versions of *The Rout of the Rebel Angels* from too narrowly representational a standpoint has led at least one critic to conclude that Blake's demonic figures are far more successful than those of the Son and the angels. But such a conclusion reflects too great a dependence upon Blake's pejorative comments in *The Marriage* and seems almost to assume them as a gloss on designs made over a dozen years later, by which time Blake's opinions had changed drastically." Behrendt, 155.
[36] "The arrows represent intellectual power, and in this setting such symbolism would be appropriate to Blake's view: the intellectual energy of God overpowering the Error of the rebel angels. For by this period of his life Blake was taking a more sympathetic view of the Creator than hitherto…, and while he still recognised the necessity of Satan's energy, he now saw God as a less Urizenic, more benign being; and indeed here his expression is less that of the conquering Son of this section of *Paradise Lost* than that of the saviour who later in the poem offers himself to redeem man." Lister, plate 45 description.
[37] Cox, 40.
[38] Tristanne J. Connolly, *William Blake and the Body* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002) x.
[39] For example, Stephen C. Behrendt' s *The Moment of Explosion: Blake and the Illustration of Milton* (1983), Bette Charlene Warner's *Blake's Vision of the Poetry of Milton* (1986) and J.M.Q. Davies' *Blake's Milton Designs: The Dynamics of Meaning* (1993) are each books devoted to examining specifically Blake's illustrations to Milton's poetry, yet where Warner expends between one and six pages of ink on each of the *PL* designs, Behrendt averages almost two pages per design, and Davies is satisfied with an average of a single page for each design.
[40] King, 208.

PART II – TEXTUAL-THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION
[1] King, 82-3.
[2] King, 83.
[3] Raine, 54-5.
[4] Cox, 51, quoting Kathleen Raine, *William Blake* (Thames and Hudson, 1970) 56.
[5] King, 208.
[6] Wittreich, 189.
[7] Robert N. Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington: An Introduction to the William Blake Collection in The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994) 106.
[8] Bette Charlene Werner, *Blake's Vision of the Poetry of Milton: Illustrations to Six Poems* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1986) 58: "*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* commentary comes, however, from a considerably earlier period (1790-93) than the illustrations (1807-8). The problem predates the era of Blake's extensive and close involvement with Milton's poetry that was encouraged by his association with William Hayley at Felpham. The Devil of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* offers a reading of *Paradise Lost* that Blake's illustrative series do not support. By the time that he came to illustrate the poem, Blake had made a much more considered and more sympathetic reading of *Paradise Lost*."
[9] Behrendt, 67.
[10] Behrendt, 9.

[11] Robin Hamlyn and Michael Phillips, *William Blake* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 2001) 260.
[12] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 4.
[13] Behrendt, 9.
[14] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary Plate 2.
[15]
Without Contraries is no progression. Attraction
and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and
Hate, are necessary to Human existence.
From these contraries spring what the religious call
Good & Evil. Good is the passive that obeys Reason.
Evil is the active springing from energy.
Good is Heaven. Evil is Hell. (l.7-13)
[16] Christopher Heppner, *Reading Blake's Designs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 132.
[17] Heppner, 132.
[18] Heppner, 133.
[19] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary Plate 4: "[the figure] on the right, rushing out of the enveloping flames of Hell, can only be Blake's Devil, Bodily Energy, striving to rescue the Newborn Terror from the clutching arms of the Good Angel, or Restraint. They are hovering over the rippling waves of the Sea of Time and Space, illuminated by the Sun of Freedom, but the Devil of Energy is fettered by his ankle so that he cannot move, indicating the group illustrates the 'Errors' of the upper half of the plate, particularly the third, that the energetic man will be in eternal torment."
[20] Wittreich, 210.
[21] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 4.
[22] Behrendt, 69.
[23] *Ibid*.
[24] *Ibid*.
[25] Behrendt, 73.
[26] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, xi.
[27] The falling figure illustrated at the top of plate 5, while being symbolic of Satan, refers to the story of the fall of Phaëthon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.750-2.380), who was widely interpreted in the seventeenth century as a Promethean figure "propelled by a desire so strong that he courts destruction rather than compromise" [David Bindman, *Blake as an Artist* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1977) 69]. This reading of the Phaëthon story strikes a strong parallel with Satan's unwavering desire for freedom without regard for consequences and his resultant fall, undoubtedly the reason for its inclusion here by Blake.
[28] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, vi.
[29] Those who restrain desire, do so because theirs is weak enough to be restrained; and the restrainer or reason usurps its place & 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. & the Governor or Reason is call'd Messiah.
And the original Archangel or possessor of the command of the heavenly host, is calld the Devil or Satan and his children are call'd Sin & Death.
But in the Book of Job Miltons Messiah is call'd Satan.
For this history has been adopted by both parties.
It indeed appear'd to Reason as if Desire was cast out, but the Devils account is, that the Messiah fell. & formed a heaven of what he stole from the Abyss. (plates 5-6)
[30] Raine, 146.
[31] Wittreich, 211.
[32] Samuel Foster Damon, "Blake and Milton," in *The Divine Vision: Studies in the Poetry and Art of William Blake*, ed. Vivian De Sola Pinto (New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1968) 95.
[33] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary Plates 6-7.
[34] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary Plate 5-6.
[35] Wittreich, 214-15.
[36] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, vi.
[37] Heppner, 144.
[38] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary Plate 14.

[39] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary, Plates 7-10.
[40] Hamlyn and Phillips, 17.
[41] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary, Plates 22-24.
[42] Once I saw a Devil in a flame of fire, who arose before an Angel that sat on a cloud, and the Devil utter'd these words:

'The worship of God is: Honouring his gifts in other men, each according to his Genius, and loving the greatest men 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, & at last white, pink, & smiling, and then replied:

'Thou Idolater. is not God One& is not he 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, & nothings?'

The Devil answer'd: ' 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 ten commandments: did he not mock the Sabbath, 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 labor of others to support him? bear false witness when he omitted making a defence before Pilate? covet when he pray'd for his 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.' (plates 22-24)
[43] Wittreich, 204.
[44] Wittreich, 205.
[45] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary, Plate 25-27. Keynes continues on to state that, "This doctrine had in 1790 found its justification in the French and American revolutions. In apocalyptic language Blake welcomed these events, which he thought would lead to the liberation of mankind from tyranny (in the shape of King George) over thought and action, and from repression by the priests of organized religion, personified in the Church of Rome, whose overthrow is specifically celebrated in the 'Chorus' at the end."
[46] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, vii.
[47] Bindman, 71.
[48] Raine, 69.
[49] Frosch, 22.
[50] Bindman, *Blake as an Artist*, 76.
[51] Essick, *William Blake at The* Huntington, 42.
[52] Essick, *William Blake at The* Huntington, 10.
[53] Gertrude Grace Sill, *A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Touchstone, 1996) 20; Jack Tresidder, *Dictionary of Symbols: An Illustrated Guide to Traditional Images, Icons, and Emblems* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1998) 70-1.
[54] Sill, 23.
[55] *Ibid*.
[56] Tresidder, 124.
[57] Sill, 27.
[58] Sill, 20.
[59] Tresidder, 67-8.
[60] Tresidder, 184.
[61] S. Foster Damon, *A Blake Dictionary: The Ideas and Symbols of William Blake* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1988) 365-6, 435.
[62] Sill, 25; Tresidder, 184-7.
[63] Hamlyn and Phillips, 19.
[64] Raine encapsulates the action of *Urizen* as follows: "The poem itself is a sombre satire of Milton's account of the Creation; according to Blake, the Seven Days of Creation represent seven phases of the imprisonment and 'binding' of 'the caverned man' within the limitations of a world experienced only through the five senses. Urizen, thus limited, becomes the self-deluded and anxious demiurge, engaged in the 'enormous labours' of imposing his 'ratio of the five senses' on rebellious life, whose nature he has not understood. Such, according to Blake, is 'human reason', the false God of the Enlightenment…" Raine, 76.
[65] Behrendt, 11.

[66] Raine, 148.
[67] Werner, 15.
[68] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 5.
[69] Martin Butlin, *William Blake: A Complete Catalogue of the Works in the Tate Gallery*, 2nd ed. (Millbank: Tate Gallery Publications Department, 1971) 9.
[70] "Blake's most direct engagement with Milton's conceptual errors occurs in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790), in *Milton* (1804-16), and in his sequences of watercolor illustrations to *Comus* (1801, c. 1816), *Paradise Lost* (1807, 1808), the *Nativity Ode* (1809, c. 1816), *L'Allegro and Il Penseroso* (c. 1816), and *Paradise Regained* (c. 1816-25). However, the persistent presence of Milton's influence in Blake's work, from the early Ossianic fragment 'Samson' (1783) on, means that hermeneutic clues to the exact meaning of these designs are often oblique and can come from virtually anywhere in his poetic and pictorial canon." Davies, 3.
[71] Johnson and Grant, 240.
[72] *Ibid*.
[73] Johnson and Grant, 298.
[74] Johnson and Grant, 257.
[75] Johnson and Grant, 260.
[76] Man must & will have some religion; if he has not the 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 worship Satan under the Name of God! Where are they? Listen! Every Religion that Preaches Vengeance for Sin is the Religion of the Enemy & Avenger; and not the Forgiver of Sin, and their God is Satan, Named by the Divine Name. Your Religion O Deists: Deism, the Worship of the God of this World by the means of what you call Natural Religion or Self-Righteousness, the Selfish Virtues of the Natural Heart. This was the Religion of the Pharisees who murdered Jesus. Deism is the same and ends the same. (plate 52)
[77] Johnson and Grant, 331.
[78] Janet A. Warner, *Blake and the Language of Art* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984) 24.
[79] Johnson and Grant, 298.
[80] Johnson and Grant, 235.
[81] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 93.

PART III – THE ILLUSTRATIONS: A GRAPHIC CONSIDERATION

[1] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 1.
[2] King, 14.
[3] Pamela Dunbar, *William Blake's Illustrations to the Poetry of Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980) 1.
[4] Cox, 43.
[5] Raine, 146.
[6] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 343.
[7] Fisch, viii.
[8] According to Behrendt: "Blake saw the value of Milton's rebellious politics and vision, but he clearly felt Milton had not gone far enough in his revolt against orthodox religious and moral opinion by the time he had composed *Paradise Lost*. As a result, Blake contended, the orthodox dogma in which Milton clothed his vision often obscured that vision, subverting (or more accurately, 'perverting') it and placing him on the side of the repressive forces, the 'restrainers of Desire.'" Behrendt, 27.
[9] Johnson and Grant, 235.
[10] "Milton illustration, with very few exceptions, is a form of non-verbal criticism... Occasionally an illustration is no more than a pictorialization of Milton's narrative or a visualization of a Miltonic image, but more usually an illustration imposes an interpretation upon the text that it accompanies. In the hands of a highly imaginative illustrator, an illustration may create a whole new perspective from which to view a poem…
To William Blake we must credit the fullest exploration and deepest comprehension of the Miltonic vision. And to give credit where credit is due, we should acknowledge that Blake not only made old techniques serve new ends so as to anticipate the conditions of twentieth-century art, but he raised many of the critical issues with which we continue to grapple, and forged many insights to which we still are strangers." William B Jr, Hunter, ed., "Illustrators," in *A Milton Encyclopedia*, Vol.3 Ho-La (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1978) 56-57.

[11] Behrendt, 6, 65.
[12] Werner, 17.
[13] Werner, 54.
[14] Werner, 54-5.
[15] Northrop Frye, "Notes for a Commentary on *Milton*," in *The Divine Vision: Studies in the Poetry and Art of William Blake*, ed. Vivian De Sola Pinto (New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1968) 104.
[16] S. Foster Damon, *Blake's Job: William Blake's 'Illustrations of the Book of Job'* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1966) 6.
[17] Behrendt, 6.
[18] Heppner, 53-4.
[19] Behrendt, 7.
[20] Heppner, xv-xvi.
[21] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 17.
[22] Wittreich, 76.
[23] Wittreich, 77.
[24] Heppner, xvi.
[25] Lister, plate 10 description.
[26] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 53.
[27] Ruthven Todd, *William Blake the Artist* (London: Studio Vista Limited, 1971) 59.
[28] The three dispersed illustrations are: *Satan Arousing the Rebel Angels* at The Victoria and Albert Museum; *Satan, Sin and Death: Satan Comes to the Gates of Hell* at The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California; and *The Judgment of Adam and Eve: 'So He Judged Man'* at The Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
[29] The illustrations of the Thomas set are each approximately 25.5 x 21 cm, while those of the Butts set are nearly four times larger, measuring approximately 49.5 x 39.5 cm. For this reason the Thomas set is often referred to as the 'small set' and the Butts set as the 'large set'.
[30] Although the Butts set has no corresponding illustration for Book VII, and neither set illustrates Book XI. Therefore, the Thomas set illustrates Book V twice (with *Satan Spying on Adam and Eve, and Raphael's Descent into Paradise* simultaneously illustrating two Books, as does its *Raphael Warns Adam and Eve*), and both sets illustrate Books IV and XII twice.
[31] Dunbar, 42.
[32] I have included both a black and white and a color example of this tempera in attempt to offer a contrast in perception of the darkened work.
[33] Werner, 56.
[34] Werner describes the tempera's as follows: "What the tempera paintings do provide, in contrast to the watercolors, is some suggestion of the horror and grandeur of Milton's description of the great Deep. The poets evocation of vast and forlorn regions, cast in preponderant gloom, and illuminated only by the livid glimmerings of dark fires is translated by the illustrator into a cavernous landscape painted in murky tones of red and black. Appropriately, touches of opaque gold in forms of flame serve to accentuate the surrounding darkness rather than to penetrate the atmosphere with light. Only the figure of Satan is illuminated. In reminiscence of his former glory, the Arch-fiend is thus given an aura of splendor even in this ruin. Blake's depiction of Satan surveying his dreary kingdom is in keeping with Milton's description of the scene." Werner, 56-7.
[35] Werner, 57.
[36] David V. Erdman and Donald K. Moore, eds., *The Notebook of William Blake: A Photographic and Typographic Facsimile* (Revised ed. Readex Books, 1977) N91 transcript.
[37] Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) 447.
[38] Behrendt, 94.
[39] Behrendt, 107.
[40] Wittreich, 92.
[41] Cesare Ripa, *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's 'Iconologia'*, Edward A Maser, ed. (New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1971) 182.
[42] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 118.

[43] Christ is firing a bow in *RRA*; Michael wears a plumed helmet in *The Expulsion*, and, in *Michael Foretells the Crucifixion*, he wears the helmet while handling a spear; and both Ithuriel and Zephon, in *Adam and Eve Sleeping*, each carry a spear and wear a spiked nimbus (the divinity of the halo disfigured by the gothic spikes of tyranny indicating the spiritual and physical despotism of the amercive Father and his henchmen).
[44] Presenting weapons discarded in a pile is a symbol used by Ripa for victory in his *Iconologia*. Ripa, 78.
[45] Behrendt, 132.
[46] Wittreich, 81-2.
[47] Dunbar, 45.
[48] Dunbar, 43-4.
[49] Werner, 58.
[50] Behrendt, 132.
[51] Warner, 113.
[52] Bindman, 188, 190.
[53] See page 46.
[54] Dunbar, 45.
[55] Lister, plate 73 description.
[56] Heppner, 167.
[57] While none of Blake's angels are grovelling, only the blank expression of the prostrate cruciform angel could be construed as astounded or amazed, but he is explained in detail further on.
[58] Werner, 57.
[59] Dunbar, 47.
[60] Dunbar, 67.
[61] Warner, 29.
[62] Warner, 27.
[63] Warner, 28.
[64] *Ibid*.
[65] The only nude non-fallen angel in any of the *PL* illustrations is the wing-covered Raphael landing in Eden in *Raphael's Entry into Paradise* (1807).
[66] Dunbar, 43.
[67] Bindman, *Blake as an Artist*, 80.
[68] Warner, 10.
[69] *Ibid*.
[70] Warner, 35.
[71] Dunbar, 101.
[72] Warner, 36, 38-44.
[73] LeBrun, 20-1.
[74] LeBrun, 16, 24.
[75] LeBrun, 24.
[76] LeBrun, fig.1 and 2.
[77] Warner, 40.
[78] LeBrun, 24-5.
[79] LeBrun, 26.
[80] *Ibid*.
[81] LeBrun, 46.
[82] David V. Erdman, *The Illuminated Blake* (New York: Dover Publications, 1992) 126.
[83] Bindman, *Blake as an Artist*, 73-4.
[84] LeBrun, fig.33.
[85] Heppner, 53.
[86] Raine, 111.
[87] Werner, 60.
[88] Dunbar, 44.
[89] Warner, 113.
[90] Behrendt, 157.
[91] Jean H. Hagstrum, *William Blake, Poet and Painter: An Introduction to the Illuminated Verse* (Chicago: The

University of Chicago Press, 1964) 25, 40.
[92] Todd, 9-11.
[93] Dunbar, 44.
[94] Werner, 57.
[95] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary, plate 1.
[96] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary, Plates 6-7.
[97] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary, Plate 2.
[98] Warner, 85, 127, 138.
[99] Warner, 124. Warner also notes here that this figure is often female and viewed from behind.
[100] Warner, 127, 136-8.
[101] Warner, 124.
[102] Warner, 147-9.
[103] Warner, 144.
[104] Cox, 53.
[105] Robert N. Essick, ed., *William Blake and his Contemporaries and Followers* (San Marino: The Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1987) 29.
[106] Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *Drawings of William Blake: 92 Pencil Studies* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970) 16.
[107] Dunbar, 46.
[108] Warner, 35.
[109] Warner, 64, 68.
[110] Todd, 122.
[111] Warner, 64, 66.
[112] Warner, 68.
[113] Warner, 65.
[114] Warner, 47-49.
[115] Warner, 54, 58.
[116] John Bulwer, *Chirologia Or The Natural Language of the Hand* (Reprint, Kessinger Publications) Chironomia, 35.
[117] Bulwer, Chironomia, 34-5.
[118] Bulwer, Chirologia, 35.
[119] Bulwer, Chirologia, 28.
[120] Bulwer, Chirologia, 14.
[121] Dunbar, 43-4.
[122] Not including the foetal angel and the *SRL* 1808 prostrate cruciform angel, of which both will presently be considered.
[123] Warner, 138.
[124] Connolly, 32
[125] Erdman, 374.
[126] The crown he wears in the temperas has been omitted in the watercolours, possibly as part of a deliberate effort by Blake to remove superfluous condemning symbolism from the design.
[127] C.H. Collins Baker, ed., *An Exhibition of William Blake's Watercolour Drawings of Milton's "Paradise Lost"*. 3rd ed. (San Marino: Huntington Library Publications, 1938) 8.
[128] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 57.
[129] Dunbar, 45-6.
[130] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 104.
[131] Heppner, 39.
[132] Heppner, 41.
[133] Werner, 191-2.
[134] Dunbar, 43-4.
[135] Raine, 182.
[136] Walter L. Strauss, *The Complete Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints of Albrecht Dürer* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973) 166.
[137] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 173.

[138] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 27.
[139] Werner, 57.
[140] Werner, 62.
[141] Dunbar, 45.
[142] *Ibid*.
[143] Warner, 182.
[144] Warner, 87.
[145] Warner, 96.
[146] Warner, 105.
[147] Hamlyn and Phillips, 286.
[148] Warner, 121.
[149] Mona Wilson, *The Life of William Blake*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford: University Press, 1971) 106.
[150] Elisabeth Luther Cary, *The Art of William Blake: His Sketch-Book, His Water-Colours, His Painted Books* (New York: Moffat, Yard & Co., 1907) 31.
[151] Lister describes *The Ancient of Days* design as follows: "The design shows the Elohim, as Urizen, leaning from a heavenly globe between clouds, with his hair and wind blowing in a cosmic wind. He reaches down into the void with his left arm, holding dividers so as to place, by his act of creation, a limit or measurement on the world. It refers to a passage in the 'Preludium' of *Europe* containing the line 'And who shall bind the infinite with an eternal band?'." Lister, plate 75 description.
[152] 'He took the golden compasses, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
The Universe, and all created things:
One foot he centred, and the other turned
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds,
This be thy just circumference, O world.'
[153] Importantly, there are striking similarities between *The Ancient of Days* and *The Rout of the Rebel Angels* designs. The figures in both designs are kneeling within an orb (in *RRA* 1807 Christ's left leg is raised to make the position of his lower body identical to that of Urizen's), both have wind-blown beards and long hair, both characters grasp objects outside their orb (Christ's bow and Urizen's compass; similarly shaped objects, inversed in the other design), and each character's left hand is also out of the orb. Because Blake viewed the act of creation as Error, the similarities in design between *The Ancient of Days* and *RRA* suggests that routing the rebel angels was Error, or the idea that the rebel angels were routed and defeated is erroneous.
[154] Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 445, 541.
[155] Lister, plate 5 description.
[156] Although another bearded figure, yet to be discussed, is depicted as alive and alert in the 1808 version, looking attentively up at Satan.
[157] Damon, *Blake's Job*, 419.
[158] Damon, *Blake's Job*, 365.
[159] Wittreich, 212; quoting Hazard Adams,
[160] Dunbar, 105.
[161] Warner, 113.
[162] Heppner, 41.
[163] Warner, 30, 85.
[164] Warner, 107.
[165] Dunbar, 45.
[166] Erdman, 330.
[167] *Ibid*.
[168] Hamlyn and Phillips, 81.
[169] Warner, 115.
[170] Although Blake's association of left or right with the values of material and Reason or spiritual and Imagination, respectively, would seem to imply a negative or sinister imputation, subsequently working to invalidate my interpretation of this figure, the similar posture of Urizen in *Urizen* 8 casts doubt upon the validity of applying these positional values. In this design Urizen is positioned to push himself upward with his

right leg yet, being rationality incarnate, reading the positive aspects of righ-side values into this design could be regarded as highly dubious. Also worth considering are the red flames which flank the caverned angel in *SRL* 1807: red flames indicate the fiery energy which Blake associated with spirituality.
[171] 'Reader! lover of books! lover of heaven,
And of that God from whom all books are given,
Who in mysterious Sinai's awful cave
To Man the wond'rous art of writing gave'
[172] Dunbar, 104.
[173] The angel at the bottom right of *SRL* 1807 is similarly poised to leap upward, while the angel immediately to the right of the caverned angel in the same version also appears to be in transition from prostrate to rising.
[174] Raine, 111.
[175] Lister, plate 51 description.
[176] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary, Plates17-20.
[177] Bindman, *Blake as an Artist,* 77.
[178] Bindman, *Blake as an Artist,* 76.
[179] Erdman, 144.
[180] Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, commentary, Plates 21-22.
[181] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 138.
[182] Emily S. Hamblen, *William Blake and the Psychology of his Symbols* (Kessinger Publishing, reprint) 45.
[183] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 138.
[184] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 139.
[185] "About the human body, John Hunter wrote treatises on the blood and gunshot wounds, and on venereal disease, and William Hunter is best known for his *Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* [Birmingham, 1774]. The strange births which pervade Blake's prophecies may have been partially influenced by theories developed by the Hunters, such as their explanation of blood circulation between mother and child through the placenta. However, the majority of images in *Gravid Uterus* are of babies in the womb. Blake rarely depicts such an ordinary form of gestation and birth..." Connolly, 46.
[186] "The figure seems to be struggling to gain leverage with his limbs against this roof and heave it off but, surrounded by rock – his hands and feet reach the four corners of his space – his success seems highly unlikely… Considering the womb as a cave is appropriate to this birth, as it is a birth into solidity and stasis. As the description of Urizen's embodiment continues, there is a recurring theme of the solid being able to move, grow and enclose the fluid and flexible. The roles are reversed and the solid triumphs: the solid becomes flexible only to enclose, and the fluid becomes static in its enclosure. This is apparent in the flowing 'fountain of thought' being surrounded by 'a roof shaggy wild' illustrated as rock… It can be seen as a solid, claustrophobic womb." Connolly, 87.
[187] Connolly, 84.
[188] Werner, 58.
[189] Behrendt, 144.
[190] Bindman, *Blake as an Artist*, 188, 190.
[191] Hagstrum, 126.
[192] Dunbar, 46.
[193] Behrendt, 132.
[194] Werner, 58. Through Satan's 'baleful eyes' Werner ascertains that, "Blake shows particular interest in the ravages wrought in his worn countenance by a succession of negative emotions and mental pain. Blake paints a portrait of despair… His Satan shows none of the fierce resolve that Milton ascribes to him when he determines upon the 'study of revenge, immortal hate, / And courage never to submit or yield' [*PL* I:56-7]. He is pictured rather as a victim of his own egotistical pride, the embodiment of the 'Limit of Opacity' in constricted selfhood [*FZ* 56:19], 'in chains of the mind lock'd up' [*Milton* 3:6]… In his fallen state, the devil's face has become dimmed with foul distempers. His glory now departed, Satan is shown addressing himself sadly to the compatriots of his fall." Werner, 59-60.
[195] Roland Mushat Frye, *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts: Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) 86-7.
[196] LeBrun, 24, 25, 31, 37.
[197] LeBrun, 36.

[198] Dunbar, 46.
[199] Rousing and gathering his legions, Milton describes Satan as:

Their dread commander: he above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a tower; his form had yet not lost
All her original brightness, nor appeared
Less than archangel ruined, and the excess
Of glory obscured…

Darkened so, yet shone
Above them all the archangel: but his face
Deep scars of thunder had intrenched, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion to behold
The fellows of his crime…. (589-94, 599-606)
[200] In *SRL* 1807, Satan's torso and face are even more luminous than in *SRL* 1808.
[201] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 62.
[202] Behrendt, 146. Blake labelled this expression 'Despair' in his sketch of *Various Personifications*, echoing LeBrun's own description of the 'passion' (see pages 67-68 and 91-96 above).
[203] Warner, 113.
[204] Connolly offers a detailed account of Blake's mentation regarding purgation: "Blake employs engraving imagery as an additional metaphor for the relationship between mortal and immortal bodies... In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*...Blake predicts the appearance, catalysed by etching chemicals, of a spiritual body: 'the notion that man has a body distinct from his soul, is to be expunged; this I shall do, by printing in the infernal method, by corrosives, which in Hell are salutary and medicinal, melting apparent surfaces away, and displaying the infinite which was hid' (14:11-16). In *Jerusalem's* vision of eternity, engraving is also involved, for the 'Rivers of the Water of Life' are like the *aqua fortis* which corrodes the surface of the plate, revealing the design, or, in the resurrection, 'revealing the lineaments of Man' (98:15, 19).... The false, mortal body is an overlaying layer to be 'put off'... The method for this putting off is not undressing but bathing, like a plate in acid, in a bath which removes everything but the 'Human'." Connolly, 201.
[205] With the possible exception of Raphael in *Satan's and Raphael's Entries into Paradise* (1807). In this design Raphael's genitals are covered by one pair of 'his' three-fold wings and 'he' covers 'his' chest/breasts with his hands. This modesty could preclude Raphael from being considered nude. It also has ramifications toward Blake's convention on depicting angelic genitalia, as discussed shortly.
[206] Werner, 58.
[207] *Ibid*.
[208] *Ibid*.
[209] *Ibid*.
[210] "The Satan whom Blake pictures gesturing grandly 'in pomp / Of warlike selfhood' is pseudo-heroic. The artist's use of classical symmetry and balance in the watercolor designs highlights Satan's association with the failure of the classical formulation of heroism, which found expression in bragging speeches, in insults, and in violent actions. Blake deprecates the same classical conception of heroism that Milton satirizes in his account of the war in heaven in book 6 of *Paradise Lost*. In his proud demeanor and defiant attitude, Blake's Satan, in keeping with Milton's suggestion, stands for a view that has the semblance and not the substance of true worth." Werner, 59.
[211] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 226, 412.
[212] "The Greek cult of ideal nudes, with their firm outlines, appealed strongly to Blake, as well as to his friends Cumberland and Flaxman. He also read eagerly Taylor's translations of the philosophers. On August 16, 1799, he wrote to Trusler of 'the purpose for which alone I live, which is, in conjunction with such men as my friend, to renew the lost Art of the Greeks'; and on July 2, 1800, to Cumberland, of 'the immense flood of Grecian light & glory which is coming on Europe.'" Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 167, 433-4.

[213] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 313, 442.
[214] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 313.
[215] King, 198.
[216] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 140.
[217] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 144.
[218] Vaughan, 16.
[219] Hagstrum, 11.
[220] Wilton comments that, after Blake formed the opinion that the classical works were all copies after earlier Hebrew originals, he came to believe that "the Greeks did not, after all, possess that imagination which was for him the centre of all creative activity." C.f. Andrew Wilton, "Blake and the antique," in *The British Museum Yearbook 1: The Classical Tradition*, ed. John Pope-Hennessy (London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1976) 212.
[221] Andrew Wilton, "Blake and the antique," in *The British Museum Yearbook 1: The Classical Tradition*, ed. John Pope-Hennessy (London: British Museum Publications, Ltd., 1976) 213-14.
[222] Henry M. Sayre, *A World of Art*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2000) 449.
[223] Robin Hamlyn, *William Blake: The Apprentice Years*, in Martin Butlin and Robin Hamlyn, *William Blake: Paintings, Watercolours, and Drawings* (New York: Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, Inc., 1992) 16.
[224] Hagstrum, 25, 40.
[225] Frederick Hartt, *Guilio Romano*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958) 10.
[226] Susan Wright, *The Bible in Art* (New York: Todtri Productions Ltd., 1996) 8-9.
[227] Hartt, xx.
[228] Nathaniel Harris, *The Life and Works of Michelangelo* (Bath: Parragon Books, 2003) 5, 9, 48.
[229] Harris, 11.
[230] Harris, 48.
[231] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 106.
[232] Dunbar, 103.
[233] Warner, 65.
[234] Warner, 66.
[235] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 54-4.
[236] Wittreich, 77.
[237] Behrendt, 105.
[238] Behrendt, 124.
[239] Behrendt, 125.
[240] According to Walker:
"Both Blake and Fuseli and many other artists of their time were using artistic prototypes without regard for their subject or iconography. Fuseli, like Blake, borrowed figures and compositions at will; more often than not, the sources had nothing to do with the subject for which they were borrowed. These *pathos formulae*, these established gestures and poses, retained their meaning quite apart from the context in which they were used. Whether the dynamic figures used in Fuseli, Barry and Blake, with their arms upraised in a gesture of triumph, are Satan or God and in either case the pose is one of affirmation and suggests the victorious hero. Certainly in this renewed interest in the Antique in the classical figure used as a motif, in the outline as the primary vehicle for expressing this figure, we have the liberating elements of Blake's art." Corlette Walker, ed., *William Blake in the Art of his Time* (Santa Barbara: University of California, 1976) 13.
[241] "At a literal level Satan presiding over this Ulro scene of 'darkness visible' (I.63), his spear and shield resting against the rock behind him, is clearly bidding his despondent followers 'Awake, arise or be forever fall'n' (I.330). And the way his arms are extended in a cruciform gesture, which parodies that of Christ offering to redeem man, seems intended as a proleptic allusion to Book II, where he represents his vengeful mission to them as self-sacrifice. But it is also an imperious gesture which expresses his authority as 'Thir dread commander…above the rest / In shape and gesture proudly eminent' (I.589-90). And how Blake may be manipulating Milton's allegorical figures to his own ends begins to emerge when Satan's commanding stance and gesture are thought of further as comprehending the archetypal act of self-assertion for which he was expelled from heaven. Nowhere else in the series is Satan's violation of the hierarchy, which constitutes the mainspring of the entire action of *Paradise Lost*, referred to directly, since in his illustrations for Book VI Blake focuses on Christ's victory over the rebel angels." Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 55.

[242] Ripa, 160.
[243] Butlin, *William Blake: A Complete Catalogue of the Works in the Tate Gallery*, 10, 17.
[244] Lister, plate 10 description.
[245] Paulson, 120.
[246] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 44.
[247] Although not quite a sunburst, Satan in *SRL* is illuminated from behind/above.
[248] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 44.
[249] Cox, 31; c.f. David V. Erdman, *Blake Prophet Against Empire*, revised ed. (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969) 10.
[250] Cox, 31.
[251] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 44.
[252] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 146.
[253] *Ibid*.
[254] Satan's posture could prefigure or recall that of the bard, being roughly contemporaneous to the *Milton* design, as the Illuminated Book dates c.1803-10 from conception to completion.
[255] In the 1807 version Satan's right foot is slightly forward.
[256] Behrendt, 19.
[257] Warner, 144.
[258] Warner, 5.
[259] Dunbar, 103.
[260] Behrendt, 40.
[261] J.M.Q. Davies, "Apollo's 'Naked Human Form Divine': The Dynamics of Meaning in Blake's *Nativity Ode* Designs," in *Blake and His Bibles*, ed. David V. Erdman (West Cornwall: Locust Hill Press, 1990) 22.
[262] Davies, *Blake and His Bibles*, 20-22.
[263] Dunbar, 100, 104.
[264] Davies, *Blake and His Bibles*, 23-24.
[265] Werner, 53.
[266] *Europe* 10:16: 'Thought changed the infinite to a serpent'. David V. Erdman refers to this line in *Europe* when explaining the serpent wound round the Los-figure of *Urizen* 5, stating that Urizen's rational thought engenders the serpent in Eternity, in *The Illuminated Blake* pp. 168 and 188.
[267] Erdman, 188.
[268] Warner, 88.
[269] Behrendt, 172-3.
[270] Warner, 104.
[271] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 55.
[272] Damon, *Blake's Job*, 46.
[273] Warner, 22, 87.
[274] Warner, 22.
[275] Warner, 92.
[276] Warner, 22.
[277] Behrendt, 138.
[278] *Ibid*.
[279] Behrendt, 132.
[280] Behrendt, 133.
[281] *Ibid*.
[282] Warner, 85.
[283] Warner, 88.
[284] Warner, 87.
[285] Warner, 91.
[286] Warner later associates Satan with the demonic aspect of the arms-outstretched form in several of Blake's designs (p. 95), but in each case Satan is depicted with outstretched bat- or dragon-wings, generally regarded in Blake's symbolism as signifying negative attributes.
[287] Behrendt, 19.
[288] Behrendt, 182.

[289] This is also the design used for the title page engraving of *Night Thoughts* 'Night The Fourth'.
[290] William Blake, *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts*, vol. 1, John E. Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley, and David V. Erdman, eds. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980) 90.
[291] Blake, *William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts*, 90.
[292] Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 379; c.f. Wilton, 208.
[293] Ripa, 136, 175.
[294] Werner, 58.
[295] Behrendt, 21.
[296] 'And his raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them' (Mark 9:3).
[297] Warner, 104.
[298] Bulwer, Chirologia 42.
[299] Bulwer, Chirologia 52.
[300] Bulwer, Chirologia 58-9.
[301] Bulwer, Chirologia 46.
[302] Behrendt, 132.
[303] *Ibid*.
[304] Bulwer, Chirologia 55.
[305] Bulwer, Chirologia 47.
[306] Ripa, 92.
[307] Bulwer, Chirologia 56, Chironomia 54.
[308] Warner, 102.
[309] *Ibid*.
[310] *Ibid*.
[311] Behrendt, 133.
[312] Davies, *Blake and His Bibles*, 17.
[313] Roland Mushat Frye, 72.
[314] Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *Drawings of William Blake: 92 Pencil Studies* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970) 45.
[315] Dunbar, 175.
[316] "The portrait of Satan that Blake provides for this scene forms a contrast to the illustrations of Satan addressing his Legions for book 1 of *Paradise Lost*… The devil of *Paradise Regained* no longer conveys the least impression of greatness now in ruin nor succeeds in any measure in his pretense of heroic stature. His gesture of raised arms only serves to make him the caricature of a victor, and his equipment of regal scepter and throne merely accentuates the absurdity of his stance and the vanity of his claims to any authority. Satan is revealed in his dictatorial pose to be no true king, bur merely a puppet pulled awry by the contortions of his unruled and warring passions… Satan's facial expression appears to be derived from Milton's earlier account of his appearance before his peers, 'agast and sad.' The artist has drawn him here as an object of contempt… In its general tenor the portrait matches Milton's depiction of Satan throughout the poem as a thoroughly degenerate character. The reptilian leathern wings that Blake gives to 'the old Serpent doubting' confirm his debasement and also firmly identify him in Blake's terms with the doubting spectre." Werner, 191.
[317] Dunbar, 165.
[318] Erdman, 271.
[319] "In the first edition he is represented as vigorous and even noble, his energy and naked beauty recalling those of the Devil of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*; for the later version the portrait has been altered and darkened so as to conform to the added 'Keys of the Gates' and to comply with the new dedication to humanity in a fallen world. The figure is now blinded ('Blind in Fire with shield & spear'), its hair has been restyled so as to suggest a pair of horns ('Two Horn'd Reasoning, Cloven Fiction'), scale-like markings are visible on its body and in the flames that surround it, and an added caption associates it with 'endless Strife'." Dunbar, 48.
[320] Erdman, 271.
[321] 'Blind in Fire with shield & spear
Two Horned Reasoning Cloven Fiction
In Doubt which is Self contradiction
A dark Hermaphrodite We stood

Rational Truth Root of Evil & Good
Round me flew the Flaming Sword
Round her snowy Whirlwinds roard
Freezing her Veil the Mundane Shell.'
[322] Essick, *William Blake and his Contemporaries and Followers*, 49.
[323] C.f. Exodus 34:29 – 'Moses wist not that the skin of his face shone…'
[324] '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

Thou art Worshipd by the Names Divine
Of Jesus & Jehovah: thou art still
The Son of Morn in weary Night decline
The lost Travellers Dream under the Hill.'
[325] In his annotations to Reynolds, Blake explicates at length his theory of observing minute particulars. For example, 'All Knowledge is Particular', and, 'Minute Discrimination is Not Accidental. All Sublimity is founded on Minute Discrimination.'
[326] "Milton associates his Christ with Platonic idealism, with the 'Mental Fight', and with the soul; his Satan scientific empiricism, with physical violence, and with materialistic ends. It is therefore appropriate that Blake should have interpreted the poem in terms of his own vision of a cosmic struggle between 'truth' and 'error', spirit and matter, Imagination and Ratiocination – the agencies of Los and those of Urizen." Dunbar, 164.
[327] Warner, 113-14.
[328] Warner, 113.
[329] Although the relationship between the Spectre, despair, and pride must not rely on the concurrence of 'huddled, falling, and prostrate forms' with Satan, as these forms are absent for the Job design.
[330] Warner, 107.
[331] Warner, 105.
[332] Warner, 114.
[333] Hamlyn and Phillips, 251.
[334] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 57, 61.
[335] Dunbar, 46, 51.
[336] Werner, 59.
[337] Essick, *William Blake at The Huntington*, 106.
[338] Cary, 7.
[339] Sir Geoffrey Keynes, *The Tempera Paintings of William Blake: A Critical Catalogue* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1951) 13.
[340] Erdman, 188.
[341] Warner, 122.
[342] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 365-6, 435.
[343] Ripa, 78.
[344] Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, 402.
[345] Lister, plate 48 description.
[346] Erdman, 232.
[347] Keynes, *Drawings of William Blake*, 45.
[348] Warner, 182.
[349] Davies, *Blake and His Bibles*, 20.
[350] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 167.
[351] Behrendt, 132.
[352] *Ibid*.
[353] Cf. Blake's annotations to Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man*, in Johnson and Grant, 430.
[354] Werner, 61.
[355] *Ibid*.
[356] "If, then, we take this provisionally as a moment analogous to that in the Bard's Song of *Milton* when Satan

proclaims ‘I am God alone / There is no other!’ (*Mil* 9.25-26), an explanation for the Urizenic clouds emerges. For as we have seen, what Los and Enitharmon’s recognition that ‘Satan is Urizen’ (*Mil* 10:1) implies in Blake’s epic is that in his view, reason had assumed demonic proportions in Milton and Puritanism. By confirming them in their self-righteousness as the elect of God, and endorsing their mistrust of women and the passions, their rational faith had led to the devastation of Europe with wars. What therefore we may be witnessing here, felicitously placed at the opening of the series, is an archetypal act of usurpation on the part of reason.” Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 55.

[357] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 55.

[358] Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 55-6.

[359] Dunbar, 46.

[360] Dunbar, 44.

[361] Behrendt, 133. “In *Paradise Lost* the perversion of Satan’s reasoning is illustrated by his institution in hell of all the evils of the heaven he has vacated. Ideally, his gesture of resistance ought to have been the correct one; further, he ought to have been able to subvert heaven by turning its terms against themselves and thereby exposing the shortcomings of the original. But subversion is carried on for the sole purpose of irritation and disruption is an ignoble end in a heroic struggle of the proportions of *Paradise Lost*. Subversion of the sort Satan undertakes involves only a niggling attempt to frustrate the opposition; it offers no positive, constructive action, no viable alternative. By engaging in such subversion simply for self gratification...Satan demonstrates his littleness. Satan’s hell and the Father’s heaven are both fallen states, organized on elaborate hierarchical principles and governed by fiat.” Behrendt, 80-1.

[362] It seems that ‘road of excess’ has indeed led the rebel angels to a literal ‘palace of wisdom’ (c.f. the ‘Proverbs of Hell’, *MHH* 7:7)

[363] Behrendt, 145.

[364] Heppner, 194.

[365] The compositional structure follows the Italian Renaissance tradition of centrality, with Satan being the central and surrounded figure, but essentially ignores that of symmetry.

[366] Blake, *Poems of William Blake*, xlviii.

[367] Hamlyn and Phillips, 17.

[368] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 138.

[369] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 139.

[370] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 231-2.

[371] Damon, *A Blake* Dictionary, 139.

[372] Werner, 60.

[373] Behrendt, 133.

[374] Dunbar, 44.

[375] Sill, 137-8.

[376] Tresidder, 73.

[377] Dunbar, 67.

[378] Heppner, 187.

[379] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 117.

[380] Damon, *A Blake Dictionary*, 307-8.

[381] Northrop Frye, 126.

[382] Lister, plate 5 description.

[383] Interestingly, Blake included two bearded figures in his earlier 1807 version of *RRA*, corresponding to the same figures in the 1808 version of *SRL*, but oddly not to the 1807 version of *SRL* (the same series) in which they are absent.

[384] Dunbar, 102.

[385] Dunbar, 175.

[386] Werner, 191.

[387] Damon, *A Blake* Dictionary, 349.

[388] “The ‘roarer’ of Blake’s poem is the *unfallen* prophet, the revolutionary, an association preserved by the figure of the pomegranate which is Rimmon’s insignia—the ripe fruit splitting open and showing on the inside the red seeds of revolution and of the apocalypse attendant upon it, even while recalling the Paradise from which the prophet has been exiled. Moreover, Rimmon is allegedly the one devil who rather than hardening into

evil is returned to heaven. He alone achieves the 'marriage' of heaven and hell that is the subject of Blake's prophecy, and this last section gives Blake the added advantage of establishing immediately the infernal perspective that persists in the voice of the Devil and in the *I* persona, whose sympathies are clearly with this perspective." Wittreich, 197.

PART IV – CONCLUSION

[1] Vaughan, 30.
[2] Davies, *Blake and His Bibles*, 16-17.
[3] Davies, *Blake and His Bibles*, 17.
[4] Davies, *Blake and His Bibles*, 5.
[5] Johnson and Grant, 359.
[6] David Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2000) 399.
[7] Johnson and Grant359.
[8] Johnson and Grant, 361.
[9] Johnson and Grant, 363.
[10] Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books*, 399.
[11] Damon, *A Blake* Dictionary, 23.
[12] Gustav Davidson, *A Dictionary of Angels, Including the Fallen Angels* (New York: The Free Press, 1971) 174.
[13] James R. Lewis and Evelyn Dorothy Oliver, *Angels A to Z* (Canton: Visible Ink Press, 1996) 248.
[14] Rosemary Ellen Guiley, *Encyclopedia of Angels* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1996) 111.
[15] William Blake, *Poems of William Blake*, ed. WB Yeats (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., fourth impression in the Muses Library) xxviii.
[16] Cox, 78, 85.
[17] Frosch, 10.
[18] "In *Milton* [38:50-39:2] Blake makes it clear that he regards Milton's vision of the Father as demonic by associating him fairly explicitly with Satan… Blake was to make this same identification on *Job* 11, and again later in the *Paradise Regained* series, where in all but two of his appearances the Tempter is depicted with the long flowing beard of the Father." Davies, *Blake's Milton Designs*, 56.
[19] At once as far as angels' ken he views
The dismal situation waste and wild,
A dungeon horrible, on all sides round
As one great furnace flamed, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed:
Such place eternal justice had prepared
For those rebellious, here their prison ordained
In utter darkness, and their portion set
As far removed from God and light of heaven
As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole. (I:59-74)
[20] Behrendt, 75.
[21] Behrendt, 76-7.
[22] Raine, 78.
[23] Behrendt130.
[24] Behrendt, 23.