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AYAKO WADA

THE EVOLUTION OF 'VALA/THE FOUR ZOAS':
ITS FORMATION, COLLAPSE AND REGENERATION

Presented for the degree of Ph.D.

February, 1995

Supervisor: David Fuller

The University of Durham

ABSTRACT

This thesis deals with an important but still imperfectly understood aspect of Vala/The Four Zoas -- how the manuscript of the poem evolved. The entire crystallization of the manuscript of Vala/The Four Zoas is here understood as the gradual regenerative process of a poem which collapsed as a result of a fatal structural failure. The seriousness of this collapse rests on the fact that the earliest Vala, which was concerned with the Fall and Judgement of the cosmic Man, evolved as a comprehensive summary of the fragmentary myths in Blake's early works. The formation and collapse of the earliest Vala is identified as analogous to the rise and fall of the myth of Orc.

The thesis is in two parts. Part I has three chapters, focusing respectively on Orc's origin, the gradual formation of Orc's myth, and its completion and disintegration. Part II begins with a Preliminary Argument outlining the five stages of the evolution of Vala/The Four Zoas. Detailed discussion on each stage follows. Stage 1 is concerned with the first regenerative process, the genesis of Night I as a Preludium. During stage 2 this Preludium is converted into Night I, and is paralleled with the following Night in terms of myths of Fall and Creation. Stage 3 focuses on fluctuations of the myth, the achievement of a basic structure for Nights I-VIIa, and a contest between the formula of Four Zoas versus the idea of Spectre and Emanation. Stage 4 discusses the complicated evolution of Nights VIIa-IX, in which Blake struggles to realize the original significance of the culmination of Orc's myth. Stage 5 brings about the final transformation of the poem, including its development towards the structure of Blake's myth as found in Jerusalem.

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Notes on Text and Abbreviations

1. All quotations from Blake are taken from The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake, edited by David V. Erdman, commentary by Harold Bloom, New York, Anchor Press, 1965, revised edn., 1982.

Quotations are identified by the abbreviated title of the poem, followed by page (or plate) and line number, and page number in Erdman, thus: V/FZ, 4.3-5; E,301 (line numbers are shown only where specified in Erdman).

G.E.Bentley's plate numberings are used for America and Europe, and are supplied in brackets in references to those works, thus, A, 2<4>.7-9; E,52.

NB refers to Blake's Notebook, edited by David V. Erdman with the assistance of Donald K. Moore, The Note-Book of William Blake. A Photographic and Typographic Facsimile, 1973, Readex Books, revised edn., 1977.

Where Blake's designs are discussed, the number of the design is specified as in Martin Butlin's The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake, 2 vols., New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1981, thus: Butlin, 524 (Butlin's commentary is referred to thus: Butlin [text], 524).

Where appropriate, the designs of Blake's poetical works are cited using the numbers of those designs specified in The Complete Graphic Works of William Blake, ed. David Bindman with Deirdre Toomey, Thames and Hudson, 1978, thus: Bindman, 25.

Works by William Blake

<u>A</u>	<u>America a Prophecy</u>
<u>Ahan</u>	<u>The Book of Ahania</u>
<u>BL</u>	<u>Book of Los</u>
<u>BU</u>	<u>The [First] Book of Urizen</u>
<u>Eu</u>	<u>Europe a Prophecy</u>
<u>FR</u>	<u>The French Revolution</u>
<u>J</u>	<u>Jerusalem</u>
<u>Job</u>	<u>Illustrations for the Book of Job</u>
<u>M</u>	<u>Milton</u>
<u>MHH</u>	<u>The Marriage of Heaven and Hell</u>

<u>NB</u>	<u>Blake's Notebook</u>
<u>NNR</u>	<u>There is No Natural Religion</u>
<u>SE</u>	<u>Songs of Experience</u>
<u>SI</u>	<u>Songs of Innocence</u>
<u>SL</u>	<u>The Song of Los</u>
<u>Thel</u>	<u>The Book of Thel</u>
<u>VDA</u>	<u>Visions of the Daughters of Albion</u>
<u>V/FZ</u>	<u>Vala/The Four Zoas</u>

2. Other frequently cited references

- Ault Donald Ault, Narrative Unbound. Re-Visioning William Blake's 'The Four Zoas', New York, Station Hill Press, 1987.
- BB G.E.Bentley, Jr., Blake Books, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977.
- Bindman The Complete Graphic Works of William Blake, ed. David Bindman assisted by Deirdre Toomey, London, Thames and Hudson, 1978.
- BIQ Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly, ed. Morris Eaves and Morton D. Paley, bibliographer, Thomas L. Minnick, review editor, Nelson Hilton, associate editor for the Great Britain, Frances A. Carey, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico.
- BR G.E.Bentley, Jr., Blake Records, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969.
- Butlin Martin Butlin, The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake, 2 vols., New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1981.
- Census Geoffrey Keynes and Edwin Wolf, William Blake's Illuminated Books. A Census, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1953.
- E The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake, ed. David V. Erdman, commentary by Harold Bloom, New York, Anchor Press, 1965, second edn., 1982.
- FZ (Erdman-Magno), 'The Four Zoas' by William Blake. A Photographic Facsimile of the Manuscript with Commentary on the Illuminations, ed. David V. Erdman and Cettina T. Magno, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 1987.
- IB David V. Erdman, The Illuminated Blake, London, Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Margoliouth, William Blake's 'Vala'. Blake's Numbered Text, ed. H.M.Margoliouth, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956.
- PL John Milton, Paradise Lost, 1674, ed.

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- Wilkie-Johnson, Brian Wilkie and Mary Lynn Johnson, Blake's 'Four Zoas'. The Design of a Dream, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1978.

3. In the footnotes I have given full details where a work is cited for the first time. Subsequent references are abbreviated to author and short title.

The bibliography is a list of works consulted during the preparation of this thesis.

Introduction

It is symbolic that Vala/The Four Zoas has a ternary structure of three triads suggesting the finite -- Fall (Nights I, II, III), nadir (Nights IV, V, VI) and final upswing towards the Judgement (Nights VII, VIII, IX) -- while Jerusalem has a quaternary structure suggesting the eternal.¹ The former remained in manuscript and the latter was engraved and illuminated. The manuscript of Vala/The Four Zoas, nevertheless, has its own peculiar significance and beauty which Jerusalem cannot surpass. In Vala/The Four Zoas Blake's important ideas are found in their most spontaneous form -- newly born, still open to various possibilities, often anomalous compared to their finalized forms. This poem evolved intermittently over fifteen years (between 1795 and 1810)² and thereby records the development of Blake's thought which was, during this period, subject to profound change and growth. In this thesis the central focus is on an important but still imperfectly understood aspect of the poem, that is, how the manuscript of Vala/The Four Zoas evolved.

Bentley was the first to give an account of the process of the composition and growth of Vala in five chronological layers.³ While my study of the evolution of Vala/The Four Zoas is heavily indebted to Bentley's detailed bibliographical studies of the



manuscript and his inspired analyses of the facts, the fundamental difference between my view and Bentley's rest on the fact that in my thesis the crystallization of the entire manuscript is perceived as the regenerative process of a poem which collapsed as a result of serious structural failure. In my view, the failure of the earliest version, Vala, became clear to Blake soon after he began to copy it in his best copperplate hand (some fragments of which remain in Nights II and III) around 1795.⁴ Bentley believes that the first fair copy of Vala was ready around 1797, but, in my view, the earliest Vala mostly remained untranscribed, and by 1797 the first regeneration of the poem had already begun.

This thesis consists of two parts. Part I is concerned with the formation and collapse of the earliest Vala. In Part II the evolution of Vala/The Four Zoas is discussed in five stages. Those five stages of the evolution of Vala/The Four Zoas are structured around the evolution of Night I. This is partly because evidence exists to indicate that the regenerative process was first begun in Night I, and partly because every stage of the evolution of the poem is reflected in a traceable form in Night I. Margoliouth was the first to outline the evolution of Night I, basing his view on his careful bibliographical studies of the Night.⁵ Although my own view is different in some details, the structure of the evolution of Vala/The Four Zoas in this

thesis is indebted to Margoliouth's study of Night I. The five stages of the evolution of Vala/The Four Zoas are outlined in the Preliminary Argument. The method I used to specify the boundary of each stage is Blake's line-numbering. Apart from some details concerning which lines are included in Blake's line-numbering of Night I, Bentley's suggestions on Blake's line-numbering in his facsimile edition are generally accepted.⁶ Those five stages cannot be precisely dated, but dates can be tentatively suggested: stage 1 might be around 1797; stage 2, c.1800-1; stage 3, c.1802-3; stage 4, c.1804-5; stage 5, c.1810.

Vala/The Four Zoas was mostly regenerated during stages 2, 3, 4 (probably while Blake was at Felpham and shortly after he left it). This to some extent accords with Max Plowman's view that Nights II and III alone were pre-Felpham⁷ and also with Margoliouth's speculation that nearly all the poem was written in Felpham.⁸ The lateness of the crystallization of the present manuscript of Vala/The Four Zoas strengthens its ties with Milton and Jerusalem. However, it is only through the poem's relationship with earlier works that we can understand certain of its inherent problems (the complexities of Night I, the existence of two seventh Nights,⁹ and the redundant myths of Orc's release from his chains and metamorphosis into a serpent in Nights VIIa, VIIb and VIII). Thus the discussion of the evolution of Vala/The Four Zoas in

Part II is preceded by that of the formation and collapse of Vala in Part I. Vala was almost certainly projected to evolve from the fragmentary myths developed in Blake's earlier works a comprehensive vision of the Fall and Judgement of the cosmic Man. Those fragmentary myths came together when Orc was identified as the generated form of Luvah. This crucial idea is not found in The Book of Urizen, as is clear from the fact that the poem, although meant to be the first book of a longer study of the Fall and probably Judgement, came to a dead end because of the lack of this crucial identity of Orc. This moment of inspiration is, in my view, expressed in America. (In Part I the date of America, which is currently accepted as 1793, is challenged.) The completion of the myth of Orc and its collapse is found only in the Preludium of America. This rise and fall of the myth of Orc I see as reflecting the formation and collapse of the earliest structure of Vala. The regeneration of the (lost) poem was begun by the poet when he too experienced something analogous to a Fall when the myth of Orc or Vala collapsed. This thesis discusses Blake's painful and unrelenting effort in Vala/The Four Zoas to renovate the myth of Orc, or at least explain the reason for Orc's metamorphosis into a serpent. On this view Blake resists the gloomy idea that the dragon-slayer becomes the dragon, the idea which is known as the 'Orc cycle'.¹⁰

P A R T I : The Rise and Fall of the Myth of Orc

1. Orc's Origin

The mythological figure who holds the key to the formation of the Urizen-Luvah myth is Orc, for the myth evolved out of the clash between Urizen and Orc, although neither of them were given names in the early stages. In spite of the first appearance of Orc's name in America, and the overall importance of the myth throughout Blake's works, his genesis seems to be obscured in the Prophecy, in which Orc is already born and the myth concerning Orc comes close to its completion. Orc's origin is transcribed elsewhere, and the formation of his myth -- specifically, his conception, birth and life -- was already implicit before America and Urizen were written, while original visions were retained in the later works. Blake spent several years grasping Orc's form, and even longer penetrating his nature. Before Orc's nature is traced in America, his formation must be sought elsewhere.

It is generally agreed that Orc is the incarnation of the revolutionary spirit, to some extent overlapping with the image of Jesus. On the other hand, in 'The Tyger' cruelty is given the form of a beast, which, nevertheless, has an undeniable kinship with Orc, as many critics have perceived.¹ The apparent paradox of two extremes -- the tiger

and the lamb -- is resolved in Blake's view of the French Revolution, his perception of which shifted between 1789 and 1795. From Martin Nurmi's argument concerning the three stages of its Notebook drafts,² other historical evidence, and the poem's relation to Blake's other works, it can be surmised that 'The Tyger' was composed between 1792 and 1794. In order to understand the fluctuating image of the tiger and Orc, the discussion needs to begin from the lamb -- that is, an aspect of Blake's original view of the Revolution.

Songs of Innocence begins with an 'Introduction' in which a child asks a piper to 'Pipe a song about a Lamb' (E,7). This line reveals in simple words the theme of the collection. As decreed by the visionary child, the image of a Lamb or Jesus is perceived throughout the work: he appears in the image of an innocent child, the rising sun, a meek lamb, a newborn baby and a shepherd tending his sheep. Also, 'Introduction' manifests the nature of Blake's writing in the Songs. A soaring poetic inspiration is the first principle, accompanied by visions and musical notes as if it were the rapturous song of spring-birds. The purpose of writing is to seize the moment of exultation, to manifest and transmit it. What is remarkable is Blake's 'pen'. As Raine pointed out, Prometheus stole the fire from heaven with 'a hollow reed'.³ Songs of Innocence may be considered Blake's attempt to set a fiery joy on

earth. The Promethean vision, darkened however, is observed in 'The Tyger':

In what distant deeps or skies.

Burnt the fire of thine eyes?

On what wings dare he aspire?

What the hand, dare sieze the fire? (E,24)

The fire brought down in 'The Tyger' is not for joy or mirth but for destruction: the nature of this fire is burning and consuming wrath.

The fire Blake seized with a reed from his poetic inspiration is visible in the designs of such poems as 'The Blossom', 'Infant Joy' and 'The Divine Image' flourishing up towards heaven. This glow of orange and yellow flame is present too in Blake's other designs for poems in the collection. Blake produced this delightful work during a period of soaring apocalyptic hope that people's perceptions might be cleansed with the dawn of a new age. Blake's approval of a series of democratic movements in France in 1789 -- movements such as the establishment of the National Assembly and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen as well as the Fall of the Bastille -- is crystallized in these poetic forms.

Blake's belief in the arrival of the new age continued into 1790. As if echoing Richard Price's pro-revolutionary pamphlet of 1790 which was based on his sermon of November 4, 1789, Blake launched his manifesto in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Blake's vision of Man as a microcosm, and of the

macrocosm as the image of Man of the cosmic scale, gave him an analysis of the first crisis as the battle between Reason and Desire in the human psyche, where the Divine Image dwells. As he puts it:

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.

(MHH, 5; E,34)

While Reason is accused of usurpation, the main failure seems to be attributed to Desire which remained passive due to a lack of strength and energy. This point echoes what Price emphasized:

Cherish in your breasts this conviction, and act under its influence; detesting the odious doctrines of passive obedience, [and] non-resistance.⁴

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell was written and engraved between 1790 and 1793. Given that, as Erdman discovered, between 1791 and 1802 Blake used g with its serif on the left side with unwavering consistency,⁵ pages produced in 1790 can be distinguished from the rest.⁶ The result is a clear picture of the exaltation of Hell-fire without a sense that it might carry negative values.⁷ Blake apparently thought that changing people's view of Hell and making it balance with that of Heaven might

lead to their ultimate liberation. The values which stand opposite to Angelic ones and, as a result, were expelled and suppressed, must be revived and duly acknowledged. The emphasis of Blake's important doctrine that 'Without Contraries is no progression' (MHH, 3; E,34) is on the weaker and inferior side so that it may be encouraged to be as strong as its contrary. (Blake was apparently in a degree sympathetic to Mary Wollstonecraft's revolutionary view concerning the equality of sexes, which geared the political and social upheaval between the oppressor and the oppressed to the relationships between men and women.)⁸ Moreover, what is remarkable is that in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell Blake presented Jesus as the antithesis of the conventional view: a transgressor who broke the law out of love and impulsiveness, whereas in the conventional view he was a meek lamb and a man of forbearing and long suffering, as his icon on the cross indicates. In a sense, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell was written for Blake's own liberation. It was only after his battle with Swedenborgian Angels and their followers to convert them to his party that Blake was able to describe Jesus in ways true to his own vision.

Blake started apprehending the course of the revolutionary movements in the same climate in which Edmund Burke's reactionary Reflections on the Revolution in France appeared on November 1, 1790. Burke scented the Republican exultation in Richard

Price's pamphlet:

What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to it; and I could almost say Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation. . . .

I have lived to see THIRTY MILLIONS of people, indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects.⁹

Price refers to the incident on October 5, 1789 when the French royal family was transported from Versailles to Paris. Burke read the same incident with an opposite sense of values and compared Price with Hugh Peters, who took sides with Cromwell and the regicides:

That sermon is in a strain which I believe has not been heard in this kingdom, in any of the pulpits which are tolerated or encouraged in it, since the year 1648, when a predecessor of Dr. Price, the Reverend Hugh Peters, made the vault of the king's own chapel at St. James's ring with the honour and privilege of the Saints, who, with the 'high praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands, were to execute judgement on the heathen, and punishments upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron'.¹⁰

Although Burke blamed Enlightenment philosophers for being the leading guides of the Revolution, as did Blake, while Price paid tribute to them, how unlike the spirits of Burke and Blake were! Blake attributed Deism or Natural Religion to Bacon, Locke, Rousseau and Voltaire, whereas Burke blamed them for demolishing the social hierarchy which he saw as rooted in 'the spirit of philosophic analogy'.¹¹ Blake exposed Burke's error in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell by revealing the process by which spiritual truth was externalized and petrified into systematic reasoning.¹²

'A two-edged sword', mentioned here as a sign of malice or rebellion, was in fact produced and cast by Burke into Parliament on December 28, 1792,¹³ when he made an anti-Jacobin speech in favour of the Alien Bill and the war with France which overthrew the monarchy and assisted the spread of the Republicanism in Europe. Ironically, it was Burke who was regarded as a dagger-bearer by the revolutionaries. Erdman pointed out the close relation between Burke and the design of the Preludium to Europe, where a figure bearing a dagger hides in a cave to assault a pilgrim.¹⁴

Price's sermon was given to the members of the Revolution Society to commemorate the Revolution of 1688 -- an audience which was well aware of the possibility of linking the English and French Revolutions.

And now, methinks, I see the ardour for liberty

catching and spreading;

Behold, the light you have struck out, after setting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE! ¹⁵

Is it a mere coincidence that two titles of Blake's Prophecies are in capital letters here? Although it was after the abolition of monarchy in France that Blake produced the first draft of America, the core of the Prophecy may have occurred to Blake when he decided to show the French Revolution as originating in the American war of Independence, which likewise spurned the yoke and overthrew the despotism of George III.

'A Song of Liberty', which was added to The Marriage of Heaven and Hell towards the end of 1792¹⁶ is the pivotal work which reviews The French Revolution and anticipates America. The subtle shift of Blake's vision of the Revolution -- the addition in particular of the fallen-light image to 'A Song of Liberty' -- can be explicated in a series of poems starting from The French Revolution.

This poem is a beautiful crystallization of the brightest phase of the French Revolution, although this was short-lived and its light soon faded with no hope of recovery. The poem shows the transition from the darkest moment to the dawn, also expressed in 'The Tyger': 'When the stars threw down their spears / And water'd heaven with their tears' (E, 25). The French Revolution is on the utmost

frontier of historical writing looking towards the mythological: the immediate historic event, the Fall of the Bastille, becomes a vision that 'the bars of Chaos are burst', 'the bottoms of the world were open'd' (FR, 11.141,301; E,292,299). The poem also initiates Blake's use of symbolic imagery of stars, the earliest form of Urizen, while the structure of the poem manifests Blake's cosmology, anticipating the Eternal Man or Albion.

The first two-thirds of the poem depicts the Council which elucidates the line, 'In that dread night when Urizen call'd the stars round his feet' (A, cancelled plate b; E,58). Blake made the Royalist infernal Council pre-eminent, as against the Commons' heavenly one. The latter is evoked in a single line which is repeated like a flash of lightning illuminating the darkness: 'For the Commons convene in the Hall of the Nation' (FR, 11.16,54; E,286,288). As many critics have perceived, Satan's Council in Book II of Paradise Lost was in Blake's mind. The Council in The French Revolution is a revision of Satan's Council. Whereas in Milton the four infernal speakers, Moloch, Belial, Mammon and Beëlzebub, are burning with 'Republican' hatred against their King, in Blake it is the side of the King which burns jealously against the people. The result is not a simple parody of Milton but a serious attempt to expose the truth, as Blake believed Milton a true poet and of the Devil's party.

Other differences between Satan's Council in

Paradise Lost and the Council in The French Revolution are also significant. Although Milton's infernal speakers argue for different tactics according to their own natures,¹⁷ all their views nevertheless correspond with those which Satan expresses in soliloquy in Book IV.¹⁸ Blake's four speakers do not express views parallel to those of their monarch. Instead, they represent the different parts of the body. The head or brain is the King or the Duke of Burgundy; the heart the Priest, or the Archbishop of Paris; the hands and loins Orleans; and the feet the Nation's Ambassador. Although each part of the body is at a different level, locations do not imply a hierarchical order as the Proverb of Hell regards the lower or circumferential parts as equally important: 'The head Sublime, the heart Pathos, the genitals Beauty, the hands & feet Proportion' (MHH, 10; E,299). In the poem the brain and heart, which held the absolute power over the genitals and hands and feet, are now terrified by their rebellion. Burgundy -- strongly associated with wine, blood and war -- seated at the right hand of the monarch, perceives the King's intense military hope when 'his bosom / Expanded like starry heaven' (FR, 82; E,289). Thus Burgundy utters the view closest to his master's, as Beëlzebul did for Satan.¹⁹ The King praises him as 'a lion' (FR, l. 107; E,290) finding his own view reflected, that the earth is craving for blood and the eagles for prey. In Blake's view, maddened arbitrary power

first took a bestial form, whereas Burke abused Price's Enlightenment citizens as 'a swinish multitude'.²⁰ The image of a lion-like monarch on all fours with his long hair and beard like a lion's mane (comparable with the image of the sulphurous Sun) first appears on pages 44 and 48 of Blake's Notebook and plate 24 of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. With the King's mental disorder after losing control over the American colonies in mind, in America (4<6>) Blake made George III reveal himself as a lion-headed, eagle-winged, serpent-headed monster.

In contrast to the lion image of the Duke of Burgundy, the Archbishop of Paris works on the King's heart as a serpent tempting with a fatal draught -- a version of the serpent who gave the fruit of good and evil to Adam and Eve:

. . . as risen from beneath the Archbishop of
Paris arose,

In the rushing of scales and hissing of flames
and rolling of sulphurous smoke.

Hearken, Monarch of France, to the terrors of
heaven, and let thy soul drink of my counsel.

(FR, 11.126-8; E,291)

His counsel contains at its heart a vision of the earliest form of Urizen, 'An aged form, white as snow, hov'ring in mist, weeping in the uncertain light' (FR, 1.13; E,292). As ancient Patriarch and moralistic law giver he is associated with ecclesiastical religion and the preservation of the

privileges of the few. The Archbishop concludes his speech by comparing the people's revolutionary movements to the lower part of the body rebelling against the upper, with a strong bias towards the existing social hierarchy:

Let thy soldiers possess this city of rebels,
that threaten to bathe their feet
In the blood of Nobility; trampling the heart
and the head; let the Bastile devour
These rebellious seditious; seal them up, O
Anointed, in everlasting chains.

(FR, 11.155-7; E,293)

On the other hand, Orleans, who appears with 'His benevolent hand' (FR, 1.176; E,294) blesses the liberation of the lower part of the body and the resultant healthiness of the whole body in a vision of Man as a microcosm, and of the whole world in the image of a giant Man. His view makes a sharp contrast with the Archbishop's which names the bodily organs only as a rhetorical device. Orleans expressed the view of the loins or genitals thus:

Is the body diseas'd when the members are
healthful? can the man be bound in sorrow
Whose ev'ry function is fill'd with its fiery
desire? can the soul whose brain and heart
Cast their rivers in equal tides thro' the
great Paradise, languish because the feet
Hands, head, bosom, and parts of love, follow
their high breathing joy?

(FR, 11.182-5; E,294)

Finally, the Nation's Ambassador (the Abbé de Sieyès) 'rais'd his feet / On the steps of the Louvre' (FR, 11.201-2; E,295): he represents the voice of the people. His speech makes use of important symbols which recur in Songs of Experience. The vision of the cosmic Man is accompanied by corresponding images drawn from nature. Isaiah 34.4 would have been in Blake's mind when he imaged the King as the starry pole or the host of heaven.²¹ This is comparable to Isaiah's prophecy of 'the starry harvest' of all the monarchies of the earth being dissolved. The Nobility and Priests are counted among those stars forming constellations, but they are also imaged in other terms, as clouds and mountains. The people, on the other hand, are regarded as hills, valleys, cities and villages.

Blake gives the Abbé de Sieyès an inspired speech, two lines of which in particular recapitulate the process by which the eternal heavens were darkened:

When the heavens were seal'd with a stone,
and the terrible sun clos'd in an orb,
and the moon Rent from the nations, and each
star appointed for watchers of night.

(FR, 11.211-12; E,295)

'A stone' may be identical with 'a Stone of night' (A, 5<7>; E,53), meaning the tablet on which the Ten Commandments were engraved.²² This stone is likewise associated with the petrified philosophy which is

the cause of corrupt social hierarchies. The result is similar to the scene of Genesis 1.16. The sun was conglobed for day, while the moon was rent from the same sphere as the sun for night, and the stars took their stations. This vision was first given in a mythological form in The Book of Urizen; that is, Enitharmon was divided from Los as a globe of blood as the sign of the Fall. In Night IV of Vala/The Four Zoas, while a new version in which Enitharmon is rent from the side of Los was invented (49.4-10; E,332), Blake nevertheless attempted to bring something of the earlier vision into the myth at the expense of narrative-coherence: he inserted a line 'Bring in here the Globe of Blood as in the B of Urizen' on page 55 of Vala/The Four Zoas. Both visions juxtapose the crucial image of the sun divided from the moon, while only the later vision connotes Adam losing Eve from his side. In Jerusalem, the sun, the moon and the stars were rolled out of Albion's body when he fell (J, 27; E,171). It can be argued that the sun and the moon were in the same sphere in Blake's prelapsarian world.²³

To return to The French Revolution, the Abbé de Sieyès's speech also foreshadows 'The Tyger'. He envisages an apocalyptic transformation in which the oppressors will join the poor at their labours, and bless the laborious plow by which the curse on sexes dissolves,

That the wild raging millions, that wander in

forests, and howl in law blasted wastes,
Strength madden'd with slavery, honesty, bound
in the dens of superstition,
May sing in the village, and shout in the
harvest, and woo in pleasant gardens.

(FR, 11.227-9; E,296)

This is Blake's sympathetic view of the fierceness of the multitude of people who would recover their full humanity at dawn. As Nurmi argues, it was probably around the autumn of 1792, when royalists and counter-revolutionaries were massacred, that the first draft of 'The Tyger' was written in Blake's Notebook.²⁴ To Blake's disappointment, although Orleans questioned, 'Can the fires of Nobility ever be quench'd, or the stars by a stormy night?' (FR, 1.181; E,294), his bright vision was overshadowed by the turmoil. Instead, as the Archbishop of Paris feared, the multitude 'bathed their feet in the blood of Nobility' (FR, 11.155-6; E,293). The vision of the revolutionary spirit, which was once entirely positive, now becomes ambiguous, with the ferocious image of the tiger wandering in the forest of the night -- though the sign of its former holiness is traced in its black and yellow pattern of the flame on its now fallen body.

'The Tyger' in its second draft had only four stanzas, including a new stanza beginning 'When the stars threw down their spears'.²⁵ As Nurmi argues, when France abolished monarchy and became a Republic towards the end of September 1792, 'The Tyger' was

probably in its second stage in which the beast's cruelty was much diminished. Nurmi further argues that the earlier negative view of the tiger was changed to a more positive one. According to him, Blake implied the divine origin of the tiger in the capitalization of 'Immortal' in the first stanza and also in the line: 'Did he who make the Lamb make thee?' On the other hand, it is certain that Blake was not entirely satisfied with the ascription of divine origins to the tiger, for he took the view that true divinity can shine in the human form alone -- an idea manifested in 'The Divine Image' of Songs of Innocence and in Blake's often repeated references to 'the Human Form Divine'. Thus Blake made efforts to give a human form to the once fallen revolutionary spirit. What is entirely missing in Nurmi's argument, and needs due attention, is the pencil design on page 108 of Blake's Notebook where the second stage of 'The Tyger' is transcribed. The faint pencil design, which Keynes recognized as Orc of plate 12 of America,²⁶ should not be dismissed as peripheral: it is evidence of a link between the tiger and Orc. In the first stage of drawing on page 108 of Blake's Notebook, Angelic figures were sketched with their hands raised in the style of Blake's illustration of 'the morning stars' (Butlin, 552,710). In the second stage, an Angelic figure's hands were made horizontal and one of his wings was transformed into his raised leg. Thus the preliminary draft of Orc on plate 12 of America

emerged in Blake's Notebook. Moreover, the very moment of Orc's birth is described in 'A Song of Liberty' composed towards the end of 1792.²⁷ While a vision of child-birth was already shown on plate 3 of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, Blake added the song to record the auspicious time starting with the pains of labour, 'The Eternal Female groand! it was heard over all the Earth' (MHH, 25; E,44). The song finally reaches its climax with the abolition of monarchy, and Blake triumphantly declares, 'Empire is no more! and now the lion & wolf shall cease' (MHH, 27; E,45).

While 'A Song of Liberty' looks towards America, the poem shows a retrospective visionary transformation of the course of the French Revolution in which the early bright vision of the Revolution is juxtaposed with its subsequent shattered image:

8. On those infinite mountains of light now
barr'd out by the atlantic sea, the new born
fire stood before the starry king! (MHH, 25; E,44)

We are reminded of the legend of the lost Atlantis in Plato's Critias, and of the fact that Blake regarded the land of Albion as a part of the lost continent. However, in the line of thought traced so far, 'the infinite mountains of light now barr'd out by the atlantic sea' where once the new born fire confronted the starry king is, at one level, The French Revolution itself, now sunk in the raging sea of time and space, an argument which is

supported by Blake's Notebook poem written around 1807 with its similar symbolism:

Re engraved Time after Time
Ever in their Youthful prime
My Designs unchanged remain
Time may rage but rage in vain
For above Times troubled Fountains
On the Great Atlantic Mountains
In my Golden House on high
There they Shine Eternally. (NB, 91)

While Blake sang triumphantly about his eternal Prophecies far above raging Time, the Atlantic Mountains must have been for him reminiscent of his short-lived poem as well as the bright image of the French Revolution, both of which were completely overwhelmed by raging Time.

To return to 'A Song of Liberty', the starry king (whose symbolism was studied in The French Revolution) rejected the new born fire with 'jealous wings' (25.9; E,44). Instead, he prepared himself for war and 'hurl'd the new born wonder thro' the starry night' (25.10; E,44). Blake attributed the transformation of the new born fire into a consuming fire to the King's jealousy. As a result, the King's allies were utterly devastated, as in the September massacres of 1792 (25.14-16; E,44). On the other hand, the fallen fire, like Blake's lost poem, was imaged as a sinking sun which emerged out of the sea again in the morning as 'A Song of Liberty'.

2. The Gradual Crystallization and the First Manifestation of Orc's Myth

i) America (Before October 1793)

Visions of the Daughters of Albion

The title page of America indicates that the work was produced in 1793. However, there is some evidence which reveals that the work took its present form later than that date. Keynes and Erdman speculated that America was completed in 1794 or 1795, but this idea was not researched further and was firmly denied by Bentley. Keynes noticed that no copies of America have watermarks dated earlier than 1794,¹ but Bentley dismissed the indication that all copies were made later than 1794 by pointing out that copies C-L, without dated watermarks, could be earlier.² Erdman, on the other hand, perceived a difference in spirit and the quality of drawing between the cancelled plates and the plates integrated into the work.³ He also argued that America was completed around 1795, pointing out the closeness between the design of the second Preludium of America and the text of The Song of Los.⁴ Bentley commented that 'I see little validity in D.V.Erdman's suggestion ... of "1794 or 1795 as the date of etching"'.⁵ Bentley's conclusion was 'There seems to be no sound reason not to accept

the date of '1793' on the title page'.⁶ The existence of a gap between the date on the title page and the actual date of completion of a work is not unusual with Blake. Bentley believed the date on the title page because of the Prospectus of October 10, 1793, in which America was advertised: 'America, a Prophecy, in Illuminated Printing. Folio, with 18 designs, price 10s.6d'.⁷ Since America has eighteen pages altogether, the present version may be regarded as the one completed in 1793. However, this is not necessarily the case: as Joseph Viscomi pointed out, 'In the Prospectus, Blake uses the word "design" to mean picture, not plate or page'.⁸ In the following argument, the transformation of America before and after October 1793 is traced. It will also reveal that America is a work of complicated revisions and its essence is infused by this. The focus must be on America because the process by which America was perfected reflects the gradual crystallization of the myth of Orc.

Blake's attempt to recover the lost vision of The French Revolution is accomplished in America. It was in September of 1792, when the French King was dethroned, that the French Revolution began to parallel the American War of Independence. While Burke battled for the English monarchy against Republicanism by turning people's sympathy towards the French monarch, Blake believed that the American War of Independence, which Burke supported, was a

'civil war',⁹ comparable with the French Revolution, designed to throw off the yoke of George III. America, as well as 'The Tyger' and 'A Song of Liberty', are certainly of this period.

The original form of America, in close relation to the former three works, is glimpsed when the cancelled proofs a, b and c¹⁰ are restored to the work in place of plates 5, 6 and 7.¹¹ The following will make the point clear. First, as The French Revolution opens with the Infernal Council urged by the Common's heavenly one, so in America Albion's Prince hastens to the equally gloomy Council infuriated by the new awareness declared by Washington. All these works except 'A Song of Liberty' depict the transition from the depth of night to dawn, while the focus is on the villains rather than the heroes. Second, The French Revolution and America have a common figure who foreshadows Urizen. 'The aged apparition' (b.15; E, 58) with snowy beard and garments wetted with tears in the latter is foreshadowed in the vision of the Archbishop of Paris in the former who gives 'the command of Heaven' to the oppressors (158; E,293). He decides the course of the Councils. Third and most important, America, when it begins with plates a, b and c, is structured towards a climactic moment in the same way as The French Revolution, 'The Tyger' and 'The Song of Liberty'. With the original ordering of the plates the prophecy once reached its climax with Boston's Angel's speech on plate 13,

while, in the present version, the prophecy culminates in Orc's apocalyptic vision on plate 8.¹² The importance of Boston's Angel's speech is marked by the place where he stood. It was on the Atlantean Hills, from whose bright summits the Golden world was attainable, that Boston's Angel announced the Declaration of Disobedience (10<12>.5-11; E,55). In 'A Song of Liberty' the 'infinite mountains of light' at which the new born fire confronted the starry king is the same place. Moreover, the passage concerning the Atlantean hills in America is embedded in the flame from which Orc emerges. Its pencil design can be recognized on the second draft of 'The Tyger' (NB, 108). This is part of Boston's Angel's speech:

What God is he, writes laws of peace, &
clothes him in a tempest
What pitying Angel lusts for tears, and fans
himself with sighs
What crawling villain preaches abstinence &
wraps himself
In fat of lambs? no more I follow, no
more obedience pay. (A, 11<13>.12-15; E,55)

The hypocrisy and deceit of the oppressors revealed in his speech drives Boston's Angel to rend off his robe and throw down his sceptre (12<14>.1; E,55). While in 'A Song of Liberty' the new born wonder is hurled down by the armed king, in America thirteen Angels indignantly descend as fires from the same heavenly height onto the land of America. As a

result of these actions

The British soldiers thro' the thirteen states
sent up a howl

Of anguish: threw their swords & muskets to
the earth & ran. (A, 13<15>.6-7; E,56)

This is not the bright apocalyptic moment decreed
in The French Revolution:

Throw down thy sword and musket,
And run and embrace the meek peasant.

(220-1; E,296)

Neither does this resemble the moment of the dawn
in 'The Tyger':

When the stars threw down their spears
And watered Heaven with their tears

(17-18; E,25)

In America the apocalyptic vision of The French Revolution and 'The Tyger' is in decline: there throwing down swords and muskets merely signifies a military retreat (A, 13<15>.7; E,56). The original glory of the vision faded without recovery. Boston's Angel's heroic action of rending off his robe and descending as fire, however, is later renewed by the protagonist in Milton. While the thirteen Angels were inflamed by their wrath, Milton descended to redeem his emanations by self-annihilation: he became a human fire to give life, unlike the consuming fire of the thirteen Angels to give death.

Orc was not the distinct hero of America from the very beginning. While he remained a symbolic spirit emerging from the revolutionary fire,

prominence was given to Albion's Prince whose monstrousness made the numerous rebels against him heroic. Blake's effort to produce his own mythology is seen in his naming a baby whose birth and whose mother's labour is recorded in 'A Song of Liberty'. As many critics have perceived, Orc derives from Orcus, meaning the brink of Hell, and while Orcus is referred to as the dark vacuum in Tiriell (239; E, 281), the most similar use of this name is found in Book II of Paradise Lost: Satan, who escaped the gate of Hell in search of the dark region's boundary with Heaven, addressed Chaos, Night and Orcus standing side by side with Hades as 'Ye Powers / And Spirits of this nethermost Abyss'.¹³ This Orcus serves Blake's purpose positively, for he anticipates the powerful force to counterbalance Heaven whose starry host symbolizes for him a mundane power. In Orc's emergence Blake's invocation of 'the Eternal Hell' in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (3.2; E,34) takes effect. However, it is not until Blake's suppressed thought was released in Visions of the Daughters of Albion that the myth of Orc began to crystallize in America.

Visions of the Daughters of Albion owes its primary structure to the myth of Persephone or the descent of the soul as Raine carefully elaborated.¹⁴ The significance of Blake's turning to the myth is precisely revealed in Olympiodorus' comment on The Phaedo of Plato:¹⁵

The soul descends Corically, or after the manner of Proserpine, into generation, but is distributed into generation Dionysiacally; and she is bound in body Prometheiacally and Titanically: she frees herself therefore from its bonds by exercising the strength of Hercules; but she is collected into one through the assistance of Apollo and the saviour Minerva, by philosophizing in a manner truly cathartic.

Blake may have known this passage, since the passage is quoted in Thomas Taylor's 'A Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries', whose presumed date of publication is 1790 or 1791.¹⁶ Blake's myth of Orc takes the course the passage presents, as what follows will show.

Oothoon seeks for flowers to comfort her. In her eyes, flowers are equated with nymphs due to their watery nature. Plucking flowers symbolically signifies the dry soul's drinking enfeebling water whereby soul is generated into body. The implication of the union between soul and body is sexual. As Pluto ravishes Persephone who plucked Narcissus, so Bromion tears Oothoon's virgin mantle when she plucks the marygold. Thus, as Olympiodorus says, 'the soul descends Corically, or after the manner of Proserpine'.¹⁷ According to Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy, the soul immersed within the body is defiled and loses all her splendour. Blake forms his own cogs to move the adverse wheels when he lets Oothoon say that 'the soul of sweet delight / Can

never pass away' (VDA, 1.9-10; E,46) and that 'every thing that lives is holy!' (VDA, 8.10; E,51). Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophers' despising of matter and the body is responsible for the establishment of law and religion, which transformed the concept of love and undermined its fulfilment. Oothoon is the 'Eternal Female' anticipated in 'A Song of Liberty' who is brought into Blake's mythology with the vision of eternity untainted.

The poem is multidimensional, and assumes different phases depending on which point one focuses on. The emphasis seems to have shifted from the soul's descent into and union with the body to a love-triangle with a hidden cause of affliction when Blake initiated the third figure, Theotormon, as Oothoon's lover. Unlike Persephone who plucked the 'pride of all the plain', Narcissus, who was fatally deluded by his own shadow, Oothoon plucks the marygold: by this she is well-protected from false modesty or women's art¹⁸ and hastens to Theotormon. She is, however, raped and branded with the name of whore by Bromion. He says to Theotormon:

Now thou maist marry Bromions harlot, and
protect the child

Of Bromions rage, that Oothoon shall put forth
in nine moons time. (VDA, 2.1-2; E,46)

In Bromion's words the second point of Olympiodorus is fulfilled, however distorted it may be: that is, the soul 'is distributed into generation Dionysiacally'.¹⁹ The name of Bromius, which refers

to Dionysus himself, is not irrelevant to Bromion. Theotormon is given a supreme test of love. Without faith and inner vision, his natural love for Oothoon is transformed into hate. In furious jealousy, Theotormon binds the 'adulterate' pair back to back for punishment as Vulcan contrived an invisible chain to bind fast his wife, Venus, and her lover, Mars.²⁰

The relationship between Bromion and Theotormon is notable. Although at first sight they appear to be dire enemies, beneath this level they are inseparable, as though they are opposing psychic forces which function in subtle collaboration -- a mode of opposition which is fully scrutinized in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell (5; E,34). Bromion and Theotormon are, in fact, allied against Oothoon: Bromion's thunder as well as Theotormon's eagles are reminiscent of the sky-God Jupiter, while Oothoon is a Blakean Prometheus punished for having brought down the heavenly fire and spread it on the earth. As Olympiodorus predicted, Oothoon is 'bound in body Prometheiacally and Titanically',²¹ although this role is distinctly taken over by Orc. The fact of collaboration between Bromion and Theotormon may be confirmed by the parallel vision in Europe. There they reappear as Rintrah (furious king) and Palamabron (horned priest) respectively, opposed to Orc:

Thus was the howl thro Europe!

For Orc rejoic'd to hear the howling shadows

But Palamabron shot his lightnings trenching
down his wide back

And Rintrah hung with all his legions in the
nether deep. (Eu, 12<15>.21-4; E,64)

The precise use of conjunctions ('But ... And') makes the relationship between the three clear. Moreover, Enitharmon gives an order to Rintrah and Palamabron, saying, 'Go! tell the human race that Womans love is Sin!' (5<8>.5; E,62), while chiding Oothoon, 'Why wilt thou give up womans secrecy my melancholy child?' (14<17>.22; E,66).

Oothoon is awake. She notices the jealous eye which is keeping their den as she describes:

Instead of morn arises a bright shadow, like
an eye

In the eastern cloud. (VDA, 2.35-6; E,47)

This orb is linked to Urizen, as made clear in the frontispiece to Europe, in which Urizen with a compass circumscribes the infinite. It is neither to Bromion nor to Theotormon but to Urizen that Oothoon directs her protest. She identifies him as the Father of jealousy who suppresses desire and deprives Man of joy and bliss, while Bromion and Theotormon are regarded as his agents under his malicious influence.

When the values of Bromion are internalized in Theotormon's psyche and the relationship between Oothoon and Theotormon is intensified, the myth assumes another important phase. On plate 4 of Visions of the Daughters of Albion, Oothoon is

chained by the foot and lamenting in the wave over woe-stricken Theotormon. Bromion is no longer present. The implication of this bizarre design is partly deciphered by Raine in terms of Ossianic vision.²² Oothoon is enwrapped in a wave because she is 'the virgin of the wave', deriving her name from Macpherson's Oithona. Like Oothoon, Oithona was ravished, by a lord of Orkney, though her lover carried out revenge directly against the offender. Oithona chose death rather than life in 'disgrace'. Blake saw the myth of Persephone as underlying the Ossianic narrative and also as a net in which Ossianic characters are trapped. Thus, in The Visions of the Daughters of Albion Blake reveals the hidden collaboration of Bromion and Theotormon in their confrontation. Although Oothoon perceives the religious net which Urizen spreads, she cannot free herself from the snare either unless it vanishes as a result of being perceived by the others. As for the design of plate 4, the Ossianic background of the vision does not disclose its full significance. What is entirely missing is the design's hidden connection with a scene in The Iliad:

Not so his Loss the fierce Achilles bore;
But sad retiring to the sounding Shore,
O'er the wild Margin of the Deep he hung,
That kindred Deep, from whence his Mother sprung.

.

Far in the deep Recesses of the Main,

Where aged Ocean holds his wat'ry Reign,
The Goddess-Mother heard. The Waves divide;
And like a Mist she rose above the Tide;
Beheld him mourning on the naked Shores.

(The Iliad, I.454-7, 468-72)

Theotormon sitting and lamenting on the shore is reminiscent of Achilles who was deprived of his war-prize, Briseïs, by Agamemnon. The image of Achilles underlies that of Theotormon to express unprecedented anger and revenge, an emotion central to The Iliad. Achilles' mother, the salt-water goddess, Thetis, appeared to her son in anger and sorrow, as in the design, although without a chain around her ankle, to help him carry out his revenge. Similarly behind Theotormon's unrelenting anger lies his strong will for revenge, which Oothoon attempts to appease in vain.

Oothoon is called 'the soft soul of America', probably because she infuses life into the Prophecy of that name. Orc thereby ceases to have a purely imaginary status and emerges as an inspired figure. The very vision of a man breathed into life by a woman appears on the title page of America. The inscription on the earliest draft of the title page (Butlin, 225) emphasizes the importance of this subject even in comparison with the trumpeting Angels heralding the Apocalypse.²³ That Oothoon is the source of Blake's inspiration for Orc is indicated in Milton, in which Orc, although he has lost his original splendour, suddenly bursts into an

inspired protest against the shadowy female who tries to entice Milton out of his mission. There he is clearly associated with Oothoon and Leutha (M, 18 [20].39; E, 112).

Unmistakably, Orc is the successor of Oothoon. America could have started from Orc's release from his chains without the elaborate myth behind it, for it is, in a sense, Oothoon who is released from the infernal chain simultaneously. Here, as Olympiodorus says, the soul 'frees herself therefore from its bonds by exercising the strength of Hercules'.²⁴ The kinship between Oothoon and Orc would be untraceable in the sharp contrast between Oothoon's exalted soul and Orc's fierceness without speech echoes and visual images which mutually communicate beyond the boundaries of their separate works.

There is a strong possibility that Blake imagined a mother and child relationship between Oothoon and Orc. Visions of the Daughters of Albion may have been projected to mythologize how Orc was conceived. Albion's Angel's speech on plate 11 of America retains this original vision of Orc's mother:

Ah vision from afar! Ah rebel form that rent
the ancient

Heavens, Eternal Viper self-renew'd, rolling
in clouds

I see thee in thick clouds and darkness on
America's shore.

Writhing in pangs of abhorred birth; red flames

the crest rebellious

And eyes of death; the harlot womb oft opened in
vain

.

Thy mother lays her length outstretch'd upon
the shore beneath. (9<11>.14-25; E,54-5)

A woman who was called harlot and gave birth to Orc on America's shore suits Oothoon well. Moreover, the description of a woman 'outstretch'd upon the shore beneath' has a striking resemblance to the bottom design of plate 1 of Visions of the Daughters of Albion. Far from being under an illusion, Albion's Angel shows here his initial recognition of Orc, however distorted it may be -- although in the final version he appears to be insane because of Blake's shift of vision concerning Orc's parentage. Blake's new perception results in Albion's Angel's renewed identification of Orc on page 9, which records the reaction of Albion's Angel after the mighty voice declares the arrival of the dawn:

. . . . Art thou not Orc, who serpent form'd
Stands at the gate of Enitharmon to devour her
children;

Blasphemous Demon, Antichrist hater of Dignities;
Lover of wild rebellion, and transgressor of
Gods Law;

Why dost thou come to Angels eyes in this
terrific form? (A, 7<9>.3-7; E,53-4)

The abrupt appearance of the name of Enitharmon, the first appearance of her name in Blake's works,

indicates that Orc's parentage is transferred from Theotormon and Oothoon to Los and Enitharmon by the time this passage was added.²⁵

There are more graphic designs in America, the lost meanings of which become apparent in the light of Blake's original vision of Orc's parentage. The cancelled plate d of America (Butlin, 339), whose relationship to the work has been obscure, depicts two women in contrary states: one is sorrowful and naked to the waist with a tree bending over her; the other, who is much smaller in size, is joyfully kissing a baby as if he were descending from the sky. The baby appears in exactly the same posture, although in flames and without his mother receiving him, on page 20 of The Book of Urizen, where he is named Orc. This design may show Oothoon's descent to Leutha's vale to become pregnant by Bromion and her release by giving birth to Orc. When Orc became the child of Enitharmon, however, the context of the design changed and the plate was cancelled.

The frontispiece to America, which is thought to have been added before the work was advertised in October 1793,²⁶ is also illuminated by the line of thought traced so far. The meaning of the frontispiece to America is best understood when it is contrasted with plate 4 of Visions of the Daughters of Albion. The winged figure in the former seems to have developed from Theotormon in the latter. He is given wings as well as a fringe

sticking out like horns because he is a 'horned priest' like Palamabron in Europe. Moreover, while in Visions of the Daughters of Albion Oothoon is chained by the foot beside Theotormon, in America a woman often understood as Oothoon is released from a chain while a winged figure is tormented by his own 'mind-forged manacles'. 'Oothoon' with two children, one of whom we may regard as Orc, sits beside 'Theotormon', indicating that they are the hidden cause of his sorrow. Theotormon's anger, which is comparable to that of Achilles, was not appeased until he nailed down his son, Orc, although this role is taken over by Los who becomes Orc's father. The frontispiece is not irrelevant to the upper design of the Preludium in which revenge is finally carried out.

ii) 'The Tyger' (3rd stage)

The Preludium of Europe

The bringing to perfection of the myth of Orc is observable in the post-1793 development of the material first articulated in America. The apogee of the myth, however, coincides with its decline. When Orc's crucifixion becomes the central vision of the myth, it also becomes part of the two cosmic visions: not only the Apocalypse but the Fall also. In the latter, the vision of Orc's crucifixion becomes the pivot on which the role of protagonist is shifted from Orc to Los. In what follows the origin of the central myth of Orc and its growth up to its complete form in the Preludium of America is highlighted, focusing first on the two cancelled stanzas of 'The Tyger'. Their final restoration to the poem is simultaneous with Blake's recognition that they contain the central myth of Orc.

Unlike the cloudless glory of 'the infinite light' which characterizes the brightest phase of the Revolution, Orc's nature is from the beginning ambivalent. Though the original glory of the Revolution can be traced in the emergence of Orc, since Orc developed from the tiger -- the incarnation of the yellow and black pattern of flames -- he is also haunted by the fiery image. The tiger and Orc span a spectrum from beast to human. The final myth of Orc springs from the point where the visions of the tiger and the human merge.

Orc's creation and his destiny are foreshadowed in 'The Tyger'. The two relevant stanzas were dropped in the second stage of composition, probably because their stress on the tiger's enigmatic origin clashed with the newly attributed divine origin of the tiger. The cancelled stanzas may have been restored to the poem with the perception that they contain the proto-myth of Orc:

In what distant deeps or skies.
Burnt the fire of thine eyes?
On what wings dare he aspire?
What the hand, dare sieze the fire?

.

What the hammer? what the chain,
In what furnace was thy brain?
What the anvil? what dread grasp.

Dare its deadly terrors clasp! (E,25)

Whatever the origin and the nature of the fire, its infinite state before being seized is marked in the first stanza. The maker is Promethean. In the next stanza he is transformed into that of a blacksmith. The Promethean myth continues in the dramatic transition from Prometheus's stealing the heavenly fire to Vulcan's chaining him down as punishment. The hidden significance of the Prometheus myth is perceived by Blake: the myth is concerned with how the infinite is brought down and bound to the rock of suffering until it finally returns to the eternal world. The symbolic meaning of the rock becomes

clear in the Homeric vision of the Caves of the Nymphs,²⁷ for which Blake made an illustration called 'The Sea of Time and Space' (Butlin, 969). The relevant lines are beautifully translated by Pope: 'massy beams in native marble shone / On which the labours of the nymphs were roll'd'.²⁸ In Porphyry's account the beam-like stone on which the nymphs weave the purple garments is an image of bones being clothed in flesh.²⁹

The vision of spiritual beings given definite forms has both positive and negative connotations for Blake. His earlier visions remained ambivalent until the positive aspect was redeemed and separated from the negative. The two stanzas of 'The Tyger' in the light of the Prometheus myth show that bringing forth the spiritual to the sensible world involves two different actions: fire must be seized, and it must be given form. In Blake, these two actions are allegorically taken by two individuals who make the difference distinct. What is necessary for the fulfilment of the work is harmonious collaboration between the two: this is best illustrated in Night VIIa of Vala/The Four Zoas, where the beatific vision of Los and Enitharmon giving forms to wailing Spectres is unfolded (90. 25-43; E,370-1).³⁰ As far as Blake's early vision is concerned, these two elements are involved in a dire power-struggle, which hampers the fulfilment of their work. The blacksmith brings the abstract terrors and horrors into time so that in due course

they may cease. His potentially positive action, however, is deflected by wrath and jealousy. On the other hand, the weaver traps immortal souls and weaves them into the sensible world. Her action, seemingly negative, nevertheless potentially brings forth the image of Jesus and the vision of eternity with it. Orc, in a sense, is victimized by the negative aspects of these two elements.³¹

Blake's recognition of the importance of the two cancelled stanzas of 'The Tyger' leads to the Preludium of Europe. By the time it was produced, however, the vision of Orc's creation had lost its glory. The Preludium is a transitional piece -- transitional in a sense that although in it Orc's form and his myth are about to be grasped, the vision indicates the change in Orc's nature. The vision of Orc's creation is Promethean. While the vision is still traceable in the Preludium of Europe, the transferring of the eternal substance to the sensible world is not smooth. This is illustrated in the shadowy female's groan:

My roots are brandish'd in the heavens.

my fruits in earth beneath

Surge, foam, and labour into life, first born

& first consum'd!

Consumed and consuming! (1<4>.8-10; E, 60)

What is visualized in her speech is the image of the Sephirotic tree which grows with its root in the spiritual world. Since the passage between the brandished roots and the fruits beneath is

disrupted, the fruits reproduce themselves materially and so cease to be emanations of the spiritual world. As a result, they are subject to death and decay, devouring each other.

In the Preludium of Europe the task of creation is in the hands of two females. Since the Preludium begins 'The nameless shadowy female rose from out the breast of Orc' (1.1; E,60), it seems that the vision of the Preludium of America is succeeded by that of Europe.³² But on the contrary, the latter precedes the former, since the 'vig'rous progeny of fires' which the shadowy female brings forth is Orc himself, as the parallel vision of 'The Tyger' implies:

Unwilling I look up to heaven! unwilling count
the stars!

Sitting in fathomless abyss of my immortal shrine.
I sieze their burning power
And bring forth howling terrors, all devouring
fiery kings.

.

Ah mother Enitharmon!
Stamp not with solid form this vig'rous progeny
of fires.
I bring forth from my teeming bosom myriads of
flames.

And thou dost stamp them with a signet, then
they roam abroad

And leave me void as death. (2<5>.1-15; E,61)

Although both the Promethean maker in 'The Tyger'

and the shadowy female seize the fire, the shadowy female has no aspiring wings but sits in the abyss unwilling to look up to heaven. While her downward-looking nature is partly responsible for her unwillingness to look upward, this unwillingness also betrays her recognition of the act's cruelty together with her compassion for the generated souls. She even protests as though she herself were the confined soul when she says to Enitharmon, 'Stamp not with solid form this vig'rous progeny of fires'. Nevertheless, by the same unwillingness, she ironically foreshadows Tirzah who sacrifices her victim while shedding tears in Jerusalem (67.24-5; E,220). Just as the shadowy female complains about the fiery progenies' roaming away from her, so Tirzah complains: 'Why wilt thou wander away from Tirzah: why me compel to bind thee [!]' (J, 67.45; E, 221). The shadowy female seizes the fire and Enitharmon stamps it with a signet. Désirée Hirst points out that the image of a signet derives from Sephiroth which were called 'stamps' in the oldest books of the Kabalah.³³ When the generated are linked to Sephiroth, they are also consistently associated with the Sephirotic tree which, as Robert Fludd depicted it, stands upside down. In the Preludium of Europe, however, the lost link between the generated and their spiritual roots is conspicuous. The stamped start roaming like sheep and will be lost, unless, as the shadowy female says, they are bound.

iii) The Book of Urizen

The Book of Ahania

The myth of Orc is finally manifested in The Book of Urizen and takes its form within this framework. The Book of Urizen is Blake's study of the Fall based on close observation of the human psyche which loses eternal vision by developing rationalism and falling into the sleep of death. This rational reasoning power, or Selfhood, is Urizen. Within the darkening vision of the Fall, however, the way of salvation is still interwoven. The process of the fall which Urizen should have gone through is, out of pity, taken over by Los, the poetic genius and watcher of Urizen. (Urizen completes his fall into total disintegration in The Book of Ahania). Thus after giving a definite form to Urizen, the sight of Urizen's deathly form causes Los's female part to separate from him. Although the emergence of the sexes and sexuality is a sign of the fallen condition, that condition also contains the possibility of re-ascent. The Eternals, surprised by the appearance of the sexes and sexuality, start spreading a tent around Los to contain the effects of the Fall (18.9-19.9; E,78). Orc's coming into being is simultaneous with Los's losing the eternal vision³⁴ (19.37-20.2; E,79-80): the tent, which separates the temporal world from the eternal one and surrounds Los like an eggshell, is complete at Orc's birth and awaits being burst

open.³⁵

The Promethean vision of Orc's creation, that is the vision of the infinite fire's being seized and incarnated on the rock of suffering, is lost in The Book of Urizen. It is observed in the Eternals' remark which epitomizes Orc's human mode of creation: 'Man begetting his likeness / On his own divided image' (BU, 19.15-16; E,79). This is reminiscent of the image of fruits reproducing themselves to be 'first born & first consum'd', as in the Preludium of Europe (1<4>.9; E,60). Here, Orc's earthly rather than his heavenly origin is emphasized.³⁶ Orc becomes a worm which undergoes metamorphoses seeking a human form within Enitharmon's womb (BU, 19.19-36; E,79). When Orc loses the initial Promethean mode of creation, the lost vision is transferred to the mythological dimension, where Orc is literally chained down by Los. Blake unfolds this vision first in the graphic design, 'Los and Orc' (Butlin, 305), in which Orc's beauty shows his innocence as renewed.

By the time the myth of Orc is fully elaborated, its central vision has shifted from Orc's creation to Los's chaining down of Orc. The central uncertainty of the myth of Orc arises from this, since the ultimate meaning of the event is dependent on its spiritual cause, but in The Book of Urizen it is not entirely clear why Los chained Orc down.

The reason for the chaining of Orc is merely

to be inferred from the description of the tightening girdles which persistently oppress Los's bosom, and from the crucial event itself. Since the girdles are transformed into an iron chain and called 'the Chain of Jealousy' (BU, 20.24; E,80), it is understood that jealousy has much to do with Los's torment. The description is complemented by the full-plate design of Los, Enitharmon and Orc (plate 21).³⁷ Since Orc's clinging to Enitharmon's bosom parallels Los's chain of Jealousy, it seems that Los's jealousy is caused by the intimacy between Enitharmon and Orc.³⁸ Los's unusually thick beard also indicates that he is in the state of Urizen, the Father of Jealousy. Orc is thus chained down 'Beneath Urizen's deathful shadow' (BU, 20.25; E,80).

The reason for Los's action may be outlined thus: fallen under Urizen's influence Los has divided, and his resultant jealousy (about the intimacy between Enitharmon and Orc) drives him to aggression. This conveys a great deal of truth, but certain details of the myth call into doubt this account of its cause. One major uncertainty lies in the state of Los. Despite all the signs which he shows of his fallen condition, Los resorts to aggression not whole-heartedly but rather pressed by hard necessity. Los's chaining down of Orc is accompanied by pity as is seen in the direct involvement of the weeping Enitharmon in the crucial action (BU, 20.21-3; E,80).

The Book of Urizen mirrors the state of Blake's poetic genius. As Los is divided and succumbs to Urizen, so Blake is divided and half-submerged in the world of dichotomy. The sense of loss in the middle of the dilemma or uncertainty may be well summed up in the line which Blake added in the 'Small Book of Designs' to the title page of The Book of Urizen: 'Which is the Way / The Right or the Left' (Bindman, 289 a). Also, the ominous lines which run through the middle of each plate of text and are only seen in The Book of Urizen may indicate the traumatic schism that Blake experienced. The work is, nevertheless, Blake's great achievement since he manages to articulate the dark vision of the Fall even while his poetic genius is impaired. Here originates the polarity of the central myth of Orc: Los is fallen and experiences death in relation to the eternal world, but his being conscious of his 'death' shows him as not entirely fallen. Because of the Fall or descent into 'the nether regions of Imagination', Los-Blake's eyes become open to the nature of the Fall.³⁹ Hence a particular vision is introduced to the heart of The Book of Urizen to provide a climax for the vision of the Fall. This is the soil in which the myth of Orc is embedded, whatever connotations it may add to the relationship between Los, Enitharmon and Orc.

Underlying the vision of the Fall in The Book of Urizen is the scene of Satan, Sin and Death in Book II of Paradise Lost. This scene had impressed

itself on Blake's mind at least since he produced his pen and wash drawing around 1780 (Butlin, 108). It was some time before Blake produced more elaborated designs -- following Hogarth (since Sin is located between Satan and Death)⁴⁰ -- in his two sets of twelve illustrations for Paradise Lost of 1807 and 1808 (Butlin, 633,646). Milton's allegory of Satan, Sin and Death has provoked much adverse criticism: hostile views are best expressed by Samuel Johnson. He says:

.. such airy beings are for the most part suffered only to do their natural office, and retire. . . . To give them any real employment or ascribe to them any material agency is to make them allegorical no longer, but to shock the mind by ascribing effects to non-entity.⁴¹

What shocked Johnson and delighted Blake most was Sin's outstanding role in Milton's allegory. In spite of her formidable exterior and status as part of the infernal Trinity, Sin recounts to Satan an inspired vision of the Fall. Also Sin intervenes valiantly in the fierce confrontation between Satan and Death. What was to Johnson an intolerable literary and moral breach was to Blake a grace.

The vision of Satan's Fall due to Sin's birth from his head parallels the heretical version of Adam's Fall due to Eve's birth from his side. According to J.M.Evans's study of the patristic interpretation of the Fall, the latter can be traced back to Philo's exegesis of the Genesis narrative.

Philo understood Adam's Fall as occasioned by Eve's birth while he slept, basing his view on an allegorical interpretation: when Adam (mind) was relaxed and succumbed to Eve (sense-perception), Adam (mind) abandoned God's wisdom and fell.⁴² Boehme is a heir to this vision of Adam's Fall,⁴³ which Blake must have known. Sin's heretical version of the Fall is followed as inspired truth in The Book of Urizen. This is Sin's revelation to Satan, oblivious of how he was divided and fell:

All on a sudden miserable pain
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide,
Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,
Then shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd
Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seiz'd
All th' Host of Heav'n; back they recoil'd afraid
At first, and call'd me Sin. (PL, II.751-60)

The strange dizziness that Satan experiences is a prelude of Los's fall (BU, 13.28-30; E,77). Also, on plate 17 of The Book of Urizen, Los's head is depicted as thickly fibrous, as though flaming while a globe of blood issues forth. The Eternals' reaction at Enitharmon's appearance is likewise similar to that of the Host of Heaven:

. . Wonder, awe, fear, astonishment,
Petrify the eternal myriads;
At the first female form now separate
They call'd her Pity, and fled.

Just as Sin, who springs from Satan's head, is embraced by Satan and brings forth his son, Death, so Enitharmon issuing forth from Los is embraced by him and gives birth to Orc.⁴⁴

The reason for Los's chaining down of Orc should be once again reviewed in the light of the implications of Sin's further revelation: the subtle relationship between Enitharmon and Orc is foreshadowed in Death's incestuous rape of Sin and his continual threat to her life. What lurks in the following passage is Orc's hidden assault on Enitharmon in his intimacy with her.

When Enitharmon sick,
Felt a Worm within her womb
.
The worm lay till it grew to a serpent
With dolorous hissings & poisons
Round Enitharmons loins folding,
6. Coiled within Enitharmons womb
The serpent grew casting its scales,
With sharp pangs the hissings began
To change to a grating cry,
Many sorrows and dismal throes,
Many forms of fish, bird & beast,
Brought forth an Infant form

Where was a worm before. (BU, 19.19-20,26-36; E,79)
It is conspicuous here that Enitharmon is helpless at the mercy of Orc. This sick Enitharmon is reminiscent of Sin constantly vexed by the Cerberean

monsters which are hourly conceived and hourly born as a result of the incestuous rape (PL, II.794-802). Enitharmon's perilous state is further elucidated when the lines above are collated with 'The Sick Rose', the unexpected link with which was first remarked by Raine.⁴⁵ Enitharmon, who is sick and conceives Orc as a worm, is the exact image of the sick Rose. Moreover, the incestuous relationship between Enitharmon and Orc is embryonically present in the worm's attaining puberty and seeking a sexual relationship with the body which nursed it. The mother-child relationship is replaced by that of lovers. Just as in Paradise Lost Death's incestuous rape results in harassing Sin's life, so in 'The Sick Rose' the worm's intimacy with the Rose leads to the destruction of her life as is made clear in the warning (E,23).

Orc does not remain a potential threat to Enitharmon's life alone but also to Los's life. The vision of Orc endangering Los's life finds its most powerful counterpart in Sin's outcry:

O Father, what intends thy hand, she cri'd,

Against thy only Son? What fury O Son,

Possesses thee to bend that mortal Dart

Against thy Father's head? (PL, II.727-30)

Although Satan and Death seem to be evenly matched, in reality Satan is no foe to Death, as Sin's warning against Death's mortal arrow indicates (II, 814). This becomes the archetypal picture of a Father being endangered by his Son: Sin saves

Satan's life by revealing the kinship between all three of them so as to dispel enmity (however ironical it may sound)⁴⁶ -- although she also dreads Death as her dire 'inbred enemy' (II.785).

Blake suppresses Orc's murderous intention towards Los, making Los's fallen jealousy entirely responsible for the chaining down of Orc.⁴⁷ In 1793, however, Blake articulated similar violent feelings in a design showing a son aiming a spear at his father ('My son! my son!', The Gates of Paradise, pl.8, Bindman,124). The suppressed aspect of the Orc myth erupts in The Book of Ahania, which begins abruptly with Fuzon's assault on Urizen, his father. In a sense, Orc, being separated from Fuzon, is saved from the imputation of patricide. Although Fuzon represents the most dangerous aspect of Orc, he is not, any more than Orc, entirely damnable. Fuzon tears Urizen's loins to externalize Urizen's female part. As a result, Urizen, unable any longer to make Los his victim, is forced to complete the process of the Fall. Urizen's Fall culminates in his revenge on Fuzon, while Fuzon's former aggressiveness is turned to silent passivity until he, like Orc, is crucified.

Though Urizen undergoes a Fall as a result of losing Ahania and cursing her as Sin, possibilities of salvation are found in her lament. Here again Blake reworks Milton's allegory of Satan, Sin and Death. While The Book of Ahania is similarly structured around a family drama -- the fierce

battle between Father and Son, and Mother's lamentation over it -- there is a notable difference in what Sin/Ahania now has to say. In Milton, for all Sin's paradoxical positiveness, she remains the mother of Death and holds the key of Hell, and no one can enter Hell without her opening the gate (PL, II.794-7). In Blake Ahania laments the hardship of wandering in the dark, cold and snowy land of death while becoming almost extinct as a result of being cursed as Sin (Ahan, 5.39-47; E,90). Ahania's protest against Urizen echoes that of Oothoon, who also suffers as 'A solitary shadow wailing on the margin of non-entity' (VDA, 6.15; E,50). Ahania's following lament to Urizen -- 'I weep on the verge / Of Non-entity; how wide the Abyss / Between Ahania and thee!' (Ahan, 4.53-5; E,88) -- shows her in a condition similar to that of the sixfold Emanation in Milton. Possible reactions are mythologized in Milton, where the protagonist, who becomes agitated to see his Emanation scattered through the deep, throws himself into the deep to redeem her. Blake, who opposes the idea of punishment as well as revenge, attempts to link sin not to hell nor to death but to life through love and forgiveness. In Vala/The Four Zoas and Jerusalem, the laments of cursed Emanations become an important factor in re-awakening spectrous hearts to pangs of life.

Orc's potentially destructive power over his parents is part of a myth not only of the individual psyche: it also has a political dimension. Since 'a

Royal Proclamation against seditious meetings and writings' in May 1792 authorized the government's reactionary campaign against pro-revolutionary writings, overt Republicanism in writings was regarded as seditious and likely to endanger an author's life.⁴⁸ Blake must have become more convinced of the patricidal aspect of Orc as a result of the regicide in France in January 1793. Although the iron chain which tightens Los's bosom is called 'the Chain of Jealousy' and its figurative aspect is emphasized, its literal implications cannot be dismissed: the chain binds Los as though he were a prisoner. In plate 21 of The Book of Urizen, Orc's clinging to Enitharmon's bosom parallels Los's tightening girdle, indicating that Los's torment never ceases unless the liaison between Enitharmon and Orc is disrupted. While the following lines indicate how Blake defends his works from the government's ideological control, their mythological significance lies in Los's separating Enitharmon from Orc -- the positive alternative to chaining Orc down:

Los encircled Enitharmon
With fires of Prophecy
From the sight of Urizen and Orc.

(BU, 20.42-4; E, 81)

'Fires of Prophecy' are hardly related to jealousy, the spiritual cause to which Los's former action is attributed. Instead, they coexist with a fear of death, which is articulated in their growth into

the first sketch of Golgonooza in Vala/The Four Zoas:

. . . Los around her builded pillars of iron
And brass & silver & gold fourfold in dark
prophetic fear

For now he feared Eternal Death & uttermost
Extinction

He builded Golgonooza in the Lake of Udan Adan.

(59.28-60.3; E, 340)

Los-Blake channels his fear of extinction into his utmost power of creativity until Golgonooza is fully developed to be the eternal abode of Los and Enitharmon in Jerusalem. How Los saved Enitharmon's life by creating a sphere for them both and thus separating her from Orc is made clear by Enitharmon in Night VIIb of Vala/The Four Zoas (97.28-32; E, 362).

In The Book of Urizen the myth of Orc is still in its infancy since its spiritual cause, that is, why Los chained down Orc, is not yet clearly presented. The myth contains conflicting ideas which mirror the state of Blake's poetic genius: Los is both fallen and unfallen. This state of Los is counterbalanced by the ambivalent nature of Orc: he is renewed innocence, or an incestuous and patricidal monster. While Blake attempts to make Los's jealousy entirely responsible for his action, this is frustrated by Los-Blake's striving to come out of the fallen state. Paradoxically, when Los becomes righteous to crucify Orc, he falls further

since the image of Orc overlaps to a considerable extent with that of Jesus. In The Book of Ahania the solutions to the dilemma are half seen: while Los, particularly his poetic genius, is exempted from being fragmented and crucifying Fuzon (the patricidal aspect of Orc), his fallen part, recognized as Urizen, takes over the process of the fall. Los's poetic spirit, thus temporarily delivered from the fallen condition, produces the beautiful lament of Ahania. Los's remorse about his fallen part having chained down Orc has already begun, as is seen in Ahania's tears falling around the tree on which Fuzon is crucified (Ahan, 4.50-1; E,88). The remorse is crystallized in an additional myth that Los and Enitharmon return to Orc to release him in vain (V/FZ, 62.6-63.6; E,342-3). Ahania's distress at wandering on the land of death and being on the verge of non-entity is shared by Los-Blake who also feared eternal death and extinction. Ahania understands the cause and result as 'Cruel jealousy! selfish fear! / Self destroying' (Ahan, 5.41-2; E,90), which also shows Los/Blake's recognition of his own fallen aspect. Blake strives hard to rescue the myth of Orc in Vala/The Four Zoas, until all the conflicting potentials are brought to the surface and finally he identifies a new spiritual cause. Before turning to Vala/The Four Zoas, however, the final growth of America must be pursued, since in this work the vision which impregnates Vala/The Four Zoas is first expressed.

3. The Completion of Orc's Myth and its Collapse:

The post-1793 development of America

Europe (the final version)

The Book of Los

No sooner had the chaining down of Orc been recognized as the nadir of the Fall in The Book of Urizen than Blake began to be concerned with Orc's release from the chain. This transition is attested to in the development of Orc's myth on this point from The Book of Urizen to Vala/The Four Zoas: an additional myth in the latter depicts Los and Enitharmon, repentant immediately after carrying out the aggression, returning to Orc to release him in vain (62.9-63.6; E,342-3). Orc's release occurs in the Preludium of America, whereas his chaining down is first mythologized in The Book of Urizen. Orc's myth regresses from America to The Book of Urizen if, as is usually thought, America precedes The Book of Urizen, but it shows a natural growth if the chronological order is reversed.

The other similar but subtler disjunction between these two works is seen in the headpiece design of the Preludium of America: it shows Orc in chains, though without any corresponding myth until The Book of Urizen. As Blake often expresses his ideas in designs first rather than in verse, the headpiece design itself may have been earlier than

The Book of Urizen. Yet, in this case the design was not originally intended for the Preludium of America as a bibliographical detail indicates: Blake had to add the small plate (e) etched 'Preludium' to the design.¹ The design retains an embryonic stage of Orc's myth before his parentage was finalized. Close observation of the headpiece design indicates how the pair standing near Orc resemble Theotormon and Oothoon on plate 6 of Visions of the Daughters of Albion:² both women have the same wavy hair and show their grief with their faces covered with hands; both men show their profile with their hands raised above their heads. This is a drama of the furious cuckold revenging himself on his bastard son, while in so doing punishing his adulterous wife too. (Thus Theotormon's scourge is internalized and disappears.) Whether the headpiece design itself was conceived earlier than The Book of Urizen, or was produced later in an attempt to retain a link with the previous work, in the Preludium the headpiece design functions chiefly as the summary of Orc's myth from The Book of Urizen because by itself it epitomizes the cosmological significance of Orc's free state in America. In other words, the vision of Orc's release, along with his myth in a recapitulated form, had to be newly added to America to mark the beginning of the Apocalypse so that it might be balanced with the vision of the Fall in The Book of Urizen.³ By the time the Preludium was added to America, Orc's myth was far beyond the

stage of The Book of Urizen and the structure of Vala/The Four Zoas was developing in Blake's mind. This chapter focuses on the growth of Orc's myth between The Book of Urizen and Vala/The Four Zoas, locating the post-1793 growth of America along these lines.

While Orc is Promethean by birth and his myth inheres in this initial vision, Orc's other analogue, Jesus -- no less important than the Promethean image -- is particularly invoked in the Preludium of America. The central event of the Preludium is Orc's fierce embrace of the shadowy female. Although Orc's symbolic action has been variously interpreted by critics,⁴ its hidden link to Jesus remains undeciphered. The underlying image of Orc's action is that the veil of the innermost temple was rent in twain at Jesus's death on the cross.⁵ Blake transformed this vision dramatically: Jesus the sufferer becomes the radiant sun dividing the clouds. Blake first offered this vision as an alternative title-page of Night IV of Young's Night Thoughts, with the inscription 'the Christian Triumph' and later used it as the frontispiece design (NT1,31E).⁶ While it is explained to the reader as 'the resurrection',⁷ it is in fact Blake's revision of the image of the crucifixion as the following two arguments indicate. Firstly, the design has its gloomy counterpart -- the state before Jesus rent the veil -- on plate 14 of

Europe:⁸ two cherubim stretching forth their wings cover 'the mercy seat' (as in Exodus, 25.20) where Albion's Angel sits, crowned with the symbols of authority of church and state, and with his brazen book on his knees. Recognizably the same cherubim (having exactly the same facial features and hair style) are found reversed on both sides of Jesus in the design for Night Thoughts (NT1,31E). Whereas in Europe they served the temple of Albion's Angel who sits on the cloud in pitch darkness, in the Night Thoughts design they kneel in the dazzling light which results from Jesus's rending of the temple's veil. Secondly, the design is used as page 114 of Night VIII of Vala/The Four Zoas and that page faces the comparatively conventional image of the crucifixion of Jesus, the sufferer with crown of thorns and with nails in his hands and feet (though Blake dislocated Jesus from the cross and instead depicted him in flames). On the verso of this page (115), however, the pencil and chalk design of Jesus parting clouds appears again (this design was originally on the verso of the frontispiece to the watercolour designs for Night Thoughts). Although Erdman reads the sequence of these three pictures of Jesus as 'Christ's Resurrection first, then his Crucifixion, and then his walking the earth',⁹ in my view they are all images of the crucifixion, indicating Blake's continuous revision of his understanding of the crucifixion and of Jesus himself, and his resistance to 'Crosstianity'.¹⁰ In

the Preludium of America Orc also divides the clouds. He says to the shadowy female:

I howl my joy! and my red eyes seek to behold
thy face

In vain! these clouds roll to & fro, & hide thee
from my sight. (1<3>.19-20; E,51)

Orc is freed as 'the wrists of fire' and the shadowy female 'put(s) aside her clouds' after their sexual union (1<4>.2-4; E,52). This interpretation of Orc's action is consistent with the symbolic text in America. He is the one whose voice 'shook the temple' (5<7>.7; E,53). Also he threatens Albion's Angel, saying 'That stony law I stamp to dust: and scatter religion abroad' (8<10>.5; E,54).

Orc's identification with Jesus is not only shown in his symbolic action but also in the series of designs on the two pages of the Preludium (plates 3 and 4) leading on to plate 5.¹¹ On the first page of the Preludium Orc's crucifixion and entombment may be seen. In Blake, this process signifies the process of the Fall and Creation. While a worm approaching Orc is an image of death, its six coils may denote the six day creation.¹² Orc frees himself from the dark region of death on the second page of the Preludium, in which the image of the resurrection is easily traced. Orc's posture retains his initial form outlined in pencil on the Notebook draft of 'The Tyger' (108), and repeated on plate 12 of America. The vision of Orc's release can be translated variously: Orc is a shoot burgeoning up

from the earth; Orc is an image of the rising sun, showing his vigour in his flowing hair; Orc is an image of a captive released from the dungeon; Orc is an image of the dry bones which Ezekiel saw in vision revive and breathe again (37.1-10). Orc's eyes are directed towards the soaring figure on the next plate. Erdman points out the continuity between the two designs.¹³ The series of designs terminates here. This is a vision of the Ascension, and for Blake of the Judgement. Just as the ears of corn juxtaposed with the floating figure are threshed and freed from husks, so Orc has reached the last stage of being freed from the entwining chain around him to become the pure receptacle of inspiration without hindrance.

While in the Preludium of America Orc has so far been highlighted in terms of his link to Jesus, equal attention should be given to the shadowy daughter of Urthona. Her importance has been noticed, but understood in terms of the meaning of Orc's action.¹⁴ She was in fact given maximum pre-eminence in spite of her passivity, as is glimpsed in the reference to her at the beginning of the Preludium. Also, her absolute dumbness is stressed to make her first outcry dramatic (A, 1<3>. 8-10; E,51). The dramatic release of a voice is not Blake's invention but derives from the traditions to which he is indebted, Neoplatonic, Hermetic and Alchemical. The archetypal myth appears in one book of the Hermetica called Poimandres. In Poimandres

all creation and the Fall of Man are preceded by a myth of origins, that is the vision of an infinite light being mingled with darkness or with a watery nature.¹⁵ This, for Neoplatonists, is the prototype of the soul's lapse into matter, by which it is made effeminate and defiled. When the infinite light is mingled with the watery nature, an inarticulate cry proceeds from the latter. Probably Blake employed this archetypal vision of the Fall for his vision of the Apocalypse because he felt it necessary to start restoring the most dammed to the pristine state (intelligible matter)¹⁶ in order for the rest to re-ascend from the fallen condition. The shadowy daughter of Urthona is entrusted with an inspired message thus:

I know thee, I have found thee, & I will not
let thee go;

Thou art the image of God who dwells in
darkness of Africa;

And thou art fall'n to give me life in regions
of dark death. (A, 2<4>.7-9; E,52)¹⁷

The shadowy female begins as though retracing the memory of a distant past. She not merely knew Orc before but was desperately looking for him, although she remained entirely oblivious until she was embraced by him. (Otherwise how can she say to one whom she has been feeding so far, 'I know thee'?) She sees through Orc what he was before. The key to 'the image of God who dwells in darkness of Africa' is found in The Song of Los, where Africa is called

'heart-formed' (3.3; E,67). The shadowy female refers to Luvah, whose place was the heart in Vala/ The Four Zoas. Her speech is the vehicle in which Blake first manifests Orc as the incarnation of Luvah.

Her outcry directs our attention beyond mortal knowledge towards the myth of origins, while changing the outlook of the present as the dire result of what has previously taken place in Eternity. (This marks the moment when the dimension of Blake's mythology expands successfully from the present towards the myth of origins.) What is implicit in the shadowy female's speech is her former prelapsarian state with Luvah and her search for him after she lost him. The reason of their separation is apparently related to the Fall, as her having become entirely oblivious of the previous state indicates. This perspective in the Preludium of America, that is, that the Fall has resulted in the separation of Vala and Luvah (the soul and her divine Lord) is entirely missing in The Book of Urizen, but is conspicuous in the earliest stage of Vala/The Four Zoas.

The crucial separation of Luvah and Vala is depicted in Ahania's vision of the Fall. It ends with Man's curse on Luvah and the result is dire: Luvah and Vala were driven down from the Human Brain to the Human Heart until their division was complete in the land unknown (the Loins which is later called Ulro):¹⁸

And as they went in folding fires & thunders
of the deep

Vala shrunk in like the dark sea that leaves
its slimy banks

And from her bosom Luvah fell far as the east &
west

And the vast form of Nature like a Serpent
roll'd between. (V/FZ, 42.14-7; E,328)

While Luvah is cursed, Urizen is given a scepter by
the dying Man to create 'a Bower for heavens darling
in the grizly deep' (V/FZ, 24.7; E,314). Luvah is
cast into Urizen's furnace while Vala feeds its
fire. Her fallen state is depicted thus:

Vala incircle round the furnaces where Luvah
was clos'd

In joy she heard his howlings, & forgot he was
her Luvah

With whom she walkd in bliss, in times of
innocence & youth. (V/FZ, 26.1-3; E,317)

Vala becomes a heap of ashes when Luvah melts down.
Her shadow, made to work like a slave, complains to
the Lord about physical pains resulting from labour,
seeking forgiveness, regarding harsh labour as
punishment for having offended him. Yet by 'Lord'
she means Urizen, not recognizing her real Lord, who
appears to her in various forms in vain. She is the
archetype of the lost soul whose beauty became
'covered over with clay and ashes', calling the name
of God, who in fact reflects her own selfish
wilfulness not awake to the divine vision:

Still she despised him, calling on his name &

knowing him not

Still hating still professing love, still

labouring in the smoke (V/FZ, 32.1-2; E,321)

America depicts not only the shadowy female's first awakening to her former eternal state, but also the vision of the renewal of Luvah and Vala into the state of innocence. Plate 9 shows children (a boy and a girl) sleeping beside a ram under a paradisaal tree. This Edenic scene is in sharp contrast to the accompanying text, in which Albion's Angel stands beside the 'Stone of Night', panic-stricken, trying to identify who prophesies the imminent Apocalypse. This shows the moment of identification of what emerged in the Atlantic Ocean, which, on the previous plates, has been referred to as 'a Wonder', 'a Human fire', 'the terror', 'the Spectre', till at last Albion's Angel comes to a conviction:

. . . Are thou not Orc, who serpent-formed
Stands at the gate of Enitharmon to devour her
children;

Blasphemous Demon, Antichrist, hater of Dignities;
Lover of wild rebellion, and transgressor of
Gods Law;

Why dost thou come to Angels eyes in this terrific
form? (A, 7<9>.3-7; E,53-4)

Albion's Angel recognizes Orc as his arch-enemy, as though he had been long expecting the encounter.¹⁹

Orc is denounced as though he were the old serpent of Revelation, over whom Albion's Angel wants to win the ultimate battle, thus rhetorically appropriating Orc's superiority to himself. However, the design surrounding the text is a counterpoint to what Albion's Angel sees Orc as being. It shows Luvah and Vala back in the earthly paradise in Night IX,²⁰ and, apart from making America the glorious edifice of Orc's myth, the design is used for this particular text ('Are thou not Orc') to show that Orc is the incarnated Luvah, the Prince of Love. The following lines from Night IX of Vala/The Four Zoas are a poetic counterpart of the design for plate 9 of America:

Invisible Luvah in bright clouds hoverd over

Vala's head

And thus their ancient golden age renewd

for Luvah spoke

With voice mild from his golden Cloud upon

the breath of morning

Come forth O Vala from the grass & from the

silent Dew

Rise from the dews of death for the Eternal

Man is Risen

She rises among flowers & looks toward the

Eastern clearness. (V/FZ, 126.28-33; E, 395)

This is the vision of the lost soul being recalled by the Lord to its original glory, which is beautifully animated in the form of the lost bride found and awakened by her divine lover.²¹ As for

plate 9 of America, on the other hand, it depicts a boy with the image of the rising sun, leaning on a ram (instead of clouds). He appears as though addressing a girl lying drowsily on the grass. Her possible response (as Vala is imaged as a watery glass -- a lilly of Havilah) may be seen in the vine leaf which stands upright in the increasing light (in contrast with the other, which lies flat). Also, as is referred to by the divine speaker, the image of the Eternal Man risen is portrayed on the previous plate 8.

There is a subtle but notable difference in the degree of Albion's Angel's panic between plates 9 and 11. While in the former Albion's Angel directly encounters his arch-enemy (Orc) within the reach of his voice, in the latter he is (like the war-commander remaining at headquarters) giving the alarm to his faltering agents to confront the historical rebels such as Washington, Paine and Warren. Although in plate 11 Albion's Angel also has a glimpse of Orc, it still remains 'A vision from afar': while his vision is obscured in 'thick clouds and darkness', he sees on the American shore the 'Eternal Viper', which rent the ancient heaven, self-renewing. In Albion's Angel's searching vision Blake's genius can be traced struggling to grasp Orc's myth. While Orc is imaged as the self-renewing viper, his mother's image is also emerging to give him a human birth. The woman outstretched on the American shore is reminiscent of Oothoon rather than

Enitharmon, although the latter's name abruptly appears on plate 9.

The gap between plate 9 and plate 11 derives from the difference in time of composition and the resultant gap in terms of the stage of development of Orc's myth. Plate 9 was composed around the same period as the Preludium since the Orc-Luvah link as well as the Luvah-Vala myth, which are hardly manifested before Blake finished etching The Book of Urizen, are glimpsed in those plates. Plate 9 is not separable from plates 5, 6 and 7 in the sense that in them Orc gradually looms up to be identified. There are cancelled plates (a, b, c) which are replaced by plates 5, 6 and 7.²² The following argument aims to make the meaning of this shift clear, while locating this drastic revision as part of post-1793 development of America.

* * *

Blake brought together into America parts of of all the stages of Orc's myth so that they might be retained together and show in one work the canonical structure of Orc's myth. In my view the process of this revision, particularly the addition of the Preludium to America, vitally destabilized the work, as though new wine had burst the old container. Erdman, who believes the Preludium to be a later addition,²³ thinks that plate a was replaced by plate 5 when the Preludium was inserted into the

work.²⁴ He got this insight from a minute but important change Blake made in the direction of the ascending figure on plate 5 from leftward to rightward,²⁵ so that it might accord with the design on the previous plate (plate 4, the second page of the Preludium). My focus is on the reversal of power between Albion's Prince/Angel and Orc which takes place when plates a, b, c are replaced by plates 5, 6, 7. This is regarded as the direct result of the intensity of Orc's myth being added to the work.

Prior to cancelling plates a, b and c, Blake made minor pencil-revisions on plate c. The following examples epitomize their nature: when Albion's Angel is armed with an infernal shield, helmet and spear, he breathes 'flames' first, but in the revision he breathes 'damp mists' (c.5; E,58). Also, while his limbs are first described as 'shining', this is deleted in favour of 'aged' (c.6; E,58). Albion's Angel is disconnected from fire-symbolism, and made less youthful, while his fierceness is much reduced.²⁶ The contradictory images of Albion's Prince/Angel -- fiery versus snowy -- may be traced back to those of the two advisers who have counselled aggression to the monarch in The French Revolution.²⁷ Albion's Prince was once given the metamorphic power to accommodate those contradictory images within himself:

The eastern cloud rent, on his cliffs stood

Albions fiery Prince.

A dragon form clashing his scales at midnight
he arose,

And flam'd fierce meteors round the band of
Albion beneath.

His voice, his locks, his awful shoulders, &
his glowing eyes,

Reveal the dragon thro' the human; coursing
swift as fire

To the close hall of counsel, where his Angel
form renews. (A, a.14-b.2; E,58)²⁸

The last two lines, which depict Albion's Prince's metamorphosis from the fiery dragon into the snowy Angel, disappear when plate b is replaced by plate 6. Although the accompanying design is to a large degree retained, without the text its meaning fluctuates. While Albion's Prince's former monstrosity as well as his hypocritical power of transformation is seen in the design, it also shows a drama in which Albion's Angel (Prince) is hurled down by 'terrific' Orc.²⁹ Fire-symbolism and youthfulness are keynotes of Orc. As Orc looms up in America, his fierce image becomes indistinguishable from Albion's Prince's until the former overpowers the latter and takes over his fierce aspect. Meanwhile Albion's Prince/Angel is left with the alternative image -- old, snowy and tearful.

Orc's having overwhelmed Albion's Prince also leaves its mark on the structure. Albion's Angel's gloomy council disappears. Albion's Angel's gaining absolute power by being armed and standing on the

power-endorsing stone is no more. Although on plate c the image of Albion's Angel's supremacy over Orc was visualized as 'a constellation ris'n and blazing / Over the rugged ocean' (c.23-4; E,59), on plate 6 the emphasis is shifted from the sky to the ocean:

Solemn heave the Atlantic waves between the
gloomy nations

Swelling, belching from its deeps red clouds &
raging fires. (A, 4<6>.2-3; E,53)

It is not Albion's Angel but Orc who gains power in the revision. Albion's Angel's fear that an unidentified monster is emerging out of the ocean crescendos in various references to Orc³⁰ until on plate 9 it reaches its climax in recognizing Orc (7<9>.3; E,53).

What does this reversal of power between Albion's Prince/Angel and Orc in the early plates of America mean? Did not Albion's Prince's initial supremacy over his rebels prepare the work for its gloomy end in which revolutionary fire was stifled until its renewal in Europe? What is necessary to understand the meaning of the revision in America is to reconsider the relationship between America and Europe, since Europe is now known to be different from what it was when first produced in 1794. Andrew Lincoln convincingly argued that proof copy a, which has only 11 out of 18 plates, could be the earliest version of Europe.³¹ As he pointed out, while the text of copy a is complete without Enitharmon's

dream narrative (plate 17 is printed on the verso of plate 11), Blake removed from etched plates 17 and 18 the lines which describe an angel blowing the trumpet so that drastic revision might be possible.³² Although America has been believed to be no later than Europe, this view overlooks a specific phase where feedback between the two took place.

The initial purpose of Europe is made clear on plate 18 of America, which ends with the vision of Urizen hiding the red Demon for twelve years, till at last 'their end should come, when France reciev'd the Demons light' (16<18>.15; E,57). Blake's optimism is seen similarly in other places. The same phrase is used for the frontispiece of copy B of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. It depicts a frightened king closely guarded by two armed men (who are later called 'The Accusers of Theft, Adultery, Murder'), and its caption, dated June 5 1793, reads, 'Our End is come'. The similar prophesy of the starry harvest³³ is likewise embellished in a sensual vision in cancelled plate d of America. As sexual dreams evaporate and cannot be grasped by dreamers, it says, 'So / The British Colonies beneath the woful Princes fade. / And so the Princes fade from earth' (5-6; E,59).

The question is whether these visions are embodied in the early version of Europe. What is observed in 11 plates of proof copy a is Orc's descent as 'the secret child' in the manner of the

Nativity of Christ as described by Milton,³⁴ rather than Orc as the revolutionary fire stemmed in France. The result of Orc's fury is put into only six lines of plate 18 (3-8; E,66) where no account of the fate of Albion's Angel (or earthly Princes) can be found.

While Europe is expected to be on a linear time scheme, coming after America to complete what is begun earlier, the early version of Europe may be regarded as something else. Europe in its final form does indeed come after America. But their initial relationship is more like that of unlike twins, who are a brother and sister coming into being inseparably, with a lapse of time, for each to present a different aspect of the event. These twins are analogous to Orc and the shadowy female as the shadowy female's birth is mythologized to follow Orc's birth in Vala/The Four Zoas (58.17, 85.6-7; E,339,360).

The composition of Europe reflects Blake's awareness that Orc does not come alone, but with his own shadowy counterpart. In other words, the vision of the starry harvest coincides with that of 'the bottoms of the world' being open. The latter carried positive connotations in The French Revolution, as its best aspect is seen in the Common's convening in the Hall of the Nation ('like spirits of fire in the beautiful / Porches of the Sun, to plant beauty in the desert craving abyss', 54-5; E,288), while even its worst aspect -- the wild raging millions -- is

given a sympathetic view ('Strength madden'd with slavery, honesty, bound in the dens of superstition', 228; E,296). In Europe, however, the suffering involved in revitalizing the abyss is seen in a series of dismal pictures of war, famine and pestilence, which counterpoint sharply with Enitharmon's nocturnal revelry.

So far the initial relationship between America and Europe has been reviewed to reconsider the implications of the reversal of power between Albion's Prince/Angel and Orc in the revised part of America. There is a strong possibility that Blake unfolded the vision which continues from the end of America first in the revised America itself, like a rondo or Ouroboros, the head of America biting its own tail.³⁵ What is seen in the change from plates a, b, c, to plates 5, 6, 7, 9 is not the mere shift of power from Albion's Prince to Orc, but the shift of the level of confrontation, from the historical to the final:³⁶ while Albion's Angel grows quasi-Urizenic, behind Orc is seen Luvah. What is emerging here is, although incomplete, the genesis of the Urizen-Luvah myth from the point of their final encounter in the world of generation.

The process of crystallization of the Urizen-Luvah myth in America is half-seen in the incomplete contrast between the nature of Albion's Angel and Orc. While in plate 6 'heat but not light' (4<6>.11; E,53) accompanies Orc, in cancelled plate b Albion's Angel's casts 'a wintry light' (17; E,58) -- light

without heat. In Vala/The Four Zoas the opposition becomes definite as Urizen is called 'the Prince of Light', Luvah 'the Prince of Love'.

The moment of Albion's Angel's meeting his final destiny by identifying what emerges from the Atlantic as his arch-enemy is induced by the shadowy female's awakening to her prelapsarian time with Luvah as the earliest sign of the Apocalypse. By the time Blake composed Night VIIb of Vala/The Four Zoas, however, his vision of the Preludium of America had completely lost its beauty. The awakening of the shadowy female is no more. Far from being kindled by Orc's embrace, she is the one who absorbs Orc's energy, until Orc is embraced by her (91.2-5; E,363). Their union turns the shadowy female into war clouds or even whorish Vala, while Orc, being consumed in his own fire, loses his human form to become the serpent (93.21-7; E,365). This is a complete defeat for Orc, since he prophesied the vision of man walking delighted in fires without being consumed (A, 8<10>.15-17; E,54). Night VIIa, on the other hand, highlights Urizen's final encounter with Orc, with more positive signs before and after Orc's degeneration. While Orc is no more supreme since Urizen is, as in America (16<18>.9-10; E,57), depicted as dampening Orc's fire (78.1-3; E,353), Orc, nevertheless, astounds Urizen, by bursting into speech thus:

I well remember how I stole thy light & it
became fire

Consuming. Thou Knowst me now O Urizen Prince
of Light
And I know thee is this the triumph this the
God like State
That lies beyond the bounds of Science in the
Grey obscure
Terrified Urizen heard Orc now certain that he
was Luvah
And Orc began to Organize a Serpent body
Despising Urizens light & turning it into
flaming fire. (V/FZ, 80.39-45; E,356)

In Night VIIa Blake clearly attributes the fire Orc spreads on the earth to Urizen's light, thus it is turned into a consuming fire. Urizen's encounter with his old enemy leads to Orc's immediate degeneration (but this is compensated for by Los's imminent triumph over Urizen). A series of rather irregular events -- Orc revealing himself as the incarnation of Luvah, Urizen's nightmare moment, Orc's degeneration instead of Urizen's downfall -- reflects the course which Orc's myth takes. A study of Orc's myth, particularly that of America, cannot be concluded without focusing on the bitter quatrain in the Preludium of America.

* * *

The culmination of Orc's myth, which has been brought about by his being identified as the incarnated Luvah and the vision of his reunion with

Vala, ends with the bitter quatrain which completes the mythological panorama in the Preludium of America:

The stern Bard ceas'd, asham'd of his own song;
 enrag'd he swung
His harp aloft sounding, then dash'd its shining
 frame against
A ruin'd pillar in glittering fragments; silent
 he turn'd away,
And wander'd down the vales of Kent in sick &
 drear lamentings. (A, 2<4>.18-21; E,52)

Orc's myth is overshadowed when Blake finds it unfulfilled. In these four lines the most glorious moment of inspiration, which is expressed in plates 4 and 9 of America and which must have given Blake the enormous incentive to produce Vala,³⁷ is seen to lose its innate power and beauty. In the four lines the Bard/Blake's sense of shame swells up to rage until in harp-shattering action it subsides into sorrow. America was spared in the end. Instead, the Bard/Blake's wrath had to be suppressed to let America remain even in a more shadowy form.³⁸ This is, in my view, the state of the early copies of America (C-L, except K) which are uncolored with the quatrain masked,³⁹ whereas the work initially deserved, as it was later given, glorious illumination. Behind Blake's dejection lurks his new perception of the age. Before Blake's new perception is discussed, however, a past controversy raised due to the presence and absence of the quatrain must be

reviewed, since the bibliographical details of America -- particularly the date of the earliest copies of America and the chronological order of each copy -- had been matters of dispute, though the chronology has now been established by Bentley.⁴⁰ Reviewing the controversy also makes clear that dating America is also dating the quatrain, which so far has been done without taking heed of internal evidence.

The question which Bentley raised was whether the four lines were part of Blake's first complete version of the poem or a gloomy later addition.⁴¹ Here the problem is presented as the dichotomy, which does not meet the complexities of the actual situation.⁴² The question to which Bentley gave the clear answer by his own experiment was: should the absence of the quatrain be attributed to masking (the printing process), as Keynes and Wolf believed,⁴³ or to the absence of the quatrain in the etched plate itself (the etching process)? Bentley argues that changes could have been made in each copy at any of three stages; by etching (or additional burin work on the etched plate), or during the printing or the coloring process. Since copies C-L (except K), which Bentley regarded as early, are uncolored, the absence of the quatrain must be attributed to either the printing or the etching procedure. Bentley explored the alternative Keynes and Wolf left out: he examined the bottom designs of plate 4 in all the available copies of

America, for two reasons. First, he noticed that Blake corrected the number of serpent's tails on plate 13 from three to one on the etched plate itself,⁴⁴ rather than in the printing process as Keynes and Wolf surmised,⁴⁵ as the serpent had a single tail in posthumous copies. Similarly, since Bentley was puzzled by Blake's inconsistent behaviour of masking and unmasking the quatrain,⁴⁶ he suspected its absence on the etched plate itself in the earliest copies. Second, his concern was shared by E.D.Hirsch, who carefully studied Blake's characteristic procedure of correcting his past errors by various forms of additions. Hirsch argued that the four lines did not exist on plate 4 until 1795.⁴⁷ Bentley accepted Hirsch's view, and thence the lateness of the quatrain.

Contrary to his expectation, however, his experiment showed the variation of the designs in the bottom part of plate 4 as clear proof of masking.⁴⁸ The fact of the existence of the four lines in the earliest copies of America can be explained in two ways: either the four lines are dated 1793 (since there are no copies without plate 4,⁴⁹ if America was completed and printed in 1793 so were the four lines), or the completion of America must be regarded as as late as that of the four lines -- possibly 1795⁵⁰ (although many plates of America, including the title plate, must have been etched and ready for printing in 1793). Without mentioning this issue, Bentley set in order copies

of America with the new evidence of masking and the number of loops in the serpent's tail on plate 13. Out of sixteen copies, six (G, E, F, I, K, L) are placed at the beginning of the chronological table because the serpent has three etched tails, and copy G is regarded as the earliest because the four lines are not masked but erased.⁵¹

While the new order of the copies of America is Bentley's achievement, the accompanying date remains uncertain. In his preliminary article Bentley tentatively dated six copies 1793 (copies G, E, F, I, K, L), warning that 'These dates are all very approximate'.⁵² When the chronological table was transferred to Blake Books eleven years later, only a single copy (G) was dated 1793, while the other five were dated 1794.⁵³ These dates are 'approximate'. While Bentley says, "There seems to be no sound reason not to accept the date of '1793' on the title-page",⁵⁴ he defends his view by the single copy G which is printed exactly the same way as the five other copies dated 1794. Did Blake let a year pass before he started masking the four lines, although the work was complete and ready for printing? Are not erasing the already printed lines and masking them aiming for the same result? What made Bentley uneasy about dating copies E, F, I, K, L, 1793 must have been the spirit of the four lines. What disappointed the Bard/Blake so devastatingly? Could it be a moment or period of disillusionment due to 'Britain's taking sides against revolutionary

France in 1792-93' as W.H.Stevenson says?^{5 5} But was it not the period during which the starry hosts of a French heaven were being dissolved as Isaiah prophesied (34.4), however dreadful the scene might have been? Or as Bentley suggested, is it because 'the hopes inspired by the French Revolution had been destroyed by Napoleon and by the English government'?^{5 6}

Blake remained the defender of Orc's spirit to the last possible moment, although he repeatedly suffered heavy blows: Blake failed to publish The French Revolution; the moment of doubt after the September massacre of 1792 was seen in the first draft of 'The Tyger'. Blake's shock and dismay at seeing a prominent revolutionary converted into a reactionary could be traced in the notebook poem, 'Fayette'. Blake had a fearful vision of a son's turning his mortal spear towards his father ('My son! My son!' in The Gates of Paradise).^{5 7} Blake fell with Los when Los crucified Orc under Urizen's shadow, since Orc was still associated with Jesus. Nevertheless, Blake had never expressed despair for Orc as almost irrecoverable as in the four lines of the Preludium of America. Possibly Blake still could not print these lines until he had created the myth which compensated for this immense loss. Blake's despair does not come from a single historical event. Behind it lurks his new perception of the age and his insight into the climactic change and the resultant failure of the harvest. Blake's vision of

Orc was accompanied by his perception that a long tyranny of Kings and Priests had come to an end, and people's perception would be open, released from 'dens of superstition'. Contrary to his earlier firm belief, however, Blake began to sense the beginning of another hostile era which would eradicate not only religious webs but also the spiritual cause altogether. It would embrace the material cause instead, forming the temple of Deism (which is, in fact, the revival of the ancient Natural Religion -- the serpent temple), while people are bound in the caverns of the five senses.

Since the four lines are at the end of the Preludium of America, what the Bard/Blake is ashamed of should be specified in this context. As previously discussed, the Preludium abounds with images of Orc as a second Jesus. Blake also expressed his insight into Orc's eternal identity as Luvah. When Blake discerns that Orc is failing to precipitate the Judgement, thus falling short of the identification with Jesus, the Orc-Jesus-Luvah link which Blake had elaborated collapsed. What is even worse, Orc's action is overshadowed when the one to whom he had given life turned out to be the Goddess of the revived ancient religion.⁵⁸ She is, moreover, Orc's unmistakable counterpart. Before embracing the shadowy female, instead of wooing her, Orc complains to her about her father's having riveted him (1<3>. 11-20; E,51).⁵⁹ This complaint foreshadows 'To Tirzah',⁶⁰ where a quasi-Orc figure protests to

Tirzah (not to her father this time) about her having bound his infinite perceptions to five senses. The names of the Prince of each element (Eagle, Lion, Whale, Serpent) which Orc's spirit enjoyed before he was bound are reiterated in the following speech of the shadowy female (2<4>.12-14; E,52), as though they were a spell to break the mesmerized state of Nature. The shadowy female expresses fierce pain which she experiences as a 'defrosting' process thus:

O what limb rending pains I feel. thy fire &
my frost

Mingle in howling pains, in furrows by thy
lightnings rent:

This is eternal death: and this the torment
long foretold. (A, 2<4>.14-17; E,52)

The suffering of the shadowy female is much like that of Enitharmon in Europe (15<18>.8; E,66) when violence accompanying the revolution reaches an intolerable level. On the other hand, it also gives a hint that something ominous, whose revival has long been feared since its power is known to be uncontrolable, has finally come to life. Orc can be imaged as the harbinger or even igniter of roaring materialism, whereas Blake's prophetic spirit initially foresaw fire descend to a so far cursed earth, kindling it to become 'a garden mild'.⁶¹

The perception which underlies the quatrain of the America Preludium is more clearly shown in the additional plates of Europe (pls. 3, 8, 12-16). As

Andrew Lincoln pointed out,⁶² in the final version Enitharmon sleeps for eighteen hundred years until she finally wakes up at the sound of Newton's trumpet (13<16>.4-11; E,65), whereas in the earlier version she does not sleep and the angel's trumpet, as a cock's crow, heralds the fiery morning (14<17>.35-15<18>.1; E,66). At the sound of Newton's trumpet, which symbolically shows the completion of a Philosophy of Five Senses,⁶³ all the Angelic hosts as well as Albion's Angel, who have already met their last doom through Orc's fire, are instantly wiped away and fall lifeless like autumnal leaves (13<15>.4-8; E,65). Blake projects onto Enitharmon's ensuing awakening the changed meaning of the shadowy female's awakening in the Preludium of America. Enitharmon's awakening is not spiritual, since she does not even know that she has slept. Thus, at her 'awakening', the past eighteen hundred years vanish away 'as if they had not been' (13<16>.11; E,65). This is a clear sign of the material world being exposed to immediate death and decay as a result of losing its inward spirituality.

Between Enitharmon's falling into sleep and her waking up, her doctrine of Sin and Chastity -- for female domination -- is fulfilled. Plate 8 depicts two female angels with their hands clasped around their bosom,⁶⁴ while a reptilian King covered with scales stands with his hand on the sword's hilt.⁶⁵ This design finds its best poetic counterpart in Jerusalem:

. . . I am drunk with unsatiated love
I must rush again to War: for the Virgin has
frownd & refusd
Sometimes I curse & sometimes bless thy
fascinating beauty
Once Man was occupied in intellectual pleasures
& energies
But now my soul is harrowd with grief & fear
love & desire
And now I hate & now I love & Intellect is no more.

(68.62-7; E,222)

This is Blake's analysis of the effect of unsatisfied love (as the result of Enitharmon's command in Europe), which obliterates intellect and promotes corporeal war. The warlike events of America are assimilated into Enitharmon's eighteen hundred years' sleep as though her will had been successfully propagated. In the assimilation Blake's despair about America, expressed in the final quatrain of the Preludium, may be seen in its most extreme form. Also the relationship between America and Europe is seen to be altered: although the final version of Europe seems to complete the vision of America, when the period of eighteen hundred years is brought into Europe as Enitharmon's dream, and swallows up America as the prelude of the dream's ending, what was once the Apocalyptic is transformed into the historical which vanishes at Enitharmon's awakening. The design of a man and a woman blowing mildew over the ripened ears of barley accompanies

this transformation of America (Eu. 9<12>).

By introducing the period of eighteen hundred years into Europe, however, Blake makes it possible to unfold (within what was initially meant to complete America) not only the pseudo-Apocalypse (seen in the final fate of Albion's Angel) but also his revised vision of the Fall. Thus the vision of Albion's Angel's hastening to the southern porch, which is blocked with the stone of Night, is interlinked with that of infinite perceptions being bound into the finite. -The dominant image of the Fall is deluge. Blake expresses the process of the Fall as one in which 'the five senses whelm'd / In deluge o'er the earth-born man' (10<13>.10-11; E,63) and 'an ocean rush'd / And overwhelmed all except this finite wall of flesh' (13.19-20; E,63). This deluge is the deluge of hyle or matter which drowns the infinite only to leave the finite bodily organs as though everything except an ark had sunk beneath the water.⁶⁶ This otherwise enigmatic image -- coinciding with the Fall while leaving the human body (or an ark) behind -- appears in its most dramatic form in Night III of Vala/The Four Zoas: Tharmas's sobbingly organizing the body of man out of the ocean of hyle appropriately concludes the extremely rich metaphysical visions of the Fall in the first three Nights (44.14-45.8: E,329-30).

Another image in Europe -- which is the negative equivalent of the more positive images, such as the human body and ark which have narrowly

survived the deluge -- is that of the serpent (temple), explicated as the 'image of infinite / Shut up in finite revolutions' (10<13>.21-2; E,63). Limiting the scope of truth to the empirical knowledge obtained from finite senses (which are regarded as absolute), and calling the state of the dark cave dweller enlightened, is what forms the serpent temple. Its ominous ascendancy coincides with Albion's Angel, the hypocritical usurper of true spirituality, being consumed by Orc's fire (12<15>.10-12; E,64). The complete failure of the Judgement, which is symbolically made clear in Newton's blowing the trumpet, is also foreshadowed in Enitharmon's triumphant laughter in her sleep to see her sexual prohibition kill spirituality for the sake of material domination (12<15>.25-31; E,64).

The doctrine of Sin and Chastity is highlighted partly because of its peculiar value for female domination and Blake's association of this material world with the feminine, the aggressive aspect of which he later expressed as 'the Veil of Vala'; and partly because of the emphasis on the link (between the chastity and female domination) making clear that Oothoon is exempted from this sweeping condemnation. More than the doctrine of Sin and Chastity, however, Blake bitterly blames thought for the failure of the Judgement as he says, 'Thought chang'd the infinite to a serpent; that which pitieth / To a devouring flame' (Eu, 10<13>.

16; E,63). Orc's fire is similarly identified as 'thought-creating fires of Orc' in The Song of Los (6.6; E,68).

That this 'thought-creating' fire no more conveys Blake's initial belief in Orc, but rather indicates his repulsion towards Orc, is unequivocally shown in its mythologized form in The Book of Los. The poem depicts Los, although fallen, taking two actions by virtue of prophetic wrath: one is hammering Urizen into the earthly sun⁶⁷ (5.10-47; E,93-4); the other, which is relevant here, is subduing the flames to his own wrath (3.27-4.22; E, 91-2). Much like 'thought-creating' fires, the flames are described as 'living flames / Intelligent, organized: arm'd / With destruction & plagues' (3.28-30; E,91). This seemingly ambivalent image of the flames -- which may indicate that Los/Blake was deceived by their positive appearance as Los was 'Compell'd to watch Urizens shadow' (3.32; E,91) in the middle of the fires -- ceases to fluctuate in its transformation. Los's wrath divides the fires -- which have neither light nor even heat⁶⁸ -- into two frozen marble pillars (of the temple) while he himself becomes hardened, until at last

The Prophetic wrath, strug'ling for vent
Hurls apart, stamping furious to dust
And crumbling with bursting sobs; heaves
The black marble on high into fragments.

(4.19-22; E,92)

Los's wrath, which is mixed with sorrow at his violent action, is reminiscent of the Bard's wrath which leads him to break his own harp in the Preludium of America. While similar wrath may be depicted in both poems, here Los, instead of directing destructive energy towards his own poetic genius, gears it to pull down the temple of Deism. Los's parting the flames (instead of clouds) as well as stamping the marble to dust indicates that he has started replacing Orc as the real counterforce against any religious forms which enclose human perception, since these mighty actions were Orc's while he was in his pristine glory.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, Los is haunted by the image of the fallen hero, the woman-betrayed and captivated Samson,⁷⁰ who also crushed the pillars of the (Philistines') temple, and was likewise crushed himself. Los/Blake's prophetic urge to destroy the 'thought-creating fire' or Urizen's shadow throws him into a 'horrible vacuum / Beneath him & on all sides round' (4.25-6; E,92) since his vision of the Judgement and the myth of origins so far have been built on his belief in Orc. Blake's struggle to rescue the shattered vision of the Fall and the Judgement true to his new perception is retained in the manuscript of Vala/ The Four Zoas.⁷¹ In this process Orc's myth must be renovated, although his former glory cannot be restored to him any longer. Instead, it shows Los being divided ultimately until, in his torment of love and jealousy, he finally attains heroic status

-- as I shall trace in Part II.

P A R T I I : The Regenerative Crystallization of
Vala/The Four Zoas

Preliminary Argument

Erdman called the manuscript of Vala/The Four Zoas 'Blake's richest score'.¹ Without it, not only many important myths about the Zoas but also the invaluable traces of the formation of myths which bridge the gap between Blake's earlier works and later prophecies would have been lost. Indeed, the poem was intended to make Blake's earlier myths, which evolved around the myth of Orc, an integral whole to illustrate the psychic machinery of the Fall and the Judgement of the cosmic Man. The poem, however, remained in manuscript with complicated revisions. I attribute what Donald Ault calls the heterogeneity of the poem² not to the absence of structure from the initial stage but to the serious structural wound which the poem received even before it came into being. The structural problem is inherent in Vala/The Four Zoas. As I have argued in the previous chapter, the poem's earliest structure is traceable in the post-1793 growth of America. Probably Vala/The Four Zoas was based on a more optimistic world-view and structured around the Luvah-Vala myth and the Urizen-Luvah/Orc power struggle: while the Fall has much to do with the separation between Luvah and Vala and Urizen's

subduing of Luvah, the Judgement is initiated by the reunion between Luvah and Vala in their incarnated forms and Urizen's final encounter with his arch-enemy Luvah in Orc. The collapse of the Orc-Jesus-Luvah link, however, must have necessitated the drastic revision in Blake's account of the Fall and also in the way the divine vision is finally manifested. In my view the early vision, which was already composed and written into Nights II and III, was almost shattered when Blake added to the America Preludium the quatrain expressing his shame, anger and despair about having combined Orc's embrace of the shadowy female with his vision of Jesus, the brilliant sun, rending the clouds -- the equivalent of the temple veil being rent by Jesus's death on the cross. Blake could not withdraw from this project but had to reconstruct and mythologize what he perceived as truth since, when his faith in Orc as the second Jesus -- the chief driving force in crystallizing the myth -- was shattered, his being as a poet-prophet was severely undermined.

Milton and Jerusalem are the offspring of Vala/The Four Zoas and they are, as many critics have perceived, 'a single entity',³ and one in essence in spite of the difference in presentation and in the stage of growth of Blake's mythology. How Milton and Jerusalem evolved out of Vala/The Four Zoas will be discussed later in the context of the growth of the poem's myth, but the following attempts to summarize the relationship of the three

poems. In Milton Blake shows a machinery more advanced than that of the four Zoas. The transformation takes place when the cause of the Fall begins to be located more within each Zoa in terms of his relationship with his Emanation than in the loss of balance among the Zoas due to a power struggle. Because each Zoa in turn begins to assume the whole aspect of Man rather than accept his status as part of Man's psyche, the account of the Fall is repeated four times in Vala/The Four Zoas, while in Milton Man's fourfoldness is encapsulated in the machinery of Humanity, Shadow, Spectre and Emanation.

Jerusalem is, on the other hand, undoubtedly a 'more consolidated & extended Work' (J, 3; E, 145) than Vala/The Four Zoas. There is evidence that Blake already looked towards Jerusalem while he was tentatively expanding the Tharmas-Enion myth in pages subsequently sewn into the Vala/The Four Zoas manuscript (pages 141-5 [page 141]).⁴ Jerusalem was crystallized around a myth of Hermetic and alchemical origin, although other elements almost overwhelm and obscure this origin. Probably the earliest core of the poem is the episode in which the Eternal Man (Albion) is covered by watery nature (the veil of Vala) and the Fall results in the appearance of the Hermaphrodite, which symbolically shows Albion's falling into the sensible material world (or the nadir of the world of generation characterized by war). Albion's falling into the

sleep of death causes the fatal division of one Zoa, Los-Urthona, and his final awakening to life depends entirely on Los-Urthona's painful process of regeneration to unity. This theme is shared with Vala/The Four Zoas, where the mystical communion of Man and Los is shown in lines which can refer to both of them:

. Daughter of Beulah Sing

His fall into Division & his Resurrection to Unity
His fall into the Generation of Decay & Death &
his Regeneration by the Resurrection from the
dead. (4.3-5; E,301)

The relationship of Vala/The Four Zoas and Jerusalem may be symbolically shown in the treatment of the figures of Vala and Jerusalem in the design of Jerusalem, plate 28, in which the two figures embrace on the Lilly of Havilah. That this design was first printed on paper watermarked 1802 (E,809) shows that the two figures were closely associated at an early stage: a close examination of the two poems will show that Enitharmon spans a spectrum from whorish Vala at one extreme to divine Jerusalem at the other. The composition of Jerusalem overlaps with the revisions of Vala/The Four Zoas: the extensive revisions concerned with the conflict between Los and Enitharmon incorporated into chapter 4 of Jerusalem is evidence that the composition and revision of Vala/The Four Zoas took place over an extended time span. The kinship of Vala/The Four Zoas and Milton and Jerusalem finds another

illustration in the hypothesis of Robert N. Essick (who suggests that Blake's original intention was to engrave Vala/The Four Zoas) that the copperplates for Vala/The Four Zoas were cut into quarters and halves for Milton and Jerusalem, respectively.⁵

Blake projected Vala as a comprehensive summary of his previous myths, but the discovery of its shortcomings in presenting satisfactorily the myth of Fall and Judgement plunged him into a long therapeutic process of reconstructing the poem by mythologizing his darkened vision. Milton and Jerusalem are the harvest of this suffering. Thus, Vala/The Four Zoas is unique in formation, receiving the mighty current of the earlier myths to divert its course and renew it in order to let the renewed vision gush out through an other channel. Naturally the poem's link with the rest of Blake's works is strong. One greatness of this poem is that it retained its independent form despite all the forces within and without which continually threatened to burst it.

The following discussion of the evolution of Vala/The Four Zoas is structured around the evolution of Night I for three reasons. First, when the evolution of the whole poem is considered, sorting out the narrative threads from the beginning is important. Second, there is ample reason to believe that the poem was transcribed, although not necessarily composed, beginning with the earlier

Nights. This would have been the only reasonable way for Blake to make new ideas in the earlier Nights fully integrated and developed in the subsequent Nights. Moreover, since the important study of the Fall is made in Nights I, II and III, until the foundation of the poem had been satisfactorily completed in these Nights the symmetrical vision of ascent in Nights VII, VIII and IX could not be finalized. The fact that the early copperplate hand text is found only in Nights I, II and III also suggests that the poem was transcribed from the earlier Nights and, therefore, that they may retain evidence of the earliest evolution of the poem. Third, Night I, whose peculiar importance will be gradually made clear in my thesis in terms of the relationship between Tharmas and Los-Blake, is the heart of Vala/The Four Zoas, whose beat resounds throughout the poem and in which the keynote of all stages of the poem can be heard. Indeed, the difficulty of discussing the whole poem's evolution in terms of the evolution of Night I lies in the complexity of the Night itself. Night I consists of some 500 lines. Some passages are irrevocably erased and replaced, or simply deleted or marked with diagonal strokes for cancellation, while others at first cancelled are later identified as to be restored to the text.⁶ Quite a few lines are marginal additions, while three leaves are added.⁷ Despite the extreme complexity of Night I, Margoliouth broke down its evolution into six

stages, basing his argument on observation of such features as Blake's pagination and line-numbering.⁸ Although different in some points, the framework of my argument on the evolution of the poem is indebted to Margoliouth's work. In what follows my perspective on the evolution of Night I, along with the evolution of the rest of the poem, will be outlined in five stages before each argument is given in detail.

Stage 1 mainly focuses on the earliest form of Night I as the Preludium. The existence of the Preludium for Vala was first hypothesized by Margoliouth,⁹ and the likelihood of his hypothesis was strengthened when Bentley followed it up and considerably reduced the number of pages of the hypothesized Preludium.¹⁰ Despite the idea's potential for throwing light not only on the earliest state of the most complicated Night but also on one of the poem's most fundamental problems, the Margoliouth-Bentley view has been ignored. The poem at this stage began with Night II and was largely transcribed in Blake's copperplate hand, which, in the manuscript as it at present exists, does not go beyond Night III. While Bentley speculated that a 'Preludium' was added after Nights II and III (and perhaps more Nights) were transcribed,¹¹ I believe that Blake's having stopped transcribing the poem somewhere during the early Nights¹² marks the earliest and most vital

shift in vision, part of which was crystallized in the added Preludium itself. As is detailed later, a sign of the collapse of the earliest structure of Vala can be traced in the link between the America Preludium and the 'Preludium' for Vala -- particularly how the initially bright vision of the former was darkened in the latter.

Stage 2 highlights the process by which the Preludium loses its autonomy to be converted into a Night I of 211 lines. The copperplate hand text in the previous stage (covering pages 3 to 7) was all erased for fresh inscription and extended up to page 18, excluding pages 15-16. This grouping is obvious from the fact that those pages are numbered from 1 to 14 by Blake while pages 15-16 are out of sequence.¹³ Blake numbered the lines of Nights I and II by hundreds in pencil. The text was written in Blake's copperplate hand with on average fifteen lines on each page. In the transitional process from stage 1 to stage 2, particularly in the phrase 'the veil of [? Enion]<Vala>' (141.1; E,845), Blake seems to have grasped an precise image of Vala. Vala's renewed image (the one who veils and is veiled -- the Goddess Nature) is clearly different from her initial image -- the soul -- which was in the state of bliss while united with her Lord, separation from whom plunged her into the dark oblivion of her former state. It seems that at this stage Blake's view of Vala started to polarize between her new

image (Vala) and her old one (later called Jerusalem). The invention of the earliest structure of Jerusalem seems to be simultaneous with this polarization of Vala's image. While in stage 2 Vala is given prominence as the chief cause of Man's Fall, a different version of the Fall -- as due to the lost balance among the four Zoas -- also crystallized during this stage. When Tharmas becomes one of the Zoas the old Urizen-Luvah power struggle is set in the context of the four Zoas. It is, however, in stage 3 that the conflicting visions of the Fall of Man -- with the intricate machinery of the Zoas and their Emanations -- are synthesized in the ultimate context of a vision of renewal.

The central issue of stage 3 is the study of the Fall of Man in terms of the relationship between aggressive Spectre and his vulnerable Emanation (vulnerable that is to his accusation). This is extrapolated from what must have been already written about Tharmas and Enion on pages 5-7 during stage 2. In accordance with this vision a Song of Vala on pages 10 and 11 becomes Enitharmon's own version of the seduction of Man, and this triggers the similar division between Los and Enitharmon, whereas in the previous stage the seducer was not Enitharmon but Vala.¹⁴ Pages 15-16 were added to Night I at this stage¹⁵ to give the initially joyful nuptial song for Los and Enitharmon a touch of strife and blood, foretelling Orc's birth and his



fate of being chained down by the Spectre of Urthona. Night I was at this stage expanded to 327 lines (the figure is clearly written on page 18). Blake probably stitched together Night I, Night II and two thirds of Night III (up to the end of Ahania's vision) at this stage,¹⁶ for the vision assigned to Ahania gives the most comprehensive account of the Fall of Man in the presence of every Zoa and his Emanation, while indicating that the myth of the Fall of Man continues at least until Night III.

There are reasons to believe that pages 43-84 (which cover the last two leaves of Night III, Nights IV, V, VI, and the first four leaves of Night VIIa) were transcribed soon after pages 1-18 and 23-42 were satisfactorily completed. This is the view on which Margoliouth mostly reconstructed Vala,¹⁷ and which Bentley also accepted as one possibility.¹⁸ First, in spite of the difference in the type of paper (the one fresh sheets, the other proof sheets) and style of handwriting (the one a combination of copperplate hand and modified copperplate hand,¹⁹ the other in the usual hand), the lines of pages 43-84 are, like the lines of pages 1-18 and 23-42, numbered in ink by fifties. This makes a sharp contrast with the numeration of the previous stage, where Nights I and II alone were tentatively numbered in pencil by hundreds. This fact must be considered together with Blake's binding of the leaves. Pages 43-84 were, like pages

1-18 and 23-42, bound together at one stage, as their stitch marks show.²⁰ Although Nights VIIb, VIII, and IX were also numbered in ink by fifties, they were never bound together. Second, once the myth of the Fall was satisfactorily completed in Nights I, II and III, the foundation of the poem was firmly laid so that the subsequent parts could be safely built upon it. There could then have been nothing to deter Blake from transcribing the subsequent parts, since at this stage he could be almost certain that there would be no new materials to come into Nights I, II and III which could disrupt the continuity of pages 43-84. In fact, the stability of Nights IV, V and VI is evident in the regularity of the length of these Nights: each required five leaves, and the verso of the fifth leaf was usually meant for the tailpiece design.²¹ They also stood the test of time: even after the drastic change of the poetic idiom at stage 4,²² and the further transformation of the poem during stage 5, Nights IV, V and VI retained their form without much revision (except on the last leaf of Night IV). If this were properly understood there might not be so many critics who insist that the transcription of Nights IV, V and VI must have been made later than stage 3 because the myth in those Nights must have already taken shape, at least in outline, before 1797. Los's binding of Urizen in Night IV, Orc's birth and the chaining down of Orc in Night V and Urizen's exploration of his dens in

Night VI, are all myths developed from The Book of Urizen. The early composition of these Nights may be glimpsed in Blake's mistranscription of 'Book' for 'Night' in the heading of page 57 (Night V).²³ Nevertheless pages 43-84 were certainly not transcribed during stage 2, because during stage 2 Blake still kept to the (less beautiful) copperplate hand, the lines were numbered in pencil by hundreds, and the myth of the Fall was still evolving: as a foundation of the poem it was not yet firm enough. Moreover, Blake may, at this stage, have been all the more cautious on account of the trouble he had already taken in restructuring the poem. During stage 2 Blake must have integrated Tharmas into the main body of the poem and incorporated such new materials as the myth of the four Zoas, and the father-son relationship between Tharmas and Los. The Spectre of Urthona's address to Tharmas (49.27-50.27) contains the new material from stage 3, and particularly from Milton -- the attribution of Urthona's division to his sons' having fled from his side; and Tharmas's corpse being rotten on the rocks (an image which is transferred to Man in the next stage). What may have made Erdman uneasy about pages 1-84 (except pages 19-21) being understood as 'a uniform layer'²⁴ is the gap this presupposes between the times of composition and the time of transcription. Although the gap is bridged by Blake's updating of his myth, some of the mythic material in Nights IV, V and VI cannot be regarded

as as late as the time of the transcription. Third, since during stage 3 Blake introduced the division between Los and Enitharmon in Night I (pages 9-10) specifically while Enitharmon was narrating the vision of the Fall of Man, it is appropriate that their reconciliation in Night VIIa (although between the Spectre of Urthona and the shadow of Enitharmon) is occasioned after the Spectre's attentive listening to the Shadow's vision of the Fall of Man.

Since by this stage the internal division of each Zoa from his Emanation becomes the central cause of the Fall of Man, the symmetrical account of the Judgement in Night IX, in which each Zoa is reunited with his Emanation, must have been already foreseen. Blake may have integrated the initial vision of Judgement -- Vala's restoration to the earthly Paradise to be awakened by Luvah (which may have existed from stage 1) -- into the vision of the reunion of the other Zoas, although at this stage Night IX remained untranscribed. What seems to have deterred Blake from transcribing Night IX is an uncertainty about how the union between the Spectre of Urthona and the shadow of Enitharmon should be related to Los,²⁵ and an additional uncertainty about how the events of Night VIII might become the internal machinery of Man's awakening in Night IX. Nevertheless, Blake had probably reached this stage by the spring of 1803, since his increasing confidence as a poet is shown in a letter of this period to Thomas Butts:

I have in these three years composed an immense number of verses on One Grand Theme, Similar to Homer's Iliad or Milton's Paradise Lost, the Persons & Machinery intirely new to the Inhabitants of Earth (some of the Persons Excepted).²⁶

This is a triumphant declaration that Blake had finally reconstructed his own myth of the Fall and the Judgement, though it was once on the verge of collapse. Although which of Blake's poems is referred to in this letter is a matter of some conjecture, Blake's particular reference to The Iliad and Paradise Lost makes stronger the possibility that he was referring to Vala/The Four Zoas. The correspondence between these two poems and Vala/The Four Zoas will be pointed out later. Nevertheless, it seems certain that the composition of Milton and Jerusalem was also in progress while Blake was at Felpham, and the lines already composed for them must have been included in 'an immense number of verses'. While the earliest structure of Jerusalem may have been foreseen during stage 2 of the composition of Vala/The Four Zoas, Milton must have started to crystallize during stage 3, since by then the focus of Blake's myth of the Fall had shifted from the myth of the Zoas to that of the Spectre and Emanation so that Milton, although not one of the Zoas, could become the protagonist of the new poem.

Returning to the composition and transcription of Vala/The Four Zoas, the Night I of 327 lines did not become the final text but grew further during stage 4. During this stage the poem received an influx of myths from Milton and Jerusalem. Vala/The Four Zoas would have remained intact if the poem had been completed by stage 3. But Night VIII, whose first transcription was left for this stage,²⁷ provided a chief inlet for these new ideas, destabilizing the poem for further revisions.

The first minor but obviously late change is the erasure of the end mark of Night I on page 18²⁸ and the addition of six ink lines to end the Night. In these lines Man is depicted as coming to 'the Palm tree & to the Oak of Weeping' and sinking down from the Saviour's arms to rest himself on the rock of ages (18.11-15; E,310). While the Eternal Man's falling out of the saviour's arms between these trees is illustrated in plate 37 of Jerusalem, his (Albion's) desolate state outstretched on the rock is first articulated in Milton through the perspective of the protagonist as he precipitates himself from Eternity to the Sea of Time and Space (15[17].36-41; E,109-10). Man's falling down from the saviour's arms finds its counterbalancing vision at the beginning of Night VIII (99.13-14; E,372).

The most conspicuous change to Night I during stage 4 is the further addition of pages 19-22 (except the lines on page 20, as already established in the sequence 21,22,19,[20]).²⁹ Those pages are

in keeping with the additional six lines on page 18 in terms of the way the newly developed ideas in Milton and Jerusalem are integrated. They are also linked to Night VIII (page 21 begins with a line almost identical with the beginning of that Night [21.1-2, 99.1-2; E,310,371]). While there are clear indications in the use of the symbolic names on pages 21, 22, 19³⁰ that the composition of those pages was influenced by Milton and Jerusalem, the following fusion of myths from the two poems in those pages allows us to glimpse that the composition of those pages of Vala/The Four Zoas was simultaneous with that of Milton and Jerusalem: the messengers of Beulah, who come in tears to narrate to the divine presence how Man and his Zoas were lost to the unknown space on pages 21, 22, 19 of Vala/The Four Zoas, are reminiscent of the fugitives in Jerusalem who also come to the divine family to recount what they witnessed about the Fall of Man (43[29].28-83; E,191-3).³¹ Also, an impatient plea of the messengers of Beulah, who ask the Divine Presence to resort to arms (19.4-5; E, 312), echoes that of Rintrah and Palamabron who urge Los to throw Milton into the furnaces in Milton (22[24].29-30; E,117). The importance of Los-Urthona's retaining his sons -- which has been already integrated into the account of how Urthona became divided during stage 3 (50.6-10; E,333) and is also repeated here during stage 4 (22.17-21; E, 312) -- is more fully articulated in the relevant

scene in Milton (24[26].9-10; E,119).

In the account of the Fall given by the messengers of Beulah the following three points mark shifts in the direction of the rest of the poem. First, Urizen's more direct involvement in the Fall of Man is stressed. Indeed, he is depicted as the chief villain: his cold hypocrisy and stern ambition to lay his sceptre on Jerusalem and the region of the imagination results in the Fall of Man, whereas in Ahania's account, narrated previously during stage 3, Urizen merely fell into a sleep caused by Luvah's wine while Man was seduced by Vala and smitten by Luvah (39.14-42.17; E,327-8). The old conflict between Urizen and Luvah is renewed in this late stage, partly because Urizen becomes more responsible for the Fall of Man, and partly because the relationship between the other two Zoas becomes all the tighter. Second, the kinship between Tharmas and Urthona, the concept of which was retained in a father-son relationship emphasized between them during stage 2 and finally scrutinized during stage 3 (49.27-31, 50.24-7; E,333,334), guides what initially took place between Urthona and Tharmas towards a more elaborate myth during stage 4: as Blake puts it, 'A portion of his (Urthona's) life shrieking upon the wind she fled / And Tharmas took her in pitying' (22.21-2; E,312). While this indicates the new idea of the Emanation's migration from one Zoa to another, it also mythologizes the vital moment when 'Urthona's life' first chose

Tharmas for its temporal vehicle in order to avoid complete ruin. Tharmas, who was previously recognized as full of rage and ghastly fallen existence, finally becomes a piteous benefactor by virtue of this, his least service. Third, it is clear that by this time the first cause of Enion's aggression against Tharmas on page 4 is attributable to her jealousy caused by Tharmas's giving refuge to Enitharmon.

The following is a brief outline of the development of pages 85 onwards, a development whose ending of stage 4 -- distinguishable from the final transformative phase, stage 5 -- is marked by Blake's line numbering of Nights VIIb, III and IX.³² A series of complicated developments began with the addition of the fifth leaf of Night VIIa, bearing pages 85-6 (this leaf may have replaced a leaf now paginated as 111-12).³³ Blake first concluded Night VIIa at 85.22,³⁴ probably in an attempt to integrate Night VIIb into the poem since, as Margoliouth first pointed out (and as is now generally accepted), a thematic continuity is conspicuous between the end of Night VIIa and the original beginning of Night VIIb:³⁵ while in the former the Spectre of Urthona lets the shadowy female take the charge over Orc, in the latter she is found in front of Orc as though she were spell-bound by her task. Night VIIb was probably transcribed at this time, not only because it is apparently continuous with the end of Night VIIa (85.22), but also because by the time Night

VIIa was expanded further, Blake looked towards Night VIII rather than Night VIIb.

Night IX was transcribed earlier than Night VIII, as is clear from the fact that Blake had to add pages 117-18 to the original beginning of Night IX (page 119)³⁶ after Night VIII (pages 99-110) had been transcribed. This is obviously to bridge the gap between the original beginning of Night IX in which Man awakes almost abruptly without definite reasons and Night VIII in which Jesus increases his importance within Man's psychic machinery to occasion his final awakening. From the way Night IX initially began (119.24-), the state of Night VIII prior to its transcription can be tentatively reconstructed: it was probably entirely concerned with what is referred to as 'Universal Confusion' (119.24; E,388). Also the poem must have reached profound darkness in Night VIII, as is symbolically shown in the metamorphosis of Urizen (Prince of light) into a 'dragon of the Deeps' (120.28-9; E, 389).

The cancellation of the end mark of Night VIIa and the subsequent additions of the lines on pages 85-6, however, mark an important shift in Blake's conception. So far the Night had become darker and darker until the poem had reached its nadir in Night VIII (untranscribed, but its existence is known from the heading of the already transcribed Nights [VII and IX]). The nine added lines on page 85, which are concerned with Los's regaining his integrity as a

result of the Spectre of Urthona's entering his bosom together with Enitharmon (85.23-31; E,367), begin to cast a glimmering light on Night VIII. When Night VIIa was thus given a new end mark (after 85.31) Blake once again cancelled it and added more lines on pages 85-6 in order to make Los's awakening as a result of talk with the Spectre of Urthona more distinct. Either after Night VIIa was concluded at 85.31 or after the addition of more lines on pages 85-6 (but before pages 87 and 90 were added -- as is argued later), Blake started transcribing the already reworked Night VIII (pages 99-110, but not pages 111-16). The initial overwhelming image of pitch darkness -- war, the culmination of Urizen's hypocritical power and his downfall, followed by the shadowy female's triumph -- was gradually interlaced with the epiphany of Jesus. It is as though darkness itself had made the image of Jesus distinct, until the darkness yields to the light and the image of Jesus becomes luminous throughout the Night during stage 5. Los and Enitharmon are given the redemptive task of creating bodies for the dead in order finally to manifest the Divine Vision. Nevertheless, just as Orc's destiny of being chained down on the rock evolved out of a vision of the eternal soul's being brought down to the cave of nymphs where fleshly garments are woven on the stony beam, so the Incarnation of Jesus, which Los and Enitharmon endeavour to occasion, remains ambivalent since it is, in the mystic code, synonymous with the

crucifixion of Jesus. Blake was well aware that the one who would bring Jesus into the sensible world could be identical with the one who would crucify him: during stage 5, therefore, Blake rescues Los and Enitharmon and their act of mercy from this sinister connotation -- the shadowy act of cruelty -- showing how a web of life which Los and Enitharmon prepare for the dead is unwound by Satan, Og and Sihon and instead Rahab and Tirzah weave for them a web of death (113.1-21; E,376-7). After the transcription of Night VIII (pages 99-110) and the final adjustment of the beginning of Night IX, Blake was satisfied with the result and numbered the lines of Nights VIIb, VIII and IX.

The pencil addition of the entire text on page 20 in Night I coincides with Blake's final transformation of the poem, the keynote of which is the painfully strained relationship between Los and Enitharmon and their final reconciliation which results in the appearance of Jesus in Los. The newly added vision on page 20, that is Enitharmon's barring her inner gates particularly towards Los (20.5-7; E,313), is not irrelevant to the re-vision of 'the broken Gates / Of Enitharmon's heart' in Night VIII (99.15-16; E,372). The gates were at first depicted as broken because the shadowy female (a wonder horrible), who was born from Enitharmon's shadow, simply crashed through them (85.7-17; E, 360). But the fact that the gates of Enitharmon's

heart had to be forced open stimulated Blake to assign some reason for the gates' so far closed condition: they were later described as 'Obdurate' (99.27; E,372) as though from deep-rooted enmity. This increased tension between Los and Enitharmon, I believe, is responsible for the addition of pages 87 and 90 (the verso of the print 'Edward & Elenor', which is now generally recognized as part of Night VIIa[2]). Previously on pages 85-6 Blake attempted twice to rescue Los from the painful state of disintegration by means of his reunion with the Spectre of Urthona who was already united with the shadow of Enitharmon. In view of the increased tension between Los and Enitharmon, however, Blake must have found it necessary to reconcile them directly on pages 87 and 90. The lively picture of Los and Enitharmon giving bodies to the dead on these pages must have made their similar action at the beginning of Night VIII (99.15-25; E,372) appear somewhat static, although this is not to say it is redundant. This could explain why Blake had to change the description of collaboration between Los and Enitharmon at the beginning of Night VIII into a dialogue between them:³⁷ the same level of spontaneity between Los and Enitharmon on pages 87 and 90 was thus maintained on page 99.

This final revision seems to have caused an important change in the predominant tone of the rest of the poem. The comparatively minor strife between Los and Enitharmon in Night I is aggravated to a

death battle: as a pencil addition says, 'the one must have murdered the other if he [Urizen] had not descended' (12.6; E,306). The heavy marginal addition on page 34 in Night II, which was probably added during stage 4, is revised in harmony with this traumatic incident as Enitharmon scornfully stings Los about his attempt to murder her (34.23-6; E, 323). When Enitharmon partakes of the nature of Vala, it is no wonder that Los should be in a state of war with her. However, it is not only Enitharmon who is to blame. Separated from his Emanation, Los necessarily remains a dark Spectre. This idea is best articulated in Jerusalem (53.25; E,203) and most animated in Milton: the central theme of Milton is the recovery of the lost Emanation by the protagonist who recognizes himself as Spectrous without her. It is not until later, in Jerusalem, that Los, inspired although without his Emanation, can say to his Spectre: 'I am one of the living' (8.35; E,151). In Vala/The Four Zoas, Blake animates the spectrous aspect of Los and the whorish aspect of Enitharmon in 'the torments of love and jealousy'. It is through these torments that Los attains a peculiar heroism, since out of this dark agony the image of Jesus shines forth from him. There works a hidden internal dynamic by which the image of Jesus, which was initially associated with Orc, is shifted to Los. It is a drama of Los, Enitharmon and Orc, without which the re-structuring of Vala/The Four Zoas -- which began when the Orc-

Jesus-Luvah link was shattered -- cannot be completed. The arcanum is also shared with Jerusalem. That Los has achieved some degree of identity with Jesus by this stage can be glimpsed in a pencil addition in Night I, where Urizen perceives him as 'a visionary of Jesus' (12.25; E,307). Los's identification with Jesus is more complete in Jerusalem (96.7; E,255), as Albion, for whose sake Los was fragmented and underwent the annihilation of Spectre, finally recognizes (96.22; E,256).

Stage 1

The Genesis of Night I as a Preludium

Pages 3-7 of Vala/The Four Zoas are the part of the poem which underwent most frequent revision, as the heavily revised manuscript indicates. It seems appropriate that discussion of the evolution of the poem begin with a study of the nature of pages 3-7 because in the process of these pages being added to the poem not only the trauma left by the break down of the earliest structure of Vala but also Blake's first effort to rebuild the poem is crystallized.

It is clear from evidence found in each stage of the poem's evolution that pages 3-7 survive from the earliest time of transcription. Pages 3-7 were retained during the transition from stage 1 to stage 2, although all the lines on those pages had to be erased for fresh transcription, probably because Blake wished to retain the comparatively finished designs which must have been already drawn on those pages (except on page 7).¹ During stages 2 and 3, Blake made such important studies as the myth of the Fall (which bloomed in its essence in Jerusalem) and the myth of the Spectre and the Emanation (which became the central issue in stage 3 of Vala/The Four Zoas and also in Milton) that he needed to keep these pages while the ideas were

fully studied and developed. Pages 3-7 reflect a second major crisis during stage 4, mainly because new ideas infused during this stage made the narrative written since stage 2 redundant: for instance two-thirds of page 4 had to be erased so that the cause of Enion's aggression against Tharmas might be attributed to her jealousy at his having sheltered Enitharmon. Also many lines on pages 5-7 were probably marked with diagonal strokes for cancellation during stage 4: this was certainly not done during stage 3 when lines were numbered in ink by fifties;² this is in harmony with Blake's handling of the text on page 4; and during stage 5 there are signs that the cancelled lines on pages 5-7 were revised and restored to the poem (the idea of sin being infused, the myth of attraction and repulsion between Tharmas and Enion in the cancelled lines revives). Stage 4 shows old ideas being overwhelmed by new ones, as a result of which the manuscript must have come very close to its current complexity (cancelled lines on pages 5-7 were not revised and circled for inclusion in the poem at this stage, and also the lines on page 6 were probably given grey wash during stage 5 to make clear what was finally cancelled).³ However, sorting out the text on new sheets had already become unthinkable by this stage since this would change the nature of the manuscript which retained all the courageous efforts Blake had made to reconstruct the poem for over a decade. Also renewing leaves was

virtually impossible during this late stage simply because of the lack of fresh folios.⁴ The importance of pages 3-7 partly lies in the location of those pages at the beginning of the poem. They have been one of the cornerstones which retained the first and last of the manuscript, the significance of which is articulated in Milton (22[24].23-5; E,117). The parallel designs in Night I and Night IX,⁵ which also correspond to the poem's symmetrical structure (that is, that the four Zoas divided from their Emanations in the earlier Nights are restored to unity in Night IX), seem to support this view. It is certain that pages 3-7 of Night I were, like the title page, present from the beginning and so bear witness to what took place in the very early stages of the formation of the poem. In order to develop this idea further, however, we have first to question whether the poem began with page 3.

It is known that Night II was at first labelled Night I although the figure was finally erased and the space left blank. If Vala was intended to begin with Night II, the myth must have had a different beginning from the present one: the scene begins with the ancient Man's giving a sceptre to Urizen before he falls into sleep without any account of what has occasioned his dire Fall, which accords with the convention of beginning an epic in medias res. In Blake's 'Vala' Margoliouth, attempting to recover the lost Vala, began the poem

with Night II while relegating the present Night I to an appendix. The criterion he mostly depended on in restoring the poem was Blake's line-numbering (in ink by fifties). As Margoliouth showed in an appendix, by this stage Night I had been developed up to 327 lines and was undoubtedly well integrated into the poem. His search for Vala, nevertheless, led him to a brilliant view of the earliest state of the present Night I. He studied Night I in detail by differentiating each layer of text in terms of the supposed stage at which it was added.⁶ The result is that when the poem began with the present Night II, Night I was neither unwritten nor temporarily discarded, but its state is speculatively described thus: 'a short Vala poem of some 200 lines was begun or even finished in 1797. . . . The original short poem was perhaps treated as a sort of Preludium'.⁷

Bentley supported Margoliouth's tentative view by pointing out that describing the singer and the nature of the poem either in introductory lines or in a Preludium was Blake's usual practice.⁸ Bentley's major contribution to the strengthening of the possibility of a Preludium for Vala is that he reduced the number of lines included from about 200 to 72, indicating that the Preludium extended from pages 3 to 7. Bentley says, 'there were about seventy-two lines in the copperplate hand which may have comprised a self-contained Preludium later incorporated with the present Night I'.⁹ Indeed, it

is possible that the most heavily erased and rewritten part of Night I originally comprised a Preludium.

I must now focus on the lost text of the first stratum on pages 3-7 which is speculatively described as the Preludium. Fortunately, what was written on these pages can be roughly known from fragments which Erdman recovered by infra-red photography. They show how the narrative on these pages evolved out of the lost copperplate hand text: after the lines on the original layer were erased they were generally squeezed into the earlier pages so that the myth might be fully developed. The best example is found in the six lines which depict Tharmas's being taken into the watery world after turning the circle of Destiny. The recovered text which used to be on page 7 runs:

? Weeping, then bending from his Clouds he
stoopd his innocent head

? And stretching out his holy hand in the
vast Deep sublime

? Turnd round the circle of Destiny with
tears & bitter sighs

And said Return O Wanderer when the day of
clouds is o'er;

So saying he ...?fell...into the restless sea
Round rolld ?the ... globe self balanc'd.¹⁰

Erdman pointed out that those six lines, which originally appeared on top of page 7, were later transferred to page 5 (E,822). Also, six lines on

the former were reported to be part of the first stratum in the copperplate hand, while the equivalent lines on the latter are part of the second stratum in the modified copperplate one (E,822). Given that those six lines were the last lines of the original text which used to extend to pages 3-7, the transference of those lines indicates that the boundary of the Preludium receded to its earlier position in Night I, probably when the text lost its autonomy as a Preludium.¹¹ That the six lines in question were moved as part of a continuous narrative into the earlier page is confirmed by another example. Erdman recovered four lines from the first stratum which originally ran from page 5 onto page 6. The recovered text runs:

? Arise O Enion Arise & smile upon my head

? As thou dost smile upon the barren mountains
and they rejoice

When wilt thou smile on Tharmas O thou bringer
of golden day

Arise. O Enion arise! for Lo! I have Calmd my
seas. (E,819-20).

As Erdman notes (E,819-20), these lines reappeared on the second stratum on page 4 and finally shifted to Night IX (129.24-7; E,398).

The possibility that pages 3-7 used to be a Preludium becomes strong when considered with the evidence that the initial myth ended with a scene of Tharmas's falling into the watery world, for it will satisfy, in Bentley's phrase, the condition that the

narrative is self-contained'¹² from the mythological point of view. Raine perceived behind the Tharmas-Enion myth Blake's preoccupations deeply rooted in the Hermetic, alchemical as well as Neoplatonic tradition. She found the origin of the myth in the second book of the Hermetica, called Poimandres, which narrates how light fell and was captivated into moist nature.¹³ The myth is followed by the parallel story of the archetypal man's fall caused by looking at his reflection in water, and becoming entangled by Nature like Narcissus. According to Raine, while the source of the alchemical myth that light is confined in matter is found in the Hermetic literature, alchemists moved to a dark feminine principle and, in association with the moist cloud in the Hermetica, developed the figure called 'the great Mystery'. Thus the myth, which was structured around two different principles, one superior and good and the other inferior and evil, seems to have developed into a dichotomy between Male and Female. Raine must be right in locating the origin of the Tharmas-Enion myth in the Hermetic and alchemical as well as the Neoplatonic tradition, since both traditions have myths of the Fall of the archetypal man ensnared by 'a liquid Venus'. In the Tharmas-Enion myth this important structure and its attributes survived frequent revisions: for instance, Tharmas' innocence and Enion's aggressiveness, to the point where the former comes to be lost in the latter's watery woof, have not

been altered. Also the characteristics of Tharmas as the archetypal man were somewhat retained by presenting him as 'Parent power' (V/FZ, 4.6; E, 301).¹⁴

There is a further evidence that pages 3-7 used to be a Preludium for Vala. What must be considered is how these pages came to be added to the poem. Bentley thought that the 'Preludium' was added after earlier Nights were transcribed although he did not attribute special significance to the addition.¹⁵ In my view Blake's having stopped transcribing the poem in his best copperplate hand marks the vital shift in vision: while the earliest structure of Vala collapsed, the trauma of the change of view was subsequently crystallized in the added Preludium itself. What has never been discussed before is the link between the earliest form of Night I, now speculatively described as a Preludium of Vala, and the America Preludium. The latter depicts the crucial moment when Orc finally breaks his chains to embrace the daughter of Urthona (the shadowy female). That this vision once initiated the Apocalypse is verified by the fact that America begins with it, and also by the voice released from the shadowy female (A, 2<4>.7-17; E, 52): she, who has been so far completely fallen and thus oblivious of her former state -- the time when she was one with her divine Lord -- finally recovers her prelapsarian memory. Blake's view of the Judgement must have been that re-ascent of

everything begins when the most damned (because it caused the Fall) awakes from the fallen condition. Probably the earliest structure of Vala showed a myth of the soul whose separation from the divine vision plunged her into the dark world of oblivion and whose re-ascent began when she recognized her Lord again. The myth of a voice which is released when two contraries are mingled, to which Blake assigned an important moment of awakening, derives from the Poimandres of the Hermetica. The Tharmas-Enion myth originates from the same myth also. In the Poimandres the infinite light falls when mingled with moist nature, from which the inarticulate sound proceeds.¹⁶ Prior to Vala, Blake positively reversed this archetypal vision of the Fall for the vision of the Apocalypse in the America Preludium: fiery Orc fell (descended) to the nether world to revive the lowest. Contrary to Blake's expectation, however, what was awaken is not the lost soul as Vala was thought to be but the Goddess Nature who rules this material world, fiercely opposed to the spiritual world. Blake's shame, anger and despair at having regarded the reunion of Orc and the shadowy female as the earliest sign of the Judgement was first expressed in a quatrain in the Preludium of America (2<4>.18-21; E,52). Also the archetypal myth of the Fall in the Poimandres, which was first employed for the bright vision of the Apocalypse in the America Preludium, now serves for the vision of the Fall which is to become the Vala Preludium. This

reversal of the use of a myth of the same origin may be regarded as evidence that pages 3-7 of the manuscript once formed the Preludium of Vala.

The turbulent background of the formation of the Preludium of Vala explains why it had to be frequently revised. It bears marks of despair and defeat, in that it leaves the cursed female figure doubly cursed without salvation. While containing despair and anger within, however, pages 3-7 of Vala became, at least in the early stages of restructuring the poem, the kernel from which a new poem emerged. It shed the constraints of a Preludium to be developed into a full blown Night. The collapse of the earliest structure of Vala and the subsequent composition of a Preludium seems to be eventually mythologized in the way Vala/The Four Zoas begins. After the theme is briefly announced, the poem abruptly begins with Tharmas's desperate cry for Enion, bringing to light the death wounds the Men received, and telling also of the Emanations who fled to Tharmas for temporal habitation (4.3-6; E,301). This is how the break down of the earliest structure of Vala can be retrospectively narrated. The poem suffered the fatal structural wounds when it had hardly been given a shape. However, a minimal hope of renewal is still expressed through Tharmas although his integrity has been severely undermined and he is on the verge of the Fall.

Stage 2

The Myths of Fall and Creation in Nights I and II

When the fragments on pages 141-2 were composed has never been seriously discussed in terms of the evolution of the remaining manuscript.¹ Margoliouth regarded them as earlier than any other remaining part of the manuscript.² His comments on the fragments seem to have misled Raine into believing that they were written in the early 1790's.³ In the light of the evolution of Night I, however, there is ample reason to believe that they were composed during the time when the autonomous myth of the Fall as a Preludium was being developed into a Night I of 211 lines. In other words those fragments were not the earliest text but was preceded by the lost copperplate hand text on pages 3-7, part of which is recovered by Erdman by means of infra-red photography: a strong indication that the fragments in question were transitional between stage 1 and stage 2 can be seen in the fact that page 141 begins with the scene that Tharmas metamorphoses under Enion's woof, exactly where the Vala Preludium comes to an end. This is the scene:

Beneath the veil of [?Enion]<Vala> rose

Tharmas from dewy tears

The [ancient]<eternal> man bowd his bright

head & Urizen prince of light

.
Astonished lookd from his bright portals.

Luvah king of Love

Awakend Vala. Ariston ran forth with bright

?Onana

And dark Urthona rouzd his shady bride from

her deep den

.
Pitying they viewd the new born demon. for

they could not love. (141.1-9; E,845)

The germ of many significant ideas which contributed to the expansion of the Preludium to Night I can be found in this short passage. First, an archetypal figure called Tharmas in the Preludium is degraded into Tharmas with a monstrous nature: the sharp contrast between his former innocence and the same figure's monstrousness indicates that this is the earliest occurrence of the Spectre, although he is simply referred to at this time as the 'new born demon'. Secondly, the appearance of the names of the four Zoas with their Emanations, and an ancient Man (as well as other names such as Ariston and Onana), indicates that the concept of the four Zoas was becoming clear to Blake. Finally, in 'Beneath the veil of [?Enion]<Vala>' the renewal of Vala's image takes place from the lost soul to the Nature Goddess who is crucially responsible for the Fall of Man.⁴ Vala's image can be seen polarized between the America Preludium and the Vala Preludium (including its extended study on page 141): in the

former the shadowy daughter of Urthona (Vala's generated form) finally awakes to her prelapsarian memory with her divine Lord (Luvah) in her earthly reunion with Orc (2<4>.1-9; E,52); in the latter, however, her image is transformed into an aggressive Enion who brings down the Eternal Man to the world of oblivion by veiling him with her watery veil. It is clear that in 'the veil of [?Enion]<Vala>' Vala's image overlaps with Enion's: the veil is attributed to Vala, although in the context it belongs to Enion since she is responsible for Tharmas's generation.

This drastic shift in Vala's image could explain when and why Blake started having two main different, though not contradictory, myths of the Fall of Man, after the earliest myth which was structured around the separation between the soul (Vala) and her divine Lord (Luvah) collapsed: one is inherited from the early account of a power struggle between Urizen and Luvah; the other from the seduction of Man by Vala. The latter rests on Blake's conviction that the archetypal vision of the Fall of Man in the Vala Preludium should in fact be concerned with Man and Vala. While during stage 2 Blake lets Enitharmon unfold a vision of Man succumbing to Vala's irresistible charm (10.15-21; E,305-6),⁵ he was already looking towards Jerusalem, the poem structured around the plot of the Vala Preludium, the chief protagonists of which are Albion (Man) and Vala. Although enriched by other

elements -- at times almost overwhelmed by them -- the earliest mythological structure of Jerusalem can be still traced as follows. Chapter I begins in Beulah, the land of shadows (4.6; E,146), where Albion turns his back upon the divine vision (which takes a concrete form in his hiding Jerusalem from Jesus). Jerusalem is, for Albion, the embodiment of sin because she was born when he yielded to Vala's beauty and embraced her (20.32-7; E,165). Also, Jerusalem, who at her birth redounded from Albion's bosom to become the bride of the Lamb of God (20.38-41; E,165-6), is shown as a sinful daughter in a patriarchal society: she brings sin to her family by becoming pregnant and giving birth to illegitimate children against her father's will. Covered by the disease of shame, Albion speaks to Vala:

All is Eternal Death unless you can weave a chaste
Body over an unchaste Mind! (21.11-12; E,166)

Being sought thus, Vala spreads 'her scarlet Veil over Albion'. That Vala overlaps with the figure of Enion, who generates Tharmas by weaving him a fleshly garment, is clear because one of her speeches (J, 22.1,10-15; E,167) is exactly repeated by Enion (V/FZ, 4.17-20, 26-7; E,301).⁶ In Jerusalem, however, Albion's generation as well as his corresponding fall from Beulah to Ulro take place slowly. Albion, who initiates religion by worshipping his externalized Spectre and Emanation in chapter II, is still considered to be in what in

Milton is called Alla or Al-Ulro (34[38].8-16; E,134), the locations between Beulah and Or-Ulro (non-entity).⁷ Albion's generation is not completed until Vala veils everything in (intelligible) heaven and earth (45[31].67-70, 46[32].1-2; E,194-5) since heaven and earth are, as in a Jewish tradition which Blake later embraced, all contained in Albion's mighty limbs.⁸ While Albion reposes his body on the rock of ages (48.1-4; E,196), his Spectre, who rises over him like 'a hoar frost & a Mildew' (54.15; E,203), takes Vala into his bosom where they stand, 'A dark Hermaphrodite' (64.25-31; E,215). The Hermetic, alchemical and Neoplatonic structure of Jerusalem, which corresponds to the archetypal myth of the Fall of Man in the Vala Preludium, is briefly summarized in The Gates of the Paradise:

My Eternal Man set in Repose
 The Female from his darkness rose
 And She found me beneath a Tree
 A Mandrake & in her Veil hid me

.

A dark Hermaphrodite We stood (1-4,15; E,268)

The possibility that the mythological structure of Jerusalem occurred to Blake while he was tentatively expanding the Vala Preludium is strong, as (except for a single case on page 141 of Vala/The Four Zoas) the phrase 'the veil of Vala' is found in Jerusalem alone.⁹

Vala's playing a more central role in the Fall

of Man during stage 2 gives us a hint that the title 'Vala' may have been added later than 'The Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man', although the latter is written in smaller characters and could be taken for a sub-title. The following three points will be adduced in support of this hypothesis. First, Vala was clearly infused with new life after stage 1, and Blake may have added her name on the title page as a result of this renewed enthusiasm. Secondly, the fact that 'Vala' is connected with 'or' to 'The Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man' indicates that they were once regarded as alternatives with equal value. Thirdly, 'Vala' was nevertheless crossed out later (although not necessarily cancelled, as each Night still carries the heading), while 'The Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man' was retained, although revised, to the last. A title which was initially given to the poem reveals its theme and, (although the poem had a serious structural problem at an early stage of composition), cannot be discarded. Ellis and Yeats reported that the original title was possibly 'The Bible of Hell, in Nocturnal Visions collected. Vol.I. Lambeth' (E, 818). When we consider that Blake's purpose was to write his own version of the Fall and Judgement, it seems quite possible that the sole title of the first transcription was 'The Death and Judgement of the Ancient Man'.

Returning to the fragments on page 141, a detailed description of Tharmas, or the 'new born

demon', follows immediately after the previous quotation:

Male form'd the demon mild athletic force his
shoulders spread
And his bright feet firm as a brazen altar. but.
the parts
To love devoted. female, all astonished stood
the hosts
Of heaven, while Tharmas with winged speed flew
to the sandy shore. (141.11-14; E,845)

In these fragments the nature which Blake could have given to Tharmas after he was veiled by the veil of Vala is shown. The form which naturally occurred to Blake was that of the hermaphrodite. As Raine pointed out,¹⁰ in Tharmas's metamorphosis the fate of Ovid's Hermaphroditus, is clearly traced. On the other hand, what Blake tentatively invented deviates from Ovid's myth in that not only a female-male but also a male-female is created. In addition to Tharmas's metamorphosis, an equivalent metamorphosis on Enion's side is also indicated:

With printless feet scorning the concave of the
joyful sky
Female her form bright as the summer but the
parts of love
Male & her brow radiant as day. darted a lovely
scorn. (141.18-20; E,845)

Blake is not following Ovid's myth only. The behavioral pattern of fallen Tharmas and Enion overlaps with that of Adam and Eve after they eat

the forbidden fruit in Paradise Lost. Tharmas and Enion are drunk with self-admiration just as Adam and Eve are 'As with new Wine intoxicated' (IX.108). The fallen condition of Tharmas and Enion is more clearly marked by their overt sexuality. Just as Adam and Eve communicate their inflamed desire by casting lascivious eyes each other (IX.1013-15, 1034-6), so Enion darts 'a lovely scorn' at Tharmas and her message is clearly understood. A bizarre text on page 142, which testifies that Blake is not allowing only one form of hermaphroditism but that two are essential, unfolds an uncouth picture of their next action:

From Enion pours the seed of life & death in
all her limbs

Frozen in the womb of Tharmas rush the rivers of
Enions pain

Trembling he lay swelld with the deluge stifling
in the anguish. (142.8-10; E,846)

It is obvious that the sexes are exchanged between Tharmas and Enion and they are mingled in the hermaphroditic state. On the other hand, Blake still keeps in mind the possibility that Tharmas alone is metamorphosed and Enion becomes pregnant by their sexual union (142.6; E,845).

Blake had to give up the brilliant idea of giving Tharmas a hermaphroditic form because by the time he had decided to make a Preludium integrated into the whole poem, Tharmas was meant to be equal to Urizen, Luvah and Urthona. Tharmas's conversion

into a hermaphrodite would have spoiled the more important poetic scheme of the four Zoas, due to the imbalanced relationship between Tharmas and the other Zoas. Blake apparently avoided the confusion of paternity and maternity between Tharmas and Enion, together with the strange result that their offspring come from Tharmas's womb, because they are located at the beginning of the successive generation of other Zoas. Raine pointed out that the idea of hermaphroditism, which Blake could not ascribe to fallen Tharmas, passed onto the figure of Vala:¹¹ indeed the image of Vala enshrined in the Synagogue of Satan at the end of Night VIII of Vala/ The Four Zoas associates her with the hermaphroditic state (111.10-16; E,386). Its more explicit form is found in Milton, where Vala appears as Rahab Babylon in Satan's bosom; 'A Female hidden in a Male, Religion hidden in War' (40[46].20; E,141).¹² Yet, as previously discussed, the idea that Man becomes a hermaphrodite covered by the veil of Vala is crucially kept for the fundamental mythological structure of Jerusalem: it is Albion (or his fallen state, Albion's Spectre) who draws Vala into his bosom to be a 'dark Hermaphrodite' (64.25-31; E, 215).

* * *

The concept of the four Zoas becomes complete when Tharmas joins the other major characters. At

the same time, the power struggle between Urizen and Luvah begins to draw in the other two Zoas. The result is a loss of balance between the Zoas, which causes the Fall of Man. When the Preludium was expanded to be a Night I of 211 lines the Tharmas-Enion myth was also embedded in the wider context of Man's Fall, and given a much reduced responsibility for the Fall while being helplessly involved in the dire result.

The following is concerned with what was transcribed during stage 2. During this stage Blake kept to copperplate hand. The completion of this stage is marked by his line-numbering in pencil by hundreds. Accordingly, focus is on the lines which satisfy those conditions in Nights I and II. The lines transcribed and numbered during stage 2 were to a considerable extent retained, apart from a small number of lines and parts of the text erased and replaced by late additions. While the copperplate hand lines included in the 216 lines of Night II are distinguishable from the later additions written in pencil or the much smaller usual hand, the lines of Night I, particularly the first one hundred lines on pages 3-9, are difficult to identify. It is difficult to be definite about whether certain lines were transcribed during stage 2; which lines are later additions and should not be regarded as part of the text of this period; which lines (among deleted lines in the remaining manuscript) were deleted during this stage and

excluded from the text. As for the first point, Bentley and Erdman's detailed studies, distinguishing lines of the second stratum from the first, offer great help in establishing the basic text as it stood during stage 2.¹³ As for the second point, there is a clue which serves to determine the upper margins of the text during stage 2 (which are obscured by Blake's later additions, while the lower margins are more identifiable due to the designs which were drawn by this stage; also it is certain that lines had not yet spilt into right or left margins during this stage): while pages in Night I were numbered by Blake from 1 to 14, lines were almost certainly not written above the numeration. Although some figures are obscured they are still visible on the manuscript and mark the upper margins of the text during stage 2.¹⁴ The third point -- that is, more precisely, whether presently deleted lines on pages 6, 7 and 8¹⁵ (except diagonally stroked and circled lines on pages 6 and 7) were included or excluded from the line-numbering during stage 2 -- is the most difficult to settle. While the basic text on pages 6-8 was certainly transcribed during this stage, there is also reason to believe that the deleted lines were cancelled when Night I was finally collated with Night II. Why this should have been so will be made clear when the structural resemblance between Night I and Night II is discussed.

Bentley confirms that the present copperplate

hand text on page 3 of Vala/The Four Zoas replaced the original copperplate hand text (V/FZ [Bentley], p.3). Apart from the revision made in a different hand, the present text on page 3 was transcribed during stage 2. The first five lines of page 3, which originally began the poem and conveyed the keynote of this stage, are recovered by Erdman as follows:

This is the [Dirge]<Song> of [Eno]<Enitharmon>
which shook the heavens with wrath
And thus beginneth the Book of Vala which
Whosoever reads
If with his Intellect he comprehend the terrible
Sentence
The heavens [shall] quake: the earth [shall move]
[moves]<was moved> & [shudder][shudders]
<shudderd> & the mountains
With all their woods, the streams & valleys:
[wail]<waild> in dismal fear. (E,819)

The poem is initially called the dirge of Eno because it is an elegy for the ancient Man who died to the world of eternity. If there is any reason for anger and sorrow to be felt in the poem it is because of Man's death, since the dire harm is all inflicted upon his psychic members who suffer fragmentation, death and decay. (Man's psychic members are the four Zoas, although during stage 2 Blake's unique collective noun 'Zoas' had not yet occurred to him, as is confirmed in his early reference to them as 'Four Mighty Ones' [3.4; E,

300]). On the other hand, that the same anger and sorrow is gradually seen to die down, although the hypothesized cause remains intact (or is even aggravated), indicates that the anger and sorrow were incited by a different source. A shift in mood was brought to the original five lines when the following two lines were added:

[To hear]<Hearing> the [Sound]<march> of Long
resounding strong heroic verse
Marshall'd in order for the day of intellectual
battle. (E,819)

These lines were first added at the bottom of the original lines. As the numerals left in the margin indicate, however, they were later meant to be inserted after the third line, and eventually replaced all lines but the first. These three stages of the revision show that Blake's turbulent mind was gradually calmed down until sober confidence prevailed. That Blake's confidence chiefly rests on 'strong heroic verse', as well as that his concern is in the poem itself, indicate that the five lines were primarily concerned with the lament for the lost earliest version of the poem. Blake, who was anguished by the immense loss, wished readers to perceive how the collapse of the original poem divided the poet asunder and drove him in his divided condition into the plight of rebuilding the poem. The keynote of stage 2 is distinctly heard in these lines, that is the alternate wrath and sorrow for having lost what was meant to be so much. The

role of pursuing what is lost in despair and desperation and indicting the chief instigator is carried by Tharmas.¹⁶ (During stage 3 Blake recognizes this mental attitude as deriving from his own Spectrous pride and self-righteousness.)¹⁷ Blake's having rebuilt a more comprehensive myth of Fall and Judgment from the wreckage of the earliest version of the poem necessitated the transformation of those lines. The additional lines purged away the original overtones of lamentation, since Blake's increasing confidence was apparently incompatible with his initial anger and sorrow.

The expansion of the Preludium of Vala (or a self-contained myth of the Fall which was concluded on page 7 during stage 1) began when a mythological gap between the last two lines was filled. The lines in question are:

So saying he ...?fell ..into the restless sea

Round rolld? the ...globe self balanc'd. (E,822)

The first line is concerned with Tharmas's Fall by being immersed in watery nature. What is glimpsed next is the subsequent result, the Creation, the watery globe 'self balanc'd' which derives from the Creation scene in Paradise Lost (VII.242).¹⁸

Between the last two lines concerning the transition from the Fall to the Creation Enion is actively involved in weaving a woof of terror for nine days and nights. What she finally produces is given multiple images:

. . . the Circle of Destiny Complete

Round rolld the Sea Englobing in a watry

Globe self balancd

A Frowning Continent appeard Where Enion in
the desart

Terrified in her own Creation viewing her woven
shadow. (5.24-7; E,302-3)

The emergence of the Spectre is interwoven with the the formation of the watery globe and also the subsequent appearance of the continent in the ocean. This image of a rock remaining above the ocean later becomes the symbolic image of the fallen Man (Albion), or the Spectre. This is an image of despair, in that the previously glorious human form becomes now shrunk and opaque,¹⁹ hardened against the divine vision. On the other hand, the image still gives a minimal hope, in that a rock's remaining above the ocean without being swallowed by the waves indicates that existence is not yet lost. Probably Blake's association of the earth and rocks with the diabolic derives from Jacob Boehme's unique view on the nature of stones and earth, the harshness of which is to him alien to the spiritual world.²⁰ According to Boehme, after Lucifer fought with Michael he was spewed out of his habitation and it was simultaneously enkindled and coagulated into earth and stones.²¹ Blake depicts with a similar image Enion's inner landscape after she comes to herself from what is comparable to a hypnotic state. She soliloquizes how things within

her soul were externalized and lost their splendor: the phrase, 'Seas of Doubt [Trouble] & rocks of Repentance [sorrow]' (5.49; E,303) shows a strange mixture of a turbulent mind suffering a sense of the Fall alongside a vision of the desolate world into which the mind is plunged.

Enion's awareness of the fallen condition makes sharp contrast to Tharmas's euphoria about his beauty and also about his inborn knowledge of his power over the external world (1-6; E,820).²² As Blake has already indicated on page 141 (where the behaviour of fallen Tharmas and Enion resembles that of Adam and Eve after they eat the forbidden fruit in Paradise Lost), a sequence of Tharmas's actions (here Enion is exempted from the parallel) shows him as a distorted version of Adam: he is intoxicated with self-admiration, reproaches Enion about her sin, and rapes her. (Adam becomes drunk with the fruit [IX,1008-11], has sexual intercourse with Eve [IX,1017-45] and upbraids her when he realizes that the paradisaical state is completely lost [IX,1134-42; X,867-908]). Thus, Adam becomes, in terms of his behaviour pattern after the Fall, the model for the fallen Tharmas during stage 2. As for Enion, accused of sin and sexually assaulted, her metamorphosis, which has been held in check so far, also takes place. As Raine pointed out,²³ the 'Half Woman and half Spectre [Serpent]' (7.10; E,304) who soars above the ocean combines the images of the serpent carried off by the king of birds and

Hermaphroditus entwined with Salmacis. However, Enion's more direct association is with Milton's Sin, who is also both woman and serpent (Paradise Lost, II.650-9). Enion's plight of being expelled to non-entity is the fate of anyone who is branded sinful.

Los and Enitharmon are born as the children of Tharmas and Enion in Night I, whereas in Night II they were probably originally introduced into the poem as spirits snared and generated into Urizen's newly created world (30.53-5, 34.1-2; E,320,322). That the creation myth still continues in the birth of Los and Enitharmon in Night I can be traced in the identities of Time and Space (or the sun and the moon) given to them respectively (9.27-8; E,305). In Genesis the lights also appear in the firmament after the waters are gathered in one place and the dry land appears (the image of land which appears from the water overlaps with the emergence of the Spectrous Tharmas in Blake). A further parallel with Genesis can be traced in Enion's letting the rough rocks put forth plants, birds and animals after the birth of Los and Enitharmon (5-13; E,824). Regeneration in the poem had to begin with the expansion of the Vala Preludium, since this part, which was first composed after the collapse of the earliest version of poem, contained Blake's new perception in a concentrated form. The enormous driving force in the Preludium which began regenerating the poem is conspicuous in Blake's

extended study of it in the fragments on pages 141-2, where germs of many important ideas such as the veil of Vala, the four Zoas, the Spectre and hermaphroditism sprang. It was indeed a prolific stage in the composition, during which the various versions of the Fall of Man were conceived. Blake necessarily began to rework the poem by interweaving the Creation myth into the previously autonomous myth of the Fall of Tharmas and Enion. What must be discussed next, however, is how the original myth of the Fall coincided with the Creation in Night II, since Blake initially began the poem with this Night.

Night II shows the transition from the Fall to the Creation more clearly. As many critics have pointed out,²⁴ light is thrown upon it by its distinct echo with Paradise Lost, the Creation myth in Book VII in particular. The divine image of the Creator in the Paradise Lost, however, is reversed (or his nature exposed according to Blake's view which is made clear in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell [5; E,34-5]) to that of Urizen in Night II of Vala/The Four Zoas. The parallel between the action of the son of God and that of Urizen is seen from the very beginning of Night II: fallen Man's giving the sceptre to Urizen to create the world (23.2-10; E,313) is reminiscent of the son of God being ordained by his father to speak the omnific word in Paradise Lost (VII,163-73). Also, much like the

Creator in Paradise Lost (VII, 210-31), Urizen stands on the verge of non-existence and surveys the abyss (23.14-24.3; E,313-4), speaks the all-creating word (24.4-7; E,314) and divides the deep with golden compasses (28.31-2; E,318).²⁵ Blake's reversing Milton's holy image of the Creator to Urizen highlights the discrepancy between the two poets concerning how the Creation itself is perceived. In fact they share the more fundamental ground of how the Creation is located in the mythological perspective. Repugnant to both is the materialistic view that before the Creation all was chaos, the idea of which Blake regards as most pernicious (VLJ. 91; E,563). Before the difference in view on the Creation between Blake and Milton (particularly Blake's view on the Creation) is made clear, the simultaneity between the Fall and the Creation in Night II must be briefly reviewed. It reflects Blake's earliest view on the Fall of Man which is built upon his critical but imaginative interpretation of Paradise Lost.

In Night II of Vala the simultaneity between the Fall and the Creation is not only seen in the ways in which the Creation is preceded by Man's falling into the sleep of death but can also be glimpsed in a vision of the Fall contained in the Creation myth itself. Luvah cast into Urizen's furnaces to be melted and become subservient for the Creation (25.44, 28.3-10, 25-30; E,317-18) is a mythologized account of the psycho-dynamic battle

between Reason and Desire, the idea of which was first articulated in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell:

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.

(5; E,34-5)

Blake perceived in the battle between God/his Son and Satan in Paradise Lost the process by which Desire was cast out by Reason and damned as Sin until it was confined in Hell, which caused disorder on both a macrocosmic and microcosmic scale. The narrative in Paradise Lost, however, is not concluded here but continues until the banished Satan (Desire), metamorphosed into a furious serpent, brings down Man (Reason). Similarly in Vala, although Luvah is entirely suppressed by Urizen, he is generated to become fiery Orc. The expected scénario was that Orc, although destined to be chained down on a rock, should break his chains in due course and triumph over Urizen.

The Creation is, for Blake, part of the process of the Fall, whereas it is for Milton, all the more for its being preceded by Satan's Fall and expulsion from Heaven, the manifestation of the glory of God. Blake's ambivalent view on the

Creation can be traced in the progressive images of Urizen's newly created universe. While Urizen's creation is equated with a golden chain which 'bind(s) the body of Man to heaven from falling into the abyss' (33.16-17; E,322), Luvah (Prince of Love -- although fallen) is sacrificed to its formation, his Human Proportion transformed into Mathematical Proportion. Blake apparently associated Urizen's world with Egypt (the starry globes into which Luvah is transformed are seen as pyramids [28.25-29.2; E,318-19]; Vala appears as an Israelite female slave whose back is furrowed with whips for harsh labour [31.1-16; E,320-1]). This land of exile and suffering for the generated souls is later called Ulro (25.39; E,317). Urizen's created world is called (the title is a later addition) the Mundane Shell (24.8, 32.15; E,314, 321). This has both positive and negative connotations: for the individuals who are enclosed within it, it is a barrier to any adequate vision of the Eternity. Blake's later addition makes this point clear: the direct impact of Urizen's forming the shell is seen in people losing power of vision and starting to measure 'the course of that sulphur orb' (28.17-18; E,318). On the other hand, the regenerative potentiality of the Mundane Shell remains: in it captives can be hatched towards the world of eternity. In later additions (made during stage 4), the negative effect of the Creation is stressed, all the more because of Urizen's increased

responsibility for the Fall of Man: the Creation becomes the equivalent of generating Man (Albion), since the process of Creation involves drawing sun, moon, stars, peoples, and nations out of his mighty limbs (25.8-12; E,314).

Night II of Vala is further illuminated by another important parallel with the Creation myth in Paradise Lost: that is what is deliberately excluded from the Creation. In Paradise Lost the earth becomes globular while Satan is strictly confined in Hell and the 'black tartareous cold Infernal dregs' are also purged to the same place (VII.237-8). In Night II of Vala fallen Luvah is, instead of being banished, imprisoned in the created substance itself; Tharmas, fallen and threatening to Urizen's mathematical universe because of his immeasurability, is also kept outside of it (33.6-7; E,321); Enion, who is awakened from the fallen condition, is ironically the most typical exclusion of Urizen's creation. She is driven down to the non-entity, as punishment for having caused the Fall of Tharmas, the image of the archetypal Man. Just as the immaculate state of Paradise is brought down by Satan (the most conspicuous exclusion from Creation), so Urizen's golden heavens are also destined to be ruined by an external force. What turns out to be most threatening is Enion's laments from the abyss against the tyranny of Heaven/Head/Reason which preaches patience and prudence to the afflicted (35.16-19, 36.1-2; E,325) and God of which

is a punisher and revenger (36.3-13; E,325). That her lament estranges Ahania from Urizen -- an estrangement which results in the collapse of Urizen's created world -- is made clear in the additions made during stage 3 (36.14-19; E,325-6). When Urizen casts out Ahania, Tharmas billows over Urizen's created world and Luvah later issues forth as Orc.

The closeness between Nights I and II can be glimpsed in the fact that these Nights alone were numbered during stage 2 as well as that they were both labelled Night I.²⁶ Both unfold parallel myths of Fall and Creation. While entirely accepting the concurrence between them, Blake reworks in these 'Nights I' the Creation myth of Book VII of Paradise Lost, not as the manifestation of the glory of God as Milton presented it, but as an essential part of the Fall itself. The newly expanded myth of Fall and Creation in Night I would have made the already existed version of Night II almost redundant, unless focus on different Zoas in each Night were to make both Nights essential to the poem (Tharmas and Los/Urthona in Night I; Urizen and Luvah in Night II).²⁷ A sense that no substantial progress has been made from Night I to Night II can be attributed to the fundamentally parallel myths between them. When Blake numbered the lines in Nights I and II he also had to decide which lines should be finally admitted to the poem in order to make Night I compatible with

Night II. Blake redressed the repeated pattern of Fall to Creation in these Nights by removing from Night I the concrete images of the Creation which cannot be taken in a symbolic sense. Those images, such as the sea, the earth, the sky and the vegetations, are conspicuous in the deleted lines on pages 6 and 8.

Stage 3

The Myth in Flux: Four Zoas versus Spectre and Emanation

During stage 3 the idea of the four Zoas is elaborated towards perfection. The four Zoas (Tharmas, Urizen, Luvah, Urthona) are respectively assigned four points of the compass (West, South, East, North) and four elements (Water, Air, Fire, Earth); their eternal professions are fixed (blacksmith [the keeper of the gate of heaven], shepherd, farmer, cupbearer [wine grower]). The poem is structured around the general formula of the four Zoas: the power struggle between Urizen and Luvah (which is understood as the psychic battle between Reason and Desire) causes the loss of balance among the Zoas, each Zoa being generated to become a fallen elementary being. In the very process of the concept of the four Zoas being perfected, however, the Zoas outgrow their given status as psychic members of Man and begin to assume individuality. This shift in the nature of the Zoas is due to the mechanism of Man's Fall attributed to each Zoa's relationship with his Emanation rather than to the Zoic struggles. This hidden change of the nature of the Zoas is counterbalanced by an equivalent change on Man's side also. Man initially embodied Blake's whole cosmology, the three distinct regions of

which were given the name of human organs, Brain, Heart and Loins. Man's contact with his psychic members is (as is seen in his giving the sceptre to Urizen) minimal, since the poem was Man's dream of nine Nights where the real protagonists of the poem (the Zoas) fall and are generated until Man finally wakes and restores order. Man's superhuman status, however, begins to be shaken when Man himself is seduced by the Emanations of the Zoas. The idea that Man becomes enamoured with Vala, which is traced in Enitharmon's song of Vala in Night I (10.15-21; E, 305-6),¹ was first introduced into the poem during stage 2. This myth grew out of the Vala Preludium, the action of which (an archetypal male figure [Tharmas] being brought down to the sensible world by a female figure [Enion]) Blake recognized as more appropriately concerned with the Man and Vala.² Man's seduction by Vala is dramatically unfolded by Ahaniah in Night III. This Night must be first focused in this chapter, since the most comprehensive vision of the Fall in the first three Nights is crystallized in Night III. Night III is composed particularly with a view to providing a firm premise for Nights I and II, so that the same myth of Fall and Creation as in these Nights may be more securely accommodated in the poem. It is due to this more fundamental remedy that the lines on pages 6 and 8,³ which I believe were tentatively cancelled by Blake when he numbered lines in Nights I and II in pencil during stage 2, were considered for re-

admission into the poem. The relationship between the Zoa (Man) and his Emanation focused in Night III retrospectively transforms the myth of the Zoas and their Emanations in Night I. The subtle shifts made in the Tharmas and Enion myth and the Los and Enitharmon myth in Night I during stage 3 must be discussed in this context.

The end of stage 3 is marked by Blake's line-numbering in ink by fifties. Leaves were stitched together in two groups.⁴ The text of this period in the first group (pages 3-42 [except pages 19-22]) was generally transcribed in modified copperplate hand so that it could be harmoniously embedded within the copperplate hand text transcribed during stages 1 and 2. The second group (pages 43-84) consists of Night Thoughts proof sheets with text transcribed in Blake's usual hand.

It is between Night II and Night III (the original beginning of the poem and its subsequent part) that substantial narrative progress, which (due to the new beginning grafted onto the poem) was almost unrecognizable between Night I and Night II, is made. In Night III Urizen's kingship, which had reached its zenith with the perfection of the starry heavens in Night II, is overshadowed by his foreknowledge of the future. Urizen's obsession, betrayed to Ahanian, is that a boy who is to be born from the dark Ocean should bring him down and replace him (38.2-7; E,326). The idea is certainly rooted in the Lambeth books, America, in particular,

although this part of the poem was not transcribed during the earliest period since it is written in the modified copperplate hand.⁵ The boy whom Urizen dreads is Orc as he emerges from the Atlantic ocean in America (4<6>.7; E,53). The final encounter with the old enemy (Armageddon) in which Urizen foresees his defeat in Vala/The Four Zoas has been already glimpsed (although there it is presented as an encounter between Albion's Angel and Orc) in the post-1793 development of America (7<9>.3-7; E,53-4). In Vala/The Four Zoas, while exploring the dens of Urthona, Urizen (like Satan, in Paradise Lost, searching beyond Chaos and Night for the newly created world)⁶ is helplessly drawn towards Orc and the crucial encounter. As a sign of the Apocalypse Urizen's encounter with Orc was no less important than Orc's embrace of the shadowy female in the earliest structure of the poem. However, in both cases, although they still remain the central events in Nights VIIa and VIIb respectively, instead of the shadowy female's being awakened to a prelapsarian memory and Urizen's downfall, Orc loses the human form to be metamorphosed into a serpent (80.44, 93.24-6; E,356,365). Although it seems as though Urizen could not foresee the more immediate catastrophe of the collapse of his starry kingdom for the entirely unnecessary worries about encountering Orc in the future, the prophesy is substantiated, partly in Night VIIa and mostly in Night VIII. In Night VIIa before Orc is

metamorphosed into a serpent he astounds Urizen by revealing that the revolutionary fire he spread on earth was not life-giving but consuming because it was the stolen light of Urizen (80.39-40; E,356). Blake's strenuous effort to save what remains of Orc is more fulfilled in Night VIII. The culmination of Urizen's tyranny -- war during the day and religion during the night -- ends when he encounters the new Luvah, the Lamb of God clothed in Luvah's robe of blood (101.1-4; E,373).

Ahania's account of the Fall complements Urizen's knowledge since after giving the steeds of light to Luvah he fell into sleep while Man was smitten by Luvah. This is her vision:

The Darkning Man walkd on the steps of fire
before his halls
And Vala walkd with him in dreams of soft
deluding slumber
He looked up & saw thee Prince of Light thy
splendor faded
But saw not Los nor Enitharmon for Luvah hid
them in shadow
In a soft cloud Outstretch'd across, & Luvah
dwelt in the cloud
Then Man ascended mourning into the splendors
splendors of his palace
Above him rose a Shadow from his wearied
intellect
Of living gold, pure, perfect, holy; in white

linen pure he hover'd

A sweet entrancing self delusion, a watery
vision of Man

Soft exulting in existence all the Man
absorbing (39.15-40.6; E,327)

A great deal of the ambiguity of Ahania's vision can be attributed to the lack of identification of the watery shadow which had risen from Man. Critics have hypothesized that the shadow is either Urizen or Luvah.⁷ That the shadow is Urizen may be inferred from its rising from Man's wearied intellect. The conspicuous sensuality of the shadow, however, results from the absence of Urizen's function rather than his enhanced power. Luvah, who has already obtained the steeds of light from Urizen and usurped the brain, is much closer to the volatile disposition of the shadow. Nevertheless, Luvah, hidden in the cloud, rather than being identified with the shadow, is a malicious watcher of Man's disintegration. The voluptuousness and femininity of the shadow is more strongly associated with Vala. The following lines give a hint that Man's worshipping of the shadow is simultaneous with his succumbing to Vala's charm:

Man fell upon his face prostrate before the watry
shadow

Saying O Lord whence is this change thou knowest
I am nothing

And Vala trembled & coverd her face, & her locks.
were spread on the pavement. (40.7-9; E,327)

Man's tribute to the shadow soon after his submission is interrupted by Vala's reaction and by Ahania's agitation about what she saw (40.10-13; E, 327). A series of illustrations of a highly sensual nature accompanying Night III also suggest that Man's paying tribute to the shadow is simultaneous with his having a sexual relationship with her. Nevertheless, the shadow, which issued from Man, is made separate from Vala. The shadow is not identified with any of the Zoas or their Emanations, but can be taken as Man's own Emanation.

That Ahania's account shows the mechanism of Man's Fall -- the power struggle within his psychic members and his disintegration -- is demonstrated by the following. Man, who is the living cosmic human principle and whose body contains Blake's three regions as well as the Zoas cannot, in theory, have his own Emanation, since outside of his body nothing could exist. However, his equivalent, Albion (since this name virtually replaces 'Man' after the fourth stage of composition)⁸ has his own Emanation -- an idea emphasized on the title page of Jerusalem, 'The Emanation of the Giant Albion'. In fact, one of the largest transpositions from Vala/The Four Zoas to Jerusalem is Ahania's account of the Fall: it is repeated (with minor alterations) by the Spectre of Los and his Emanation in chapter II of Jerusalem (43[29].33-80; E,192-3). Within the same chapter there exists an almost self-contained myth which directly depicts Albion's Fall⁹ and thus casts

light on the shadow's nature.

No sooner has Albion turned his back on the Divine Vision than the Hermaphroditic Chaos appears before him (J, 29[33].1-2; E,175). What emerges from it is Albion's Spectre and his Emanation. The Spectre -- who is Luvah raging as a result of being cast into Urizen's furnaces according to the Spectre of Los (J.7.30-41; E,150) -- does not surprise Albion, as his fallen self is almost assimilated to the Spectre. Albion is far more agitated when he sees his Emanation (Vala),¹⁰ as he says to her:

Whence camest thou! who are thou O loveliest?

the Divine Vision

Is as nothing before thee, faded is all life

and joy. (J. 29[33].33-5; E,175)

Albion's elevating his Emanation to the divine sphere is reminiscent of Man's paying tribute to his own shadow (V/FZ, 40.7-8,13-18; E,327). A notable difference between them, however, is that Albion knows that what emerged before him is not the Lord and tries to identify what it is, whereas Man accepts his own shadow as the Lord immediately. Exposed to Albion's scrutinizing eyes, Vala claims exclusive divinity and power, although in reality she is nothing but the shadow of Jerusalem (J, 29 [33].48-30[34].1; E,176). Albion responds to Vala as though his unfallen part knows from past experience that the encounter could be fatal to him. The collation of the two episodes in Vala/The Four Zoas (Man succumbing to his own shadow in Ahania's

vision) and Jerusalem (Albion overwhelmed by his Spectre [Luvah] and Emanation [Vala]) indicates that the shadow is akin to Luvah and Vala. The shadow can even be seen as identical with Luvah and Vala, not in their form of Zoa and Emanation (as in Vala/The Four Zoas), but (as in Jerusalem) as Albion's (Man's) Spectre and Emanation. Nevertheless, what must be noted is that when Ahania's vision was composed Blake had not yet fully developed the hermaphroditic nature of the shadow, although the earliest sign was already present in Luvah's active involvement in Man's Fall which is juxtaposed with Vala's seduction of Man. At this stage Man's self-disintegration was, like that of the Zoas, expressed in terms of his division from his Emanation. The additional separation of the Spectre from what has already become Spectrous by losing its Emanation is a later development, the earliest sign of which can be seen in Los's further division in Night IV.

The shadow is associated with Man's Emanation, partly because Urizen refers to his own experience of having produced a similar watery image (his Emanation) in his condemnation of Ahania. Ahania's vision reminds Urizen of one hot noon when he fell into sleep by a sluggish current in a dark cavern:

I laid my head in the hot noon after the broken
clods

Had wearied me. there I laid my plow & there my
horses fed

And thou hast risen with thy moist locks into a

watery image

Reflecting all my indolence my weakness & my
death

To weigh me down beneath the grave into non

Entity. (43.15-19; E,329)

The hour of noon, which is related in terms of seasons to the summer when flowers of Beulah melt and die, marks the crucial transition in Blake. Vala was, according to the shadow of Enitharmon, 'the lilly of the desert. melting in high noon' (83.8; E,358) when Man succumbed to her charm. While Urizen's pride was impaired when Ahania's knowledge surpassed his (42.19-20; E,328), what outraged Urizen more was that the watery image of Ahania is associated with the shadow which rose from Man's brain and marked his Fall. Urizen's condemnation ('Wherefore hast thou taken that fair form / Whence is this power given to thee!' [43.11-12; E,329]) is directed not so much towards Ahania's sibylline receptivity as towards the collective sin of the Emanation who enslaved Man to the sensible world.

Man's Fall as a result of his shadow being externalized merges in Blake's mind with Urizen's primary Fall resulting from his internal self-division. This is confirmed by Urizen's rebuke of Ahania (43.14-16; E,329), which is partly repeated in Albion's speech to Vala (J, 30.12; E,176). Urizen's primary Fall as well as Man's Fall, which are narrated respectively through Urizen's memory and Ahania's vision, are embedded in the present

crisis between Urizen and Ahania. The following is Urizen's condemnation of Ahania which becomes the keynote of the Spectrous Zoa's accusation of his Emanation:

. . . . Art thou also become like Vala. thus
I cast thee out
Shall the feminine indolent bliss. the indulgent
self of weariness
The passive idle sleep the enormous night &
darkness of Death
Set herself up to give her laws to the active
masculine virtue
Thou little diminutive portion that darst be
counterpart
Thy passivity thy laws of obedience & insincerity
Are my abhorrence. (43.5-11; E, 328-9)

The disintegration of Man (or Urizen) as a result of losing his Emanation is not an isolated phenomenon: it is firmly embedded in the fatal split between Urizen and Ahania, whose experience is shared by the rest of the Zoas. There is evidence which indicates that Blake attempted to make the Tharmas-Enion myth and the Los-Enitharmon myth in Night I almost contemporaneous with Man's Fall. Ahania reports that Man hears Enion's name called soon after he turns his back on Vala (41.11; E, 328). What is indicated by Man's hearing Tharmas's desperate cry for Enion is that a series of events, from Tharmas's Fall to Enion's being driven into non-entity, is simultaneous with Man's Fall the details of which

were witnessed by Ahania. Fallen Tharmas, who is regarded as the prototype of the Spectre in terms of his pride and aggressiveness towards his Emanation, makes a speech which is congruent with Urizen's accusation of Ahania. Tharmas says to Enion:

. . . Who art thou Diminutive husk & shell
If thou hast sinnd & art polluted know that I
am pure
And unpolluted & will bring to rigid strict account
All thy past deeds. (6.9-12; E,303)

During stage 2 Tharmas was assigned a different speech. The following is the recoverable part of what has been replaced by the above:

Art thou not my slave & shalt thou dare
To smite me with thy tongue beware lest I sting
also thee. (E,821)

While both of Tharmas's accusations are equally abusive, the former focuses more sharply on the dichotomies between which Tharmas and Enion are split (unpolluted, polluted; purity, sin). Also Tharmas's regarding Enion as a 'Diminutive husk & shell' echoes Urizen's calling Ahania 'little diminutive portion' (43.9; E,329). Enion and Ahania are cursed as husk and shell, which are exactly what should be winnowed into the sea of Tharmas by the Judgement (134.1-4; E,402).

Los and Enitharmon, who are generated offspring of Tharmas and Enion,¹¹ belong to this phase of the Creation rather than being directly

involved in Man's Fall. They are, nevertheless, included in Ahania's vision as the witnesses of Man's Fall (39.18; E,327). Also, as two children who saw the event, they are graphically present on page 39. Although there are signs that Blake tentatively removed from Ahania's vision a line which shows Los and Enitharmon as witnesses of Man's Fall, the line was left without emendation for both Vala/The Four Zoas and Jerusalem, though for different reasons in each. In Vala/The Four Zoas Los and Enitharmon are the Zoa and Emanation responsible for the Fall of Man. In Jerusalem Los (in the form of the Spectre of Urthona) and Enitharmon are those who escape the catastrophe and remain potential to occasion regeneration. Enitharmon has already unfolded what she saw about Man's Fall in her song of Vala in Night I (10.10-11.2; E,305-6). There are signs that the tension between Los and Enitharmon caused by Enitharmon's song of Vala (transcribed during stage 2) is aggravated in accordance with the crucial split between Urizen and Ahania caused by Ahania's similar vision of the Fall (transcribed during stage 3).

During stage 2 Enitharmon sings her song of Vala in her comparatively moderate rivalry with Los. Los and Enitharmon are presented as (respectively) Time and Space, the former controlling 'the times & seasons, & the days & years' while the latter controls 'the spaces, regions, desert, flood & forest' (9.27-8; E,305). Enitharmon's song of Vala,

triggered by Los's assumption of superiority in naming her (9.35; E,305), is subversive:

The Fallen [Eternal] Man takes his repose: Urizen
sleeps in the porch

Luvah and Vala woke & flew up from the Human Heart
Into the Brain; from thence upon the pillow Vala
slumber'd.

And Luvah siezd the Horses of Light, & rose into
the Chariot of Day

Sweet laughter siezd me in my sleep! silent &
close I laughd

For in the visions of Vala I walkd with the
mighty Fallen One

I heard his voice among the branches, & among
sweet flowers.

Why is the light of Enitharmon [Vala] darken'd in
dewy morn

Why is the silence of Enitharmon a terror [Vala
lightning] & her smile a whirlwind

Uttering this darkness in my halls, in the pillars
of my Holy-ones

Why dost thou weep as [O] Vala? wet thy veil with
dewy tears.

In slumbers of my night-repose, infusing a false
morning ?

.

I have refusd to look upon the Universal Vision

And wilt thou slay with death him who devotes

himself to thee. (10.10-11.24; E,305-6)¹²

Luvah's surpassing the power of Urizen is an

allegory of the Heart's exceeding the power of the Head.¹³ This usurpation myth of Luvah having seized Urizen's horses of light and risen to the zenith is illustrated by Milton O. Percival by means of an astrological image: the moon, which is emblematic of man's feminine or emotional life, in the first quarter reaches the zenith when the sun, man's masculine or mental life, sets in the west.¹⁴ The ascendancy of Luvah's moon over Urizen's sun is what Enitharmon (whose emblem is also the moon) ambitiously invokes for her dominion over Los (the sun). This usurpation myth of Luvah is further combined with Man's being smitten by Vala's beauty. Vala is, in this context, regarded as the Queen of the sublunary world rather than Luvah's Emanation. Man's succumbing to her charm signifies his leaving the spiritual domain (masculine) to enter the dualistic outward world (feminine). Man, more precisely, has entered the land of Beulah, the land of the moon and also the land of marriage where man becomes sick in love.¹⁵ Man's submission to Vala is for Enitharmon another crowning image of the rule of the feminine over the masculine.

The tension between Los and Enitharmon created by Enitharmon's song of Vala becomes aggravated during stage 3 in accordance with the fatal split between Urizen and Ahaniah triggered by Ahaniah's similar vision of Man's Fall. Enitharmon, who laughs in her sleep when she sees Luvah risen to the zenith on Urizen's steeds of light (10.14; E,305), is

identical with Enitharmon in Europe who similarly laughs at the end of her eighteen hundred years' sleep to see woman's triumph (12<14>.25; E,64). Thus Enitharmon, who assumed her role of sublunary Queen in Europe, becomes identical with Vala. During stage 3 Enitharmon's song, in which she sings about herself as the seducer of Man, is aimed at dividing Los with jealousy and drowning his masculine spirituality. In response to Enitharmon's subversive song, Los reverses her song in detail during stage 2: he highlights Vala's unhappiness without Luvah (11.8-9; E,306); Luvah is found in the Gardens of Vala (the moony space of Beulah or the Heart) instead of aggressively running Urizen's steeds of light (11.12-13; E,306); the rule of the Brain (over the Heart) is stressed (11.15-17; E,306). It is on this last point that Los's words are particularly close to Urizen's curse of Ahania. Los says to Enitharmon:

Tho in the Brain of Man we live, & in his
circling Nerves.

Tho' this bright world of all our joy is in the
Human Brain.

Where Urizen & all his Hosts hang their immortal
lamps

Thou neer shalt leave this cold expanse where
watery Tharmas mourns. (11.15-18; E,306)

The underlined part of the lines is revised in the modified copperplate hand during stage 3 to change the meaning. In the original text (during stage 2)

by 'we' and 'our' Blake intended Los and Enitharmon (there is nobody but them who can be referred to), but in the revision Enitharmon is deliberately excluded. The place which is designed for her is 'this cold expanse', the seas of Tharmas, into which husk and shell are driven for annihilation in the Judgement. Los's attribution of absolute authority to Urizen drew him down to the subsequent nuptial of Los and Enitharmon during stage 2, whereas Enitharmon's invocation of Urizen (11.20-1, 23-4; E,306), which is transcribed in the modified copperplate hand, is apparently a later addition of stage 3: although Los offers full support to Urizen's authority, Enitharmon proves that Urizen is not Los's ally but hers (indeed during stage 4 Los has to fiercely defy Urizen's hypocrisy and his ambition to dominate Jerusalem/Enitharmon).¹⁶

In the transformations of the Tharmas-Enion myth and the Los-Enitharmon myth a change in the concept of the Zoas can be observed. Rather than remaining Man's psychic members, the Zoas are turned into Man's fellow beings: they begin to assume individual qualities and experience the Fall in just the same way as Man in terms of their acrimonious relationship with their Emanations. Blake's evolving account of the Fall is recapitulated in Ahania's vision. One after another this features: Urizen and Luvah (as the power struggle between Reason and Desire); Vala (the seducer of Man); all the Zoas (whose disintegration due to their fatal separation

from their Emanations causes Man's Fall), and Man (in whose self-division, by the splitting off of his shadow, the overall effect is seen). During stage 3 the account of Man's Fall has already begun to dispense with the intricate allegory of his psyche, although it is still superimposed on the account in a supplementary way. What has become more dominant than the allegory of Man's psyche is the Fall of the Zoas as well as of Man: that is, Man falls by being divided from his Emanation.¹⁷ The crucial separation between Man and his Emanation is simultaneous with the polarization of all the contraries. The separation between Luvah and Vala which concludes Ahania's vision of the Fall illustrates this point well. Being cursed by Man, Luvah and Vala are driven down from the Brain, first to the Heart, and then to the Loins. Their Fall is complete when 'the vast form of Nature like a Serpent roll'd between' them (42.17; E,328). This serpent which divides Luvah from Vala mirrors the transformed image of Luvah himself (a narrow doleful form which creeps on the ground [42.2-5; E,328]). The meaning of Luvah's transformation from Prince of Love to serpent (and the equivalent change in Vala's perception of Luvah) becomes clear when the significance of the design of a cupid and serpent on page 4 of Vala/The Four Zoas is understood. Raine deciphered the design's meaning as 'the double aspect of love' basing her view on Apuleius's myth of Cupid and Psyche:¹⁸ the bridegroom whom Psyche

married was the beautiful God of Love, whereas in an oracle he had been described as a winged viper. To the eyes of experience -- apparent in Vala, who can no longer recognize Luvah and calls him 'the Tempter' (43.20-1; E,329) -- the twofold vision is lost and 'the Prince of Love' appears as a defiling serpent.¹⁹ Ahania's vision of the Fall carries the message that the concept of love was transformed in the separation of the contraries. When the most comprehensive myth of the Fall was crystallized in Ahania's vision, Blake stitched those 42 pages together and kept them separate from the rest.

* * *

Pages 43-84 (which include Nights III [the last two leaves], IV, V, VI and VIIa [the first four leaves]) are the second group of writings which were transcribed during stage 3. In the preliminary argument the reasons why those pages are understood as having been transcribed during stage 3 are detailed (pp.102-105). The following points can be added to support the argument. First, while those pages best show the canonical idea of the four Zoas,²⁰ they also contain the anomalies which become the germ for the necessary development during the next stage, 4.²¹ Secondly, the myth in pages 43-84 (in its first transcription before any alteration or addition) has not yet been exposed to the sweeping change in Blake's cosmology which is characteristic

of stage 4.²² The change in the poetic idiom during stage 4, which can be seen in the introduction of such names as Albion, the Council of God, Jesus, the daughters of Beulah, signifies that Blake's whole cosmology, which was embodied in the Eternal Man until stage 3, has been swept away; during stage 4 Man himself becomes part of the cosmos and is expelled from Eternity to Beulah, and then further to Ulro, whereas these three regions previously belonged to him as they were called respectively Head, Heart and Loins. However, when Man ceased to be the universal principle of the whole cosmos (which is the very sign of Man's fallen state) the existence of the external beings came to be possible. These beings stay away from the malign influence propagated by Man and protect what remains divine within him.²³

The text from page 43 onwards (except pp.87-90 on the Edward and Elenor print) is all transcribed on Night Thoughts proof sheets. Though the designs were originally made and engraved for Young's Night Thoughts, after the project was abandoned the meanings of those engraved designs were revised in the context of Vala/The Four Zoas. For instance, benevolent Death in Young's Night Thoughts on page 43 shows Urizen unfolding his scroll to declare his law to the Eternals in The Book of Urizen. Urizen's subsequent Fall spurned by the Eternals in The Book of Urizen, in the context of Vala/The Four Zoas is associated with his Fall as a result of accusing

Ahania of sin and casting her out. Pages 43-84 (which were once stitched together) begin with the design of Death/Urizen, appropriately, as the narrative structure of those pages is clearly indebted to The Book of Urizen.

Night III is not concluded until the loss of Ahania recoils upon Urizen and results in the collapse of his universe and his own Fall. This is the scene:

A crash ran thro the immense The bounds of Destiny
were broken

The bounds of Destiny crashd direful & the
swelling Sea

Burst from its bonds in whirlpools fierce roaring
with Human voice

Triumphing even to the Stars at bright Ahania's
fall. (43.27-30; E, 329)

Although what is burst simultaneously with Ahania's Fall is obscured by Blake's repetition of 'the bounds of Destiny', its association with Urizen's starry heavens (the work of Creation) being overwhelmed by the sea of Tharmas (image of the abyss) derives from its reversal -- the abyss overcome at the Creation -- of Book VII of Paradise Lost: the abyss -- like the sea -- is immeasurable and outrageous, threatening to 'assault / Heaven's highth, and with the Centre mix the Pole' (VII.214-15). The sea of Tharmas is to some extent shown in terms of this abyss, the power of which, checked at the time of the Creation, reasserts its territorial

claim when the intruder's control is slackened.

Even more remarkable than the collapse of Urizen's starry heavens is Tharmas's subsequent resurrection. The image of rattling bones joining together struggling for life derives from Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones (Ezekiel, 37.7-10). While this vision first served for the spiritual awakening in America (6<8>.2-5; E,53), its glory soon faded away when the resurrection turned out to be that of the natural man,²⁴ who is in dire opposition to the spiritual man. The origin of Blake's Spectre is found here: it is the ghost (the unreal man) who revived from death. This natural man's resurrection from the grave is for Blake synonymous with man's being born into the sensible world.²⁵ Tharmas's case illustrates this well: he is resurrected into this world after his death to the eternal world, with his infinite organs bound to finite form. His stamping the nether abyss and rearing up his hands (right hand in the design on page 44)²⁶ in his struggle to take a human form particularly resemble Urizen's being bound to the corporeal body (55.6-8; E,337). Despair and sorrow are dominant in Tharmas's resurrection because it is the process of his being generated into the sensible world. The Tharmas who undergoes the suffering of generation is no longer a Zoa: he has temporarily returned to his initial status of archetypal man as in the Vala Preludium. Indeed, although Tharmas's reappearance at the end of Night III is abrupt

without any direct link to the previous narrative, it is Man who is properly generated in the hyllic world, since the bounds of Destiny (Urizen's starry heavens -- the golden chain), which kept him from falling into the abyss (33.16-17; E,322), are broken (43.27-8; E,329). Tharmas's resurrection/birth as the Spectre at the end of Night III thematically follows the scene in which Tharmas (the archetypal figure) is lost into the watery world in Night I (5.25; E,302), exactly where the Vala Preludium came to an end. The two narratives -- that is Tharmas's falling into the watery world in Night I and his appearance as the Spectre in Night III -- frame Nights I, II and III with a myth of the Fall, functioning as Ahania's vision once did.

Tharmas's resurrection as the Spectre from the sea of hyle at the end of Night III, in the mythological perspective, repeats his being generated by Enion into the Spectre in Night I. The implication of Tharmas's renewed sorrow about his Fall and wrath towards Enion (44.23-45.8; E,330), and also Enion's fresh remorse for her aggression towards Tharmas and her entreaty to him not to destroy her in his fury (45.16-26; E,330), cannot be fully appreciated unless the imminence of Tharmas's Fall in Night III is perceived. Tharmas's Fall is, however, repeated in Night III as though to compensate for his past gross errors (that is his sexual as well as verbal abuse of Enion in Night I). Indeed the Spectre of Tharmas after the resurrection

in Night III is apparently different from the cruelly aggressive Tharmas of Night I. The difference is indicated by their attitudes after the Fall -- the former, mournful and outraged but still pitiful towards Enion; the latter intoxicated, narcissistic and aggressive towards her. Unfallen Tharmas in Night III (whom Ault calls 'Spectreless Tharmas')²⁷ pities Enion, who is driven by his Spectre to non-entity. What Enion once uttered as a sign of deep regret ('What have I done!' [5.44; E, 303]) is echoed piteously by this renewed Tharmas (45.29; E, 330).

The rift in Tharmas's personality -- due to a newly emerged unfallen entity grafted onto the old fallen Spectrous self -- characterizes him in Night IV. The meaning of the sudden appearance of the unfallen part of Tharmas in Night III is mythologized in Night IV. The change in Tharmas's fallen state (seen in the emergence of his unfallen part) is precisely reflected in Los in terms of the change in his fallen condition in Night IV.

Since Night III ends with the collapse of Urizen's work of Creation, which coincides with his Fall and also Tharmas's Fall (since Tharmas's resurrection -- waking death -- is synonymous with his birth into the sensible world after his death to the eternal world), it is no wonder that after the Fall another creation myth ensues in Night IV. The myth has virtually returned to the stage of Night I, giving the impression that the narrative

has made no progress. Night IV begins with the emergence of Los and Enitharmon. They appear as though they are born again so that a new creation myth begins afresh.²⁸ Tharmas's appearance as the Spectre, his subsequent rape of Enion and the resultant birth of Los and Enitharmon in Night I, which undoubtedly remain important parts of the myth, can all be thought of as part of the same cycle of events. Indeed, there is a hint that Los and Enitharmon in Night IV are not exactly the same as those born to Enion in Night I. Los is a more luminous existence than he used to be. Moreover, as is becoming clear, at this stage Enitharmon is not separate from Los either. What begins in Night IV is another creation myth, a myth which is analogous to the geophysical evolution of Los as the sun, Urizen as the earth and Enitharmon as the moon in The Book of Urizen.²⁹

In The Book of Urizen first Urizen is rent from Los's side (6.4; E,74) then Enitharmon further divides from Los when he pities Urizen's death-image (13.48-18.12; E,77-8). In Vala/The Four Zoas, on the other hand, it is Tharmas who snatches Enitharmon away from Los and thereby occasions Los's division. Though this division of Los is similar to his break-up as described as in The Book of Urizen, the conspicuous difference from the original myth is that Los, in the context of Vala/The Four Zoas, is already fallen before the division takes place since he is the generated form of Urthona. It is here that

Tharmas, although he is the prototype of the Spectre, lets us glimpse his unfallen aspect. Tharmas's alternate wrath and pity towards Los, who claims Urizen as king and regards Urthona as his own shadow (48.15-20; E,332),³⁰ reflects Blake's own concern towards Los's fallen condition:

. . . . he reard his waves above the head of Los
In wrath. but pitying back withdrew with many a
sigh

Now he resolv'd to destroy Los & now his tears
flow'd down. (48.22-4; E,332)

Leaving Los fallen and spectrous would have meant, for Blake, destroying Los: this, although Los was the fallen form of Urthona, Blake was unwilling to do. Los's fallen condition, in my view, begins to be remedied when Tharmas takes Enitharmon away from Los's side and thereby makes the Spectre of Urthona separate from him.

This may seem at first paradoxical, since Los's division -- that is the separation of the Spectre from Los which coincides with Los's losing his Emanation -- becomes the prototype of Los's disintegration in Milton (3.28-36; E,97)³¹ and Jerusalem (5.66-6.7; E,148-9). Indeed, Blake launched in these poems such an uncompromising campaign against the natural man -- the spectrous state of the man -- that the relationship between Los and the Spectre of Urthona in Night IV of Vala/ The Four Zoas tends to be understood in terms of Blake's final (negative) view on the Spectre.³²

However, from the perspective of Blake's evolving myth, Los's division in Night IV (anomalous, in that Los, already the generated form of Urthona, further externalizes an aspect of himself in the Spectre) is Blake's earliest attempt to solve the dilemma of The Book of Urizen. There, Los completely loses his integrity as a result of being divided from Enitharmon as well as Urizen. The design for page 49 of Vala/The Four Zoas (which was initially drawn for Young's Night Thoughts) can be associated with Los's complete disintegration: a man is stretched lifeless on the rock while a woman at his left side appears as though she has issued from him (her loins are still attached to the man, and her apparel is part of his). Also noteworthy is a serpent which coils around the man. That part of the serpent's body is attached to the man's left side hints that the serpent also came into being when the female figure divided from the man. The serpent, the vigor of which presents a sharp contrast to the man's lifelessness, can be regarded as the activated form of the fallen man whose humanity is lifeless on the rock: his five senses are entirely shrunk until his human proportion is lost to the reptilian, even phallic form.³³

Los's externalization of the Spectre of Urthona in Night IV of Vala/The Four Zoas is to some extent foreshadowed in Urizen's being rent from Los, which precedes Enitharmon's separation from him in The Book of Urizen. The Spectre of Urthona in Night

IV, however, functions as the mechanism which restores the unfallen part to Los. The Spectre of Urthona is given a grotesque exterior (49.11-14; E,333). He is also assigned a task appropriate for the Spectre: that is, to provide Los and Enitharmon with a resting place (his rocks) in the middle of the waves (51.7-9; E,334). This rock above waves is the exact image of the Spectre (see page 141). He, nevertheless, recognizes Tharmas as the Spectre and retains a crucial prelapsarian memory of the Fall. Los, on the contrary, remains oblivious and can recognize neither his own fallen state nor Tharmas. The Spectre of Urthona's inspired aspect is particularly shown in his diagnosis of Tharmas as the Spectre in his address to Tharmas. It gives a hint that Blake's inspired part (first glimpsed in the resurrected Tharmas in Night III and now taken over by the Spectre of Urthona) is objectifying his past fallen condition as Tharmas. The Spectre of Urthona begins his address to Tharmas thus:

Tharmas I know thee. how are we alterd our beauty
decayd

But still I know thee tho in this horrible ruin
whelmd

Thou once the mildest son of heaven art now become
a Rage

A terror to all living things. think not that I
am ignorant

That thou art risen from the dead or that my
power forgot.

(49.27-31; E,333)

The Spectre of Urthona's speech primarily functions as raising his status (which has been that of Tharmas's generated son) to Tharmas's equal. The Spectre of Urthona's explanation of why he, Los and Enitharmon were born to Tharmas and Enion completes the account of how a Zoa and Emanation are born to their equals. The Spectre of Urthona attributes the origin of Los's externalization of the Spectre and Emanation to his own prior division in the world of eternity. Behind these points, however, the true purpose of the narrative lies hidden, to reveal the Spectre of Urthona's thorough knowledge of Tharmas from the prelapsarian to the present fallen condition. Tharmas's complete transformation is summarized as from 'the mildest son of heaven' to 'a Rage / A terror to all living things' (49.29-30; E,333). The Spectre of Urthona's subsequent narrative details the course Tharmas takes between these two states. Tharmas first fled from the battle in Eternity, completely terrified, becoming the terror himself and terrifying all around him (50.3-6; E,333). While Urthona's disintegration is directly attributed to his sons having departed from him to join the battle (the departure of the sons indicating Urthona's loss of divine integrity and power), that his Fall is induced by that of Tharmas becomes clear in the following. (The Spectre of Urthona speaks to Tharmas):

. I beheld thee rotting upon the Rocks
I pitying hoverd over thee I protected thy ghastly

corse

From Vultures of the deep. (50.24-6; E,334)

The kinship (or at least unusual closeness) between the Spectre of Urthona and Tharmas is shown in the former's hovering over the latter's corpse, an image of the soul haunting the body. The idea of the soul's hovering over the dead body (the former given a female form and the latter a male form) is visually present in Blake's design for Blair's Grave.³⁴ Also, a female figure protecting a dead male on the desolate rock from a bird of prey -- apparently the same motif of the soul attending the dead body -- is one of the full-plate illustrations for Milton (Bindman, 451). In Tharmas's response to the Spectre of Urthona, that the former was closely united with the latter until the separation occasioned by the Fall is confirmed, as he says; 'Art thou Urthona My friend my old companion / With whom I livd in happiness before that deadly night' (50.28-9; E,334).

The impression that fallen Tharmas embodies Urthona's own fallen part -- in other words Urthona/Blake³⁵ is diagnosing his own Spectre in his address to Tharmas -- becomes stronger when the Spectre of Urthona's account of the Fall is collated with its transformed version. In the nativity song for Orc the demons of the deep first highlight Luvah and Vala's responsibility for Man's Fall³⁶ (by so doing they hint that the birth of Luvah and Vala to Los and Enitharmon is the punishment for

their sin); then the impact of Man's Fall on Urthona is narrated. In the following account of Urthona's division and Fall Tharmas, who has served as the vehicle to carry Urthona/Blake's fallen part, is no more:

...dark Urthona wept in torment of the secret pain
He wept & he divided & he laid his gloomy head
Down on the Rock of Eternity on darkness of the deep
Torn by black storms & ceaseless torrents of
 consuming fire
Within his breast his fiery sons chained down &
 filld with cursings
And breathing terrible blood & vengeance gnashing
 his teeth with pain
Let loose the Enormous Spirit in the darkness of
 the deep
And his dark wife that once fair crystal form
 divinely clear
Within his ribs producing serpents whose souls are
 flames of fire. (59.8-16; E,340)

In this diabolic version of Urthona's Fall it is not Tharmas but fallen Urthona who lays his head on the rock of eternity. While Urthona's sons previously manifested his divine power and integrity (and thus their departure from him triggered his disintegration) here Urthona's loss of integrity is expressed by means of his sons' complete transformation. They are transformed into vipers, hissing and emitting venom while chained in Urthona's breast. A similar transformation can be

observed in Urthona's wife (Emanation). Whereas she used to be a 'fair crystal form / divinely clear', she develops fiery serpents while still remaining in Urthona's ribs. The Spectre of Urthona is referred to as 'the Enormous Spirit' who is released into the air and made separate from the one who laid his body on the rock of eternity. In the Spectre of Urthona's own account of Urthona's crucial division he similarly issued (from Enion's nostrils) into the air (50.21-3; E,333-4).

The impression that the Spectre of Urthona is diagnosing his own spectrous condition in his address to Tharmas can be further attributed to its subtle link to the dialogue between Los and his Spectre in chapter 1 of Jerusalem. Indeed, while in Vala/The Four Zoas the Spectre of Urthona speaks to Tharmas in a more friendly voice (since Tharmas, who embodies Urthona/Blake's fallen condition, is beneficent in having retained the fallen self), in Jerusalem, Los and his Spectre -- the former forgiving and the latter vengeful -- debate fiercely about Los's mental attitude towards Albion. In spite of the difference between the Spectre of Urthona's address to Tharmas in Vala/The Four Zoas and the dialogue between Los and his Spectre in Jerusalem, there are signs that the latter has developed from the former. In chapter 1 of Jerusalem, as in Night IV of Vala/The Four Zoas, Los's division from his Emanation coincides with the emergence of the Spectre (6.1-2; E,148). The

relationship between Los and the Spectre of Urthona in Night IV of Vala/The Four Zoas (the former fallen, the latter inspired) is reversed in Jerusalem. The Spectre is no longer an inspired figure but manifests Los's fallen aspect. Los, who uniquely benefits from externalizing his Spectre, remains 'living' and inspired even after losing his Emanation. Los's speech to his Spectre shows Blake's own conviction of having pinned down his own Spectre:

Thou art my Pride & Self-righteousness: I have
found thee out:

Thou art reveal'd before me in all magnitude & power

.

Thy holy wrath & deep deceit cannot avail against me
Nor shalt thou ever assume the triple-form of

Albions Spectre

For I am one of the living: dare not to mock my
inspired fury. (J, 8.30-5; E, 151)

In Vala/The Four Zoas the Spectre of Urthona also intuitively understood that Tharmas is the one who has risen from death (the Spectre). Although the Spectre of Urthona is called 'Spectre', the (real) Spectre cannot recognize itself or others as such because of its fallen, blind condition (which shows that the Spectre of Urthona is not a Spectre in Blake's usual sense).³⁷ Perception of the Spectre is peculiarly introspective, since in its first and most dramatic encounter the Spectre must be recognized in oneself, not in others. The most awe-

inspiring moment lies in this recognition of one's own Spectre when one ceases to be an accuser of others' sins and turns to oneself for self-interrogation. Milton reaches a climax when the protagonist identifies his own Spectre (38[43].29; E,139). In Jerusalem before the monstrosity of 'the triple-form of Albion's Spectre' is revealed, Los has to identify the deceit of his own Spectre and confront it. The germ of these peculiar myths of one's identifying of one's own Spectre -- which is to spectrous readers absolutely schizophrenic -- is found in the Spectre of Urthona's identifying Tharmas as the (his) Spectre in Vala/The Four Zoas.

That the dialogue between Los and his Spectre in Jerusalem has developed from the Spectre of Urthona's address to Tharmas in Vala/The Four Zoas can also be deduced from the fact that the Spectre, which Los identifies as his own in Jerusalem, is first developed as Tharmas in Vala/The Four Zoas. Tharmas's spectrous nature, which first sprung up in Night I (during stage 2), is fully developed during stage 3. Tharmas curses Urizen and Luvah (48.2; E,332) and is outraged about having lost Enion (50.31-51.2; E,334). Tharmas becomes authoritarian at one time (as he calls himself God [51.14-15; E,334]), at another time desperate for death (69.8-17; E,346). Such various passions as pride, despair, rage and vengeance are peculiar to the Spectre. While the earliest Spectre of Tharmas showed the distorted picture of fallen Adam in

Paradise Lost (see pages 133-4), the fully developed Spectre resembles Satan in the same poem: Satan's most Spectrous moment is his arrival on Mt.Niphates, where he is assaulted by the typically spectrous passions (IV.32-117).³⁸ The heavenly appearance of Eden reminds Satan of what a blissful world he was exiled from. While Satan envies Man, he soon despairs when he realizes his inability to leave Hell. Shame forbids him from obtaining pardon from God. Thus he eventually becomes resolute in vengeance. Like Satan, the Spectre of Urthona in Jerusalem has the same view of God as a punisher (10.46-9; E,153). His wretchedness is also almost indistinguishable from that of Satan at Mt.Niphates:

O that I could cease to be! Despair! I am Despair
 Created to be the great example of horror & agony ..

.

. . . the Almighty hath made me his Contrary
 To be all evil, all reversed & for ever dead:
 knowing
 And seeing life, yet living not; how can I then
 behold
 And not tremble; how can I be beheld & not abhorrd.

(J, 10.51-9; E,154)

While the link between Tharmas in Vala/The Four Zoas and the Spectre of Urthona in Jerusalem is confirmed in terms of their association with Satan in Paradise Lost, it can be also recognized from the another idiosyncrasy of the Spectre which marks both of them, their persistent pursuit (preoccupation) of

their Emanations.³⁹ In Vala/The Four Zoas Tharmas directs the Spectre of Urthona's attention towards the loss of Enion (50.31-51.3; E,334). In Jerusalem the Spectre of Urthona also reminds Los of his stolen Emanation, attempting to divide him in wrath (10.40-3; E,153). The diagnosis of one's own Spectre becomes possible only when the prototype of the Spectre becomes clear. The idea of the Spectre, which was completed during stage 3, was added to Night IV in a condensed form during stage 4:⁴⁰

The Saviour mild & gentle bent over the corse of
Death

.

And first he found the Limit of Opacity & namd it
Satan

.

And next he found the Limit of Contraction & namd
it Adam. (56.17-21; E,337-8)

Satan and Adam, who served as the model for the fallen Tharmas in Vala/The Four Zoas, are chosen as the two extremities -- as each representing the limit of opacity and the limit of contraction -- which outline the Spectre.

Stage 4

The Major Shifts

During stage 3 Blake's studies of the Zoas in their spectrous states, showing their responsibility for the Fall in terms of their acrimonious relationships with their Emanations and their individual spiritual failures were completed. The more fully the Spectre's nature is known, the more it becomes indistinguishable from the ordinary (or even heroic) man who suffers such spectrous passions as despair, anger, pride, shame, and vengeance. Blake's growing conviction that man is born a Spectre, nevertheless, did not alter his early view of man as the dwelling place for the divine vision.¹ The idea that man's divine potentials are almost stifled by his spectrous nature did not allow Blake to be simply optimistic about the way man's divinity is finally manifested. Blake's view that man's divinity can never be brought forward unless the spectrous surface is cleansed seems to be often expressed by varied images of the obstacles at the gate of Eternity: as detailed later, these obstacles appear as otherwise enigmatic images -- infernal groves, Og and Anak, and the Covering Cherub, all of which fiercely block the way to Eternity. Also, Blake's increasing awareness of the difficulty of annihilating the spectrous aspect of man in order to

manifest his divinity (Jesus) seems to be responsible for the delayed completion of Night VIII and its complicated growth. Stage 4 is mainly concerned with the last three Nights, particularly with the last upward movement towards Man's awakening. The account of its textual evolution, which is outlined in the preliminary argument, is indebted to Bentley and his bibliographical study of the manuscript. What is focused in the present chapter is Blake's struggle for the renewal of the internal machinery for Man's final awakening. Stage 4 begins with Blake's addition of the fifth leaf (bearing pages 85-6) to Night VIIa and ends with his line-numbering of Nights VIIb, VIII (99-110), and IX in ink by fifties.

The change in the concept of Man from the cosmic human principle to a being which is part of the cosmos had already begun during stage 3. During stage 4 Man becomes contracted and opaque until he lays his body (as the rock, Albion) in the middle of the sea. Man's transformation induces the appearance of Eternity, Beulah, and Ulro and the residents in each of these regions. These three regions replace what Man previously embodied (Head, Heart, and Loins) so that they might not be lost as a result of Man's Fall. While Beulah was already referred to during stage 3 (as a place of memory as in Urthona's Spectre's account of the Fall in Night IV [50.5-6; E,333]), and also in Enitharmon's shadow's narrative of the secrets of Eternity in Night VIIa [83.7-26;

E,358-9]), the daughters of Beulah are introduced into the poem proper in Night VIIb during stage 4 (95.3-8; E,367). The introduction of the external beings as well as the three regions outside the body of Man into the poem was apparently not within the initial poetic scheme and was only made unequivocal towards the end of stage 4, when Night VIII was being completed for transcription. At the beginning of Night VIII, the Council of God appears as one man, Jesus, and Man finally returns to his arms for the spiritual guiding principle. Its counterbalancing vision, that is, Man's falling off from the arms of the Eternal Saviour, appears in the late additions to Night I (18.9-15; E,310). When Man and the four Zoas become equally spectrous and no more internal help is available for coming out of the fallen condition, the necessity of introducing the divine body which works on Man's interior must have been strongly felt. Indeed, Urthona's function as an driving force to occasion Man's awakening does not derive from his qualification as a Zoa but from his capacity to manifest Jesus within himself as an individual man. The mystical communion between the divinity within each man and its corresponding divinity outside his spectrous self is encapsulated in an image in Milton: Los and Enitharmon as yet unhatched birds enclosed by the blue Mundane Shell hear the impatient call of their parent bird which exists outside the shell, unseen (M, 21[23].28-30; E,116).

The transcription during stage 3 ends abruptly at page 84 (the fourth leaf of Night VIIa) before reaching the end of the narrative. Although Bentley hypothesized that the fifth leaf of Night VIIa was transcribed and stitched together with pages 43-84 but was later discarded,² in my view Blake had to leave the Night open-ended to let time elapse to find the solution to the dilemma in which he was caught when he finished transcribing page 84. The problem which Blake had to solve is how the divided condition of Urthona should come to an end: more specifically, whether Urthona's Spectre or Los should remain in the rest of the poem. This dilemma has not been noticed before, since retrospectively Los's remaining appears unquestionable while Urthona's Spectre was regarded as the same figure in Jerusalem (that is, as the Spectre in Blake's usual sense). However, there are reasons for believing that during stage 3 not Los but Urthona's Spectre was more prepared for the inspired role. First, during stage 3 Urthona's Spectre explains in its account of the Fall that it, as the 'masculine spirit', scorned the frail body and was released into the air, while Los was created as its substitute to be born with Enitharmon (84.22-9; E, 359). During stage 3 these special circumstances of Urthona's Spectre's generation as a 'spirit' (not necessarily combined with the account of Los's birth) is narrated three times -- twice by himself (50.21-3; E, 333-4 / 84.24-5; E, 359), and once by the

demons of the deep (59.14; E,340). Since during stage 3 Blake made efforts to keep to the general formula of the four Zoas -- the Zoa and its generated form -- it became necessary to explain why Urthona's Spectre exists apart from Los (who is himself the generated Urthona [the Spectre]). It is possible that Blake attempted to prepare Urthona's Spectre as a being which is, although fallen, much closer to Urthona himself.³ Given that Urthona's Spectre retains the crucial memory of the Fall of which Los is oblivious (50.1-27; E,333-4), it is possible that the former is regarded as something analogous to a 'holy ghost' rather than what Blake usually means by the Spectre. Secondly, while Los curses Enitharmon and completely estranges her (11.15-18; E,306), Urthona's Spectre is the first to identify its own spectrous condition,⁴ and so is the first among the Zoas to be reconciled to its estranged Emanation. Although the significance of the reconciliation between Urthona's Spectre and Enitharmon's Shadow has so far been underestimated,⁵ it is here that Urthona's Spectre's heroism was shown, as it said to Enitharmon's Shadow:

I view futurity in thee I will bring down soft Vala
To the embraces of this terror & I will destroy
That body I created then shall we unite again in
bliss

.

For till these terrors planted round the Gates of
Eternal life

Are driven away & annihilated we never can repass

the Gates. (84.33-5,41-2; E,359-60)

While 'this terror' on the second line is Orc, 'that body' which Urthona's Spectre points out for destruction is Los (but Blake carefully avoided naming it). After Los recovers his full function as the Eternal Prophet during stage 4, Urthona's Spectre's intention to destroy Los sounds sinister and could be taken as the sign of its spectrous deceit. In my view, however, what Urthona's Spectre suggests to Enitharmon's shadow is their mutual 'de-Spectring' plan to be reunited and readmitted to the world of Eternity. The birth of the shadowy female from Enitharmon's Shadow which Urthona's Spectre anticipates⁶ marks the point where Enitharmon is freed from Vala's malign influence. While Enitharmon's Shadow gives birth to the shadowy female in the nether world, in the upper world Enitharmon suffers enormous pain and soon experiences pseudo-birth due to her Shadow's bursting the gates of her heart (85.6-15; E,360).⁷ Enitharmon's divided condition ceases after this incident as Enitharmon's Shadow is not seen again in the rest of the poem, except for her brief appearance in the Last Judgement (117.24-118.6; E, 387). Also, Enitharmon, after being separated from her lower self, is renewed from being a warlike counterpart of Urthona to become his loving helpmate (except that the old Enitharmon is glimpsed in pages 87-90). On the other hand, Urthona's

Spectre, on his side, promises Enitharmon's Shadow to destroy his own spectre. In the context of wooing his estranged Emanation, this suggestion is particularly persuasive, since it is Los who, in his spectrous terrors, repelled her in Night I. That Urthona's Spectre suggests to Enitharmon's Shadow that they annihilate their Spectres is further endorsed by his inspired view that those Spectres are the 'terrors planted round the Gates of Eternal life' (84.41; E,360).

That Blake let Urthona's Spectre express his own perception of the Spectre itself -- the fierce obstacles which hinder the path to Eternity -- can be seen from his references to the Spectre in various forms as his concept of the Spectre grew. Blake's Notebook poem, 'My Spectre around me night & day', is particularly relevant to the episode of Urthona's Spectre and Enitharmon's Shadow, as in this poem the way out of a similarly painful triangular relationship is explored. In the poem, as Erdman pointed out,⁸ two males (the narrator and his Spectre) form an undifferentiated 'I' which argues with 'Thou', the female figure. The male figure, like Urthona's Spectre, in his strenuous effort to suppress his own Spectre, points out to the female figure (his Emanation) how to see Eternity. Here, just as Urthona's Spectre emphasized the need to annihilate 'terrors', the need to root up the 'infernal grove' is stressed (49-52; E,477). Blake elsewhere expressed the terrors which block

the way to Eternity in similar images. In Milton the flowers are described as hosting Eternity in their fragrant centres, but 'Og & Anak' guard the doors fiercely (31[34].49; E,131). Another image of terror in Milton is the 'Covering Cherub'. This cherub, which holds Satan and Rahab within it (37[41].8-9; E,137) and is the equivalent of the Spectre or the Selfhood, is the twenty-seven Christian heavens (37[41].35-60; E,138) which, like Mundane Shell, closes men from the visions of eternity. As Stevenson points out,⁹ in Jerusalem Blake also associates this cherub with the one who guards the tree of life with the flaming swords to drive man from reaching eternal life (14.2; E,158). In Milton these images of terrors are collectively called a Negation, which must be destroyed to redeem the Contraries (40[46].32-6; E,142). Thus, in Urthona's Spectre's emphasis on the need to destroy the terrors around the Gates of eternal life his determination to be reconciled to his Emanation can be seen.

The solution to the dilemma of the reversed relationship between Urthona's Spectre and Los was not yet found when the fifth leaf (which bears pages 85 [15 lines] and 86 [tailpiece design]) was added to Night VIIa at the beginning of stage 4. The main event in those lines is the birth of the shadowy female and its effect on Enitharmon. Night VIIa once concluded at 85.22 with Urthona's

Spectre's giving the shadowy female charge over Orc. While Blake's attention was drawn to integrating Night VIIb, Urthona's divided condition was left for later consideration. Blake may have left this problem since Urthona's 'de-Spectring' had already taken place when he identified his own Spectre (during stage 3) and, in theory, he was virtually undivided from that moment. Blake's view of Urthona's Spectre and Los at this time can be seen in the design of page 85 which was apparently intended for the fifth leaf of Night VIIa, though initially drawn for Young's Night Thoughts. The design shows a puzzled male figure who lacks insight into the dramatic incident in his surroundings, and two other angelic figures, a spiritual male and a female (the latter in tears, the former perplexed at the puzzled male figure). This design is applicable to Enitharmon's Shadow's moment of conversion, since, as though stimulated by the design, Blake later makes her shed tears of repentance for her past hostile behaviour towards her once loved lord (85.1-4; E,360). On the other hand, the puzzled male figure can be easily related to Los who understands neither the cause of Enitharmon's anguish (85.8-10; E,360) nor the dramatic reunion between Urthona's Spectre and Enitharmon's Shadow. At this stage Los remains more spectrous than Urthona's Spectre. In Night VIIa (towards the end of stage 3), however, it becomes more and more difficult to decide whether Los or

Urthona's Spectre is the more spectrous, since each assumes the aspect of an individual who is responsible for his own Spectre. Although Urthona's divided condition was meant to be resolved after the reunion between Urthona's Spectre and Enitharmon's shadow, the solution was postponed so that Los might be rescued from destruction. In the light of the strong link between the later addition to Night VIIa (85.23-86.14) and the beginning of Night VIII it is after Nights VIIb and IX were transcribed that Blake once again returned to the end of Night VIIa (85.22) to let Los regain integrity by means of the sacrificial help of Urthona's Spectre.

Night VIIb (91-8)

It is now generally accepted that Night VIIb was transcribed later than Night VIIa (1)(77-85.22), although the opposite had long been believed by many critics. Margoliouth was the first to question whether Night VIIa and Night VIIb are alternative versions of the same Night as Sloss and Wallis had explained.¹⁰ Instead he suggested that Night VIIb might have been written as the sequel to Night VIIa (1).¹¹ Having arrived at this view he removed the added part, VIIa (2)(85.23-90.67), into an appendix in his edition, and thus showed VIIa (1) and VIIb as sequential. Indeed, the continuity is clear between the shadowy female's being given charge over Orc on page 85.22 (Night VIIa [1]) and

her standing in front of Orc on page 91 (Night VIIb). Also the continuity is anticipated in the dialogue between Enitharmon's Shadow and Urthona's Spectre arguing that Vala should be brought down for Orc's embrace (83.32-4, 84.33-5; E,359).

Bentley reached this conclusion by a different route. His discovery of the stitch marks on pages 77-84 ([the first four leaves of Night VIIa] which are contemporaneous with those on pages 43-76) in contrast to their absence in Night VIIb (and Nights VIII, IX, and other very late leaves [pages 19-22, 87-90] lacking these stitch marks) convinced him that Night VIIb did not, as had been previously believed, precede pages 77-84.¹² Bentley's belief in the lateness of Night VIIb was further endorsed by its 'Christian overtones' which linked Night VIIb to Nights VIII and IX.¹³ He perceived the lateness of Night VIIb in the Christian additions such as the crucifixion of Luvah (92.12-15; E,364) and the Eternal Promise of Resurrection (derived from John 11.23) which the daughters of Beulah wrote on the funeral urns of Beulah (95.1-8; E,367). However, the stitch marks were equivocal, and were taken by critics who believed Night VIIb early as evidence that VIIb was replaced by VIIa.¹⁴ Bentley's suggestion about the late images in Night VIIb, valid in itself, was weakened by his too general account of 'Christian additions'.¹⁵ The Margoliouth-Bentley view¹⁶ on the lateness of Night VIIb was revived by three scholars, John Kilgore, Andrew

Lincoln and Mark Lefebvre in 1978.¹⁷ The effort of these critics was directed towards reflecting in the text this reconsidered relationship between Night VIIa and Night VIIb -- the view that Night VIIb was not, as was believed by many critics, an early version which was replaced by Night VIIa (1), but that it was written as the sequel to Night VIIa (1). This arrangement of the text is now put into practice in Erdman's 1982 edition.

Although Night VIIb (91-8) was transcribed later than Night VIIa (1)(77-85.22), this does not necessarily mean that Night VIIb was entirely composed later than Night VIIa (1) (during stage 4).¹⁸ Indeed, during stage 4 Blake certainly developed the myth by adding such new material as the crucifixion of Luvah and the eternal promise of the resurrection, the lateness of which was first perceived by Bentley. However, as many critics believed, the core of Night VIIb -- that is Orc's embracing the shadowy female -- must have existed, although in a much simpler notebook form, by 1797. The existence of the myth from the earliest period of the composition of the poem is confirmed by the use of the myth in the America Preludium. That the myth once supported the fundamental structure of Vala is traceable in the post-1793 development of America. Vala was structured around the Vala-Luvah myth: while the Fall resulted from the separation between Vala and Luvah, which was an allegory of the soul's losing the divine vision, the earliest

sign of the apocalypse was seen in the shadowy daughter of Urthona's recovering her memory of a prelapsarian state when she was embraced by Orc in the world of generation. However, when the Orcian parousia failed, and the daughter of Urthona changed from being a lost soul to the Goddess Nature, the previously apocalyptic myth of the reunification between Vala and Luvah turned into the sinister picture of the Goddess Nature enkindled to life after a long sleep. When the culmination of Orc's myth no longer signified the apocalypse, the poem lost the internal machinery for Man's awakening: it collapsed, showing its study of the Fall to be unsatisfactory.

The consequence of the failure of Orc's myth as the essential mechanism for Man's awakening in the earliest poetic structure was immense. In my view the failure is not only responsible for the existence of two seventh Nights but also for the redundant myths in Nights VIIa, VIIb and VIII.¹⁹ In the initial plan of nine Nights, which can be divided into three triads of the Fall (I-III), nadir (IV-VI) and the final upswing towards the last Judgement (VII-IX),²⁰ the myth of Orc's embrace of the shadowy female must have been located at the beginning of the third triad (Night VII). This can be inferred from the fact that such an apocalyptic poem as America begins abruptly with this apogee of Orc's myth. However, due to its failure as a sign of the apocalypse, another myth had to take over in

Night VII to fulfill this function, while Orc's myth must have had to remain in the poem (in Night VII as it was originally intended) because of its inseparability with other myths, such as the division between Luvah and Vala and Los's chaining down of Orc. There is evidence which indicates that the earliest sign of the apocalypse, which was initially manifested by Orc's embrace of the shadowy female, came to be replaced by the Spectre of Urthona's embrace of Enitharmon's Shadow. That the two events were interchangeable can be seen in the correspondence of what resulted from them. Just as the shadowy female, embraced by Orc, spreads as a cloud and incites the dead to burst forth from their graves (95.1-12; E,367), so the shadowy female, born to Enitharmon's Shadow and Urthona's Spectre, in exactly the same manner, spreads as a cloud and stimulates the dead to break forth from their graves (85.17-18; E,360). The significance which Blake attached to the shadowy female's being strewn as war clouds and the subsequent resurrection of the dead in Vala/The Four Zoas is known by the fact that the myth has its root in America, although with its initial optimism reversed. In America, after tearing the shadowy female's virgin mantle in twain and himself attaining release from his chain, Orc prophesied the dawn of the new age with a vision of the grave being burst and the dead, whose bodies had long decayed to bones and clay, beginning to breathe

(6<8>.1-5; E,53). In Vala/The Four Zoas, however, what results from the reunion between Orc and the shadowy female is the birth of the Spectre (natural man who is fiercely opposed to spiritual man). To support the argument that Night VIIa was not written to replace Night VIIb but they are sequential the critics emphasized how they differ.²¹ But as far as the central apocalyptic myth in each Night (VIIa and VIIb) is concerned, the view once firmly believed view by many critics that VIIb was replaced by VIIa (1), although not free from error, cannot be entirely dismissed. In my view, the original vision of the apocalypse (Orc's embrace of the shadowy female), now integrated into the poem in its shadowy form in Night VIIb, was replaced by the new sign of the apocalypse (reconciliation between Urthona's Spectre and Enitharmon's Shadow) in Night VIIa (1).²² The former was introduced into the poem during stage 4 after the latter was crystallized during stage 3, bringing about the crucial breakthrough to Man's awakening.

pp.85.23-86.14

During stage 4 (after the transcription of Nights VIIb and IX and probably before the transcription of Night VIII) Blake once again returned to the fifth leaf of Night VIIa to solve the problem of the divided condition of Urthona. The end mark to Night VIIa (1)(77-85.22) was cancelled

and the process of Los's regaining his integrity is briefly depicted thus:

... then the Spectre enterd Los's bosom Every sigh
& groan

Of Enitharmon bore Urthonas Spectre on its wings
Obdurate Los felt Pity Enitharmon told the tale
Of Urthona. Los embracd the Spectre first as a
brother

Then as another Self; astonished humanizing & in
tears

In Self abasement Giving up his Domineering lust.

(85.26-31; E, 367)

Here, Urthona's Spectre's function is absolutely vital. Becoming subordinated to Los by entering Los's bosom, Urthona's Spectre not only helps Los achieve coherence, but, as a result of his previous reconciliation with Enitharmon's Shadow, also reunites Los and Enitharmon. Hitherto obdurate, but surprized by Urthona's Spectre's heroic action, Los (as though shaken out of his mesmerized state) finally relents. After the Night was concluded, however, the end mark was cancelled again for further elaboration, as the event certainly deserved more dramatic articulation in accordance with its significance in the poem. Although already effected, the union between Los and Urthona's Spectre is thus elaborated from the point where Urthona's Spectre explains to Los why they should be united:

Thou never canst embrace sweet Enitharmon
terrible Demon.

Till Thou art united with thy Spectre Consummating
by pains & labours
That mortal body & by Self annihilation back
returning
To Life Eternal be assur'd I am thy real Self
Tho thus divided from thee & the Slave of Every
passion
Of thy fierce Soul Unbar the Gates of Memory look
upon me
Not as another but as thy Self I am thy Spectre.

(85.32-38; E, 368)

What Urthona's Spectre encourages Los to recognize is itself as Los's Spectre. Identifying one's own Spectre is a ritual which Urthona's Spectre (as an individual) spontaneously underwent to attain some coherence, although, divided from Los, he still remained subject to the fallen condition. By repeating Urthona's Spectre's inspired experience, Los is initiated to the rite, necessarily before he can be restored to be the eternal prophet. However, this dramatic event, itself essential to the poem, is full of anomalies. Most anomalous is that Los does not spontaneously identify his own Spectre: the identification is made by the Spectre. Also, Los's regaining of his integrity by being united with his own Spectre itself contradicts the way the Spectre is dealt with in Milton and Jerusalem: there not unification with but annihilation of the Spectre is stressed.²³ Difficulties lie in regarding Urthona's Spectre as Los's real Spectre and making Los

identify Urthona's Spectre as his own fallen self. Urthona's Spectre, who sets Los before him by accepting himself as the Spectre, ironically shows the most sublime act. This inspired Spectre (of Urthona) is a vestige of the regenerative process as shown in Vala/The Four Zoas, where the idea of the Spectre was initiated. Urthona's Spectre, who ought to be distinguished from the Spectre in Blake's usual sense, is later allowed to claim to be the 'Spectre of the Living', clearly distinguishing himself from the 'spectres of the Dead' (84.40; E,360).

pp.87-90

Pages 85.32-86.14 (which elaborate Urthona's Spectre's attempt to persuade Los to recognize it as Los's Spectre) tend to be regarded as of the same period as pages 87-90, as though 85.32-90 constitute a uniform layer of revision.²⁴ In my view, however, 85.32-86.14 was, like 85.23-31, transcribed during stage 4 before Blake's myth in the poem underwent its final transformation. The minor gap recognized by the end mark between 85.23-31 and 85.32-86.14 may be attributed to a difference in time of addition of those passages: probably 85.23-31 was added before Night VIII (99-110) was transcribed, 85.32-86.14 as an afterthought shortly after the transcription of Night VIII. As has already been shown, both 85.23-31 and 85.32-86.14 were, nevertheless,

composed as parts of a single consistent vision, and can be grouped together. On the other hand, a major rift exists between 85.23-86.14 and 87-90: each has a different focus, which can be attributed to their different stage of composition. This view can be substantiated in the following ways. First, that there was a gap in composition between pages 85.23-86.14 and pages 87-90 can be seen from the fact that the former was added on the already existing fifth leaf of Night VIIa and the latter on new leaves added to the manuscript. The kind of paper on which pages 85.23-86.14 and pages 87-90 were transcribed is different: the former is on a Night Thoughts proof sheet, the latter on the verso of the print Edward and Elenor. The only pages of Vala/The Four Zoas which are not transcribed on Night Thoughts proof sheets are pages 87-90 and 19-22 (a late addition to Night I). The use of the print is a very late phenomenon, after the transcription of Night VIII, because by that time, as is known from the fact that many proof sheets for Nights VIII and IX are made of two overlapping leaves,²⁵ appropriate proof sheets for a particular text were in very short supply. Secondly, although pages 85.23-86.14 and pages 87-90 are both concerned with the process of Los's recovery of integrity, there is a subtle shift of emphasis between them. Pages 85.23-86.14 focus on the union between Los and Urthona's Spectre. (The divided condition of Urthona/Los had been a lingering problem since stage 3. When during

stage 4 Los was reunited with Urthona's Spectre, who had been reconciled with [the Shadow of] Enitharmon, Los automatically became at peace with Enitharmon). On the other hand, pages 87-90 begin with Enitharmon's evading Los's embrace, showing that Enitharmon's (Shadow's) reconciliation with Urthona's Spectre did not guarantee a reconciliation with Los. This renewed tension between Los and Enitharmon is harmonious with the development during stage 5 where the relationship between Los and Enitharmon is painfully strained. This newly developed acrimony between Los and Enitharmon apparently made their union occasioned by the intervention of Urthona's Spectre during stage 4 unsatisfactory, and the direct healing of their relationship became necessary as a result. Although no end mark was written to make the rift between pages 85.23-86.14 and pages 87-90 clear, the last line of 86.14 was clearly revised to indicate that some problem remained.²⁶ Thirdly, while pages 85.23-86.14 are harmonious with the beginning of Night VIII (pages 99-110) which was transcribed during stage 4, there are signs that the ideas contained in pages 87-90 are more advanced than the similar ones in pages 99-110, indicating that pages 87-90 were composed during stage 5. Three facts support this view. First, the following minor (but important) revisions of the account of Los and Enitharmon's discovering the Lamb of God in Night VIII are a direct result of the addition of

the similar account in pages 87-90:

Then Los said I behold the Divine vision thro
the broken Gates
Of [Enitharmon's] thy poor broken heart astonished
melted into Compassion & Love
And Enitharmon [saw]²⁷ said I see the Lamb of God
upon Mount Zion
Wondring with love & Awe they felt the divine
hand upon them. (99.15-18; E,372)

The original text can be recovered when the underlined words (which are later additions) are ignored and the bracketed words (which were cancelled) are restored. The appearance of the Lamb of God to Los and Enitharmon initially remained descriptive, but later the description was converted into a dialogue between them. In my view, this is a sign of how the lively exchange-oriented account of Los and Enitharmon on pages 87-90 superseded the more static description composed earlier (page 99). Secondly, there is a fundamental difference between Los and Enitharmon's function in pages 99-100 (Night VIII) and that in pages 87-90, of a kind which indicates that the former was composed earlier than the latter. In pages 99-100 Enitharmon plays the central role of giving forms to the dead. While she first sighs them forth through the gates of her broken heart and later weaves them vegetable bodies, Los simply waits at her gates and receives the generated ones (99.19-100.7; E,372). In the part of Night VIII transcribed first (99-110) Los

does not yet seem to be fully the inspired prophet: he remains still passive,²⁸ because as his regaining of integrity is to a large extent dependant on Urthona's Spectre. In pages 87-90, however, Los takes the initiative, and his artistic creation replaces Enitharmon's vegetable creation. That Enitharmon as the material principle joyfully obeys Los as the spiritual principle is indicated by her remark, 'Thy works are all my joy. & in thy fires my soul delights' (90.17; E,370). Los draws the outline, Enitharmon tinctures and embodies it. That Blake attempted to graft Los's imaginative creation in page 90 on to Enitharmon's vegetable creation in pages 99-100 (Night VIII) is confirmed by his editorial instruction ('Los stood^c') inserted after the first line of page 100. Erdman points out that this refers to the second line on page 90.²⁹ Lastly, that the ideas of pages 87-90 are more advanced than those of pages 99-100 is indicated by the difference between those pages in Enitharmon's perception of the Lamb of God. While in pages 87-90 she fears him as the punisher because of her strong sense of having committed a sin (87.52-9; E,369-70), this sense of guilt is non-existent in pages 99-100. In pages 87-90 Los's suggestion of creating a bodily semblance for the dead is particularly welcomed by Enitharmon because she associates the dead with ransom which would redeem her sin (90.24; E,370). The reason for Enitharmon's deep sense of sin is made clear in the

context of the final transformative phase of the poem during stage 5.

pp.99-110 (Night VIII)

Night VIII was, as is generally accepted, transcribed later than any other Night.³⁰ Blake reversed the order of transcription between Night VIII and Night IX probably because he still did not feel Night VIII was yet satisfactorily completed while he did not think the transformation of Night VIII would cause disruption in the subsequent Night IX. Night IX or 'the Last Judgement' was concerned with the events after Man's awakening, which was clearly foreseen by Blake. On the other hand, Night VIII had to contain something crucial to occasion Man's awakening. In my view, however, such a crucial plot -- without which Blake would not have begun the project of Vala -- had collapsed from the beginning and needed renovation. The earliest scenario for Night VIII is recoverable from the post-1793 development of America: as Albion's Angel is horrified when he identifies Orc and apprehends the final battle with him (7<9>.3-7; E,53-4),³¹ so Urizen encounters his old enemy, Orc-Luvah, and is finally overthrown. As Blake always remained faithful to his initial vision and made continuous efforts to renew it in his works, the initial scenario for Man's awakening, as will be shown later, resurfaces in Night VIII. What follows is

mainly concerned with the transformation of Night VIII, particularly how the new machinery for Man's awakening was gradually crystallized.

The existence of a gap between the untranscribed notebook draft of Night VIII and the present Night VIII (99-110) is indicated by the preceding and succeeding Nights (VIIb and IX).³² Bentley thought that Night VIIb used to be a 'prelude to a titanic war among the Zoas';³³ Night VIIb prepared Night VIII for the culmination of that war. (Given that the war imagery of The Iliad has crept into that of Night VIIb,³⁴ Blake may have expected the intensity of the war in Night VIII to be comparable to the Olympian Gods and Goddesses hurling themselves into war in Books XX and XXI of The Iliad.) In Night VIIb Los emerges as a man of a cosmic scale, experiencing the crisis of war throughout his body (96.19-23; E,361). What is expected is the 'night of Carnage' when the vultures anticipate devouring the flesh and blood of kings and princes (96.23-7; E,361). Enitharmon's desperate cry for Los to light the tower of Los while he is occupied with war (98.3-6; E,362) also increases the sense that light is about to be lost in the depth of Night. Initially Night VIIb ended with the appearance of the prester serpent, predicting the use of 'seven Diseases of Man' at the height of war (98.22-9; E,363). Almost none of these threads of narrative, however, are developed in the present Night VIII. Instead, as Blake's later

editorial instruction in Night VIIb indicates (by which the Night begins at 95.15 [during stage 5]),³⁵ the commencement of war is transferred from the end to the beginning of VIIb and made separate from Night VIII. Thus, in the final perspective of the poem, VIIb (instead of Night VIII) took over the fiercest aspect of the war.³⁶

The relationship between Night VIIb and Night VIII is very close. Bentley even hypothesized that Night VIIb had developed as part of Night VIII.³⁷ Lincoln followed up Bentley's view and pointed out the signs of displacement of Night VIIb from Night VIII.³⁸ Yet, if Night VIIb had been originally part of Night VIII, Blake would have called the Night eighth instead of seventh. In my view, Night VIIb has grown from the earliest, much simpler version of the seventh Night, with the symbolic meaning of its central myth (Orc's embrace of the shadowy female) unfulfilled because of the breakdown of the Orc-Jesus-Luvah link. How the meaning of this unaccomplished myth of Night VIIb is gradually and painfully brought forward in Night VIII is discussed towards the end of this chapter.

Like Vala/The Four Zoas as a whole, Night VIII must have had several stages of evolution. Given that what Night VIIb forecasts for Night VIII is not carried out in the Night, while some direct narrative link can be recognized between Night VIII and Night IX (119.24-139), Night IX must have been based on more a advanced stage of Night VIII than

Night VIIb. Indeed, Night IX, the framework of which is indebted to Revelation, shows more explicit Christian symbolism than Night VIIb. The Christian references in Night VIII, however, are more advanced than those in Night IX: whereas the latter calls upon only a common knowledge of the Bible, the former begins to assign to allusions Blake's own peculiar meaning and unique interpretation of the Bible. A gap equivalent to that between Night VIII and Night IX is to be expected between the untranscribed Night VIII and the present Night VIII (99-110).

Night IX initially began at 119.24, 'Without this Universal Confusion beyond the remotest Pole'. What was initially referred to by 'this Universal Confusion' is the chaotic state left by the 'war within my (Man's) members' (119.32,120.9; E,388-9). Lincoln speculated that this 'Universal Confusion' resulted from Los's plucking down the world (as the present beginning of Night IX shows) but immediately after Urthona's Spectre gave all his strength to Los in Night VIII.³⁹ However, whether such a drastic action could have taken place towards the end of Night VIII is questionable, as Blake seems to have kept the ending of Night VIII (up to Enion's speech) full of uncertainty during stage 4 -- as though the shadowy female had the ultimate triumph. Moreover, while in the added pages 117.1-119.23 (which provides a fresh account of the 'Universal confusion') Los tears down the sun and moon,

summoning the dead to the Judgement, this basically repeats the very similar series of event (the collapse of the universe, the resurrection of the dead, and the second coming of Jesus) which were already in the part of Night IX transcribed first (122.26-123.39; E,392-3),⁴⁰ and could not have been at the end of Night VIII.

As can be clearly traced in Night IX (120.8-9; E,389), Urizen's metamorphosis into a dragon was part of the notebook draft of Night VIII. Urizen's degeneration from the Prince of Light into a dragon of the deep shows that, until this change was made, Night VIII was entirely covered with darkness until dawn in Night IX. Also, although at the beginning of the present Night VIII Man has already left the worst condition to repose himself in the Saviour's arms (99.11-14; E,372), it seems that no sign of Man's awakening had yet been introduced to the previous draft of Night VIII. This is confirmed by the fact that in Night IX Man raises his body from the oozy rock (symbolic for death and decay) (119.28-9; E,388). Besides, towards the end of Night VIII Ahania despairs of the ghastly condition of the Man, lamenting, 'alas that Man should come to this' (108.23-35; E,383-4). Man's awakening process, which was initially located in Night IX alone, is placed earlier and extended into Night VIII. In the light of the previous ending of Night VIII described as 'Universal confusion', its complete darkness and the way a glimmering hope is given to the Night only

finally (by Enion, who begins to anticipate the Last Judgement after hearing a midnight cry, 'Awake the bridegroom cometh' [109.20-1; E,384]), it is probable that Man's internal mechanism directed towards awakening was at this stage mostly revealed in Night IX. Blake must have found it tantalizing, particularly so when Milton -- the equivalent of Nights VII and VIII and the protagonist of which heroically annihilates his own Spectre to bring in the Last Judgement -- was still in progress of composition.⁴¹ Night VIII underwent a transformation so that what was retrospectively explained as a direct cause of Man's awakening might be fully translated into action in Night VIII.

The idea which revolutionized Night VIII is first expressed in its condensed form in the following speech of Man to Urizen. The necessity of the revelation itself indicates that it was not yet made clear in the untranscribed Night VIII:

Behold Jerusalem in whose bosom the Lamb of God
Is seen tho slain before her Gates he self
renewed remains

Eternal & I thro him awake from deaths dark vale

(122.1-3; E,391)

In Night IX Jerusalem is, as in Revelation, a bride for the Lamb of God and a heavenly city (122.16-19; E,391), whereas in Night VIII she is developed more naturally as the collective figure of the sons and daughters of Los and Enitharmon from whom the Lamb of God descends to the world of generation (103.32-

104.1; E,376). In the slaying of the Lamb of God in Jerusalem's bosom two ideas (that is, the Lamb of God's descent through Jerusalem's gates, and his death) remain undivided. From this vision Los's finding of the Lamb of God through the broken gates of Enitharmon's heart in Night VIII appears to have developed.

While the original plot for Night VIII -- Urizen's final encounter with Orc -- is, in its shadowy form, first introduced in Night VIIa (77.5-81.6; E,352-6), in this encounter Orc (unlike Orc, freed, terrifying Albion's Angel in America) remains in chains. Also, after Urizen's encounter with Orc in Night VIIa, instead of Urizen being defeated, Orc is transformed into a serpent (80.44, 81.3-5; E, 356). The original plot of Night VIII is once again glimpsed when Blake connects the myth of Luvah with the Lamb of God ('clothed in Luvah's robe of blood' [101.1; E,373]).⁴² This idea can be attributed to two sources. The idea is given a connection with Revelation 19.13 ('the Lamb of God clothed with a vesture in blood'). This image is first given life in Milton. There, Ololon, who plunges herself after Milton into Eternal Death, descends later as the clouds to fold around the Lamb of God as 'a Garment dipped in blood' (42[49].12; E,143). In Night VIII of Vala/The Four Zoas, however, the idea is given a further twist, as the robe of blood with which the Lamb of God is clothed with is identified as Luvah's. Here, in my view, a Homeric plot has

influenced Blake's vision. Blake's awareness of Achilles's golden armour worn by his counterpart Patroclus first and later by his enemy Hector when Patroclus was slain in The Iliad is woven into Vala/The Four Zoas.⁴³ The idea that the Lamb of God wears Luvah's robes enforces the initial identification between Orc-Luvah and Jesus. Due to this invention of the Lamb of God clothed in Luvah's robe of blood, the final encounter between Urizen and Orc-Luvah, which was meant to lead to Man's awakening, is also retained. While in Night VIII the Lamb of God stands before Satan (109.1; E,378), in the work's previous draft (which is now retained as page 145) it was not Satan but Urizen whom the Lamb of God confronted (E,842). Although after the final encounter between the Lamb of God and Satan/Urizen, the former is condemned to death, as a result of the Lamb's death on the tree of Mystery Urizen is eventually metamorphosed into a dragon. The idea of the Lamb of God clothed in Luvah's robe of blood propels the narrative forward elsewhere. The shadowy female calls the Lamb of God a murderer of Luvah (103.3; E,375), oblivious of herself having fed with fire the furnaces in which Luvah was enclosed (25.40-1;E,317). Urizen, on the other hand, holds a meeting of the Synagogue of Satan and condemns the Lamb of God as a murderer and robber (105.5-6; E,378).

While Orc's embrace of the shadowy female was, in terms of its function as the earliest sign

of the apocalypse, replaced by Urthona's Spectre's embrace of Enitharmon's shadow, this culmination of Orc's myth could not remain symbolic either: Orc failed to be identified with Jesus. Signs of impending apocalypse had therefore to be registered elsewhere. As discussed earlier, initially Orc's tearing of the shadowy female's virgin mantle in twain was Blake's imaginative transformation of Jesus's rending the temple veil (signifying, in Blake's view, the end of Natural Religion) by his death on the cross. Blake avoided the explicit reference of Jesus's crucifixion, disliking the idea that Jesus was the sinless Lamb offered for the atonement of sins.⁴⁴ Since the collapse of the symbolic meaning of Orc's embrace of the shadowy female Blake had struggled to embody the unfulfilled meaning of the myth in the poem by other means. Blake's first effort to renovate the myth seems to have begun when he expressed his disappointment. The war song of the demons of the deep (92.12-15; E,364), which was interpolated between Orc's embrace of the shadowy female and her being rent, indicates that the crucifixion of Jesus used to underlie the myth. In the crucifixion of Luvah, which is described using a materialistic phraseology, Blake's disappointment with having chosen the crucifixion of Jesus as the central myth of the poem seems to be traceable. When the culmination of Orc's myth collapsed due to the breakdown of the Orc-Jesus-Luvah link, Blake was not only disappointed with

Orc. The failure of the revolutionary representation of Jesus's death must have instigated the triumph of the opposite view -- Jesus as a meek Lamb passively crucified to atone for human sin. The Song of Los expresses Blake's acute sense of defeat: Jesus is associated with the passive and self-torturing Theotormon (3.23-4; E,67). The negative representation of the crucifixion of Jesus, which the demons of the deep narrate as Luvah's, does not lead to Luvah's resurrection but to his death, desolated by the religious wars.

Completion of Night VIII was delayed because Blake began to recognize that incorporating the incarnation and crucifixion of Jesus -- which Blake initially avoided referring to directly but attempted to keep on a symbolic level -- was essential for the internal machinery of Man's awakening. Blake slowly and painstakingly crystallized his own version of Jesus's crucifixion, by working it out on a separate sheet and by inserting the narrative between the lines. Fragments now numbered page 145 retain the earliest narrative (which in the manuscript finds its corresponding text on pages 105-6), covering Urizen's encounter with the Lamb of God until his fall into a deep stupor. As is confirmed by the way Blake finished page 145 ('He felt the female &'), by the time Blake composed the fragments the episode of Urizen's being assaulted by stupor and subsequently being transformed into a dragon already existed.

The peculiarity of Blake's account of the crucifixion of Jesus lies in the fact that while the Lamb of God is sentenced to death by Urizen, he is crucified by the daughters of this world (Amalek, Canaan and Moab). These are sometimes twelve, sometimes five, and are ultimately identified as Rahab. That Rahab is essentially the same figure as Tirzah -- although the latter is called the former's daughter (105.26-7; E,378) -- can be glimpsed in a cancelled line on page 145 which says of Rahab that she is that 'in which is Tirzah untranslucent an opake covering' (E,842). Rahab and Tirzah are given different identities since they execute superficially different tasks which are, however, fundamentally the same. Tirzah brings down the Lamb of God to generation while Rahab crucifies him.⁴⁵ That the boundary between Jesus's generation (by Tirzah) and his crucifixion (by Rahab) is lost is known from the song of the females of Amalek which is incorporated into the description of how Jesus was crucified. The song was not part of Blake's account of the crucifixion of Jesus on page 145 but was integrated into the poem when page 105 was transcribed:

O thou poor human form O thou poor child of woe
Why dost thou wander away from Tirzah why me to
 compell to bind thee
If thou dost go away from me I shall consume upon
 the rocks
These fibres of thine eyes that used to wander

in distant heavens
Away from me I have bound down with a hot iron
These nostrils that Expanded with delight in
morning skies
I have bent downward with lead molten in my
roaring furnaces

.

Come circumscribe this tongue of sweets & with a
Screw of iron
Fasten this Ear into the Rock Milcah the task is
thine
Weep not so sisters weep not so our life depends
on this
Or mercy & truth are fled away from Shechem &
Mount Gilead
Unless my beloved is bound upon the Stems of
Vegetation. (105.31-7,49-53; E,378-9)

While this is given as the full account of how the
cruel sensuality of the daughters of Amalek, Canaan
and Moab (Tirzah/Rahab) crucified the Lamb of God,
its concern with how the infinite senses are bound
down to this vegetable world is unmistakable.
Tirzah plays the central role in the task. This song
of Tirzah can be closely associated with the
Preludium of Europe: both poems are concerned with
the generation of souls, and both give voice to the
female generator. While in the Preludium of Europe
the shadowy female suffers constant labour pains,
unwillingly bringing down fiery flames to be stamped
by Enitharmon, in Tirzah's song the genuine sorrow

of the shadowy female (who even protested to Enitharmon [2<5>.8; E,61]) is no more: while in the Preludium of Europe the shadowy female laments that the newly generated being roams and leaves her (2<5>.10-11; E,61), Tirzah's blaming of the soul for wandering away from her is her excuse for binding it (V/FZ, 105.31-3; E,378-9). Although the Preludium of Europe first depicts the shadowy female rising from Orc's embrace, the burning power seized by her (also stamped by Enitharmon) to be brought forth as a fiery king is reminiscent of Orc himself. Indeed, this is a most appropriate introduction to the poem which first narrates the descent of the secret child, Orc. That in Blake the incarnation of Jesus is assimilated into a single myth with his crucifixion can already be seen in the way the myth of Orc was crystallized. While Orc is, in his association with the tiger, the image of fire seized and brought down by the shadowy female, in his human birth he is the image of the infinite soul which was, as in the Homeric cave of the Nymphs explicated by Porphyry,⁴⁶ given a fleshly garment woven on the stony loom. The image of Orc's generation bound on the stony loom is developed into the central myth that he is chained down on a rock. Similarly the descent of the Lamb of God to generation is, uniquely, identified with his being nailed down on the cross. This is no defeat like that of other generated souls which drink the fatal draught to be oblivious of their previous life (or are vegetated

under Tirzah): it is rather the ultimate triumph, as the sons of Eden explain:

. . . Now we know that life Eternal
Depends alone upon the Universal hand & not in us
Is aught but death In individual weakness sorrow
and pain (104.8-10; E,376)

Jesus's descent to generation coincides with his rending the veil of Mystery, who is the great Babylon of Revelation, identified with generated Vala (the shadowy female/Tirzah/Rahab). Jesus's unique triumph over Tirzah is also articulated in the poem 'To Tirzah' addressed to her ('The Death of Jesus set me free / Then what have I to do with thee') (E,30).

When the symbolic significance of Orc's embracing of the shadowy female was finally fulfilled in Blake's own version of Jesus's generation and crucifixion in Night VIII, the regenerative process of Vala/The Four Zoas was almost completed. The further transformation of the poem during stage 5 can be attributed to Blake's evolving ideas during the composition of Jerusalem, where he finally reached the view that Jesus cannot be generated corporeally but must be manifested spiritually. During stage 5 Los was transformed so as to manifest Jesus within himself through his increased suffering.

Stage 5

The Final Transformation

Although the number of pages and lines added to the poem during stage 5 is small compared to that transcribed during previous stages, the seemingly minor additions during stage 5 are not mere elaboration of the already existing narrative or peripheral revisions. These additions pervade all, activate the hidden potentials of the previous narrative, and transform the poem in its most important part. Behind this transforming power of the additions during stage 5 lies Blake's thought as it is finally given shape in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem Blake made serious re-assessments of his life-long concerns for sin, atonement (or the 'laws of sacrifice for sin'), and (in Blake's view) the distorted perception of the birth of Jesus (the orthodox dogma of the Virgin Birth). For Blake its proper understanding would have simply taught the important doctrine of forgiveness of sins without atonement (J. 61.11-13; E,211). Blake's revisions of Vala/The Four Zoas during stage 5, into which the ideas of sin and ransom crept,' are not irrelevant to the studies of those ideas in Jerusalem. It is through those studies in Jerusalem that Los, who during stage 4 of Vala/The Four Zoas remained weak as though still reeling from his past fallen experience, is transformed into a figure who is as heroic and inspired as the protagonist in Milton

and Los in Jerusalem.

When Night VIII was first given an end mark on page 110 during stage 4, the Night was covered with darkness and sorrow, given a glimmering hope by Enion who predicted dawn at the very end of the Night. While during stage 4 Blake's own account of the generation and crucifixion of Jesus was crystallized, what was simultaneously due to happen (particularly to Rahab) as a result of the death of Jesus was not shown yet. (Enion's revelation that 'The Lamb of God has rent the Veil of Mystery soon to return / In Clouds and Fires' [110.1-2; E,385] was added during stage 5.)² Blake's attempt to supplement an episode on Rahab before numbering the lines of Night VIII during stage 4 can be seen in the following lines which were deleted immediately:

But Rahab [built]~~hewd~~ a Sepulcher in the Rock
of Eternity

And placing in the Sepulcher the body which she
had taken

From the divine Lamb wept over the Sepulcher
weaving

Her web of Religion around the Sepulcher times
after times beside Jerusalem's Gate

But as she wove behold the bottom of the Sepulcher
Rent & a door was open thro the bottom of the
Sepulcher

Into Eternity And as she wove she heard a Voice
behind her calling her

She turnd & saw the Divine Vision & her. (E,843)

During stage 4 Rahab is briefly described as 'Mystery Babylon the Great the Mother of Harlots' (106.5-6; E,379). She is thus identified with the gorgeous woman on a ten-horned beast in Revelation who, with her fatal draught, made the kings and princes of this world drunk, or commit fornication with her. As in the Bible fornication symbolically means practising false religion,³ Rahab is the Goddess of Natural Religion which is, for Blake, the collective name of any religion other than the religion of Jesus. Thus, in the lines above, Rahab, by means of building the sepulcher for the slain divine Lamb (an act of which is hypocritical as well as ironical, as she crucified him), attempts to initiate the religion which worships death. However, the further description of Rahab as addressed in the sepulcher from behind, and turning around and seeing Jesus, indicates that she was also associated with Mary Magdalen (as in John, 20.11-16). (In the song of the demons of the deep, Vala, the eternal form of Rahab, is addressed as 'Melancholy Magdalen' [93.2; E,365].) Probably because Blake intended to link Mary Magdalen more closely with Mary the mother of Jesus⁴ rather than with Rahab, he gave up the narrative. Tirzah and Rahab, who, by means of weaving the fleshly garment on the stony loom, bound the Lamb of God to the stems of vegetation and simultaneously crucified him, are related to such figures as Mary and Jerusalem (and even Los and

Enitharmon) who give Jesus the maternal birth or its equivalent. Although during stage 5 the sinister connotation of the act of Tirzah and Rahab haunts Jerusalem as though she were the aggressor, Blake makes the redemptive effort of Los and Enitharmon to give forms to the dead (and eventually to Jerusalem) separate from the cruelty of Tirzah and Rahab. Perceiving that the introduction of the Rahab episode into Night VIII would take more than a few lines, Blake left it for later consideration and instead divided her roles in the cancelled lines between two figures during stage 4: in the added lines Los hews the sepulcher and Jerusalem sheds tears (110.30-3; E,385).

During stage 5 Night VIII has three leaves (pages 111-16) added to the original six (pages 99-110). These three leaves all carry the design of Jesus, who either divides the clouds as the radiant sun or remains in the flames with nails in his hands and feet. Through these transformed images of the crucifixion -- which are, in Blake, assimilated with images of his generation -- Jesus took visible form in Night VIII during stage 5.

During stage 5 Blake drafted for Night VIII page 111 which is concerned with Rahab's fate. This episode of Rahab begins with her triumph, which echoes the euphoric state of the 'nameless shadow' who bound all in a stony stupor (107.35; E,383). The culmination of the shadowy female's power was

endorsed by the subsequent vision of Ahania, which depicted the 'grave' (identifiably the same figure as the 'Grave' in The Song of Los [7.35-40; E,69-70]) who claimed to be a goddess and queen (108.18; E,383). Rahab becomes divided, however, when she sees Ahania weeping on the void and hears Enion's voice from the grave. Rahab's loss of coherence and her division from Satan -- as Rahab resides in Satan's bosom or the Synagogue of Satan -- is reminiscent of Ahania's division in Night II: she divides from Urizen after hearing Enion's lament, being cast out from the innermost recess of Urizen's temple (35.14-19; E,325-6). As a result of being divided from Satan, Rahab (Mystery) is burnt with fire (as in Revelation 17.16), only to be revived from her ashes to become the Goddess of Deism or Natural Religion. This myth of Rahab's renewal does not quite lead to the Last Judgement in Night IX, which Blake knew, as he drafted the text in pencil first before he finally inked it. Yet, by depicting the strange phenomenon -- 'Satan divided against Satan . . . / To burn Mystery with fire & form another from her ashes' (111.19-20; E,386) -- Blake introduces into the poem what he perceived as an important historical allegory. The long-lasting tyranny of kings and priests who presided over the institutionalized state religion -- the eighteen hundred year Christian era, whose Goddess is, in fact, Vala/Rahab -- is brought to an end, not by external force but through internal divisions. The

internal rebels, however, self-contradictorily, create another form of Vala/Rahab and renew Natural Religion. This Natural Religion (specifically called Deism) is not only relevant to the rationalized religion of the eighteenth century, but also to the raging materialism of the twentieth century, whose Goddess is likewise Vala/Rahab. In Milton Blake also has Ololon refer to this important climactic change:

Art those who contemn Religion & seek to
annihilate it

Become in their Femin[in]e portions the cause &
promoters

Of these Religions, how is this thing? this
Newtonian Phantasm

This Voltaire & Rousseau: this Hume & Gibbon &
Bolingbroke

This Natural Religion! this impossible absurdity.

(40[46].9-13; E,141)

Although on page 111 Rahab's division is attributed to Ahania and Enion, Rahab is eventually renewed. That the generation and crucifixion of Jesus has the direct effect of rending the veil of Mystery (Rahab) was made unequivocal in Night VIII during stage 5 (105.26, 110.1-2, 113.38-41; E,378-80,385).

During stage 4 Jerusalem emerges as the collective form of the sons and daughters of Los and Enitharmon, being revered as holy because the Lamb of God descends through her (104.1-4; E,376). (Los and Enitharmon are thus one step away from

generating the divine Lamb.) Jerusalem, however, is ambivalent during stage 4 in that the Lamb of God is within her veil (104.2; E,376): she assumes the female-male form of the hermaphrodite. Moreover, in response to the ardent call of the sons of Eden for the epiphany of Jesus, Satan is born from war, which takes a hermaphroditic form (104.16-23; E,377). This parallel with hermaphroditism does not remain the matrix from which Jesus or Satan is born. Although during stage 4 Satan was described as 'A male without a female counterpart' (as is always the case with the Spectre), during stage 5 he is depicted as hiding the shadowy female (Vala) (104.27; E,377), thus assuming the male-female form of a hermaphrodite. As Donald Ault has perceived,⁵ Jerusalem's veiling of Jesus parallels Satan's hiding of Vala within himself.

The characterization of Jerusalem is subtly changed in the additions during stage 5. She does not remain holy any longer, but is found to be fallen. The contrast between Rahab (Vala) and Jerusalem is conspicuous: when Rahab is in the zenith, Jerusalem is in the nadir. This occurs when a reversal of power takes place between the reality and its shadow. The triumphant state of Rahab on page 111, for instance, coincides with Jerusalem's deplorable condition: she is a willing captive, made to worship Urizen's dragon, and offer her children for sacrifice (111.1-4; E,385). Although less direct than this, the marginal additions on pages 105.11-27

and 106.7-13 made during stage 5 (concerned respectively with Rahab and Jerusalem) also show a similar contrast between these two figures. On page 105.11-27 Vala experiences her rebirth. While she was first born as the shadowy female to Urthona's Spectre and Enitharmon's Shadow in Night VIIa (85.6-7; E,360), her genesis as Rahab was grafted onto Night VIII during stage 5. In marginal additions on page 105 Rahab is created by the Synagogue of Satan from the fruit of Urizen's tree of Mystery (105.20; E,378). (Later Rahab holds the death cup pressed from the fruit of the Mystery [111.6-7; E,386], but here she is herself its poisonous fruit.) While Rahab thus appears most poisonous hidden in the Synagogue of Satan or Satan's bosom on page 105.14-25, on page 106.1-13 Jerusalem, agitated at the dead body on the cross, suggests building a sepulcher to worship death. This reflects Rahab's fallen behaviour, as once depicted at the end of Night VIII though cancelled immediately. This fallen Jerusalem, captivated by Rahab, worshipping Urizen's dragon or Death in Night VIII of Vala/The Four Zoas, is developed in chapter 3 of Jerusalem. There, equally affected by Albion's Fall into Ulro, Jerusalem is incarcerated in the dungeons of Babylon (or this material world), deluded by the turning zodiacal mills of Albion's twelve sons (60.39-44; E,210). Also the stereotypical contrast between Jerusalem and Vala -- the former in the nadir and the latter in the

zenith -- is found in Jerusalem: while Jerusalem despairs not only of becoming the bride of Jesus but even of his existence, Vala is triumphant (60.45-9; E,210-11). While in Night VIII of Vala/The Four Zoas Jerusalem offers her children to the bloody altar of Urizen's dragon (111.3-4; E,385), in Jerusalem her children are regarded by Vala, Hand and Hyle as the result of whoredoms, born for sacrifice (18.50-3, 45[31].63-4; E,163,195).

In The Great Code Northrop Frye divides certain female figures in the Bible into two groups: the maternal and the marital. Those females are further divided into three groups according to Frye's analysis of the structures of the Bible's imagery: the apocalyptic, the analogical (intermediate), and the demonic.⁶ In Blake the maternal and the marital often merge into one figure. Also, although Blake attempts to keep the apocalyptic and the demonic apart, the apocalyptic figure is inseparable from its demonic counterpart. (The invention of the demonic counterpart itself is Blake's attempt to separate the apocalyptic from the demonic.) Tirzah and Rahab, who are (using Frye's categories) respectively maternal and marital,⁷ are essentially the same figure who generates and thereby crucifies the divine Lamb. Their apocalyptic counterpart, Jerusalem, is also both maternal and marital, and is not free from the sinister connotation which haunts Tirzah and Rahab.

While in Night IX of Vala/The Four Zoas Jerusalem is the bride of the Lamb of God (as in Revelation 21.2), in Night VIII she becomes a mother figure: she provides the Lamb with the matrix through which he descends to generation (104.1-4; E,376). In Jerusalem she is mostly the bride for Jesus. However, in 'the Song of the Lamb', Jerusalem, like Tirzah (V/FZ, 105.53; E,379), is blamed for having bound down the Lamb of God upon the stems of vegetation (J, 60.11; E,210). That Mary the mother of Jesus (the maternal) and Mary Magdalen (the marital) merge in Jerusalem can be seen in the following episode:

Mary leaned her side against Jerusalem, Jerusalem
recieved

The infant into her hands in the Visions of
Jehovah. Times passed on

Jerusalem fainted over the Cross & Sepulcher

She heard the voice. (J, 61.47-9; E,212)

Here, the events of the generation and crucifixion of Jesus are given sequentially, simply linked by three words, 'Times passed on'. Whereas these two events are experienced by Jerusalem, in the original gospel narrative her role is played by two Marys: one conceives Jesus and the other hears the divine voice in the sepulcher. Jerusalem answers to the divine voice, 'A Harlot I am calld. . ./ . . I thy Magdalen behold thy Spiritual Risen Body' (62.4,14; E,212-3). The story of the bride of Jesus in Jerusalem is at the same time the story of the

mother of Jesus.

In Vala/The Four Zoas and Jerusalem Blake not only challenged the holiness of the Virgin Mary. He also challenged the accepted view of Jesus. As we have already seen, in Night VIII during stage 4 the epiphany of Jesus and that of Satan were made almost indistinguishable. Also, in the song of the sons of Eden -- the nativity song for Jesus -- what Jesus is at once expected to put on and put off is the 'dark Satanic body' (104.6-7, 13-14; E,376-7). As Ault points out,⁸ as a result of the expansion of the song of the sons of Eden (during stage 5), the nature of the body Jesus put on was changed. The merciful clothings for the Spectres prepared by Los and Enitharmon are unravelled; instead, Tirzah and Rahab weave for them webs of death and despair. Jesus is clothed with this dark mantle of death prepared by Tirzah and Rahab.

The simultaneity of the epiphanies of Jesus and of Satan can also be observed in chapter 4 of Jerusalem. Unlike in pages 87-90 of Vala/The Four Zoas, in Jerusalem Enitharmon, proud and jealous, refuses to collaborate with Los in the imaginative creation of their sons and daughters (87.12-24; E, 246). As a result of her initiative a womb is created in Jerusalem to give the Lamb of God maternal birth (88.51-3; E,247). What emerges is not Jesus but the Covering Cherub (89.9; E,248). Also, by sacrificing Luvah and becoming one with his Spectre, Albion's twelve sons attempt to make the

Divine Vision corporeal, the consequence of which is the appearance of Satan (90.40-3; E,250). Los articulates Blake's view on Jesus and Mary thus:

. . No Individual ought to appropriate to Himself
Or to his Emanation, any of the Universal
Characteristics
Of David or of Eve, of the Woman, or of the Lord.

.

A Vegetated Christ & a Virgin Eve, are the
Hermaphroditic
Blasphemy, by his Maternal Birth he is that
Evil-One
And his Maternal Humanity must be put off
Eternally. (90.28-30, 34-6; E,250)

The conclusion which Blake has drawn from his long strenuous study of the Fall is that even Jesus cannot in his maternal birth escape the general malady of being born a Spectre. By taking a dark Satanic body, however, Jesus encounters Satan not as a third person but within himself. (This is why in Night VIII of Vala/The Four Zoas Blake altered Jesus's opponent from Urizen to Satan [105.1; E,378, 842] -- the universal State of the Spectre into which any individual can fall.) While in Vala/The Four Zoas Jesus puts on and off his Satanic body by being simultaneously generated by Tirzah and crucified by Rahab, the epigram in Jerusalem 37[41] shows drastic action by which the Spectre's (or Satan's) rule can be brought to an end: 'Humanity awake / And cast his Spectre into the Lake' (E,810).

The idea of Humanity (or Jesus, residing in everyone's bosom) resolutely subduing the Spectre (or Satan) is particularly well shown in Blake's design, 'He Cast Him into the Bottomless Pit, and Shut Him Up' (Butlin, 524).⁹ As Blake indicated, the theme of this design derives from Revelation 20.1-2 [3] (an anonymous angel binds the old dragon and casts him out). A thematic link, however, exists between this design and the confrontation between Jesus and Satan. As Butlin notes, the design has also been associated with another apocalyptic battle in Revelation 12.7-9 (Butlin [text], 524). This episode of Michael and the old dragon was appropriated by Albion's Angel who wanted to claim power by identifying Orc in these terms in America (7<9>.1-7; E,53-4). In the earliest structure of Vala the equivalent encounter was expected to be between Urizen and Orc/Luvah until the Orc-Jesus-Luvah link was disrupted. In Night VIII of Vala/The Four Zoas this unfulfilled encounter between Urizen and Orc/Luvah is retained in the encounter between Satan and Jesus (105.1; E,378). Blake's design of an angel binding the dragon can be regarded as depicting a psychic drama (warring against one's own Spectre), as seen in the similarities between the angel and the dragon: the dragon's frightened face is the deformed mirror-image of the angel's face; the dragon even has shoulders, chest and hair which reflect the angel's. As critics have noticed, the interconnection between the angel and the

dragon can be seen in the outstanding geometry of the design:¹⁰ the figures are within a letter C or a circular form composed of the dragon's body. The way the angel and the dragon are related contrasts sharply with Blake's early design on a similar theme, 'Warring Angels: Abdiel¹¹ (Michael) Contending with Satan' (Butlin, 104A).

In Jerusalem Jesus does not appear corporeally but is manifested in Los when he annihilates his own Spectre. Blake's mature thought which developed through his own sufferings can be discerned in the poem's plot.¹² While Albion hides Jerusalem from Jesus (4.16-17; E,146), this injurious act causes the most acute suffering to Los, in that Enitharmon is also stolen by Albion (7.14-17; E,149). Albion's hiding of Jerusalem from Jesus overlaps with his hiding of Enitharmon from Los. All the wounds which Albion's twelve sons inflict are suffered by Los. Los, however, does not withdraw his friendship from Albion, although Los's own Spectre, full of a desire for vengeance, attempts to destroy Los's integrity through anger. Los first quells his own Spectre, finally annihilates it and occasions Albion's awakening. The appearance of Jesus in Los results from his having remained faithful to the religion of Jesus: that is the forgiveness of sins, which is, according to Blake, the equivalent of self-annihilation (J, 98.23; E,257). While the protagonist in Milton annihilates himself (his

Spectre, Satan) and precipitates the Last Judgement, in Jerusalem Los's annihilating of his own Spectre, which occasions Albion's awakening, involves forgiving Albion's harmful behaviour towards him. During stage 5 of the composition of Vala/The Four Zoas the transformation of Los takes place. Although during stage 4 Los did not fully become the inspired prophet, during stage 5 he becomes one with Jesus not by annihilating his Spectre but by forgiveness alone. What follows is the still unscrutinized story of Los, Enitharmon and Orc, which Blake introduced in the final transformative phase of Vala/The Four Zoas.

* * *

During stage 4 Los attains peace with Enitharmon by being united with Urthona's Spectre who has already been reconciled with her. Thus, Los's division from Enitharmon since stage 3 -- like other Zoas who became spectrous and divided from their Emanations -- was solved and a harmonious relationship between Los and Enitharmon in Night VIII is achieved during stage 4. This amicable relationship between Los and Enitharmon, which creates their offspring, is their exact attitude in Milton (3.38-41; E,97). During stage 5, however, their relationship in the earlier Nights become strained beyond the boundaries of discord normal between a Zoa and his Emanation during stage 3,

until Urthona's Spectre cannot mediate between them any longer. As Erdman suggests, this latest renewed tension between Los and Enitharmon in Vala/The Four Zoas is not unlike their discord in chapter 4 of Jerusalem.¹³ What follows is concerned with Blake's final transformation of the poem by deepening Los's suffering in terms of his relationship with Enitharmon.

During stage 5 a minor but important revision on the relationship between Los and Enitharmon was made in Night VIII. The function of the gates of Enitharmon's heart and the reason for their previously closed condition were revised by the addition of the following two lines:

Los could enter into Enitharmons bosom & explore
Its intricate Labyrinths now the Obdurate heart
was broken. (99.26-7; E,372)

Here, two ideas are introduced. First, during stage 4 the gates of Enitharmon's heart functioned simply as the way out whereby the dead, which descended from Beulah, were given human form. Here, because of its passage from Beulah, Enitharmon's heart is regarded as the threshold by which Los is admitted to the world above Ulro. Secondly, however, according to the addition, this threshold had been closed to Los because, as though from deep-rooted enmity, Enitharmon remained obdurate to him. Although during stage 4 the shadowy female's birth itself had a de-Spectring effect on Enitharmon, the

special reason was not yet given as the closure of the gates of Enitharmon's heart: the gates simply opened as a result of Enitharmon's Shadow's crashing through them at the shadowy female's birth.

During stage 5 Blake added in pencil the text of page 20. It tells of the daughters of Beulah weeping for Jerusalem (recognized as the collective form of the Emanation) who is barred behind the closed inner gates of Enitharmon. On the other side of Enitharmon's gates Los is shut out, unable to enter the world of Beulah:

. . . the bright female terror

Refused to open the bright gates she closed and
barred them fast

Lest Los should enter into Beulah thro her

beautiful gates. (20.5-7; E,313)

What has been so far referred to as the gates of Enitharmon's heart in Nights VIIa and VIII (85.13, 99.15-16; E,360,372) is in the added text on page 20 more clearly defined as the three gates of her brain, heart and loins (20.2-3; E,313). This makes clear that Los is intellectually, emotionally and sexually excluded from the enjoyment of Enitharmon.

Behind Enitharmon's strong animosity towards Los during stage 5 lies a death-strife which developed from their fierce rivalry. In the quarrel between Los and Enitharmon on pages 9.35-12.43 there are pencil additions which can be regarded as later

than any ink additions (11.3, 12.6, 25-9, 40, 43; E, 306-7).¹⁴ Those pencil lines show the strife between Los and Enitharmon as murderous. According to the revision, after Enitharmon's song of Vala (which reveals Enitharmon's direct involvement in Man's Fall) Los immediately resorts to violence before making any comment (11.3 [pencil addition]; E, 306). An ink line which shows Los's regret for having smitten Enitharmon (12.41; E, 307) probably existed during stage 3 or 4, which indicates that the quarrel between Los and Enitharmon already involved violence before stage 5. Yet the significance of the pencil addition during stage 5 lies in the immediacy of Los's violent reaction towards Enitharmon. Their contention enters a new phase when another pencil line is added: 'And the one must have murderd the other if he [Urizen] had not descended' (12.6; E, 306). Blake did not specify who would have murdered whom, thus indicating that the situation became critical for both Los and Enitharmon. Nevertheless, it can be inferred that Los was the chief aggressor: Los has already resorted to violence; Urizen was called in to help Enitharmon; the pencil drawing on page 12 shows a male attacking a female; Enitharmon later refers to Los's murderous assault (34.23-6; E, 323).

Los traumatizes Enitharmon by his attempt to murder her, creating an almost irrecoverable rift in their relationship. Blake, however, was in a dilemma in assigning this extreme aggression to Los

at this late stage. Whereas earlier Los leagued himself with Urizen by his spectrous curse on Enitharmon (11.15-18; E,306), Blake made confrontation between Los and Urizen unmistakable as he gradually filled the margins of page 12. While Los shows extreme aggressiveness towards Enitharmon, in defiance of Urizen Los appears to him not as fallen but as the eternal prophet. Urizen speaks:

Art thou a visionary of Jesus the soft delusion
of Eternity

Lo I am God the terrible destroyer & not the
Saviour

Why should the Divine Vision compell the sons of
Eden

to forego each his own delight to war against his
Spectre

The Spectre is the Man the rest is only delusion
& fancy. (12.25-9; E,307)

Urizen perceives Los as a Jesus figure because he battles against his own Spectre. As though to reconcile the youthful Los's cruelty and his mature divine aspect, another pencil addition depicts Los pitying Enitharmon and weeping over her wounds (12.40; E,307).

What lurks behind the death-strife between Los and Enitharmon, and also the confrontation between Los and Urizen, is the alliance between Urizen and Enitharmon. Percival, by means of the astrological symbolism, points out the striking potential of the

subsequent nuptial feast of Los and Enitharmon. He identifies the feast, which precedes Man's Fall and the creation of the starry world in Night II, as the feast of mortality in the astrological myths in which the soul takes in the fatal draught of matter. What is celebrated in the feast so understood is the marriage between the Lion (Leo) and the Virgin (Virgo). Percival says, 'The zodiacal Lion of Blake's myth is Urizen;¹⁵ the zodiacal Virgin, Enitharmon. . . . Astrological symbolism would require, then, that Urizen, not Los, should marry Enitharmon'.¹⁶ Percival did not think Blake deviated significantly from the astrological myth, both because Urizen was present at the nuptial feast, and also because, in the furore between Los and Enitharmon, Urizen took sides with Enitharmon, proving himself to be her real counterpart.¹⁷ Indeed, Urizen's presence at the nuptial feast seems to be essential, though the reason for his appearance varies from stage to stage of composition. When the rivalry between Los and Enitharmon was still moderate during stage 2, Urizen seemed to have descended in response to Los's attribution to him of absolute authority. During stage 3, however, Urizen was invoked by Enitharmon as her ally. There are signs that the esoteric symbolic significance of the feast became more important to Blake during stage 5.

The marginal additions on page 34 of Night II show the aftermath of the traumatic incident in

Night I during stage 5. Those marginal additions, which were not included in Blake's line-numbering of Night II during stage 3, were transcribed during stage 4 or 5. Since they are numbered on their own to seventy-one, most of these lines must have been written during stage 4 (because, while Blake numbered lines in Nights VIIb, VIII and IX during stage 4, he did not number lines on the additional pages [111-16] during stage 5). The main focus, therefore, must be on the lines which were written over erasures, squeezed between lines, and not included among the seventy-one numbered lines. The following is Enitharmon's response to Los's reproach for evading his embrace:

. . . Secure now from the smitings of thy Power
Demon of fury If the God enrapturd me infolds
In clouds of sweet obscurity my beauteous form
dissolving
Howl thou over the body of death.

(34.23-6; E,323)

The words underlined were revised and made harmonious with Los and Enitharmon's death-strife in Night I during stage 5. Enitharmon claims that if Urizen had not rescued her from Los's smitings Los would be howling over her corpse. The seriousness of her death, however, is diminished in the context: Los and Enitharmon cyclically fall into death and again come to life (32.48-9,54-6; E,323). The idea of Enitharmon departing from Los while her corpse remain with him first appears during stage 3 in

Night VIIa (81.10-15; E,356-7). In Night VIIa Enitharmon, lifeless, lies on Los's knees, while her Shadow descends to the nether world to be embraced by Urthona's Spectre. Here in Night II, Los is also dead while Enitharmon leaves her corpse with him; the distinction between Enitharmon and her Shadow is no more; Enitharmon's partner is Urizen. Enitharmon's song, which 'revives' Los from his spiritually dead condition to material life, is no less subversive than her song of Vala in Night I. The objective of her song is symbolically shown at the very end in description of Man's succumbing to the watery shadow (34.88-92; E,324): that is, the rule of the feminine (material) over the masculine (spiritual). Enitharmon achieves this by worsening Los's sexual frustration, since her song, contrary to her 'chaste' attitude towards Los, is concerned with sexual liberation. The purpose of such contradictory behaviour is shown in the following lines which were added during stage 5:

The joy of woman is the Death of her most best
beloved

Who dies for Love of her

In torments of fierce jealousy & pangs of
adoration. (34.64-66; E,324)

This parallels the attitude of Gwendolen in Jerusalem who, pretending chastity, drives the warriors to war with the claim that 'Love may only be obtained in the passages of Death' (J, 81.7; E, 238). Los is driven to the same plight as the

frustrated warriors who become drunk with unsatiated love until their intellect is no more (J. 62-7; E, 222).

Blake's latest revision of Vala/The Four Zoas transforms the poem by deepening Los's suffering. This important transformation takes place in Los's psyche, while other new material added during stage 5 is combined with already existing aspects of the work to prepare the background. What, in my view, is called into question during stage 5 is Orc's natural parentage. When in Vala/The Four Zoas did Los embrace Enitharmon? In the final revision, after the traumatic death-strife with Los, Enitharmon obdurately closes her gates against Los in Night I. Although they burst open momentarily when Los, repentant of having chained down Orc, attempts to unchain him (63.11-12; E,343), they close again until forced open at the shadowy female's birth in Night VIIa. While in Night II Enitharmon evades Los's embrace, Los remains neglected in Night VIIa, as his jealous lamentation indicates (81.23-82.14; E,357). In The Book of Urizen, however, it is clear that Los begets Orc with Enitharmon:

. . . Los saw the Female & pitied;
He embrac'd her; she wept, she refus'd;
In perverse and cruel delight
She fled from his arms, yet he follow'd.

(19.10-13; E,79)

The narrative in Nights IV and V of Vala/The Four

Zoas closely follows that of The Book of Urizen with some important revisions. In Night IV Los divides after binding Urizen and, according to Blake's editorial instruction, even (as in The Book of Urizen) exudes a globe of blood (55.24-7; E,338) (showing Enitharmon's separation from Los), although Enitharmon was already born from Enion as Los's twin sister in Night I. The subsequent Night V depicts Enitharmon in labour. When the narrative of Vala/The Four Zoas is compared with that of The Book of Urizen the episode of Los embracing Enitharmon is missing between Enitharmon's quasi-rebirth and her giving birth to Orc. This episode was not entirely absent from the poem, however. Bentley regards the design of a woman frantically breaking away from a man's arms on page 112 as depicting the lines of The Book of Urizen quoted above.¹⁸ He confirms by the evidence of stitch marks that pages 111-12 did not initially belong to Night VIII but were bound with pages 43-84 (during stage 3).¹⁹ Although Bentley hypothesizes that the leaf bearing pages 111-12 was added to Night IV after Blake cancelled the end mark on page 55 and added text on page 56, this, as Lincoln argues,²⁰ is unlikely. The leaf was bound with pages 43-84 during stage 3, while the text on pages 55-6 was apparently added during stage 4 (the symbolism of 'the Council of God', 'Luvah's robes of blood' and the presentation of Albion as a rock decaying in the middle of the sea [55.10-11, 56.4-5,13-16; E,337] are all typical of this stage

of development). In my view pages 111-12 were originally prepared as the fifth leaf of Night IV, graphically complementing the missing narrative. However, Blake replaced the leaf with another, this replacement made the leaf bearing pages 111-12 redundant, it may have been, as Lincoln suggests,²¹ bound at the end of Night VIIa. If the pencil drawing on page 112 was initially meant to supplement the episode of Los embracing Enitharmon, the cancellation of the design for the tailpiece of Night IV and its transference to the later Night signify that the embrace between Los and Enitharmon was considerably delayed.

The idea of Los being made a cuckold by Enitharmon did not suddenly occur to Blake during stage 5. There are signs that this narrative potential was in Blake's mind from an early stage, often tinging the Los and Enitharmon myth. The idea itself was first outlined in Visions of the Daughters of Albion. In this poem Theotormon is torn by fierce jealousy when his love, Oothoon, is raped by Bromion and becomes pregnant. Although Blake seems to have remained silent of what became of Oothoon's child, the child's destiny is, in my view, present graphically in the America Preludium. The headpiece design carries a family drama of a man who carried out aggression, a weeping woman and a child chained down on the rock. Although these figures are immediately identified as Los, Enitharmon and Orc, Los and Enitharmon are depicted

like Oothoon and Theotormon on plate 6 of Visions of the Daughters of Albion. It is not impossible that Theotormon, as a culmination of his torments of love and jealousy, took revenge on his illegitimate son by chaining him down, and by so doing also punished his adulterous wife. This narrative potential, in my view, surfaces in the relationship of Los, Enitharmon and Orc during stage 5 of Vala/The Four Zoas.

That Blake gradually steered the myth of Los, Enitharmon and Orc in this direction can be seen from the hidden parallel between Visions of The Daughters of Albion and Vala/The Four Zoas. There are three points. First, Urizen is not unlike Bromion in terms of his knowledge of Orc's birth. Bromion's certainty about Oothoon's pregnancy (VDA, 2.1-2; E,46) is almost unreal as such knowledge is necessarily at first peculiar to women. However, in Visions of the Daughters of Albion this crucial information is disclosed by Bromion at the beginning of the poem in order to provoke the subsequent drama of a cuckolded husband, his wife and their yet unborn child. In Vala/The Four Zoas Urizen is the only figure to foretell Orc's birth. In Night I Urizen, lowering on Enitharmon and triumphantly smiling on Los, says:

. . . Thou art the Lord of Luvah into thine hands
I give

The prince of Love the murderer his soul is in
thine hands

Pity not Vala for she pitied not the Eternal Man
Nor pity thou the cries of Luvah. Lo these starry
hosts

They are thy servants if thou wilt obey my awful
Law. (12.13-17; E,307)

Urizen means by 'giving Luvah into Los's hands' that Luvah shall be born to Los (as his son) and also that Los shall chain down Orc/Luvah on the rock. Calling Luvah a murderer (of Albion), Urizen even attempts to convince Los that his order is legitimate, whereas the act of chaining down Orc/Luvah becomes a curse to Los. Urizen appears to be telling Los what is unavoidably destined for him regardless of Urizen's will. Yet that this is not the case is shown by Los's furious response: perceiving Urizen's hypocrisy and hidden calculation, Los says, 'art thou one of those who when most complacent / Mean mischief most' (12.18-9; E,307). The worst scenario for Los would be that Urizen, by manipulating Los's jealousy, should make Los chain down Orc and thereby secured Urizen himself from his enemy without his lifting a finger. In the overall framework of Vala/The Four Zoas Orc proves to be most threatening to Urizen, not to Los. (Urizen's worries about Orc are betrayed to Ahania in Night III [38.2-11; E,326]; also important is the crucial encounter between Jesus and Satan in Night VIII, which is transformed from the final encounter between Orc and Urizen). Secondly, in Visions of the Daughters of Albion Theotormon takes

revenge against the 'adulterous pair' by binding them back to back (2.3-5; E,46) -- as Vulcan did to his wife Venus and her lover Mars. A similar action is taken by Los in Vala/The Four Zoas. When Los binds Urizen with chains of hours, days and years, Enitharmon (as Space) also writhes -- yet the following lines imply something more than an allegory:

. chained in ceaseless fire
The lovely female howld & Urizen beneath deep
groand
Deadly between the hammers beating grateful to
the Ears
Of Los. absorbed in dire revenge he drank with joy
the cries
Of Enitharmon & the groans of Urizen fuel for his
wrath
And for his pity secret feeding on thoughts of
cruelty. (53.9-14; E,335-6)

That Enitharmon suffers when Urizen is being bound by Los in Vala/The Four Zoas is another important deviation from The Book of Urizen. In The Book of Urizen Enitharmon cannot be bound with Urizen since she comes into being only after Urizen is bound and Los divides by pitying him. In Vala/The Four Zoas it is clear that by binding Urizen Los takes revenge on Enitharmon as well as on Urizen. Thirdly, in Visions of the Daughters of Albion Oothoon, spurned by Theotormon as defiled, protests to Urizen on her own behalf and also on behalf of her unborn child. Her

powerful protest culminates in her perception of the holiness in all living things (8.9-10; E,51). In Vala/The Four Zoas Enitharmon repeats these lines in her song designed to increase Los's pain (34.78-80; E,324). It would be difficult to explain why one of Blake's most sacred messages should appear in Enitharmon's aggressive song, unless the hidden parallel between Oothoon and Enitharmon is realized. Although the difference between the two is more conspicuous than the similarity (Oothoon is a brave fighter caught between Bromion's cruelty and Theotormon's spectrous ego; Enitharmon is allied with Urizen and hostile to her own husband), both conceive children outside marriage. In order to madden Los with jealousy, Enitharmon taunts him with the fact of her pregnancy.

The three narratives in Vala/The Four Zoas, which parallel narratives of Visions of the Daughters of Albion, were the transcribed (or added) during stages 3 and 4. Given this (together with Blake's dropping the design of page 112 for the tailpiece design of Night IV during stage 3), it can be seen that Los was gradually converted into a cuckold from stage 3 onwards. This conversion was triggered by the animosity between Los and Enitharmon during this stage. The plot of Los being made cuckold is evident even in Urthona's Spectre's wooing of Enitharmon's Shadow unknown to Los and begetting the shadowy female. Although this was initially Urthona's Spectre's attempt to end the

divided condition of Urthona by de-spectring Enitharmon as well as himself, during stage 4 (where the inspired role is transferred from Urthona's Spectre to Los), Urthona's Spectre is presented as though allied with Urizen against Los. The following command of Urizen to his daughters was added during stage 4 (or 5):

. . . bring the shadow of Enitharmon beneath our
wondrous tree

That Los may Evaporate like smoke & be no more
Draw down Enitharmon to the Spectre of Urthona
And let him have dominion over Los the terrible
shade

(80.5-8; E, 355)

Although Urizen's intention to undermine Los (during stage 4) echoes Urthona's Spectre's intention to destroy the 'body' he created (84.34-5; E, 359) (during stage 3), Urthona's Spectre's goal was, as seen in his heroic attempt to be united with Los during stage 4, to achieve an undivided Urthona/Los. Urizen, on the other hand, plots out of malice against Los, assuming that Urthona's Spectre is the Spectre of the dead, without knowing that his plot to destroy Los will lead to the contrary result. In the quotation above Urizen's peculiar malice towards Los as well as his unique means of undermining Los -- through adulterous behaviour of Enitharmon -- can be clearly seen.

The reassessment of Los during stage 5 became possible when the cause of his suffering was

transformed. While Los's suffering culminates in the chaining down of Orc -- which shows him as helplessly provoked by jealousy to carry out a spectrous revenge -- he finally exerts his utmost power to pull his fragmented pieces together, and he attains unity. Without knowing the hidden background of Los's suffering, his heroism shown in the additions to Night VIIa and VIII during stage 5 (particularly pages 87-90 and pages 113-16) cannot be fully understood. What follows is an attempt to trace the hidden dynamic by which Los finally emerges as the eternal prophet.

Page 87 begins with Enitharmon breaking away from Los's embrace: thus unity between Los and Enitharmon, which was about to be attained by Urthona's Spectre's intervention, is disrupted. Enitharmon flees trembling from Los, not any longer because of her enmity towards Los (as her gates are already open), but because of her fear of having committed sin. Los says to Enitharmon:

Could thou but cease from terror & trembling &
affright

When I appear before thee in forgiveness of
ancient injuries

Why should thou remember & be afraid. . . .

.

I also tremble at myself & at all my former life.

(87.46-8,51; E,369)

'Ancient injuries' refers not to Los's murderous

assault against Enitharmon but to Enitharmon's sin, as Los is presented as a forgiving as well as repentant husband. On page 87 a contrast between Los and Enitharmon in their attitude towards sin can be seen. Enitharmon, by gathering the fruit of Urizen's tree of Mystery and thereby knowing that she has sinned, absorbs the doctrine of atonement for sins (87.15-19; E,369). (Also, Enitharmon later shows that her perception of God is distorted, as she regards the Lamb of God descending through her gates as the punisher.) On the other hand, Los thinks that since he has forgiven Enitharmon she should not be afraid of her sin any longer. In respectively giving and eating the fruit of Urizen's religious tree of Mystery, Enitharmon and Los can be identified with Eve and Adam, but after 'six thousand Years of self denial and bitter Contrition' (87.28; E,369), Los emerges as Joseph, in Jerusalem the greatest 'cuckold', who forgives his wife and thereby makes the descent of the Saviour possible, while Enitharmon corresponds to Joseph's forgiven wife, Mary. Although initially Enitharmon is not as inspired as Mary, her great exultation when released from fear of sin and punishment is reminiscent of that of Mary, who flows like the river of life in Eden (J, 61.28-33; E,212). Although Los's aggression against Orc cannot be undone, at the crucial reconciliation between Los and Enitharmon -- which the episode of Joseph and Mary in Jerusalem underlies -- Orc is comforted. Orc, who has been

twice released from his chains and transformed into a serpent (81.3-4, 93.21-6; E,356,365), is again found in chains, still retaining his human form (90.49; E,371).²² Urizen, though Los's dire enemy, is drawn from the ranks of war and rests in Los's arms as an infant love (90.64-7; E,371) (whereas during stage 4 a confrontation between Los and Urizen is imminent in Night VIII [100.26-34, 101.30-42; E,373-4]).

Pages 113-16 were written for insertion into Night VIII (113.1-37 between lines 10 and 11 of page 104; 113.38-116.6 between lines 16 and 17 of page 106). The first thirty-seven lines of page 113 are incorporated into the nativity song of the songs of Eden for the divine Lamb. Although the dead (including the Lamb) are at first given delightful clothing by Los and Enitharmon, this is later unravelled and instead a web of death and despair is prepared for them by Tirzah and Rahab. As already explained, by this addition Los and Enitharmon are saved from the sinister implication of generating and crucifying the Lamb. Also, as Ault points out,²³ the Lamb of God eventually appears in the clothing prepared by Tirzah and Rahab. 113.1-37 should be regarded as transitional: it shows Blake's idea of the generation of Jesus as it evolved between pages 87 and 90 of Vala/The Four Zoas and plates 87-8 of Jerusalem: in Vala/The Four Zoas the attempt of Los and Enitharmon to generate the Lamb of God is eventually taken over by Tirzah and Rahab,

and the Lamb appears in the clothing prepared by Tirzah and Rahab alone (113.29-34; E,377); in Jerusalem the whole process is abbreviated and the failure to incarnate the Lamb, which is seen in the appearance of the Covering Cherub, is attributed to the initiative taken by Enitharmon, after quarreling with Los, on behalf of the maternal creation (88.51-89.13; E,248).

Pages 113.38-116.6 are inserted between the death of Jesus and Urizen's experience of stupefaction on page 106. It is clear from Blake's writing over erasure and minor alterations that he transformed these pages for the present context. Probably they were initially intended to introduce Satan more fully into the poem, since his appearance in Night VIII seems otherwise too abrupt. Blake may have found the way Satan is drawn into Night VIII inadequate, all the more so because of his importance and because of the completion of the myth of Satan in the Bard's song of Milton, where he falls and is cut away from Golgonooza. The text of page 115, however, is dramatically converted into part of Los's heroic speech to Rahab. Although Ault interprets Los's speech as functioning to convey power to Rahab,²⁴ far from power being conferred on Rahab, she is dwindling. Los's speech is preceded by lines which show that the crucifixion of the Lamb immediately results in Rahab's downfall:

. . . when Rahab had cut off the Mantle of Luvah
from

The Lamb of God it rolled apart, revealing to all
in heaven

And all on Earth the Temple & the Synagogue of
Satan & Mystery

Even Rahab in all her turpitude Rahab divided
herself. (113.38-41; E,379)

As Stevenson points out,²⁵ this is Blake's version of the temple veil being torn at Jesus's death. Thus Rahab (who resides in Satan's bosom or his Synagogue) divides: her triumph was short-lived. Los's speech to Rahab, as Bloom comments, is 'a great and climactic passage'²⁶ mainly because of Los's crucial confession:

O Rahab I behold thee I was once like thee a Son
Of Pride and I also have piercd the Lamb of God
in pride & wrath. (113.51-2; E,380)

Through his encounter with Rahab the crucifier, Los also faces Rahab in himself. One way in which Los has crucified the divine Lamb is in having chained down of Orc. Although Damon took these lines more philosophically,²⁷ the passage would not have any impact at all unless Los identifies himself with Rahab through his own experience. Los's identification with Rahab cannot be 'charitable' as Wilkie and Johnson think.²⁸ The parallel between Los-Enitharmon-Orc and Joseph-Mary-Jesus during stage 5 indicates that, unlike Joseph, Los, in the torment of love and jealousy, crucified his illegitimate son, Orc.

In the final transformative phase of stage 5 the significance of the central myth of Los and Enitharmon in Vala/The Four Zoas comes close to that of Jerusalem. In Jerusalem Enitharmon, hidden by Albion, is absent for most of the poem. Los regains her after the strenuous effort of subduing his own Spectre and his self-sacrifice in friendship for Albion. The initial accursed vision of the Fall in The Book of Urizen is reversed in Los's regaining Enitharmon in Jerusalem: Enitharmon appears before Los as a globe of blood as though separated from his body (86.50-60; E,245 / BU, 18.1-8; E,78). In Vala/The Four Zoas Enitharmon closes her gates against Los because of her animosity towards him. Los suffers her absence, like Los in Jerusalem, until he regains her at the end of Night VIIa.

Epilogue

Before discussion of the evolution of Vala/
The Four Zoas is concluded the problem of why the
poem remained in manuscript, which has not been
satisfactorily resolved, should be addressed in the
light of what is made clear in this thesis.¹ Did
Blake intend to publish the poem? If he did, when
and why did he give up the idea? The poem's
manuscript status must be explained properly
because it is often misunderstood as the sign of
abandonment or failure.

The earliest Vala, part of which Blake
transcribed in his best copperplate hand, was
undoubtedly intended to be engraved and published.
Above all, the poem was Blake's most comprehensive
study of Man's Fall and Judgement, and as such was
meant to be given to the public. Also, as Bentley
suggests, the copperplate hand transcription was
intended as the 'model to be copied' for
engraving.² After the first poetic structure was
shattered, the reconstruction of the poem was
Blake's most urgent task. It was by stage 3 of the
transcription of Vala/The Four Zoas that Blake
resumed his intention of publishing the poem. This
is known from the fact that by stage 3 he had
completed his study of the Fall (and thereby had a
clear prospect of the Judgement) and numbered lines
from Night I to VIIa (up to page 84) in ink by

fifties. Bentley is right in thinking that Blake numbered lines to estimate the amount of copperplate necessary to etch the poem.³ While numbering lines Blake also made 'final' decisions about which lines should be included. I am increasingly convinced that Blake reveals his intention to publish Vala/The Four Zoas in his letter to Thomas Butts, dated 25 April, 1803: the poem which shows Blake's crucial spiritual activity while in Felpham, his 'Grand Reason' for having stayed there, cannot be anything but Vala/The Four Zoas.⁴ Blake's poetic genius stood or fell depending on this poem's fate. As Vala/The Four Zoas remained in manuscript, the poems referred to by Blake in his letters as ready for publication are often understood to be Milton or Jerusalem, but these identifications must remain tentative if we assume Blake continued intending to publish Vala/The Four Zoas. During stage 4 Blake sustained hopes of publication in spite of major shifts in his vision. Blake's intention to publish the poem during stage 4 can also be seen from his numbering of the lines of Night VIIb, VIII and IX. That Blake stopped numbering lines during stage 5 is, in my view, a clear sign that he finally dropped the idea of publication. This is not unrelated to the development of Jerusalem which, during this period, came close to completion. Two issues indicate problematic discrepancies between Vala/The Four Zoas and Jerusalem. As is fully elaborated in this thesis, in Vala/The Four Zoas

Urthona's Spectre is, anomalously, an inspired figure. In Vala/The Four Zoas Los, who was destined to chain down Orc in Night V -- a narrative which is no longer required in Jerusalem -- needed to externalize his faculty of inspiration before showing aggression towards it. This device was to rescue Los from falling completely. However, in Vala/The Four Zoas to resolve Los's divided condition, Los has to be united with Urthona's Spectre, whereas in Jerusalem Los has to annihilate it -- by the decisive act of which 'all his pyramids [of pride] were grains / Of sand & his pillars: dust on the fly's wing' [J, 91.47-8; E,252]. Blake's view on the Spectre is unequivocally shown in Jerusalem (and in late additions in Vala/The Four Zoas): 'The Spectre is . . . insane, and most deform'd' (J, 33[37].4; E,179 / V/FZ, 5.38-9, 84.36-7; E,303,360). The Spectre, instead of being united with Los, must be annihilated or 'cast into the Lake' (E,810). From this point of view, Vala/The Four Zoas has a major contradiction. This contradiction cannot be resolved by demoting Urthona's Spectre to the Spectre in Blake's usual sense, the revision which Blake in fact made during stages 4 and 5 (80.5-8, 85.39-40, 87.29-38; E,355,368-9). Another discrepancy between Vala/The Four Zoas and Jerusalem, which became clear to Blake during stage 5, was also a fundamental issue to him -- that is, how Jesus should be manifested. While in Vala/The Four Zoas Jesus is generated and

crucified, in Jerusalem the impossibility of the incarnation of Jesus is preached (88.49-89.13, 90.28-43; E,247-8, 250). The body is repugnant to the Lamb and Jesus must be manifested internally. Issues such as these must have deterred Blake from engraving Vala/The Four Zoas. In his letter to William Hayley on 12 March, 1804 Blake says, 'I curse & bless Engraving alternately, because it takes so much time & is so untractable, tho' capable of such beauty & perfection'.⁵ Blake clearly foresaw that taking the huge trouble of engraving of Vala/The Four Zoas would only result in weakening his final view in Jerusalem. Jerusalem is no doubt the more consolidated work. Nevertheless, while Jerusalem is the straighter road, Vala/The Four Zoas is a characteristically crooked road of genius -- a dark perilous path with which Blake struggled in a divided existence.

Notes

Introduction

1. In Jerusalem four denotes eternity and three the fallen condition. For instance, the great city of Golgonooza is fourfold (J, 12.45-13.25; E,156-7); Ulro, the land of death, has twenty-seven heavens (the number three multiplied by itself three times) (13.30-4; E,157). According to H.B. De Groot, in Lamaism the mandara is on a quaternary system, the World Wheel on a ternary system ('The Ouroboros and the Romantic Poets. A Renaissance Emblem in Blake, Coleridge and Shelley', English Studies. A Journal of English Letters and Philosophy, 50 (1969), pp.553-64 (p.560).

2. Bentley regards 1795 as the earliest possible date for the first copy of Vala. It is the year when Richard Edwards commissioned Blake to illustrate Young's Night Thoughts and supplied the large number of sheets watermarked, 'J Whatman 1794' -- the leaves on which Blake mostly transcribed Vala/The Four Zoas (see V/FZ [Bentley], p.194). Although Blake kept the manuscript until he gave it to his patron, John Linnell in 1822, probably the final additions to the manuscript were complete by early in the decade 1810-20. This can be deduced from the earliest possible date of completion of the composition of Jerusalem (according to Erdman, 1815 [E,809]), which contains a slightly more advanced version of Blake's myth than that found in the latest additions to Vala/The Four Zoas.

3. V/FZ (Bentley), pp.157-66.

4. 1795 is the most probable date for the bitter quatrain of the Preludium of America (2<4>.18-21; E,52). As detailed later, in my view the earliest structure of Vala was shattered when the myth of Orc collapsed.

5. Margoliouth, pp.156-7.

6. V/FZ (Bentley), pp.202-6.

7. The Times Literary Supplement, 1 April, 1926, p.249.

8. Margoliouth, p.xxiii.

9. They are generally recognized as Night VIIa (77-90) and Night VIIb (91-8). They are kept separate except in Erdman's 1982 edition and W.H. Stevenson's 1989 edition (in which Erdman's text is used). In Erdman's The Four Zoas Night VIIa and Night VIIb are conflated, reflecting his reconsideration of the relationship between the two

Nights.

10. The idea of an 'Orc cycle' was first articulated by Northrop Frye, Fearful Symmetry. A Study of William Blake, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947, pp.206-35.

P A R T I : The Rise and Fall of the Myth of Orc

1. Orc's Origin

1. Keynes pointed out that the rough sketch on page 108 of Blake's Notebook, where the second preliminary stage of 'The Tyger' is transcribed, is Orc in the flames 'perhaps for the subject in plate 10<12> of America' (The Note-Book of William Blake called The Rossetti Manuscript, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, London, Nonesuch Press, 1935, p.162). Mary E. Bacon reinforced the identification between the tiger and Orc which was based on this evidence in 'Blake's THE TYGER', Explicator, 26 (1967-8), item 35. Erdman produced a clearer facsimile version of Blake's Notebook partly using infra-red photography, identifying the roughly sketched figure of page 108 with Satan springing up from Chaos (The Notebook of William Blake. A Photographic and Typographic Facsimile, ed. David V. Erdman with the assistance of Donald K. Moore, 1973, Readex Books, revised edn., 1977). The clearly reproduced page apparently reveals that before a figure emerged out of the tempestuous waves or flames in the posture of Orc in plate 12 of America the page contained drawings of cherubim with their hands entwined and wings folded as in the design, 'David Delivered out of Many Waters: "He rode upon the Cherubim"' (Butlin, 552). Similar cherubim represent the morning stars on plate 14 of Blake's Job designs. The rough sketch on page 108 is relevant to the image of the morning transcribed in the new stanza (later stanza five) of 'The Tyger' on the same page.

2. Martin K. Nurmi, 'Blake's Revisions of "THE TYGER"' (1956), William Blake: Songs of Innocence and Experience, ed. Margaret Bottrall, London, Macmillan, 1970, pp.198-217.

3. Raine, vol.1, p.9.

4. Richard Price, 'A Discourse on the Love of our Country' delivered on November 4, 1789, at the Meeting-House in the Old Jewry, to the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain (3rd edn., 1790), in Burke, Paine, Godwin, and the Revolution Controversy ed. Marilyn Butler,

Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p.29.

5. Erdman first thought that Blake used g with its serif on the left side between 1791 and 1805 ('The Suppressed and Altered Passages in Blake's Jerusalem', Studies in Bibliography, 17 (1964), pp.1-51 [pp.52-3]). Later, he revised the view and showed that Blake used the particular g until November 1802 (E,817).

6. Pages which, according to this argument, were written in 1790 are pp. 2-3, 5-6, 11-13, 21-24.

7. 'The Argument' on page 2 has a different tone. It may have been engraved towards the end of 1790. Erdman notes, 'I have given up the idea that the "Argument" is a late part of the work; in style of lettering it is early, as are plates 3 (containing allusion to Blake's 33rd birthday, i.e. Nov. 28, 1790, alongside which Blake wrote "1790" in one copy), 5-6, 11-13, and 21-24' (Prophet, p.152).

8. While Wollstonecraft blamed Milton for having described 'our first frail mother' (p.88), she was, nevertheless, delighted by the view that the republican poet had Adam express to God before the creation of Eve:

Among unequals what society
Can sort, what harmony or true delight?
Which must be mutual, in proportion due
Giv'n and receiv'd; but in disparity
The one intense, the other still remiss
Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
Tedious alike; of fellowship I speak
Such as I seek, fit to participate
All rational delight --

(PL, VIII: 383-91. The three underlined words put in italics by Wollstonecraft.)

The lines are quoted in Vindication of the Rights of Woman in The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler, assistant editor, Emma Rees-Mogg, 7 vols., London, William Pickering, 1989, vol.5, pp.89-90.

9. Richard Price, op.cit., pp.31-2.

10. Edmund Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France, 1790, ed. E.J.Paine, Burke: Select Works, 3 vols, vol.2, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1877, p.13.

11. Ibid., p.39.

12. MHH, 11; E,38.

13. Prophet, pp.218-19.

14. Erdman pointed out that the scene was satirized by Gillray on December 30, 1792 in a cartoon titled 'The Dagger Scene; or, the Plot Discover'd'. Blake's is 'a prophetic transformation of the

Gillray satire' (Prophet, p.219).

15. Richard Price, op.cit., p.32.

16. Prophet, p.192:

17. Moloch, Belial, Mammon and Beëlzebub argue respectively for open war with the Heavenly monarch, enduring the present condition rather than losing it for worse, enjoying liberty in Hell, and the fraud of the easier enterprise of conquering earth.

18. Book IV. 32-113. While Satan's own remorse and despair are key-notes, his ire, fear, hope and envy echo the views of Moloch, Belial, Mammon and Beëlzebub.

19. The Duke of Burgundy, because of his speech in favour of open war, was seen as Moloch by William F. Halloran, 'The French Revolution: Revelation's New Form', Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, ed. David V. Erdman and John E. Grant, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970, p.40.

20. Edmund Burke, op.cit., p.93.

21. Blake specifically refers to this chapter in MHH, 3; E,34.

22. John Beer argues that the stone is rolled against a cave in which Man is closed, preventing his resurrection. See Blake's Humanism, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1968, p.104. The tablet of law is identical with a tombstone in the design for the title page of The Book of Urizen.

23. There are many designs which contain the Sun and the Moon in the same sphere in Blake. My argument may be best illustrated by 'Satan watching the Endearments of Adam and Eve' (Butlin, 648,657). This design is particularly revealing in that the jealous Satan, hovering above the loving pair, is located between the Sun and the Moon, foreshadowing the future division between them.

24. Martin K. Nurmi, "Blake's Revisions of 'THE TYGER'", op.cit., p.200 ff.

25. The following is a transcription of the second stage of 'The Tyger'.

Tyger Tyger burning bright
In the forests of the night
What Immortal hand & [or] eye
Dare frame thy fearful symmetry

And what shoulder & what art
Could twist the sinews of thy heart
And when thy heart began to beat
What dread hand & what dread feet

When the stars threw down their spears
And waterd heaven with their tears
Did he smile his work to see
Did he who made the lamb make thee

Tyger Tyger burning bright
In the forests of the night
What immortal hand & eye
Dare frame thy fearful symmetry

(NB, N108, transcript).

26. See note 1 for the commentary on the pencil design on page 108.

27. See Prophet, p.192.

2. The Gradual Crystallization and the First
Manifestation of Orc's Myth

1. Arnold Fawens, ed. America; a prophecy, 'Description and Bibliographical Statement' written by Geoffrey Keynes, Clairvaux, Jura, Trianon Press, 1963.

2. BB, p.86.

3. E, 802.

4. Ibid., p.802.

5. BB, p.86.

6. Ibid., p.86.

7. E, 692-3.

8. 'Facsimile or Forgery? An Examination of America, Plates 4 & 9, Copy B', BIQ, 16 (1983), pp. 219-23 (p.220).

9. Erdman put Blake's perception of the American War in this succinct form in Prophet, p.66.

10. These proofs are reproduced in IB, pp. 392-4. Plate c and its pencil revisions are more clearly seen on plate 1 of Census.

11. Bentley's pagination of America is adopted here and the work is counted from the frontispiece, although Blake numbered some copies from the Preludium (a practice followed by Erdman).

12. The absence of plates 5, 6 and 7 would have given less prominence to plate 8. Orc is looming up without being identified on plates 5, 6 and 7 until his articulate voice and vision manifests him on plate 8.

13. PL, II.968-9.

14. Raine, vol.1, pp.168-170.

15. Thomas Taylor the Platonist. Selected Writings, ed. Kathleen Raine and George Mills Harper, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969, p.373.

16. Ibid., p.344.

17. Taylor, op.cit., p. 373.

18. As many critics perceived, Oothoon is associated with Mary Wollstonecraft. Mary's spirit was infused into Oothoon when she plucked the marygold. Mary's view is articulated in the following:

Would ye, O my sisters, really possess modesty, ye must remember that the possession of virtue, of any denomination, is incompatible with ignorance and vanity! ye must acquire that soberness of mind, which the exercise of duties, and the pursuit of knowledge, alone inspire, or ye will still remain in a doubtful dependent situation, and only be loved whilst ye are fair! The downcast eye, the rosy blush, the retiring grace, are all proper in their season; but modesty, being the child of reason, cannot long exist with the sensibility that is not tempered by reflection.

(A Vindication of the Rights of Woman from The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, ed. Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler, assistant editor, Emma Rees-Mogg, 7 vols., London, William Pickering, 1989, vol.5, p.200.

19. Taylor, op. cit., p. 373.

20. The details of the myth are in The Odyssey, Book VIII, 307-402.

21. Taylor, op. cit., p. 373.

22. Raine, vol.1, pp. 174-6.

23. The inscription runs as follows:

Angels to be very small as small as the letters
that they may not interfere with the subject
at bottom - which is to be in a stormy sky &
rain separated from the angels by Clouds.

(Butlin [Text], p.116)

24. Taylor, op. cit., p. 373.

25. In my view, plate 9 is latest part of the work, composed around 1795. How Orc is linked to Luvah on this page is discussed later.

26. Keynes & Wolf consider 'the frontispiece and the title-page normally ... the last completed section of any book' (Census, p.27). In my view, Blake invented the frontispiece around 1793 to integrate graphic designs which would otherwise have remained in fragments. For instance, only copy B of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell has the frontispiece ('Our End Is Come', dated June 5, 1793). This design grew out of a design in which Tiriel denounces his three sons, as Butlin showed by bringing together two similar designs (see Butlin, 223, 224 and 333).

27. The Odyssey of Homer, trans. Alexander Pope, ed. Maynard Mack, associate editors, Norman Callan,

Robert Fagles, William Frost, Douglas M. Knight, 2 vols., New Haven, Yale University Press, 1967, vol.2, Book XIII, 122-35, pp.7-9.

28. Ibid., XIII, 127-8, p.8.

29. Thomas Taylor the Platonist, Selected Writings, ed. Kathleen Raine and George Mills Harper, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969, p.305.

30. The worst case where the processes of inspiration and execution were completely split is found in Blake's life. He developed an acrimonious relationship with Cromek as a result of Cromek's commissioning Schiavonetti to engrave Blake's designs for Blair's The Grave. What makes Blake furious about Cromek is his pragmatic deceit, sheer worldly concern and contempt for the artist who became the receptacle for inspiration. Cromek's sense of value is shown in huge disparity in payment. See BR, pp.184, 186.

31. When Los and Enitharmon worked harmoniously to give forms to weeping Spectres, 'Orc was comforted in the deeps his soul revivd in them' (V/FZ, 90.46; E,371).

32. The Preludium of Europe may be regarded as the equivalent of the second page of America because of the shadowy female's heightened awareness and because her former muteness is broken.

33. Hidden Riches. Traditional Symbolism from the Renaissance to Blake, London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964, p.132.

34. Blake depicts a cherub -- a being combining the appearance of a new born baby with that of a bird --breaking the shell in The Gate of Paradise in 1793 (Bindman, 122). Blake may have thought of Los's being inclosed in a shell as compensated for by Orc's renewed innocence in breaking his.

35. The image of the shell which encloses Los appears in Milton. The following lines depict how Los heard the Eternals' (Ololon's) lament for having driven down Milton's sleeping humanity from Beulah to Ulro:

Seven mornings Los heard them, as the poor bird
within the shell

Hears its impatient parent bird; and Enitharmon
heard them:

But saw them not, for the blue Mundane Shell
inclosed them in. (21[23].28-30; E,116).

Although written in a figurative style, the lines primarily show the process of inspiration and the

mystical communion between the divine mercy and its receptacle on earth which is about to be reborn to the vision of eternity.

36. In the Eternals' view, Orc is the earthly reproduction rather than the true incarnation of the eternal substance. However, Blake does not necessarily agree with the Eternals' view. For instance, in response to the Eternals' shuddering at the female form in The Book of Urizen and at the feast of eternity in Night IX of Vala/The Four Zoas, the meaning of the Fall, as a divine mercy which makes possible an awakening to Brotherhood & Universal Love, is shown (V/FZ, 133.5-26; E,401-2).

37. The design is subtly varied from one copy to another, indicating changes in the spiritual landscape of the Orc myth: at one extreme Enitharmon's face shows pity (copy G) and at the other cruelty ('Large Book of Designs', pl.3).

38. David Bindman pointed out the design's link to the common Renaissance subject of 'Venus, Vulcan and Cupid at the Forge' (Blake as an Artist, Oxford, Phaidon Press, 1977, p.93). Martin Butlin comments: 'This was almost certainly a deliberate allusion to Vulcan's jealousy of Venus for her love not so much of Cupid as of Mars' (William Blake, a complete catalogue of the works in the Tate Gallery, London, Tate Gallery, 1978, p.58). Los's jealousy can be attributed to a love triangle.

39. This state of Los/Blake seems to be particularly relevant to a passage in Milton:

But Milton entering my Foot; I saw in the nether
Regions of the Imagination; also all men on Earth,
And all in Heaven, saw in the nether regions of
the Imagination

In Ulro beneath Beulah, the vast breach of Miltons
descent.

But I knew not that it was Milton, for man cannot
know

What passes in his members till periods of Space
& Time

Reveal the secrets of Eternity. (21[23].4-10; E,115)

40. While J.B.Medina first illustrated the scene for the 1688 edition of Paradise Lost, Hogarth first depicted Sin directly intervening in the fighting between Satan and Death, which had a considerable impact on Romantic artists. Their designs for the scene are reproduced in Milton & English Art, Marcia R. Pointon, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970, (figs, 4, 17, 40, 53, 86, 92, 106, 107, 136).

41. Johnson's Lives of the English Poets, ed. George

Birkbeck Hill, 3 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905, vol.1, p.185.

42. 'Paradise Lost' and the Genesis Tradition, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968, p.72.

43. Jacob Boehme, Mysterium Magnum or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called Genesis, 1654, trans. John Sparrow, ed. C.J.Barker, 2 vols., London, John M. Watkins, 1924, ch.19, pp.129-36.

44. When Blake's concern shifted from the vision of the Fall in Paradise Lost to the idea of the four Zoas, he caused Los and Enitharmon to be born as twins to Enion (V/FZ, 8.1-2; E,304). As a result, the parallel between Satan-Sin-Death and Los-Enitharmon-Orc was lost.

45. Raine, vol.1, p.202. In 'The Sick Rose' and the lines in The Book of Urizen, Raine saw the birth of the God of love as a worm/serpent and his degradation in the world of generation in the light of Apuleius's Cupid and Psyche myth: according to Apollo's oracle, Psyche was supposed to marry 'a winged pest', who was in fact beautiful Cupid.

46. Sin holds a mirror up to Satan twice. When she sprang from Satan's head he became enamoured to see his perfect image in Sin, just as Narcissus fell in love with his own shadow. Sin again reveals what Satan has become after the fall, by calling him Father and his execrable foe his son.

47. Orc's threat to Los's life is made clear in Vala/The Four Zoas, where Los 'beheld malignant fires / In his young eyes discerning plain that Orc plotted his death' (60.8-9; E,340).

48. This was acutely felt by Blake who, according to legend, advised Tom Paine to flee to Paris (Ian Gilmour, Riot, Risings and Revolution. Governance and Violence in Eighteenth-Century England, London, Hutchinson, 1992, p.399). The May Proclamation targeted Paine as an extremist because some 200,000 copies of Rights of Man spread the radical ideas to the public by 1793. However, in France, he opposed the execution of Louis XVI and was 'clapped into gaol for being too moderate' (ibid., p.413).

3. The Completion of Orc's Myth and its Collapse

1. Census, p.43. BB, pp.87-8.

2. J.A.Wittreich comments, 'The Eve figure is recognizable as Oothoon, "the soft soul of America" in this same distraught pose in VDA 6'. Response to David V. Erdman, 'America. New Expanses', Blake's

Visionary Forms Dramatic, ed. D.V.Erdman and J.E.Grant, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970, p.101.

3. The visions of Fall and Apocalypse (Judgement) are complementary and symmetrical. The former determines the latter, but not vice versa. In Blake's attempt to link works of different focus in a vision of Fall and Judgement -- America, historical/political and The Book of Urizen, sexual/religious -- his effort to produce a comprehensive myth (Vala) out of otherwise scattered and fragmentary visions is already evident.

4. It is regarded as an act of fertilization ('The ritual copulation reunites man and earth. / Orc . . . is a spring sun thawing the frozen earth', Erdman, Prophet, p.261), and as an act releasing the female's voice ('He seeks to give his voice, his passion, to silent nature', Harold Bloom, Blake's Apocalypse, A Study in Poetic Argument, London, Gollancz, 1963, p.120). Michael Ferber, taking Orc's violent action positively, identified it with that of the American colonists. ('Blake's America and the Birth of Revolution'. History and Myth: Essays of English Romantic Literature, ed, Stephen C. Behrendt, Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 1990, pp.73-99 [p.95-6]). Julia M. Wright regards Orc's action as rape -- 'one of violence and conquest' -- and marks the negative implications in the shadowy female's suffering. ('"Empire is no More": Odin and Orc in America', BIQ, 26 [1992], pp.26-29 [p.29]).

5. This image is given verbal expression in Los's prayer for divine help in Jerusalem: 'Arise O Lord, & rend the Veil!' (44[30].40; E,194).

6. The system of reference to the Night Thoughts designs comes from William Blake's Designs for Edward Young's Night Thoughts. A Complete Edition, ed. John E.Grant, Edward J. Rose, Michael J. Tolley and David V. Erdman, 2 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, vol.1, p.xv (NT 1-537 refers to watercolour designs, and 1-43E to engraved designs). Blake used this design, and another image of Jesus illuminating darkness, as the frontispieces for the two volumes of his watercolour drawings for Young's Night Thoughts. For a detailed study see *ibid.*, vol.1, pp. 12-3, 35-9.

7. Most copies of Young's Night Thoughts contained a two-page sheet entitled 'Explanation of the Engravings'. S.F.Damon, although noticing discrepancies between some comments on the designs

and Blake's own ideas, thought that this was written by Blake. (William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols, London, Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1924, p.345). Keynes says, the explanatory note 'was certainly not written by Blake', and hypothetically attributes it to Fuseli (Blake Studies. Essays on his life and work, 1949, second edn., revised and enlarged, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971, p.54). It is currently speculated that Richard Edwards, the bookseller, is responsible for the explanation. 'It . . . has been attributed to Fuseli, but Blake would hardly have allowed his friend to remain so ignorant of his purposes as the writer of the Explanation shows himself to be'. William Blake's Design for Young's Night Thoughts, op.cit., vol.1, p.7.

8. For plate numbers of America and Europe Bentley's pagination in Blake Books is used. Plate numbers of the rest of Blake's works are taken from Erdman's complete edition.

9. FZ (Erdman-Magno), p.81.

10. This term was coined by George Bernard Shaw. David Fuller closely related the idea to Blake: it is 'the religion of the worship of the tortured victim' which perverts and appropriates the meaning of Jesus's death on the cross to preach death, sin, sorrow and punishment. See Blake's Heroic Argument, London, Croom Helm, 1988, pp.86-7.

11. For Erdman's different view, see 'America. New Expanses', Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, op.cit., pp.100-1.

12. Erdman interpreted it as 'sixty winters', *ibid.*, p.100.

13. *Ibid.*, p.101.

14. Harold Bloom comments, 'Orc's rape is intended to give her a voice'. E,902.

15. Hermes Trismegistus, Hermetica, ed. Brian P. Copenhaver, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.1.

16. Plotinus had the idea of two kinds of matter: one is intelligible, the other sensible (The Enneads, trans. Stephen MacKenna, second edn., revised by B.S.Page, with a foreword by E.R.Dodds, and an introduction by P.Henry, London, Faber, 1956, pp.105-18). When the vision of the Preludium of America is darkened, the archetypal vision of the Fall in the Poimandres is used for the vision of the Fall in Night I of Vala/The Four Zoas. Blake still shows his belief in the unfallen matter as is seen in his tentative addition of this idea to its counterpointing vision in Europe (iii<3>.13-18;

E,60).

17. The shadowy female's address to Orc echoes 'the soul's address to the divine lover' in The Song of Solomon (3.4):

. . . . I found him whom my soul loveth:

I held him, and would not let him go.

18. These lines are written in 'the most beautiful copper plate hand', and are regarded by Bentley as the earliest part of Blake's transcription of Vala/The Four Zoas (V/FZ [Bentley], p.42, p.158).

19. In Night III of Vala/The Four Zoas Urizen speaks out his fears of futurity, thus: 'a Boy is born of the dark Ocean / Whom Urizen doth serve' (38.2-3; E,326). As far as Blake's early mythology is concerned, the boy here referred to is Orc, but after Blake's vision has shifted the boy can be taken as Los.

20. Raine also identifies the pair as Luvah and Vala. See Raine, vol.1, p.192.

21. Raine closely associated the Luvah-Vala myth with Apuleius' myth of Cupid and Psyche and also with its Hebrew equivalent, the Song of Solomon. Ibid., vol.1, p.182.

22. Plates a and b are clearly replaced by plates 5 and 6, and plate c likeliest by plate 7. Erdman notes that plate c 'may have followed Plate b, some of its motifs being absorbed into the illumination of Plate 5<7>, some logically possible after Plate 8<10>' (the plate numbers in brackets follow Bentley's pagination). IB, p.394.

23. E, 802.

24. IB, p.392.

25. The importance of the small figure itself may be understood in its affinity with the figures on the verso of the title page and also the last page of Vala/The Four Zoas. All of them are associated by Erdman (FZ [Erdman-Magno], pp.26-7).

26. When plate a was replaced by plate 5, similar revisions were made. Albion's 'fiery' Prince becomes 'wrathful' (5.14; E,52), and 'fierce' meteors become 'red' (5.16; E,52). Also the removal of the banner-bearer from the design in plate 5 may change the identification of the man trumpeting fire: in plate a he seems to be Albion's Prince, for he appears as though threatening the banner-bearer who exults in the fire. Also he is 'coursing swift as fire' (b.1; E,58), as in the cancelled text; in plate 5, however, he may be taken for Orc because of his distinct fire symbolism.

27. One is the blood-thirsty Duke of Burgundy

(83-104; E,289-90), the other the Bishop of Paris who invoked the proto-Urizenic figure in his dream (126-57; E,291-3).

28. The text of plate a, which is not in Erdman's text, is reproduced here from its revised version of plate 3<5>.14-17 (E,52), with Erdman's textual note (E,802) and the facsimile of plate a.

29. Raine sees the design as 'Urizen pursued by a cockatrice or basilisk' which is tentatively linked to Orc. See Raine, vol.1, p.117. The monster might be 'this terrific form' (A, 7<9>.7; E,54) at which Albion's Angel was aghasted.

30. 'A Wonder' (4<6>.7; E,53), 'a Human fire' (4<6>.8; E,53), 'The terror' (5<7>.2; E,53), 'The Spectre' (5<7>.6; E,53).

31. 'Blake's Europe: An Early Version?', Notes and Queries, 223 (1978), p.213. The proof copy a is in the Prints and Drawings Department of the British Museum. It is reproduced in William Blake, 22 September - 25 November, 1990, The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, ed. Koji Yukiya, Chikashi Kitazaki, and Akiya Takahashi, written by Martin Butlin, Robert N. Essick, David Bindman and Gert Schiff, Tokyo, Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1990, pp.118-21.

32. The removed lines are: 'and the angel trumpet blew' (17.35) and 'before the trumpet blew' (18.1). Proof copy a has plates, 1, 2, 4-7, 9-11, 17, 18.

33. Blake owes his vision of the Last Judgement to Isaiah (34.4) (a chapter to which he refers in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell [3; E,34]).

34. An echo of Milton's Nativity Ode in Europe was first identified by S.F.Damon, William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols, London, Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1924, p.343. See also Northrop Frye, Fearful Symmetry. A Study of William Blake, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1947, p.262; Prophet, pp.266-8; Harold Bloom, Blake's Apocalypse. A Study in Poetic Argument, London, Gollancz, 1963, pp.148-9; John Beer, Blake's Humanism, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1968, pp.122-3; Michael J. Tolley, 'Europe: "to those ychain'd in sleep," Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970, pp.115-45; David Wagenknecht, Blake's Night. William Blake and the Idea of Pastoral, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1973, pp.96-8.

35. This form of poetry is not rare. For instance, H.B.De Groot pointed out that Coleridge used the rondo 'as a way of expressing the unity of the

successful work of art'. 'The Ouroboros and the Romantic Poets, A Renaissance Emblem in Blake, Coleridge and Shelley', English Studies. A Journal of English Letters and Philosophy, 50 (1969), pp.553-64 (pp.562-3). As Stevenson noticed, when America was recapitulated in plate 12 of Europe, its two major events -- Albion's Angel's being smitten by his own plagues recoiling on himself (14<16>.19-15<17>.18; E,56-7) and the house crashing event (b.22; E,58) -- are 'chronologically' reversed in Europe (Stevenson, pp. 223,232). I regard this as one example of the end of America 'bitten' by the beginning of America itself. Since Blake started composing America possibly late in 1792, the contemporary events of the French Revolution may be already interwoven in part of the work. (A prince who was slain by rebels' hand [c.25-7; E,59] may refer to Louis XVI. When plate c was replaced by plate 7 the visual process of how the French King was sentenced to death may have taken the place of the text. For the meaning of the design, see IB, p.143). In this sense America may, from the beginning, have had the potentiality of the rondo, which is fully developed in the revision. The possibility of the beginning of America being linked to the end of another work may be glimpsed in its first line (of plate 5) repeated as the final line of 'Africa' in The Song of Los (4.21; E,68).

36. Stevenson marked the difference between the first state of America (with plates a, b and c) and the final version. He described the former version as 'the historical struggle between the British government and the American colonies (not between two heavenly powers)', while calling the latter 'a war of eternal spirits'. See 'The Shaping of Blake's America', The Modern Language Review, 55 (1960), pp.497-503 (p.497).

37. According to Margoliouth's hypothesis what was completed by 1797 was 'a short Vala poem of some 200 lines' (which is later treated as a Preludium until it was converted into Night I, Margoliouth, p.xxiii). While Margoliouth shows great insight into the evolution of Night I, it is probably wrong to surmise that the earliest form of Night I (about 70, not 200 lines) was written earlier than the present Nights II and III. The reasons are: the earliest Luvah-Vala myth is most clearly traceable in Nights II and III; the earliest form of Night I (the Tharmas-Enion myth as a Preludium) was probably composed after Blake's vision in the Preludium of

America was shattered: both owe their structures to the archetypal myth of Light mingled with a watery nature in the Hermetica. In my view, after Blake failed to employ the myth for the vision of the Apocalypse in the America Preludium, he used the same myth for the vision of the Fall in the earliest form of Night I. Bentley first reconstructed this order of composition of the earlier Nights of Vala/The Four Zoas (Night II first, Night III second, and Night I as the Preludium third). See V/FZ (Bentley), p.158. Bentley observes that 'Between 1795 and 1797 a first draft of The Four Zoas was probably written in a small notebook'. 'The Failure of Blake's Four Zoas', Texas Studies in English, 37 (1958), pp.102-13 (p.105). I also believe that the composition of Vala began in 1795.

38. Later Blake gave the most beautiful entreating voice to Enion on behalf of the initially Oothoon-like aspect of the shadowy female (V/FZ, 45.16-26; E,330). The link between the America Preludium and the earliest form of Night I, mentioned in the preceding note, will be discussed later.

39. BB, pp.86-9.

40. Ibid., p.86-7.

41. 'The Printing of Blake's America', Studies in Romanticism, 6 (1966), pp.46-57 (p.47).

42. I believe with Erdman that the Preludium, which includes the quatrain, was part of the post-1793 development of America (E,802). In this sense, it cannot be part of Blake's first complete version if the earliest copy of America is supposed to have been printed in 1793. On the other hand, the quatrain may be called an addition, not in the sense that it did not exist on plate 4 in 1793 and was added in 1795, but in the sense that the composition of the rest of plate 4 and the four lines was not simultaneous, although the four lines existed by the time the first copy of America was printed.

43. Census, p.43.

44. 'The Printing of Blake's America', op.cit., pp.55-6. BB, p.87.

45. Census, p.43.

46. 'The Printing of Blake's America', op.cit., p.55.

47. Innocence and Experience. An Introduction to Blake, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1964, second edn., 1975, p.106. Hirsch corrected his error (concerning the existence of the quatrain in the etched plate 4 when the early copies were printed) in the preface to the second edition (p.xvi). Although he was partly wrong, he was also

partly right in regarding the quatrain as an addition, as he discovered the difference in time of etching between the text of plate 4 and the quatrain (pp.xvii-viii).

48. 'The Printing of Blake's America', op.cit., p.55.

49. Copy B of America lacks plates 4 and 9, but accidentally, as is evident from the fact that the rest of the plates does not show a coherent narrative without them. Plates 4 and 9 of copy B have been identified as forgeries/facsimiles by Joseph Viscomi ('Facsimile or Forgery? An Examination of America, Plates 4 and 9, Copy B', BIQ, 16 [1983], pp.219-23) and Thomas V. Lange ('Two Forged Plates in America Copy B', BIQ, 16 [1983], pp.212-18).

50. E, 802. Erdman comments, 'It is conceivable that the "harp-shattering" lines . . . of the Preludium were composed as late as 1795, expressing despair in the Prophecy -- momentarily'. I locate the quatrain between the early version of Europe (1794) and the time when the final version of Europe was completed and printed -- 1795 (see BB, p.141).

51. 'The Printing of Blake's America', op.cit., p.57.

52. Ibid., p.57.

53. BB, p.87.

54. Ibid., p.86. Bentley sticks to the date because it is on the title page and the work was advertised in the Prospectus of October 1793.

55. Stevenson, pp.189-90.

56. 'The Printing of Blake's America', op.cit., p.47.

57. This design is associated with Fuzon (patricidal aspect of Orc) assaulting Urizen (Los's fallen part part which enables Los to chain down Orc).

58. While Blake borrowed the dramatic setting of the release of a voice in the Preludium of America from the vision of the descent of light into darkness (matter/a moist nature) in the Hermetica (Poimandres), the shadowy female also became identical with moist nature. Raine pointed out the closeness between Vala/the shadowy female and the Great Mystery -- Nature, the mother of all perishable things -- whom Paracelsus built up from the Hermetic moist cloud. See Raine, vol.1, pp.272-3.

59. There are signs which indicate that some details of Vala/The Four Zoas were already in Blake's mind when the Preludium of America was composed. This can be glimpsed in Orc's minute discrimination between Urthona and Los in his complaint to the shadowy female (A, 1<3>.11-2; E,51). Orc accuses Urthona of

having riveted his chains, which is consistent with the minute details of Night V of Vala/The Four Zoas: as Orc says, it is Urthona who riveted him tenfold while Los initially chained him down (60.27-61.2; E,341). Also, the shadowy female's bringing food for Orc in the Preludium of America may be based on the knowledge that Urthona's Spectre was given charge over Orc in Night V of Vala/The Four Zoas (61.9; E,341).

60. This poem is not included in copies A-D, F-H of Songs of Innocence and of Experience, and is regarded as a later addition. Keynes and Wolf date the earliest copy (E) which includes the poem 1794-5 (Census, p.55). Bentley tentatively dates it 1797 (BB, p.380). From the style of lettering, Erdman regards it as later than 1803 (E,800). Hirsch dates this poem 1804-05 (Innocence and Experience: An Introduction to Blake, op.cit., p.282).

61. 'The Little Girl Lost', E,20.

62. 'Blake's Europe: An Early Version?', Notes and Queries, 223 (1978), p.213.

63. See SL, 4.13-17; E,68.

64. The hidden link between Europe and Milton's Comus is pointed out by Lincoln ('Blake's Europe: An Early Version?', op.cit., p.213). In Europe Blake reversed the effect of the 'serious doctrine of virginity' which Milton preached in Comus (1.786). The hands of the two female angels in Europe are depicted similarly to those of the virgin Blake designed for one series of Comus designs (the Thomas set). See Butlin, 616, 620, 621.

65. Erdman reads in this design a political allegory of Blake's contemporary world. IB, pp.163-4.

66. An image of an ark floating over the ocean appears on plates 24 and 44 of Jerusalem and in Blake's design for Jacob Bryant's A New System; or an analysis of ancient mythology ... the whole contains an account of the principal events in the first ages, from the deluge to the dispersion ... also of the various migrations ... and the settlements made afterwards, with engravings of antiquities and maps, 3 vols., second edn., London, 1774-6, vol.3, p.60.

67. Bloom notes the negative aspect of Los's creating the sun: 'Los thus takes on the task of Demiourgos from Urizen, and his work, in Blake's view, is mistaken and absurd' (E,909). I prefer rather to mark its positive aspect, in that Los (prophetic wrath) here brings down Urizen (false light and doubt) into a consolidated form and makes

Urizen subservient to him in the abyss. The positive nature of Los's action may be perceived in his careful and composed manner of producing the Orb in The Song of Los (5.35-40; E,94). This positiveness can also be recognized in the tailpiece design of The Song of Los, on which Erdman comments, 'he (Los) has purged the sun of the runes of Urizenic mystery . . . -- an action which is a variant of stamping the stony law to dust' (IB, p.181). Los's hammering the sun is seen in the design of plate 73 of Jerusalem.

68. While in America Orc's fire had heat without light (4<6>.11; E,53), here heat is also lost.

69. In America Orc threatened Albion's Angel, 'That stony law I stamp to dust: and scatter religion abroad' (8<10>.5; E,54).

70. Orc in Los partakes of the symbolic aspect of Samson's condition -- woman-betrayed and woman-bound -- as the quasi-Orc figure in 'To Tirzah' later makes clear: 'with false self-deceiving tears' 'me to Mortal Life betray' (11,14; E,30). Milton was well-aware of this Neoplatonic aspect of the Samson narrative -- the marriage between Samson and Delila implies the soul's being bound and falling into this world. (In Samson Agonistes the narrative does not start with the conception of Samson; also mark how Delila is allied with the powers of 'her country'.) Delila's Tirzah-like aspect is shown in her wish 'to endear, and hold thee (Samson) to me firmest' (796).

71. Bloom comments that the theme of The Book of Los is 'central to Blake, and it defines the dilemma of Los, which the rest of Blake's poetry exists to resolve' (E,908).

P A R T I I : The Regenerative Crystallization of
Vala/The Four Zoas

Preliminary Argument

1. 'The Binding (et cetera) of Vala', The Library, 19 (1964), pp.112-29 (p.112).
2. Ault, p.xiii.
3. Milton O. Percival, William Blake's Circle of Destiny, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, p.12.
4. In my view this fragment of the text was written when Blake decided to develop the earliest form of Night I (the Preludium) into a Night I of 211 lines. This was probably done after Blake arrived in Felpham in September 1800. This argument will be substantiated later (see Stage 2).
5. 'The Four Zoas: Intention and Production', BIQ, 18 (1985), pp.216-20 (p.218).
6. The circled passages on pages 5, 6 and 7 in Night I, which were cancelled and later restored, are discussed by Andrew Lincoln in 'The Four Zoas: The Text of Pages 5, 6, & 7. Night The First' in BIQ, 12 (1978), pp.91-5 (p.94).
7. These three leaves carry the text of pages 15-16 and 19-22.
8. Margoliouth, pp.156-7.
9. Ibid., p.xxiii.
10. V/FZ (Bentley), p.158.
11. Ibid., p.158.
12. When Blake's most beautiful copperplate hand appears suddenly among other copperplate and modified copperplate hand (for instance, on pages 14 and 42) it is difficult to know whether such text was originally meant for the Night to which it now belongs.
13. Margoliouth, p.157.
14. This can be traced in Bentley's transcript. See V/FZ (Bentley), pp.11-12.
15. The leaf bearing pp.15-16 is part of a Night I of 327 lines (the marginal figure 300 is clear on page 16).
16. From the evidence of the stitch marks Bentley concludes that pages 1-14, 17-18, and 23-42 were stitched together at the same stage (V/FZ [Bentley], p.159). Apparently these pages were stitched more than once, and pages 15-16 seem to have been added before Blake numbered lines of Night I up to 327.

17. Margoliouth recovered Blake's numbered text (with the lines numbered in ink by fifties). While he included pp.1-84 (except pp.19-22) in his edition, he also included Night VIIb and Night IX (excluding pp.117-18). Most anomalous is his treatment of Night I: he relegated a fully developed Night I of 327 lines to an appendix. This indicates that he wished to recover the poem as it was at stage 1, although he in fact recovered the poem as it was at stage 3.
18. V/FZ (Bentley), p.206.
19. Pages 15-16, which were inserted during stage 3, were written in modified copperplate hand. This is a sign of Blake's having started using the usual hand, since the use of the modified copperplate hand may have been simply a concessionary measure designed to make the late additions conform to the surrounding copperplate text. This sort of care is completely lost during stage 4, where the content itself of the added material shows a clear gap between the new material and what had been written already.
20. This binding may have been done so that the leaves would stay together while Blake moved from Felpham to London in September 1803.
21. This pattern was pointed out by Bentley (V/FZ [Bentley], p.200). Night III also shows this pattern (except for the twelve lines which ran into the tailpiece design on page 46).
22. Margoliouth, p.xxvi.
23. Blake may have faithfully copied from his notebook to the manuscript the earliest naming of the Night. Bentley regarded this as an indication that 'Vala was originally organized in "Books" as a continuation of Urizen' (V/FZ [Bentley], p.177). Erdman pointed out two more uses of 'Book' instead of 'Night' in pages 3 and 95 (Nights I and VIIb respectively), regarding them as 'a strong token of early composition' ('The Binding [et cetra] of Vala', op. cit., p.122). On the other hand, Margoliouth regarded those cases on pages 56 and 57 as a sign that Blake gave up the title 'Night' very late (Margoliouth, p.121). As far as the misinscription of the end mark of the fourth Night on page 56 is concerned, Bentley seems to be wrong in regarding it as an early sign because the end mark was added after two end marks had been cancelled and new materials (from stages 3 and 4) were added to the text: an influence from Milton (30[33].24-7; E,129) can be clearly traced in the

added lines (V/FZ, 56.6-10; E,337). Blake probably inscribed 'Book' for 'Night' on page 56 of Vala/The Four Zoas because he was writing Milton, the division of which he called 'Books'.

24. It is not clear whether Erdman opposes the idea that the transcription of pp.43-84 was done during stage 3, since he only comments on Margoliouth's edition (which also includes Night VIIb and Night IX, except pp.117-18) thus: 'He [Margoliouth] is able to sort out pretty successfully those lines which were in the ms when Blake counted and numbered his lines by fifties, but not to convince us that all the counting took place at one time' (E, 818). When Bentley attempted to date either the time of composition or that of transcription of 'all of Vala from the fourth Night on' as after May 1802 (drawing on his discovery of the impressions from Hayley's Ballad on page 48), Erdman dismissed the view by pointing out that the leaf with the impressions also had a crease, could therefore be classified as what Bentley calls an anomaly, and was possibly a late insertion. But when the fitness of the design on the recto of the leaf (p.47), and also the transcription of the Night within the five stages of the evolution of the poem are considered, Bentley's early speculation about the date of the transcription of Night IV onwards seems to be well founded. See Bentley, 'The Date of Blake's Vala or The Four Zoas', Modern Language Notes, 71 (1956), pp.487-91. See also E, 832.

25. As the idea of the four Zoas became increasing important in Blake's mythology, he apparently struggled to stick to a formula concerning the relationship between the Zoas and their generated states: Urthona should represent the eternal state, Los the fallen one. Urthona's (Spectre's) heroic act is particularly conspicuous during stage 3, while Los is fallen and almost meant to be destroyed (84.22-35; E,359). Apparently Blake was uneasy with this prospect and stopped transcribing at page 84, probably because he wished to reconsider the relationship between Urthona and Los. During stage 4 (on page 85-6) Los recovers his integrity with the Spectre of Urthona's self-sacrificial help.

26. Geoffrey Keynes, The Letters of William Blake, with related documents, 1956, Oxford, Clarendon Press, third edn., 1980, p.55. The quotation is from Blake's letter to Butts of April 25th, 1803.

27. Erdman convincingly pointed out allusions to the wartime London of 1804 in Night VIII: the time of

its transcription must be thus understood as later than 1804 (Prophet, pp.397-403).

28. As Bentley shows in his transcript (V/FZ [Bentley], p.19), the erased end mark is overwritten by the present lines 11-12 on page 18.

29. The numeration derives from Bentley's facsimile edition and its confusing state is attributed to the misplacing of those pages from the earliest Ellis-Yeats edition. Keynes first adopted the most convincing sequence in 1957. When the loose manuscript in the British Museum was bound on August 28 1960, the leaf carrying pages 19-20 was located first. When the first facsimile edition was prepared by Bentley in 1963, he followed suit and adopted this order, although by this time Bentley was convinced that pages 21-22 should precede pages 19-20. As Bentley speculated (V/FZ [Bentley], p.23) and Erdman made clear (FZ [Erdman-Magno], p.36), pages 19-22 are written on a large sheet of paper on which a bearded old man is depicted. This fact, as well as the narrative sequence, indicates that pages 19-22 (except page 20) were written at one time. The absence of stitch marks in pages 21-22 (in contrast to their presence on pages 19-20) may be explained by either of the following postulates: Blake may have missed the leaf bearing pages 21-22 when he stitched the leaves together, since the leaf is two centimetres narrower than the other leaf and one of the narrowest leaves in the entire manuscript; or (what Bentley regards as most improbable [V/FZ, p.195]) the large sheet of paper bearing pages 19-22 may not have been cut when the leaves were stitched, leaving stitch marks on pages 19-20 alone.

30. Those names which appear exclusively in the later stages (later than stage 4) of Vala/The Four Zoas are: Jesus, Albion, Jerusalem, Gilead, Shiloh, Beth Peor, Ephraim.

31. Apart from what does not fit the context, the lines reproduce Ahania's vision of the Fall of Man in Vala/The Four Zoas which was perfected during stage 3.

32. Bentley comments: 'It is ... possible that pages 99-110, 117-39, and 55-56 were numbered all at once, though much later than Nights I-VIIa, for their symbolism is more or less consistent with one point of view, and Night IX was certainly not numbered until pages 117-19 were brought into harmony with the later Night VIII' (V/FZ [Bentley], p.206). Pages 111-16 and almost all the marginal

additions in Night VIII are not included in Blake's line numbering during stage 4 and are therefore recognizable as the final development during stage 5.

33. Bentley confirms that pages 111-12 were also stitched together with pages 43-84. While he thought that the leaf bearing pages 111-12 were stitched at the end of Night IV (V/FZ [Bentley], p.200), Andrew Lincoln speculated that leaf was from the beginning designed for the end of Night VIIa ('The Revision of The Seventh and Eighth Nights of The Four Zoas', BIQ, 12 [1978], pp.115-33 [pp.115-16]).

34. This line number is from Erdman's edition. When the recognizably late marginal additions (seven lines) are excluded, Night VIIa concludes at 85.15.

35. Margoliouth, pp.xii-xiii.

36. The original heading, 'Vala / Night the Ninth / Being / The Last Judgement', is traceable beneath the added lines 1-14 on page 119. See also V/FZ (Bentley), pp.163-4.

37. The changes are clearly shown in Bentley's transcript (V/FZ [Bentley], p.103).

Stage 1

The Genesis of Night I as a Preludium

1. Bentley notes the striking difference between the designs on pages 3-7(6) and those on the rest of the poem, hinting that those pages formed a separate entity (V/FZ [Bentley], p.159). The design on page 7 (a figure half woman and half serpent) was not drawn from the beginning because it is directly related to the expanded text (written during stage 2), and also because the design was first drafted on page 144 (a page transitional between stage 1 and stage 2).

2. Margoliouth counts those lines which are given diagonal strokes on pages 5-7 among 327 lines (Margoliouth, p.76-7). So does Bentley (V/FZ [Bentley], p.202).

3. The grey wash on page 6 is probably contemporaneous with that on page 8. In the latter, apparently late lines (8.1-4; E,823-4), which are inserted into the stanza break probably during stage 4, are also covered with the wash, indicating the lateness of its application.

4. By the time Blake transcribed Nights VIII and IX (during stage 4), he had to use nine leaves, each of which was made of two leaves pasted into one (see V/FZ [Bentley], p.208). Blake's use of prints for

the poem (pages 19-22 and 87-90) also shows that appropriate paper was in very short supply.

5. For instance, a soaring nude figure with one cloven foot appears on page 2, on top of page 3, and on page 139, a reclining female figure on page 3 and page 138. A head between two big wings appears on both pages 5 and 136, a winged figure on pages 6 and 135, a creature with a human head and serpent tail on pages 7 and 134. Page 4 and page 137 are apparently different, but Raine's deciphering of the page 4 design as 'a double aspect of love' (a Cupid and a serpent) might help us recognize the contending figures on page 137 as the real form of love too (Raine, vol.1, p.198): their attached heads and legs remind us that 'Embraces are Comings: from Head even to Feet; And not a pompous High Priest entering by a Secret Place' (J, 69.43-4; E, 223); their crossed legs look parallel to the crossing body of the serpent.

6. Margoliouth, pp.156-7.

7. Ibid., p.xxiii.

8. V/FZ (Bentley), p.158.

9. Ibid., p.158.

10. For the first three lines Erdman was able to identify only some key words or single letters which came first or last or in the middle of the sentences. These lines are mainly recovered from the parallel passage on page 5.

11. Lincoln considered the transferred passages to be part of a series of revisions to reconcile two conflicting images of Tharmas: innocent and spectrous ('The Four Zoas: The Text of Pages 5, 6, & 7, Night the First', BIQ, 12[1978], pp. 91-5 [p.91]). John B. Pierce discussed a shift in the Tharmas and Enion story structured around the passages transferred, closely relating the shift's meaning to the aspect of 'the torment of Love & Jealousy', which, in my view, becomes more relevant later (stage 5). ('The Shifting Characterization of Tharmas and Enion in Pages 3-7 of Blake's Vala or The Four Zoas', BIQ, 22[1988/89], pp.93-102 [p.95]).

12. V/FZ (Bentley), p.158.

13. Raine, vol.1, pp.272-8.

14. Raine first identified the earliest form of Tharmas as the archetypal man who was later called Albion (Raine, vol.1, pp.279-280). J. B. Pierce arrived at the same view by observing corresponding behaviour between Tharmas and Albion such as hiding Jerusalem. The most concrete evidence he presented is: 'lines addressed by Enion to Tharmas (4:18-21)

are transferred to Jerusalem where they are spoken by Vala to Albion (J, 22:1,10-12; E,167)' ('The Shifting Characterization of Tharmas and Enion in pages 3-7 of Blake's Vala or The Four Zoas', op.cit., p.100).

15. V/FZ (Bentley), p.158.

16. Hermes Trismegistus, Hermetica, ed. Brian P.Copenhaver, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.1.

Stage 2

The Myths of Fall and Creation in Nights I and II

1. Erdman says, 'The "1797" in the title may mark the beginning of a first fair copy, while pages 141-142 represent a fragment of a preliminary draft' (E,817).

2. Margoliouth, p.156.

3. Raine, vol.1, p.271.

4. Margoliouth thought that the genesis of the figure of Vala could be found in the phrase 'Beneath the veil of Vala' (Margoliouth, p.xix). This indeed shows the 'genesis' of Vala in the sense that she has here sloughed off her initial image to acquire some of her late qualities. It is certain that Vala existed in the poem from the very beginning as her name appears in the most beautiful copperplate hand text on page 42, where the crucial separation between Vala and Luvah, the image of the soul losing the divine vision, is shown.

5. Such a vision appears in Enitharmon's 'Dirge of Death' or 'Dirge of Vala'. During stage 2 this vision was concerned with Man and Vala, whereas during stage 3 Blake let Enitharmon appropriate it to the story of Man's relationship with herself. For Blake's exact revision of the names from Vala to Enitharmon on page 10 of Vala/The Four Zoas, see Erdman's textual notes (E,825).

6. It is difficult to be definite about which was composed first. Bentley thought that the traffic went from Jerusalem to Vala/The Four Zoas (V/FZ [Bentley], p.165). Erdman is not convinced by Bentley's contention, but hints that in his view the traffic was the other way round (E,817). In my view, the speech 'thy fear has made me tremble; thy terrors have surrounded me' flows more naturally in Jerusalem than in Vala/The Four Zoas. First, it is certainly not Tharmas but Albion who is sufficiently fearful and terrific to make Vala or Enion tremble.

By the time this speech was given to Enion (stage 4), Tharmas had become piteous enough to shelter Enitharmon. Secondly, it is Vala, not Enion, who is capable of being responsible for the archetypal Man's Fall. The speech is naturally assignable to Vala, whereas it comes unnaturally from Enion, because by it she becomes disproportionately fearsome, as though she were temporarily possessed by evil power.

7. These minute divisions between Beulah and Ulro are introduced in Milton, and reference is made in Jerusalem alone (89.58; E,249). Thus they can be used to help us understand the cosmology of Jerusalem, particularly where Albion is to be located after he leaves Beulah and before he reaches Ulro.

8. Compare Blake's expression of Albion's completely fallen condition; 'The Starry Heavens all were fled from the mighty limbs of Albion' (70.32; E,224).

9. The phrase is found in Jerusalem: 23.5, 42.81, 47.12, 59.2; E,168,191,196,208.

10. Raine, vol.1, p.280.

11. Ibid., pp.288-9.

12. Rahab is clearly identified with Vala in Jerusalem (70.31; E,224).

13. For details, see Bentley's notes to the transcript, V/FZ (Bentley), pp.3-10 and Erdman's textual notes, E,819-24.

14. According to this criterion, upper margins of pages 5-7 during stage 2 become clear: particularly those of pages 5 and 6, which retain the text transcribed during this stage, are supposed to have begun with (respectively) 'Weeping, then [and] bending from his Clouds he stooped his innocent [holy] head' (5.9; E,302) and 'Searching for glory wishing that the heavens had eyes to See' (E,820). Although Bentley succeeds in identifying lines of one period from the later additions, his transcript shows that lines above the page-numeration on pages 5 and 6 (three and four lines respectively) are regarded as of the same period as the main text transcribed during stage 2. Probably Bentley relied upon catchwords on pages 4 and 5, which in my view were updated during stage 3. Blake's sporadic use of catchwords during stage 3 is confirmed in their appearance on pages 15-16 which were inserted during that stage.

15. The exact lines which I regard as excluded from Blake's line-numbering on these pages are: seventeen

deleted lines from 'Searching for glory wishing that the heavens had eyes to See' on page 6; six deleted lines after 'Thus they contended all the day among the Caves of Tharmas' on page 7; and eight deleted lines from 'Enion brooded, oer the rocks, the rough rocks [?vegetating]<groaning vegetate>' on page 8.

16. During stage 2 Tharmas assumes the characteristics which are regarded as Spectrous during stage 3: he accuses his female counterpart (Emanation) of her sin. Blake certainly developed the myth related to Tharmas in the rest of the poem during stage 2, although it remained untranscribed. In Night IV Tharmas's desperate search for lost Enion is conspicuous.

17. In my view Blake's identifying Tharmas as his own Spectre can be traced particularly in Urthona's inspired speech to Tharmas at 49.27-31 (E,333). In Jerusalem Los similarly confronts his own Spectre and says, 'Thou art my Pride & Self-righteousness: I have found thee out: / Thous art reveal'd before me in all thy magnitude & power' (8.30-1; E,151).

18. W.H.Stevenson has already pointed out Blake's borrowing of the image from Paradise Lost (Stevenson, p.297).

19. Adam and Satan are the extremities of these conditions: as Blake says, 'The Divine hand found the Two Limits: first of Opacity, then of Contraction / Opacity was named Satan, Contraction was named Adam' (M, 13[14].20-1). Similar lines were later added to Vala/The Four Zoas (56.19-21; E,338).

20. Mysterium Magnum or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called Genesis, 1654, trans. John Sparrow, ed. C.J.Barker, 2 vols., London, John M. Watkins, 1924, vol.1, pp.55-6.

21. Ibid., pp. 57, 78.

22. In accusing Enion, Tharmas says to her, 'This world is Thine [Mine]' (6.13; E,303). Blake first put 'Mine' and later replaced it with 'Thine'. The revision is possibly to emphasize the Spectre's fallacy, which Blake let Enion correct as she speaks of 'this thy world not mine tho dark I feel my world within' (7.7; E,304).

23. Raine, vol.1, pp.283-4.

24. See Percival, William Blake's Circle of Destiny, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp.59-60; Bloom, E,952-3; Stevenson, p.316.

25. In Vala/The Four Zoas the compasses are assigned to the Sons of Urizen. An image of Urizen circumscribing the world with a compass forms the

frontispiece to Europe.

26. Erdman reports that Night II was never labelled 'Night the Second' by Blake (E,828), although Blake's intention of converting it into Night II during stage 2 is made clear by 'End of the Second Night' on page 36 (E,830). A sense of the existence of two Nights I in the poem is best conveyed in Bentley's transcript, where Night II is still labelled 'Night the First'.

27. This is the general view of the acceptability of the otherwise redundant Nights I and II. See Wilkie-Johnson, p.38.

Stage 3

The Myth in Flux: Four Zoas versus Spectre and Emanation

1. Although Enitharmon appropriates the song to the Man and herself, it was initially concerned with the Man and Vala. See E,825.

2. This form of the myth is retained in the fragments paginated as page 141 (beginning with 'Beneath the veil of [? Enion]<Vala> rose Tharmas from dewy tears'[141.1; E,845]), which thematically follows the Vala Preludium. Jerusalem, in which the plot of the Vala Preludium is carried to completion, features Albion (Man) and Vala.

3. The lines which I believe were not counted during stage 2 (because of the obvious images of the creation) but were counted during stage 3 are: 17 deleted lines from 'Searching for glory wishing that the heavens had eyes to See' on page 6 (1-17; E,820-1), and 8 deleted lines from 'Enion brooded, oer the rocks, the rough rocks [?vegetating] <groaning vegetate>' on page 8 (5,7-13; E,824). These lines were given a grey wash indicating cancellation at a very late stage (after stage 4 as Blake's late insertion in the stanza break 'But those in Great Eternity Met in the Council of God . . .' [1-4; E, 824] is also covered with the wash).

4. V/FZ (Bentley), p.214.

5. *Ibid.*, p.38.

6. The parallel has been pointed out by many critics: see for example, Harold Bloom's comment (E,957), and Stevenson, p.361.

7. Bloom links the shadow with Urizen (E,954); Johnson and Wilkie also regard the shadow as Urizen, although further psychoanalytical explanation was necessary about the appearance of Luvah from the

cloud (Wilkie-Johnson, pp.71-2). On the other hand, Sloss and Wallis identify the shadow with Luvah and understand the whole event as 'the attempt of Luvah and Vala to impose upon man the illusion of a transcendent deity, which is, indeed, nothing more than a shadow from his wearied intellect' (Sloss-Wallis, vol.1, p.191). Other critics who identify the shadow with Luvah are Stevenson (Stevenson, p.330), Victoria Myers ('The Dialogues as Interpretive Focus in Blake's The Four Zoas', Philological Quarterly 56 [1977], pp.221-39 [p.233]) and Donald Ault (Ault, pp.168-9).

8. The name Albion is added in pencil on the title page of Vala/The Four Zoas. Also the change 'Eternal' to 'Ancient' (conspicuous on the title page) supports the argument that the concept of Man changed between stages 3 and 4 of the work's revision.

9. In Jerusalem Albion's Fall takes place very slowly. Thus after this episode Blake had to make clear that Albion's Fall had not yet been completed ('ere yet the Starry Heavens were fled away / From his awful Members' [J, 30[34].20-1; E,176]). In my view, the variations in the arrangement of plates in chapter II of Jerusalem had much to do with Blake's effort to relate this episode of Albion's Fall to its report by the witnesses.

10. Although Albion's Emanation is properly Jerusalem, here Vala is clearly regarded as his Emanation (J, 29[33].26,35; E,175).

11. That Los and Enitharmon (one Zoa and his Emanation) are born as the children of Tharmas and Enion (another Zoa and his Emanation) is a legacy from the myth of Orc: while Orc is born to Los and Enitharmon he is identified as the generated form of Luvah and also one of the four Zoas. It needs, however, to be explained how the Zoas, who should be equal with each other, are generated from each other.

12. The underlined part is the addition or the replacement of the original writing. The bracketed words are parts of the original text which have been recovered by Erdman (E,825).

13. During stage 2 Urizen corresponded to the Head and Luvah to the Heart, although the Loins become Luvah's designated place later (126.6-8; E,395).

14. William Blake's Circle of Destiny, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp.145-6.

15. Beulah means 'wedded' in Isaiah (62.4).

16. That Enitharmon swings between divine Jerusalem

at one end and whorish Vala at the other end can be seen in Blake's revisions in Vala/The Four Zoas: Vala is altered to Enitharmon (10.17-21; E,306) and also Enitharmon to Jerusalem (4.9-13; E,301). In Jerusalem Rintrah, Palamabron, Theotormon and Bromion are regarded as Jerusalem's sons (71.50-51; E,226), though they are elsewhere presented as the sons of Enitharmon (V/FZ, 115.1-2; E,380).

17. This is later clearly articulated in Jerusalem: 'Man divided from his Emanation is a dark Spectre' (53.25; E,203).

18. Raine, vol.1, pp.197-9.

19. This myth of Luvah and Vala, which is transcribed in Blake's most beautiful copperplate hand, is the earliest part of the poem. While the earliest image of Luvah (Orc) was identified with Jesus, during stages 2 and 3 Luvah becomes an aggressive and fallen figure.

20. In pages 43-84 Blake's deliberate effort to convey the eternal state of the four Zoas as well as the balance of their power can be observed. The four Zoas (Tharmas, Urizen, Luvah, Urthona) are assigned four points of the compass (74.28-9; E,351). Although not completely finalized at this stage, clear indications are made about their eternal professions (respectively keeper of the gate of heaven [48.19; E,332]; shepherd [51.21,31; E,334]; charioteer of the steeds of light [64.11-14; E,343]; cupbearer [64.29-32; E,344]). Apart from these direct or indirect reference to their professions, Urthona's hammer (51.32; E,335) hints that he is also the blacksmith, and Luvah is also called keeper of the living gate of heaven (65.3; E,344). In pages 43-84 the four elements (Air, Water, Earth, Fire) are respectively assigned to the Zoas in their fallen form (Urizen, Tharmas, Urthona, Luvah). While Luvah is 'hidden in the Elemental forms of Life & Death' (51.13; E,334), the three other Zoas are, in terms of their equal share in this elemental world and the resultant rivalry, associated with Zeus (Urizen), Poseidon (Tharmas) and Hades (Urthona). In The Iliad while defying Zeus's tyranny Poseidon makes clear that Hades and he are equal with Zeus in birth and rank (15.206-23). Urizen's high pride and thunders ('Do I not stretch the heavens abroad or fold them up like a garment') (V/FZ, 42.19-43.1; E,328), Tharmas's waves and his consciousness as the ruler of this world (97.2; E,361) and 'the Abhorred world of Dark Urthona' (74.30; E,351) indicate the associations.

21. For instance, Los, who is the generated form of Urthona, divides into and further externalizes the Spectre of Urthona (an inspired figure) in Night IV. The relationship between fallen Los and his Spectre who retains the prelapsarian memory although suffering the fallen condition is reversed and integrity is restored to Los during stage 4.

22. In the lines at the end of Night IV (55.10-27; E,337-8), which were written over the erased end mark (E,833) and therefore not part of the original transcription, the drastic change is clearly seen.

23. That divinity still remains beneath the Spectrous surface is shown in a most impressive form in Jerusalem: while Los is 'all astonishment & terror' to see deadly fallen Albion, the narrator still says: 'but the interiors of Albions fibres & nerves were hidden / From Los; astonished he beheld only the petrified surfaces' (46[32].3-5; E,195).

24. The phraseology of the resurrection of the dead in America ('The bones of death, the cov'ring clay, the sinews shrunk & dry'd. / Reviving shake, inspiring move, breathing! awakening!' [6<8>.3-4; E,53]) is more spiritual than the materialistic phraseology of the resurrection in The Song of Los ('rattling bones to bones / Join: shaking convuls'd the shivering clay breathes' [7.31-4; E,69]). While the latter is repeated in Night IX of Vala/The Four Zoas (122.27-8; E,392), the revived men have to go through the human harvest or the refining process to become spiritual existences.

25. Soon after the shadowy female, rent by Orc, spreads like the clouds, the dead revive from their tombs (95.11-14; E,367). They descend in 'Spectrous terror' and are named Satans. The Spectres/Satans who revived from their tombs are eventually given, out of mercy, bodies of vegetation by Los and Enitharmon (100.3-6; E,372). This images birth into this world.

26. As is seen in emblem 10 of The Gates of Paradise, the man raising a hand images the drowning figure -- drowning in the sea of hyle and becoming oblivious of the spiritual world while his last effort to survive is shown by the raised hand. (Urizen is depicted completely drowned in The Book of Urizen [Bindman, 195]).

27. Ault, p.163.

28. Ault makes an interesting marginal comment: 'Tharmas experiences a male pseudo-birth of Los and Enitharmon through his bowels' (Ault, p.167).

29. This is pointed out by Robert E. Simmons,

'Urizen: The Symmetry of Fear', Blake's Visionary Forms Dramatic, ed. David V. Erdman and John E. Grant, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970, p.153. David Worrall points out the probable source of this image (modified in Blake) in Erasmus Darwin's The Botanic Garden. Darwin argues (in Worrall's summary) 'the earth was in effect ...ejected from a volcano in the sun, the moon from a volcano in the earth'. See 'William Blake and Erasmus Darwin's Botanic Garden', Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 78 (1975), pp.397-417 (p.411).

30. Los's fallen condition is apparent in his speech (48.15-20; E,332) which is very similar to Urizen's view (a late pencil addition during stage 5), that 'The Spectre is the Man the rest is only delusion & fancy' (12.29; E, E,307).

31. Among four copies of Milton (A, B, C and D), copies C and D alone contain plates 3, 4 and 5 (which indicates that they are later additions). In plate 3, much like the myth in The Book of Urizen, the idea that Los's binding of Urizen results in his own disintegration is precisely shown. The most remarkable revision to the myth is the additional separation of the Spectre which coincides with the separation of the Emanation from Los.

32. For the negative view on Urthona's Spectre who is regarded as the Spectre in Blake's usual sense, see Harold Bloom, E, 955; Wilkie-Johnson, p.90; Ault, pp.302-3.

33. The same contrast between a lifeless man and his activated Spectre -- since the living and inspired figure can hardly coexist with his own Spectre -- is shown in Blake's design for the epilogue to The Gates of Paradise (emblem 19 [Bindman, 600]) (mark that the Spectre, who is not reptilian but simply bat-winged, is issuing from the man's genitals).

34. Robert Blair's 'The Grave' illustrated by William Blake, A study with facsimile, ed. Robert N. Essick and Morton D. Paley, London, Scolar Press, 1982, p.16.

35. For Blake's struggle with his own Spectre not unlike Urthona/Los, see his letters (The Letters of William Blake, with Related Documents, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, 1956, Oxford, Clarendon Press, third edn., 1980, pp.69-70,101,104.

36. During stage 4, after pages 19-22 (except the text on page 20) were added to Night I, Blake revised the beginning of the song of the demons of

the deep and brought the episode of the conflict between Urizen and Luvah to the fore (58.23-5; E,339). Before this revision, Urizen is not referred to as one of the chief instigators (see E,834).

37. In my view, one reason why Vala/The Four Zoas remained in manuscript is this inspired Spectre, since it contradicts and weakens Blake's idea as expressed in the engraved books, Milton and Jerusalem.

38. John Carey argues that Mt.Niphates is the place where Satan's second temptation of Jesus took place in Paradise Regained, although in the Bible the mountain is not specified (John Milton. Complete Shorter Poems, ed. John Carey, New York, Longman, 1971, p.480). What is implied in the identification is that Jesus overcame the passions and desires which overwhelmed Satan at his most spectrous.

39. Blake's Notebook contains a poem which begins, 'My Spectre around me night & day' (E,475-7). This poem dramatizes the painful relationship between the narrator, his cruel Spectre and his jealous Emanation. In this poem the Spectre cruelly pursues the Emanation, scenting her footsteps through the wintry hail and rain and driving her away.

40. The end mark of Night IV was written on page 55. The quoted lines are among 31 lines which were added after the cancellation of the end mark. Mention of the Council of God, the daughters of Beulah, and Luvah's robes of blood, shows that these lines were added during stage 4.

Stage 4

The Major Shifts

1. Blake's ambivalent view of man as the Spectre and also as potentially divine is reconciled in an epigram embedded in a design for Jerusalem 37 [41] which reads:

Each Man is in his Spectre's power
Until the arrival of that hour,
When his Humanity awake
And cast his Spectre into the Lake. (E,810)

Also Blake's view of man's potential to manifest divine vision is expressed in his phrase, 'the human form divine' and clearly shown in his poem, 'The Divine Image'.

2. V/FZ (Bentley), p.162.

3. In Night VIII Urthona's Spectre is referred to

as Urthona (107.21-2,31; E,382-3). In Jerusalem the Spectre of Urthona is a fallen figure, but it is twice praised probably because inspired Urthona's Spectre in Vala/The Four Zoas was in Blake's mind (J, 44[30].14-15, 95.19-20; E,193,255).

4. For my argument on the hidden implication of Urthona's Spectre identifying Tharmas as his own Spectre in his address to Tharmas (49.27-50.27; E,333-4), see pp.178-84.

5. Johnson and Wilkie comment: 'Since she (Enitharmon) has still not learned to love her husband either as creative artist or as craftsman, she is brought down through her Shadow to mate with the "lower" side of Los in preparation for accepting him at his best. / Enitharmon's scorn of Los and her pleasureless coupling with the Spectre are not especially remarkable' (Mary Lynn Johnson and Brian Wilkie, 'The Spectrous Embrace in The Four Zoas', BIQ, 12 (1978), pp.100-6 (p.101).

6. Instead of being terrified at the birth of the shadowy female (85.22; E,360), in the original transcription Urthona's Spectre smiles at the event (E,837), as though to show its satisfaction with the outcome.

7. Enitharmon's Shadow is found only in Vala/The Four Zoas. Although Enitharmon's division (like the division of Los and Urthona's Spectre) indicates the fragmentation of Urthona/Los, the invention of Enitharmon's Shadow is, nevertheless, beneficial in terms of its opening the way for Enitharmon's renewal. Enitharmon's Shadow does not seem to be a separate entity from Enitharmon, and no real division exists between them (Enitharmon's Shadow functions as a vehicle to carry Enitharmon's spiritual activity). For instance, Enitharmon swoons while her Shadow is active (81.7-20; E, 356-7). The latter is elsewhere called the spirit of Enitharmon (81.16, 85.1; E,357,360), and the Spectre of Enitharmon (117.24; E, 387). The lack of any real boundary between Enitharmon and her Shadow may explain why the latter's experience must be immediately transmitted to the former.

8. The Notebook of William Blake. A Photographic and Typographic Facsimile, ed. David V. Erdman with the assistance of Donald K. Moore, 1973, revised edn., Readex Books, 1977, p.71.

9. Stevenson, p.556.

10. Sloss and Wallis, vol.1, pp.137-9.

11. Margoliouth, pp.xii-xiii.

12. V/FZ [Bentley], pp.162-3, 167, 195.

13. Ibid., p.162-3.
14. See David V. Erdman, 'The Binding (et cetera) of Vala', The Library, 19 (1964), pp.112-29 (p.121-2).
15. In my view, Orc's embrace of the shadowy female (the myth which was transcribed late but whose existence in the poem from the earliest period of composition is unquestionable) has Christian overtones (Jesus rending the temple veil when crucified), and the poem was not suddenly Christianized as Bentley claims.
16. Keynes also claimed in a footnote to his revised edition that Night VIIb was written later than Night VIIa (The Complete Writings of William Blake with Variant Readings, 1957, London, Oxford University Press, second edn., 1966, pp.320, 902). His view, however, is not entirely free from error (or accurately given) in that his VIIa includes pp.85.23-90 as well as pp.77-85.22.
17. See John Kilgore, 'The Order of Nights VIIa and VIIb in Blake's The Four Zoas', BIQ, 12 (1978), pp.107-14; Andrew Lincoln, 'The Revision of the Seventh and Eighth Nights of The Four Zoas', BIQ, 12 (1978), pp.115-33; Mark S. Lefebvre, 'A Note on the Structural Necessity of Night VIIb', BIQ, 12 (1978), p.134.
18. Erdman's warning about the gap between the time of conception (composition) and that of inscription in Blake should be heeded ('Night the Seventh: The Editorial Problem', BIQ, 12 (1978), pp.135-9 (p.137)).
19. Although Orc's myth has to remain in the poem so that the myth developed around it so far might not lose its shape, the symbolic meaning of Orc's embrace of the shadowy female (Jesus's rending the temple veil), and also its function as the earliest sign of the apocalypse, had to be fulfilled elsewhere.
20. This pattern in the poem has already been pointed out by Wilkie and Johnson (Wilkie-Johnson, p.64).
21. Margoliouth, pp.xii-xiii. John Kilgore, op.cit., p.109.
22. During stage 5 this new sign of Apocalypse was superseded by another sign of Apocalypse -- the reconciliation between Los and Enitharmon.
23. See Milton, 38[43].29-49, 40[46].29-36; E,139, 142 and Jerusalem, 91.41-52; E,251-2.
24. In his explanation of the composition and growth of Vala Bentley discusses 85.32-90.67 as 'about 150

new lines' (142 lines) which were added lastly to VIIa on five fresh pages (pages 86-90) (V/FZ [Bentley], p.162). Bentley, however, elsewhere points out that pages 87-90 were a very late addition (added after Night VIII was completed), mainly basing his view on the kind of paper (Blake's use of a print 'Edward and Elenor') and the kind of handwriting ('reduced and hurried version of the usual hand') (ibid., pp.195-6). Though Lincoln is well aware of Bentley's observation on pages 87-90 and also Erdman's suggestion about Blake's instruction ('Los stood &') on page 100 (Night VIII) as referring to page 90, he, nevertheless, generally regards 85.32-90.67 as a continuous narrative which leads to Night VIII (99-110, particularly the description of the labours of Los and Enitharmon). Lincoln comments: 'It seems more likely that Blake worked out the details of Los's reunion with the Spectre and Enitharmon before VIII' (99-110) was copied out, rather than composing it afterwards as an "amplification backward" (Erdman's phrase, E,840)' (Lincoln, op.cit., pp.126-7).

25. See V/FZ (Bentley), p.208

26. Bentley recognized that Blake revised the beginning of the last line as his transcript shows ('[Clouds would have folded round in] Extacy & Love uniting'). See V/FZ (Bentley), p.88.

27. Although this has not been noticed by editors, Blake emended 'saw' to 'said'. See page 99 of the manuscript.

28. Tharmas and Urthona give power to Los when all of them are struck by a stony stupor (107.31-4; E,383).

29. E, 840. Line 90.2 reads (before Blake's revision): 'Los stood in Golgonooza in the Gate of Luban'.

30. For the views of critics on the lateness of Night VIII, see Prophet, pp.397-403; Margoliouth, pp.xiii, xviii, xxiv-v, 174; V/FZ (Bentley), p.163; E, 817.

31. While instinctively perceiving his own final fate (although this is not seen in America), Albion's Angel pretends to be Michael fighting against the great red dragon in Revelation (12.7-9). Stevenson has pointed out the link already made with Revelation (12.1-4); Albion's Angel thus associates Orc with the dragon which was about to devour a child to be delivered by a woman clothed with the sun and the moon under her feet. See Stevenson,

p.195.

32. As Margoliouth first perceived (Margoliouth, p.xii-xiii), Night VIIa (77-85.22) was expected to be followed by Night VIIb. By the time lines 85.23-31 were added to Night VIIa, however, Blake already looked towards Night VIII.

33. V/FZ (Bentley), p.163.

34. For example, a casual reference to war by the demons of the deep (92.9-10; E,364), recalls Achilles's golden armour stripped by Hector from Patroclus. Another example is found in Tharmas's unusual account of his Fall. He was divided by his sorrow over his daughters having become war captives (96.8-9; E,362).

35. Blake made this structural revision of Night VIIb after the lines were numbered in ink by fifties (marginal ink numeral 150 is clearly seen on page 95). Therefore this revision was made during during stage 5.

36. Another purpose of Blake's revision of Night VIIb was to make Orc's embrace of the shadowy female and the subsequent appearance of the Spectres providential by linking both to Los and Enitharmon's collaboration designed to give forms to the Spectres in Night VIII.

37. V/FZ (Bentley), p.163.

38. Lincoln, op.cit., pp.116-18.

39. Lincoln, op.cit., pp.118-19.

40. Although this has not been given due attention, Sloss and Wallis pointed out the redundancy of the process of the Judgement: they comment, 'this addition (117-119.23) causes confusion, for the final annihilation of error, the Last Judgement, is thus twice described, first and more concisely in the added lines' (Sloss-Wallis, vol.1, p.139). By repeating the process of the Last Judgement before Man's awakening, Blake makes Man less prominent: he is transformed from the macrocosmic figure who contains in its body everything to a microcosmic figure (a member of the cosmos). This is harmonious with the change Blake introduced into Night VIII.

41. Bentley points out that the lines on the sons and daughters of Luvah working at the wine presses in Night IX (136.16-137.4; E,404-5) are repeated with some additions in Milton (27[29].3-41; E, 124-5), assuring that Night IX precedes Milton (V/FZ [Bentley], p.163). The transcription of Night IX also precedes the transformation of Night VIII.

42. The lateness of this idea and its unusual importance is seen in the appearance of the idea of

the Lamb of God clothed in Luvah's robe of blood in the various late additions in the poem (13.9, 27.9-13, 32.14, 33.11-15, 55.11; E,308, 318, 321, 327, 337). It is important that 'the Lamb of God / Clothed in Luvahs robes of blood' on page 87 is part of the first layer of composition, not an addition (and so indicates that pages 87-90 were transcribed later than Night VIII).

43. Like Christopher Logue, who began his complete translation of The Iliad with a version of Books XVI-XIX (beginning with Patroclus's plea for Achilles's arms and ending with Achilles's rejoining the war to avenge Patroclus's death), other poets have imaginatively reacted most strongly to this part of the poem. Blake's admired Milton is no exception. Probably Milton's greatest debt to Homer is the plot of Adam's Fall helplessly drawn by his inseparable link with Eve and her fate. Just as Achilles instantly perceives at Patroclus's death that his death is also imminent, so Adam at Eve's confession of having eaten the forbidden fruit knows his destiny immediately (PL, IX.888-916) -- as Adam says, 'no, no, I feel / The Link of Nature draw me'. Such a mysterious link (according to The Symposium 'Love') exists between Achilles and Patroclus: thus the former is no less strongly drawn by the latter's fate.

44. Blake's marginal note on page 56 of Vala/The Four Zoas reads, 'Christs Crucifix shall be made an excuse for Executing Criminals' (E,833). Also, in Blake the cross on which Jesus is crucified is identified as Urizen's tree of Mystery (106.2; E, E,379), indicating that Jesus's death is exploited by organized religion.

45. Sheila A. Spector argues that the exact meaning of Blake's Tirzah can be extracted not from its biblical context (Tirzah as the fifth of the daughters of Zelophehad whose properties are divided among them [Numbers, 26.33, 27.1, 36.11; Joshua, 17.3] and a city whose beauty rivalled with Jerusalem [the Song of Solomon, 6.4]) but from its Hebrew etymology. Spector speculates that the linguistic basis for the meaning of Tirzah was provided for Blake by John Parkhurst's Hebrew and English Lexicon, without Points (1762; 4th ed. London 1799). It showed the roots of rz (the word Tirzah without the prefix and suffix) under four entries: ratz denoting 'to run, to crush, (as a noun) the earth or earthly matter'; rotzeh, 'wilfulness'; ratzah, 'murder'; ratzah, 'a piercer'

('Sources and Etymologies of Blake's "Tirzah"', BIQ, 23 [1990], pp.176-83 [179-80]).

46. On The Cave of the Nymphs, trans. Thomas Taylor, ed. Kathleen Raine, Grand Rapids, MI, Phanes Press, 1991, pp.37-8.

Stage 5

The Final Transformation

1. See pages 87.16-19, 52-9, and 90.24; E, 369-70. Also Blake attributed Enion's aggression against Tharmas to her finding Sin/Jerusalem in the recess of his soul during stage 5 (pages 4.26-40, 7.1-7; E, 301-2, 304).

2. See Bentley's transcript (V/FZ [Bentley]), p.117.

3. For instance, Ezekiel 16 is concerned with Jerusalem, a city and the bride of God, who, despite of her covenant with her Lord, betrays him and commits fornication with her neighbouring nations. For the contrast between the fornication in a literal sense and that in a symbolic one, see 16.34.

4. Compare the Notebook lines:

Was Jesus Born of a Virgin Pure
With narrow Soul & looks demure
If he intended to take on Sin
The Mother should an Harlot been
Just such a one as Magdalen
With seven devils in her Pen. (NB, 120)

5. Ault comments: 'the Lamb and Satan are structural inversions of each other' (Ault, p.275).

6. Frye, The Great Code. The Bible and Literature, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, p.140-2.

7. Although Tirzah is explained as Rahab's daughter (105.26-7; E, 378), and it therefore appears as though Rahab were the maternal and Tirzah the marital, this mother and daughter relationship between them is simply invented to give Rahab more prominence as Satan's counterpart, while Tirzah is subordinated to Rahab or represented by her. Tirzah is the mother figure in 'To Tirzah' where she is symbolically addressed as 'Thou Mother of my Mortal part' (E, 30). Rahab, on the other hand, becomes the bride figure as she is identified with Mary Magdalen. See Blake's cancelled lines on page 110 (E, 843).

8. Ault, p.273.

9. Although the design is dated c.1800 (Butlin, 524), it could be slightly later than that. Anthony Blunt points out the striking similarity between

Blake's design and the initial C in the Winchester Bible, suggesting that Blake made a trip to Winchester while he was at Felpham (September 1800 - September 1803)(The Art of William Blake, London, Oxford University Press, 1959, p.33). Milton Klonsky dates the design 1805 (William Blake. The Seer and His Visions, London, Orbis, 1977, p.65).

10. Damon, who regards the angel and the dragon as representing Good and Evil respectively, comments that the design shows 'not the ultimate triumph of Good, but the revolution of both until both are destroyed' (William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols, London, Dawson's of Pall Mall, 1924, p.222). Milton Klonsky describes the closeness between the two as the 'copulation of Good and Evil' or an 'active-passive, yin-yang union with each other' (op.cit., p.65).

11. Gert Schiff identified the angel fighting with Satan as Abdiel rather than Michael, basing his view on the correspondence between Satan's posture in the design and Milton's description of Satan's action when attacked by Abdiel, 'ten paces huge / He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee / His massy Spear upstay'd' (PL, VI.193-5). William Blake, 22 September - 25 November, 1990, The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, ed. Koji Yukiya, Chikashi Kitazaki and Akira Takahashi, Tokyo, Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1990, p.5.

12. Blake's sufferings while in Felpham under William Hayley's patronage, and also due to the accusation by John Scofield, a private soldier, that he made seditious remarks, is mainly woven into the Bard's song in Milton. On the other hand, Blake's acrimonious feelings towards Robert Cromek, the publisher, developed when Cromek ruthlessly switched from Blake to Schiavonetti the contract for engraving Blake's designs for Robert Blair's The Grave. This acrimony reached a critical point when Thomas Stothard, commissioned by Cromek, exhibited an oil painting on Chaucer's Canterbury Tales in May 1807. In my view, the portrayal of Los's Emanation as stolen in Jerusalem is not unconnected with Blake's stolen inspiration. For its subtle relevance, see the Spectre's remark to Los (J, 7. 9-17; E,149). Blake's 1809-10 exhibition of his frescos and drawings and its accompanying Descriptive Catalogue were Blake's appeal to the public to judge which -- Blake's or Stothard's -- is the original and which the copy.

13. 'Night the Seventh: The Editorial Problem', BIO,

- 12 (1978), pp.135-9 (p.137).
14. Although Bentley regards the marginal additions on page 12 (12.10-31; E,307) as, except two lines (12.21,24), all written in the same period, I think these additions were made at three different periods (stages 3, 4 and 5). To fill a stanza-break on page 12, Blake first wrote ten lines on the left margin (12.10-17,30-1). These lines are concerned with Urizen's forecast of Luvah's birth to Los (and Los's expected aggression against Luvah). This is harmonious with Blake's attempt to integrate the prospect of Luvah's birth and his fate into Night I during stage 3. Pages 15-16, which were added during stage 3, also articulate Luvah's birth and his fate (16.1-12; E,309); Blake added seven more lines (12.18-24, which are meant to be inserted in the previous addition) on the upper margin of page 12 to let Los respond to Urizen. Urizen's mild hypocrisy, which Los exposes, is reminiscent of Satan's mild art in the Bard's song of Milton which was composed after the Felpham period, during stage 4 of the composition of Vala/The Four Zoas; Urizen's identification of Los with Jesus in the pencil additions (12.25-9; E,307) can be found in the late plates of Jerusalem (96.7,22; E,255-6) and can be regarded as the latest development of stage 5 of Vala/The Four Zoas.
15. Urizen is associated with Leo (Lion) because Leo's emblem, the sun, is in its maximum splendor in its proper quarter, the south, which is the realm sacred to Urizen. See Milton O. Percival, William Blake's Circle of Destiny, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp.145-6.
16. Ibid., pp.153-4.
17. Ibid., p.154.
18. V/FZ (Bentley), p.200. Lincoln regards the drawing on page 112 as depicting Urthona's Spectre and Enitharmon's Shadow (82.26-7; E,358). See 'The Revision of the Seventh and Eighth Nights of The Four Zoas', BIQ, 12 (1978), pp.115-33 (p.116). However, it is difficult to link the frantic woman desperately breaking away from a man's embrace with Enitharmon's Shadow who is associated with the whorish Vala and is willing to be seduced.
19. V/FZ (Bentley), pp.162, 214.
20. Lincoln, op.cit., pp.115-16.
21. Lincoln, ibid., p.115-16.
22. Orc can remain Orc while he is in chains. When he is released, he is metamorphosed into a serpent, entering the state called Satan (115.26-7; E,380).

23. Ault, p.273.
24. Ault, pp. 286-7.
25. Stevenson, p.420.
26. E,964.
27. Damon comments, 'Even the Spirit may sin against Jesus by reason of Pride. Blake suggests here the identity of Los with Lucifer' (William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols, London, Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1924, p.387.
28. Wilkie-Johnson, p.191.

Epilogue

1. Bentley recognized Blake's intention of publishing the earliest stage of Vala (V/FZ [Bentley], p.158). His conclusion was: 'at the time of his [Blake's] first draft, Vala was a great poem, but the present manuscript is a tantalizing and tragic failure' (ibid., p.165). Erdman argued that the manuscript of Vala/The Four Zoas was itself meant to be a 'unique Illuminated Manuscript' ('The Binding [et cetera] of Vala', The Library, 19 [1964], pp.112-29 [p.125]). Paul Mann hypothesizes that Blake sought for publication along the lines of 'the Edwards-Blake edition of Young's Night Thoughts, a letterpress text framed in places by engraved designs', but gave up the plan, because of the commercial failure of the Night Thoughts and Hayley's Ballads ('The Final State of The Four Zoas', BIQ, 18 [1985], pp.204-9 [pp.204,207-8]). Robert N. Essick reads the changes from Blake's copperplate hand, to his modified copperplate hand, to his usual hand as signifying changes in Blake's intention about the form of publication, from intaglio etching (c.1796-1800), to a combination of letterpress text and engraved illustrations (c.1800-4), to abandoning the idea of publication (c.1804-7). ('The Four Zoas: Intention and Production', BIQ, 18 [1985], pp.216-20 [p.218]). Joseph Viscomi accepts as possible Paul Mann's suggestion that Blake intended publishing Vala in a combination of the letter press and engraved designs around 1803. But in terms of cost he says, 'It seems more likely that Blake's estimate referred [in his letter to James Blake on 30 January 1803] either to smaller projects that were never realized, or, perhaps, to a smaller version of Vala' (Blake and the Idea of the Book, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993, p.317).

2. V/FZ (Bentley), p.158.

3. Ibid., p.199.

4. Keynes regards the poem as Milton (The Letters of William Blake, with Related Documents, 1956, Oxford, Clarendon Press, third edn., 1980, p.55). Bentley thinks that Blake referred to 'a poem which comprehended the actions that were later divided between Milton and Jerusalem' (BB, p.307). Viscomi, however, regards the poem as Vala (op.cit., p.316).

5. Keynes, op.cit., p.83.

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