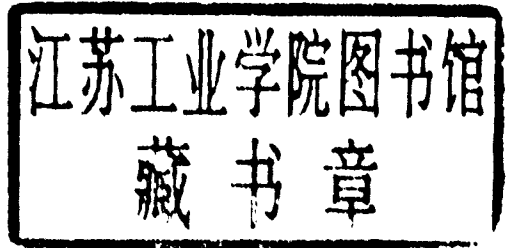




Jerusalem
The
Emanation of
The Giant
Albion

WILLIAM BLAKE : JERUSALEM



WILLIAM BLAKE

Jerusalem

The Emanation of the Giant Albion

Edited with an Introduction and Notes by

MORTON D. PALEY

BLAKE'S ILLUMINATED BOOKS

Volume 1

General Editor DAVID BINDMAN

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WILLIAM BLAKE: *Jerusalem*

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Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| PREFACE by David Bindman, General Editor | 6 |
| FOREWORD | 7 |
| INTRODUCTION | 9 |
| THE PLATES | 17 |
| Supplementary plates | |
| THE TEXT with COMMENTARY on the plates | |
| and NOTES on the text | 125 |
| The printed text of <i>Jerusalem</i> | 126 |
| Texts and Citations | 127 |
| Abbreviations of Blake's Works | 128 |
| A note on the reversed writing in <i>Jerusalem</i> | 128 |
| WORKS CITED | 298 |

General Editor's Preface

THE BLAKE TRUST was founded in 1949 with the express purpose of making Blake's Illuminated books more widely known by producing facsimiles of the whole corpus to the highest possible standards of the day. Their production fell to Arnold Fawcus of the Trianon Press, who employed an elaborate process involving first the expertise of collotype craft printers in Paris, and then the employment of highly developed skills in applying by hand up to thirty colours per plate. Over a period of thirty years editions of all of the Illuminated books were issued, but inevitably, given the laborious and highly skilled nature of their production, they were costly and printed only in relatively small numbers. Their very success as private press books had the ironic effect of undermining the principal intention behind their production; instead of being widely available they became collectors' items and, for librarians, precious volumes to be consigned to the same rare-book shelves as the unique volumes from which they were reproduced.

In 1987, when the original scheme for the publication of facsimiles had been completed, it was agreed by the present council of the Blake Trust that the aim of the founders – to make the Illuminated books widely accessible in high-quality reproductions – had not yet been realized: however, developments in methods of reproduction and printing had now made its achievement feasible. This edition of *Jerusalem* is, even allowing for the inevitable compromises all reproduction entails, as accurate as modern technology and expert checking at every stage can make it. If the result lacks the beguiling verisimilitude of the hand-coloured Trianon Press facsimiles it is, we believe, more accurate in detail and less subjective in rendering the colouring of Blake's original.

It was decided that each volume of the proposed collected edition should contain a new transcription of Blake's text and a full plate-by-plate commentary. We were extremely fortunate in being able to recruit Professor Morton D. Paley, who is one of the most eminent modern Blake scholars and who had already made a special study of *Jerusalem*, to undertake the intricate and demanding work for this volume. The brief to Professor Paley was to make the introduction and commentary a work of scholarship, but also accessible to the less specialist reader. We believe he has fulfilled both these aims triumphantly.

This edition of *Jerusalem* is the first volume of what we hope will eventually result in a complete edition in the same format of all Blake's illuminated works. *Jerusalem* is Blake's longest and most complex work, consisting of 100 densely wrought pages. It encompasses the history of man's fall and redemption, and its ambition and theological range rival Milton's *Paradise Lost*. It is a work which needs to be addressed in full awareness of its visual as well as its verbal richness and it is the editors' hope that this edition will provide the opportunity for many more people to scale its imaginative heights.

Apart from the earlier Blake Trust facsimile, this unique copy, coloured throughout by Blake himself, has not previously been reproduced in full. It has now been completely and meticulously rephotographed for the present edition. The book itself belongs to Mr Paul Mellon, and the Trust owes yet another debt to him for generously parting for many months with a precious and greatly cherished possession. We must acknowledge too the enthusiasm and support for the project afforded by Iain Bain of Tate Gallery Publications. The Trust is proud to be associated with the Tate's publishing arm; without its involvement the venture might well have remained unrealized. John Commander, Executive Director of the Blake Trust, has initiated and supervised every stage of the project with immense patience and skill. We are also grateful to the Getty Grant Foundation for providing a generous subvention to the very substantial costs of this edition of *Jerusalem*. Without the Getty grant the book's price would have had to be considerably higher and our aim, to make the edition truly accessible, thwarted.

DAVID BINDMAN

Foreword

FIRST, my thanks to those without whose help this edition would not exist at all. David Bindman and John Commander were the only begetters, first convincing me that the enterprise was feasible and then sustaining me with their confidence, enthusiasm and advice. Paul Mellon generously parted with a treasured personal possession for months so that it could be studied and photographed. Duncan Robinson's hospitality at the Yale Center for British Art once more made my only regret the necessity of departure.

It is impossible to express adequately my gratitude for the time, energy, and concern of some of my fellow scholars. Nevertheless, an attempt must be made, starting with Robert N. Essick, who laboured so well the minute particulars that I am forever in his debt. At the Yale Center, Patrick Noon shared with me his great knowledge of works on paper, and Theresa Fairbanks initiated me to the thrill of examining Blake's colours under the microscope. Bo Ossian Lindberg spent hours discussing some of the knottier problems of Blake's image-making and iconography. Morris Eaves, Detlef W. Dörrbecker, and David Worrall made important and stimulating suggestions at the outset. Greer Allen heightened my awareness of the subtleties of Blake's colours. Martin Butlin answered some difficult questions with his customary generosity. Gunnell Tottie gave me welcome advice on some linguistic matters.

I wish to thank Lord Cunliffe for permitting me to examine copy B again and David Scrase for making this possible at the Fitzwilliam Museum. I am likewise obligated to the Pierpont Morgan Library and to Charles Eliot Pierce, Jr., and Anna Lou Ashby with respect to copy F. At the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings, Frances Carey made all my tasks easier. Much of the background research for my annotations was done at the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, the British Library, the Preston Blake Library (City of Westminster), and the Royal Library, Stockholm. I particularly appreciate the help of Shelley Bennett, Virginia Renner, and Mary Wright at the Huntington and of Fritz Sjöstedt at Stockholm. At the Yale Center I am also indebted to Timothy Goodhue and to Laura Guadagnoli. At Berkeley Kimberly A. Kutzner rendered invaluable bibliographical assistance. Last but far from least, the librarians at the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley, did everything imaginable to make my work possible; I am especially grateful to Anthony Bliss and to Tim Hoyer. The proofreading was greatly assisted by Sara K. Austin, Josephine McQuail and Patricia Neill. Some other, specific acknowledgments are made in the annotations.

This edition of *Jerusalem* is dedicated to my son, William.

MORTON D. PALEY
Berkeley, California
February 1990

Introduction

DURING the last year of his life William Blake wrote to his old friend George Cumberland: the Last Work I produced is a Poem Entitled Jerusalem the Emanation of the Giant Albion, but find that to Print it will Cost my Time the amount of Twenty Guineas One I have Finishd It contains 100 Plates but it is not likely I shall get a Customer for it (12 April 1827, E 784)

By 'Finishd' Blake did not mean merely 'written' or 'printed,' for he had almost certainly already produced at least three complete monochrome copies (A, C, and D) and a coloured copy (B) of Chapter 1 comprising twenty-five plates. 'Finished' is a term Blake often used, as in distinguishing between two pictures by George Romney, one 'a Sketch,' the other 'a finishd Production' (to William Hayley, 28 December 1804, E 760). When George Moser, Keeper at the Royal Academy, called prints after Rafael and Michelangelo 'Unfinish'd' and put forward alternatives after Rubens and LeBrun, the young Blake rejoined 'These Things that you call Finishd are not Even Begun' (Annotations to Reynolds' *Discourses*, E 639). Blake's own *Job* and *Edward and Elinor* are called 'highly finished engravings' in his prospectus of 1793 (E 692). 'Finished,' then, means both complete and brought to the artist's idea of perfection. Not all works had to be coloured to merit this term, but *Jerusalem* did. Only one copy was ever finished in this sense – copy E, reproduced in this volume.

The grand project of *Jerusalem* was under way within a year of Blake's return from his 'three years slumber on the banks of the Ocean' (3) at Felpham, as attested by the date on the title page: 1804. Although the whole work cannot have been existed then, the date is important for several reasons. At Felpham, Blake had had one or more visionary experiences that profoundly affected his world-view, leaving him with a sense of renewed confidence in his abilities as poet and artist.¹ It was there, too, that he encountered Private John Scholfield, resulting in 'a very unwarrantable warrant from a Justice of Peace in Chichester' (Letter to Thomas Butts, 16 August 1803, E 732) and Blake's subsequent trial for sedition.

When Blake returned from Felpham in September 1803 he must have suffered considerable anxiety about his impending trial, an anxiety that can only have been increased by his knowledge of the fate of Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, who had been convicted of treason early that year solely on the basis of verbal testimony, and who had been sentenced to being drawn and quartered (a sentence that in an exercise of Swiftian *lenity* the government commuted to hanging).² Blake's feelings of fear and rage about his own indictment and trial are expressed in *Jerusalem* through the twelve Giant Sons of Albion, at least eight of whom have names connected with this episode.³ However, at the time that he etched the *Jerusalem* title page, Blake must have been exhilarated by his acquittal in January 1804 and by the prospect of an independent life in London far from his Corporeal Friend William Hayley. In *Milton* he worked out some of his rage towards Hayley by making his would-be benefactor Satan. In *Jerusalem* he is able to take a longer view of the whole Sussex experience, turning it into a pastoral interlude in the life of the artist-poet:

. . . Chichester, lovely mild & gentle! Lo!
Her lambs bleat to the sea-fowls cry . . .
(40 [36]: 50–1)

¹ See Paley, *Energy and the Imagination*; Hagstrum, 'The Wrath of the Lamb.'

² For this suggestion I am indebted to Worrall, 'Representation and Secrecy.'

³ See Keynes, *Blake Studies*, 113–14; Damon, *Dictionary*, 15.

With his renewed sense of expectation, Blake was ripe for a confirmatory experience, and it came. ‘Suddenly, on the day after visiting the Truchsessian Gallery of pictures, I was again enlightened with the light I enjoyed in my youth, and which has for exactly twenty years been closed from me as by a door and by window-shutters’ (Letter to William Hayley, 23 October 1804, E 756). As the catalogues of the Truchsessian Gallery exist, it is possible to reconstruct what Blake saw there and to speculate on what caused his response.⁴ He was again moved to affirm the superiority of Roman and Florentine over Venetian painting and to perceive the greatness of works by the ‘primitive’ Northern masters (some of which, unlike many of the others in the Truchsessian collection, were authentic). It would be too speculative to say that from this experience came the impulse to etch the title pages of the long-gestating *Milton* and *Jerusalem*; rather, these events should be seen as forming a constellation in Blake’s development, resulting from and in turn contributing to a renewed sense of his vocation.

Blake had written and designed no new illuminated book since 1795 – *The Four Zoas* remained uncompleted and in manuscript – but now he was determined to produce two, the shorter of which would be in twelve books. The longer, *Jerusalem*, would comprise twenty-four chapters, the first of them ending with plate 14! The grandiosity of these projects recalls Blake’s self-parody in *An Island in the Moon*:

... Illuminating the Manuscript ... Then said he I would have all the writing Engraved instead of Printed & at every other leaf a high finished print in all three Volumes folio, & sell them at a hundred pounds a piece. they would Print off two thousand. ... (E 465)

Now, however, Blake was in earnest, for he anticipated a new audience, perhaps the ‘Young Men of the New Age’ whom he addressed in *Milton* 1. He accordingly began the text of *Jerusalem* with an address captioned ‘To the Public,’ consciously echoing the title of the first prospectus for his illuminated books, dated 10 October 1793, which had optimistically concluded: ‘No Subscriptions for the numerous great works now in hand are asked, for none are wanted; but the Author will produce his works, and offer them to sale at a fair price’ (E 693).

Blake’s address jauntily begins: ‘After my three years slumber on the banks of the Ocean, I again display my Giant forms to the Public.’ As originally etched, the next sentence read: ‘My former Giants & Fairies having recieved the highest reward possible: the love and friendship of those with whom to be connected, is to be blessed: I cannot doubt that this more consolidated and extended Work, will be as kindly recieved’ (E 145). Little attention has been given to what an extraordinary statement this is. Blake’s former Giants and Fairies can only be the denizens of his own illuminated books, particularly the mythopoeic works that he had etched and printed in the earlier 1790s and resumed with *Milton*. To say that these works had received ‘the highest reward possible’ from the public is astonishing. *The [First] Book of Urizen*, Blake’s most ambitious illuminated book of the Lambeth period, exists in only eight known copies.⁵ *Milton*, the first copy of which was printed c. 1810 and the last completed in 1815, exists in four copies. It too begins with an enthusiastic appeal to its anticipated readers, but the page on which this appears is absent from the last two copies, suggesting, along with what happened to *Jerusalem* 3, ‘a withdrawal of faith in the audience,’ as Morris Eaves (*William Blake’s Theory of Art*, 187 n23) puts it.

⁴ See Paley, ‘The Truchsessian Gallery Revisited.’

⁵ Seven (one of which is untraced) are described in BB 166–72. Since its publication one more (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina) has been discovered by Detlef Dörrbecker.

The fate of *J* 3 was even more dramatic than the silent withdrawal of a leaf. At some point Blake attacked the copper plate, gouging out words and entire passages that suggested intimacy with the reader. From the second sentence the words ‘love,’ ‘friendship’ and ‘blessed’ were removed.⁶ Almost three lines following ‘the Author hopes’ were deleted,⁷ making nonsense of the passage, as a glance at the reproduced page will show. Even the unity of seemingly opposed aspects of the Godhead, long a theme in Blake’s works, was called into question by the removal of the bracketed words in the sentence following: ‘I also hope the Reader will be with me, wholly One in Jesus our Lord. who is the God [of Fire] and Lord [of Love] to whom the Ancients look’d and saw his day afar off. with trembling & amazement.’ Even when the subtractions involved other subjects, they were made in contexts where reference to the reader was prominent. The no longer [Dear] Reader was *not* going to be asked to ‘[forgive] what you do not approve, & [love] me for this energetic exertion of my talent,’ although the missing verbs reduced the statement to meaninglessness; now the reader was neither ‘[lover] of books!’ nor ‘[lover] of heaven,’ nor was it ‘God from whom [all books are given].’ One last deletion again indicates an at least temporary loss of confidence in the power of Jesus himself.⁸

The only explanation for such battery upon the plate is that Blake received a rebuff from a potential buyer, one that so enraged him that he wanted to remove all traces of personal intimacy and spiritual communion with his readership. No such incident is known, although we do know that Blake underwent a series of other profound disappointments after his return to London. The first was the trauma of losing the commission to engrave his own designs for Blair’s *Grave* in 1805.⁹ This was followed by Robert Hunt’s unfavourable review of Blake’s *Grave* designs in 1808 and then by the failure of Blake’s attempt to appeal directly to the public in his Exhibition of 1809, along with a second, personally offensive attack by Hunt in *The Examiner* (providing Albion with another Giant Son in the form of Hand, a name deriving from the pointing hand the Hunt brothers used as their editorial symbol). In 1811 came the rupture of Blake’s longtime friendship with Thomas Stothard, as a result of Blake’s accusation that Stothard and the publisher R. H. Cromek had stolen Blake’s conception for the *Canterbury Pilgrims* design.¹⁰ None of these events are likely to have been responsible for Blake’s assault upon *J* 3, for as we have seen the target there is the *reader* rather than the typical targets of Blake’s Notebook attacks: Sir Joshua Reynolds, ‘corporeal friends’ like William Hayley, the Hunt brothers, Cromek, Stothard, and others. However, the tribulations

⁶ These and other restorations were begun as early as Swinburne’s *William Blake* (1868) and continued and extended by a line of commentators and editors, the most important of whom in this respect are Damon (*Philosophy and Symbols* 434), Keynes in his *Complete Writings*, and Erdman in SAP and *Complete Poetry and Prose*.

⁷ These have been reconstructed in E 145 as: ‘no Reader will think presumptuousness or arroganc[e] when he is reminded that the Ancients acknowledge their love to their Deities, to the full as Enthusiastically as I have who Acknowledge mine for my Saviour and Lord, for they were wholly absorb’d in their Gods.’ B 419 expresses less confidence in some of these readings.

⁸ The line, as rendered in E 145, reads: ‘to Note the last words of Jesus, Εδοθη μοι πασα εξουσια εν ουρανω και επι γης.’ This is from Matt. 28.18, translated in the AV as ‘All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.’ These are the last words of Jesus only in the sense that they begin Jesus’s last address to his disciples in the first Gospel.

⁹ On this and related matters, see Essick and Paley, *The Grave*.

¹⁰ For a refreshingly balanced view of this episode, see Aileen Ward, ‘Canterbury Revisited.’

Blake experienced from 1805 on must have created a sense of vulnerability that could only have intensified his reaction to any rebuff about *Jerusalem*.

Blake's attack upon plate 3 was expressive of terrible rage. The gaps on the plate were like wounds that could never heal. When Blake sold a monochrome copy of *Jerusalem* to his friend John Linnell, he could have supplied the missing words in black ink, but he did not choose to do so. Plate 3 would remain, in Jerome McGann's words, 'a broken text,'¹¹ emblematic in this respect of *Jerusalem* as a whole.

Considering Blake's situation in life, however, what is remarkable is not that he encountered difficulties in completing *Jerusalem* but that he completed it at all. In speaking of his progress, we must be mindful of its status as an evolving work of composite art, written, designed, etched, and printed by the same man. When we speak of *Jerusalem*, we speak of a work with three different aspects of historical existence: the writing and sketching, the etching, and the printing from etched plates. We often have little idea of how much time intervened between these steps for particular pages. As far as composition is concerned, Blake must have already written some of the poem when he wrote his confident address 'To the Public' with the Felpham years fresh in mind. Internal evidence shows Blake's responses to a number of later datable events. For example, Hand, whose name appears on twenty-five different plates, cannot have existed for Blake before Robert Hunt's first published attack on him in 1808, and the more rancorous attack on Blake's exhibition in 1809 is likelier to have prompted such extensive attention. In the *Descriptive Catalogue* for the exhibition, Blake alluded to a 'voluminous' poem containing 'the ancient history of Britain' (E 543) – almost certainly *Jerusalem* – as yet unpublished. There appear to be allusions to events of 1811–13 on 43[38], specifically the executions of Mexican insurgent leaders and the War of 1812 – and there are evidently references on 63 and 66 to the downfall of Napoleon and the imposition of the Bourbons on the French (see Erdman, *Prophet* 463–6, 482). Repeated pleas to Albion not to take vengeance must refer to the end and aftermath of the French wars rather than to the years in which Napoleon was ascendant. Thus the evidence of the text points to composition over at least a decade, and that is probably a conservative estimate.

What scanty evidence exists as to etching and printing suggests a period of intense activity peaking in 1807, a slowing-down of the process over the following years, and a spurt of renewed activity c. 1818–20. In the summer of 1807 George Cumberland recorded in his Notebook that 'Blake has engd. 60 Plates of a new Prophecy!' (BR 187). This can only refer to *Jerusalem*, Blake's only illuminated book of more than fifty plates. On 19 December 1808 Blake wrote to Cumberland that he was not able to 'Engage in reviving my former pursuits of printing' (E 769) because he was so taken up with new projects (presumably painting). In July 1811, according to Henry Crabb Robinson, Blake showed Robert Southey a 'perfectly mad poem called Jerusalem' (BR 229). Southey communicated a detail that suggests that plate 38 must have been among those he had seen, for 'Oxford Street is in Jerusalem.' According to Southey, what he had been shown was not ready for sale at the time (BR 338). In the following year, Blake exhibited at the Water Colour Society 'Detached Specimens of an original illuminated Poem, entitled *Jerusalem the Emanation of the Giant Albion*' (BR 231). Among the likely candidates for these detached specimens are the coloured proofs of 25, 32, 41, and 47 now in the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra (reproduced by Keynes with his edition

¹¹ 'William Blake Illuminates the Truth.' *Critical Studies*, 1 (1989): 43–59.

of copy B). But as late as 9 June 1818 Blake sent Dawson Turner a price list for some of his works including *Milton* (ten guineas) but not *Jerusalem*.

At about this point something seems to have galvanized Blake into action. It is likely that the energizing influence came from John Linnell, who did so much to restore Blake's self-esteem and to end what Gilchrist (256) rightly called the 'Years of Deepening Neglect.' Their meeting had taken place by 24 June 1818, for it was then that the two artists began to collaborate on a portrait engraving (BR 256). It can hardly be coincidental that the coloured twenty-five plate copy B and chapter 1 of copies A and C bears 1818 (and no later) water-marks. Linnell was to buy one of the monochrome copies of *Jerusalem*, probably copy C, paying for each chapter as he received it, and it was through Linnell that another copy (A) was sold, although only just before Blake's death in 1827, to the artist and curator William Young Ottley. Blake may, as Robert Essick has suggested (private communication), have marked Linnell's role in the realization of *Jerusalem*, by giving his friend the original page 51 of copy E – the dramatic full-page presentation of Vala, Hyle, and Skofield – and substituting another.¹²

At first, Blake may not have intended to issue monochrome copies of *Jerusalem*, as this was not his usual practice for the later illuminated books. There are, for example, no known uncoloured copies of *The [First] Book of Urizen* or of *Milton*. He may have produced copy B¹³ before any of the others but found that the process of colouring was too time-consuming to be economical.¹⁴ That such was the general situation is the burden of the letter to Cumberland quoted at the beginning of this Introduction:

You are desirous I know to dispose of some of my Works & to make <them> Pleasin[g] . . . But having none remaining of all that I had Printed I cannot Print more Except at a great loss . . . I am now Printing a Set of the Songs of Innocence & Experience for a Friend at Ten Guineas which I cannot do under Six Months consistent with my other Work. . . . (E 783–84).

'My other work' in this context would have been the Dante illustrations – water colours and engravings – that Blake was executing under Linnell's sponsorship, a project that had been begun in 1824. Prior to that, Blake had executed a set of *Job* water colours for Linnell and the *Job* engravings (published 1826) followed. Blake found that when the value of his labour, even at the moderate amount of the two to three pounds a week (Gilchrist 288) that Linnell regularly advanced to him, was taken into account the prices of his 'Finishd' illuminated books became prohibitive to potential buyers. It may be for this reason that he produced four complete monochrome copies of *Jerusalem* and only one complete coloured one.

Blake seems to have issued *J* chapter by chapter, and on the evidence of watermarks (B 730) no hundred-page copy could have been ready before 1820. As late as August 1820 a total of eighty-eight plates seems to have been what was contemplated, according to a friendly puff in *The London Magazine* [BR 265–6] by Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, who was also to buy the ten-guinea copy of the *Songs* (copy X; see BB 423) Blake later mentioned to Cumberland in the letter quoted above. A certain amount of scrambling about was evidently necessary to bring the work up to four chapters of twenty-five plates each. Evidence for this is everywhere

¹² The page is now in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. See Additional plate iv and note on J 51 below.

¹³ The copy was owned by P. A. Hanrott, but unfortunately we do not know when it was bought. It was bound with Hanrott's copies of *America* and *Europe*. Bentley dates the binding as about 1821 (BB 102).

¹⁴ As Joseph Viscomi puts it, 'his was a labor intensive, and not cost effective, means of production' (*The Art of William Blake's Illuminated Prints* 16).

in *Jerusalem* in deleted catchwords, attempts to disguise bad fits by engraving a new first line on a plate or by deleting an old one, variant orders in the second chapter, and some sloppily executed plates showing signs of great haste or of the near-exhaustion of Blake's supply of copper. However, as David Fuller aptly remarks, 'It is important not that the poetry feel geometrically ordered but that it should not feel chaotically disordered' (*Blake's Heroic Argument* 175).

The monochrome copies should not, of course, be regarded merely as coloured copies *manqué*. They were not merely uncoloured copies waiting for a change in Blake's fortunes – they were inked far too heavily, especially in their background areas, ever to be coloured. In them Blake, as ever, exploited as fully as he could the technical possibilities of his medium; as Essick (*Printmaker* 156) remarks, '*Jerusalem* is as epic in its range of graphic techniques as it is in its poetry.' Particularly striking are the designs in white line, a technique in which the plate is prepared so that etched or engraved lines appear white against a dark or coloured background.¹⁵ It is particularly appropriate for effects of light shining out of darkness, as in the magnificent frontispiece and plate 76. Gray washes were employed for darkening and in copy F, Chinese White for heightening. The borders of the copper plate were not wiped but were allowed to print so as to provide a frame. Whether presented in conjunction with major and/or interlinear designs or as texts so tightly packed that Vincent De Luca has termed them 'a wall of words',¹⁶ the plates are perceived as integral units, the building blocks of *Jerusalem*.

In copy E these monochrome effects had to be foregone – the white line, for example, was largely lost in being painted – in the interests of what Blake could only have considered the grander effects of the 'Finishd' whole. The design areas were inked lightly, since they were to be hand coloured, while the text was fully and carefully inked so as to be readable. (Any problems we may have in construing Blake's calligraphy seldom come from light inking, though the compressed nature of the lines on some pages may cause difficulty). The pages were painted in water colour washes, shapes usually being reinforced by pen-and-ink outlines. The resulting combinations of text and design display the fluidity of movement that has been well characterized by Joseph Viscomi with respect to the *Songs*.¹⁷ By the selective use of relatively opaque water colours and, on some pages, of gold Blake was able to achieve effects that are not only magnificent visually but also important thematically.

The significance of the colours in E is not that of some occult code. It is for the most part affective, and where there is a symbolic dimension, the symbolism is so straightforward that it can hardly be separated from affect. The red-yellow flames of 26 give, as one would expect, a suggestion of the hell that Hand perpetually inhabits. In 100 the fibres that emanate from Enitharmon's spindle, through her hands to the moon and then down to the world below are blood-red, as befits the material that is to make new human bodies. Although such effects might be guessed at from the monochrome copies, their physical realization lends an entirely different dimension to the work; and some colour effects could not possibly be guessed, as for example the red flames that turn green as they rise up the right-hand margin of 41 [46], stopping at the word 'Judgment' (line 15).

¹⁵ White line is an inking and printing technique that can be employed in both etching and engraving. See Essick, *Printmaker*, 106–8 and Additional Plate i.

¹⁶ 'A Wall of Words: The Sublime As Text.'

¹⁷ *The Art of William Blake's Illuminated Prints*.

Green is a colour that is found in some places almost unimaginable in the monochrome copies, as in the foregrounds of plates like 15, 39, and 30. (To some extent, copy B also features green foregrounds, but not as frequently and seldom so intensely). The greenness of the earth can occur in some of the most horrible images, such as the scene of torture depicted in 25 and the human chain-link of 67. The area held by the anguished figure in 62 is green, as is the ground on which he stands. Areas that in copies A, C, D, and F appear black and therefore gloomy or at best neutral are suggestive of new life and perhaps even of the theological virtue Hope. The green earth beneath Albion in the great crucifixion scene 76 is surely suggestive of this.

The russet or ochreous fibres that appear so frequently in *Jerusalem* have a more sinister connotation. Sometimes by not wiping the borders of the plate but instead drawing with pen and India ink on the printed edges Blake suggests the fibrous matter underlying 'vegetative' reality. In plates such as 16, 17, 22, and 82 matter that appears undifferentiated in the monochrome copies becomes 'dark roots and stems: a Forest of affliction' (14:8). More elaborate work went into the left-hand margin of 34 [48], where what elsewhere is seen as a length of chain becomes an interlacing, barren woody vine. In 25, the fibres occupy not a marginal but a central position, showering down from the hands of the central female figure. Much of this must have been drawn into E because most of it is confined to the sides in all other copies. The identity of colour with the filament that is being drawn out of Albion creates a visual equation, scarcely possible in monochrome, between the 'Stems of Vegetation' on which humanity is bound (68:9) and the 'fibrous veins' (47:3) of the human body itself.

In some places where one hardly senses the presence of the sea in monochrome copies, blue shows us it is there, as at the feet of the despairing figure of 41 [37]. Only in E do we see that in 32 [46] Vala and Jerusalem confront each other on a green island with the sea breaking in the foreground. The lower design of 37 [33] shows Jerusalem on a floating bier, but we know this only from the coloured copy. We are more conscious of the sky, too, in copy E. The green earth-disk of 57 is seen against a teal-coloured background, becoming pale blue to the left and below, suggesting the night of Beulah and its attendant dreams. In 99 a circular patch of blue sky forms a halo for Jehovah.

Perhaps the most extraordinary colour effects in copy E come from the use of gold, the purchase of which, along with the other materials for copy E, must have represented a considerable expense for a poor man like Blake. (Although it is not possible to be absolutely certain that Blake's gold colouring was obtained by the use of true gold without analytical testing by x-ray fluorescence, the equipment for which was unfortunately not available at the Yale Center, it is clear under microscopic examination that both gold coloured metal leaf and silver coloured metal leaf were employed, as well as gold coloured powder and possibly a bronze coloured powder, the latter sometimes being applied in a light greenish/yellow transparent glaze.)¹⁸ Sometimes gold can be identified with prophetic vision, as in the rays emanating to the left of Los's leg, along his right knee, and over the contours of the doorway in 1. On the title page all major lettering is in gold. In 14 four of the stars are gold, as is the third band of the rainbow that arches protectively over Albion. Gold can, however, be associated with the delusive beauty of Vala and her daughters, as in 25, where we see it under the rear

¹⁸ I am deeply indebted to Theresa Fairbanks, Paper Conservator at the Yale Center for British Art, for giving me the benefit of her expertise on this subject.

figure's right arm and along her right side as well as on the earth in the foreground. Another scene of suffering, the image of a woman entwined by a giant worm, takes place on ground flecked with gold in 63; and in 75 the eyes of the seven-headed Beast are touched with gold. More to be expected is the gold in the sun, to the right of Enitharmon, and below the serpent temple in the regenerate world of the culminating plate, 100.

As an additional indication of the special status of this copy, Blake made borders outside the design areas on every page. In addition, for plates 1 and 2 he drew emblematic designs outside those borders. For 1 the components are chains, bat wings, and thorns, indicating the nature of the interior of Albion that Los is about to enter. 2 has a layer of cloud outside the frame, suggesting an obscuring of vision in the world of the sleeper below (or, rather, within). Blake may well have intended to add similar motifs to the remaining ninety-eight pages. It is a technique that has affinities with Philipp Otto Runge's in his *Times of Day* engravings (1803). It would be exciting to think there was some link between Blake and Runge, a visionary artist with whom Blake had much in common,¹⁹ but the use of border space by both probably goes back to common examples in Renaissance Northern European books with block-printed border designs. In any event, the marginal areas, which Blake exploits brilliantly in his *Job* engravings, are not decorated beyond plate 2 of *Jerusalem*.

Blake's sense that it was unlikely that he would find a buyer for his finished *Jerusalem* unfortunately proved correct. Frederick Tatham, to whom it passed after Catherine Blake's death, also seems to have been unable to sell it, although he printed at least three monochrome copies from Blake's plates and sold them.²⁰ Auctioned at Christie's in 1887, it was for a time owned by the dealer Bernard Quaritch, who sold it to Archibald Stirling c. 1893. It is now in the collection of Mr Paul Mellon, who has generously made it available for reproduction by the William Blake Trust. As the facsimile edition published for the Trust by Arnold Fawcus's Trianon Press in 1951 has become a rare book in its own right, and as it furthermore lacked critical apparatus and an edited text, the present volume should fill the need for a modern edition of Blake's greatest single work.

¹⁹ See Bindman, *William Blake: His Art and Times*, 30.

²⁰ Copies H, I, and J. Copy G, untraced, if not a ghost, would also have been printed by Tatham. See BB 260–1.