The Twelve Large Colour Prints of William Blake:

A Study on Techniques, Materials and Context

Minne Tanaka

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements of Nottingham Trent University

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

April 2008

ABSTRACT

The Twelve Large Colour Prints of William Blake:

A Study on Techniques, Materials and Context

Minne Tanaka

The aim of this thesis is to study in entirety the group of large colour prints which William Blake made between 1795 and 1805.   The series of prints represents the single most important and complete development of Blake's skill as an innovative printmaker.   Although they include some of Blake's best-known images, they have not been studied before in their entirety or from the point of view of analysing the techniques and methods Blake had used.

My study will show how Blake executed these truly impressive prints in terms of materials, method and motives.   The first half of the thesis deals with the materialistic aspects of Blake's colour printing.   In chapter one tracing the controversial two-pull discussion to the root, I will make clear the focus points as well as revealing the early tradition of experimental criticism on Blake's colour printing method.   Focusing on two important critics, W. Graham Robertson and Ruthven Todd, and the periods they lived, I attempt to reveal the role they played in a wider context. Also I show how the tradition of Blake's art was inherited directly through the Ancients to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, which leads to Robertson and Todd.   In the second chapter I deal with the development of Blake's colour printing experiments.   It is obvious that the Twelve Large Colour Prints were produced as a result of Blake's series of colour printing experiments, starting with monocolour simple prints, going through the illuminated books progressing with more colours and higher skills.   As the experiments processed, the illustrations started to get free from the text and became independent visual art.   Thus *the Large* and *Small Book of Designs* are compiled of full-page designs taken from the earlier illuminated books and printed in full colours, and interestingly some prints are colour printed from intaglio-etched plates.   Based on

my direct experience of comparing various prints and feeling the differences of the stages in the experiments in a relatively short period of time during my two research trips to the United States, I attempt to reconstruct the development of colour prints placed in his entire oeuvre.   Chapter three is the history of colour printing. Throughout history, many innovative printers attempted colour printing, but the number of those who succeeded both technically and financially was surprisingly few.   Some were obliged to pursuit their aesthetic in amateurish wasteful spending even ending in bankruptcy, and some compromised the quality for mass production and cost effectiveness.   But there have always been innovative printers trying to produce prints in colour.   Taking in the whole picture, I try to understand Blake's colour printing better.   Chapter four is my attempt to record scientifically attained information about the materials Blake used.   Most of the information in this chapter is taken from the results of the research conducted by the Tate conservationists led by Joyce Townsend. Thanks to their state of the art equipment, most of the pigments and other materials are now identifiable.   By studying materials, we can grasp the method physically.   The latter three chapters narrow the focus on the series of Twelve Large Colour Prints itself. Chapter five deals with the actual examination of the prints.   During this doctoral project, I saw all prints extant, except two, *Nebuchadnezzar* at Minneapolis and *Good and Evil Angels* in a private collection in New York.   Based on my direct experience, I give the full record of the location, comparison of different pulls and further information for each print.   In chapter six I trace the footstep of academic criticism in the field of art history to show what has been said about the interpretation of the Twelve Large Colour Prints.   The first important critic was Anthony Blunt.   As the director of the Courtauld Institute he not only set the base tone of Blake criticism in this field with his monograph but educated many critics after him.   Various critics contributed to accumulate knowledge, but none could propose a decisive narrative to unite the whole set of prints.   The latest proposal was made convincingly by Butlin and Lindsay in 1989 to put them in six pairs.   In chapter seven I attempt to give my own interpretation of Blake's motivation from his contemporary social situation and the art discussion Blake joined in.   In relation to the art world Blake lived in, especially to the boom of galleries opened one after another by influential printmakers, I speculate what drove Blake to invent new methods and produce those exuberant colour prints.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Introduction

The group of large colour prints, or colour-printed drawings, which William Blake made between 1795 and 1805 represents the single most important and complete development of Blake's skill as an innovative printmaker. This body of prints comprises some of the best known and most iconic of Blake's images, including those of *Newton*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Pity*, the best version of which are all in the Tate Collection. They were printed and completed at a time when Blake had moved from the production of the major relief-etched illuminated books of the early 1790s such as *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (1789, 1794), *America* (1793), and *the First Book of Urizen* (1794). Although they include some of Blake's best-known images, they have not been studied before in their entirety or from the point of view of analysing the techniques and methods Blake had used. Just about every issue connected to them has remained obscure. For example, the dates of their printing and completion are unusually complex. In 1981 Martin Butlin who was at that time working on the two-volume Yale edition of the complete catalogue, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*, published an article in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* in which he reported that one of the most famous of these images, that of 'Newton' which had been on display in Tate Britain since its bequest by Graham Robertson in 1939 had revealed during conservation that although Blake had clearly signed and dated in his own hand "1795 WB inv [in monogram]" examination had revealed that the paper it was printed on bore the watermark "JWHATMAN/1804"'. In other words for scholars studying the important group of poems represented by the works referred to above which appeared to end with *the Song of Los*, *Book of Ahania*, or *Book of Los* in 1795, there could no longer be a neat narrative of Blake's development as a print maker. Indeed the further one examines this group of colourprints, the more complex and intricate become the problems of reconstructing even the most basic understanding of them such as their dates.

This thesis will present the first comprehensive examination and analysis of this difficult yet famous set of prints.[1] The reasons why they have suffered a degree of scholarly neglect may be attributable to a number of reasons, perhaps the most

important of which is that for reasons to be outlined in detail below: Blake never made more than three impressions of each image.   However, although there are only twelve images made in this group, there are two or three copies existing for most of the images, and even though some exist as only two impressions, the extant group consists of 29 prints, which has been dispersed across the world.   A particular challenge of this thesis has been first of all to attempt to see and examine as many of the prints as I could, but also to bring to bear new techniques of examination and analysis which have risen from interpretive methodologies applied to Blake studies after the publication of Butlin's two volume edition in 1981.

Butlin's work for the 1981 Catalogue Raisonne appears to have been the last time this group of colour prints was examined comprehensively and in detail. However, it remains uncertain whether Butlin worked from a close first-hand inspection of the originals or from photographs.   Indicatively the present location of individual impressions stretches from the Pacific coast of the United States of America to Edinburgh.   Indeed, of the west coast of America copies, two are in public collections (the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens at San Marino, California and the Getty Center at Los Angeles, California) and the other in a private collection (Robert N. Essick, Altadena, California).   Even the terminology with which to describe them is a matter which remains partly undecided.   Scholars who have worked on these prints have often termed them 'Blake's Large Colour Prints', but others have described them as 'Colour Printed Drawings'.   Again, the reason for the inconsistency arises from the nuances of meaning attached to how they were made.   I have preferred in this thesis to call them the Large Colour Prints since this is undoubtedly the term employed by the majority of critics.   However, the concept of colour printed drawing may be slightly more accurate since this helps visualize some of the basic materialities involved in their production because to understand the technique of the production provides an important parameter within which to understand Blake's entire project of colour printing this particular group.   I will try to present here an accurate but simplified account of this terminological problem.

The prints of *Newton*, *Pity*, *Nebuchadnezzar* and the rest were all produced by the use of millboard as the printing surface.   Millboard approximates to modern cardboard and in this respect it is entirely different from the printing surfaces used in the illuminated books where the plates were all of copper.   However, even this apparently

clear-cut distinction between the techniques of the illuminated books and the colour prints is itself only a partial truth.   The print of *God Judging Adam* appears to show evidence of relief etching, which can only mean that for these impressions copper was the printing surface medium employed.

My study will show how Blake executed these truly impressive prints in terms of materials, method and motives.   The first four chapters deal with the materialistic aspect of Blake's colour printing method.   In chapter one tracing the controversial two-pull discussion to the root, I will make clear the focus points as well as revealing the early tradition of experimental criticism on Blake's colour printing method. Focusing on two important critics, W. Graham Robertson and Ruthven Todd, and the periods they lived, I attempt to reveal the role they played in a wider context.   Also I show how the tradition of Blake's art was inherited directly through the Ancients to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, which leads to Robertson and Todd.   In the second chapter I deal with the development of Blake's colour printing experiments.   It is obvious that the Twelve Large Colour Prints were produced as a result of Blake's series of colour printing experiments, starting with monocolour simple prints, going through the illuminated books progressing with more colours and higher skills.   As the experiments processed, the illustrations started to get free from the text and became independent visual art.   Thus *the Large* and *Small Book of Designs* are compiled of full-page designs taken from the earlier illuminated books and printed in full colours, and interestingly some prints are colour printed from intaglio-etched plates.   In summer 2006 and spring 2007, I made two trips to the United States to see most of the colour prints now in America.   On these occasions, I had opportunities to see a large number of colour prints in relatively short period of time.   This experience enabled me to compare various prints and feel the differences of the stages in the experiments. Based on this experience, I attempt to reconstruct the development of colour prints placed in his entire oeuvre.   Chapter three is the history of colour printing. Throughout the history, many innovative printers attempted colour printing, but the number of those who succeeded both technically and financially was surprisingly few. Some were obliged to pursuit their aesthetic in amateurish wasteful spending even ending in bankruptcy, and some compromised the quality for mass production and cost effectiveness.   But there have always been innovative printers trying to produce prints in colour.   Taking in the whole picture, I try to understand Blake's colour printing

better.   Chapter four is my attempt to record scientifically attained information about the materials Blake used.   Most of the information is taken from the results of the research conducted by the Tate conservationists led by Joyce Townsend.   Thanks to their state of the art equipment, most of the pigments and other materials are now identifiable.   By studying materials, we can grasp the method physically.   Chapter five deals with the actual examination of the Twelve Large Colour Prints themselves. During this doctoral project, I saw all prints extant, except two, *Nebuchadnezzar* at Minneapolis and *Good and Evil Angels* in a private collection in New York.   Based on my direct experience, I give the full record of the location, comparison of different pulls and further information for each print.   In chapter six I trace the footstep of academic criticism in the field of art history to show what has been said about the interpretation of the Twelve Large Colour Prints.   The first important critic was Anthony Blunt.   As the director of the Courtauld Institute he not only set the base tone of Blake criticism in this field with his monograph but educated many critics after him.   Various critics contributed to accumulate knowledge, but none could propose a decisive narrative to unite the whole set of prints.   The latest proposal was made convincingly by Butlin and Lindsay in 1989 to put them in six pairs.   In chapter seven I attempt to explain Blake's motivation from his contemporary social situation and the art discussion Blake joined in. In relation to the art world Blake lived in, especially to the boom of galleries opened one after another by influential printmakers, I speculate what drove Blake to invent new methods and produce those exuberant colour prints.

Chapter One
The Controversy over Etching and Printing Methods in Blake

There can be little doubt that one of the by-products of the growth of interest in William Blake as an object to study in university English departments has been a parallel growth in the interest of Blake as a print maker.   Of the two most influential post-war scholars whose work was taken up in English departments the work of Northrop Frye *Fearful Symmetry* (1947) and David Erdman *Blake: Prophet against Empire* (1954) lended itself to studying the entirety of Blake's output.   Frye's work emphasized that there was a totality of myth which could be accessed by the diligent reader, while Erdman's work came to be considerably extended by his subsequent editorial studies, culminating in *The Illuminated Blake* (1974) which was the first attempt to reprint in black-and-white reproduction the entire corpus of Blake's work in the Illuminated Books.   Although it is arguable that the individual commentaries on each plate varied between idiosyncrasy and brilliance, they constituted the first systematic attempt to differentiate between different individual copies of the Prophetic Books.   Meanwhile almost in parallel there was a highly influential and increasingly expert amount of discovery, commentary and connoisseurship emanating from studies by Robert N. Essick.

Essick's work has been largely concentrated on studying Blake as a print maker. If one looks at the growth of Essick's contribution (with Donal Pearce) from *Blake in His Time* (1978), *William Blake, Printmaker* (1980), through to *the Separate Plates of William Blake* (1983) and *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations* (1991), there has been an emphasis on the analysis of Blake's materials as much as his interpretive value.   Not only has Essick been extremely productive but his output fully illustrates the ways in which Blake's print making is at the heart of Essick's concerns.   For example, Essick's (with Morton Paley) edition of Robert Blair's *the Grave* (1982) was followed by his co-edited (with Viscomi and Eaves) editions of *the Early Illuminated Books* (1993) and *Milton A Poem* (1993), all individual considerable achievements which also run alongside his foray into literary theory in his monograph, *William Blake and the Language of Adam* (1989).

In other words, the picture which emerges is of a growth in post-war Blake studies which has increasingly privileged the place of Blake's relief-etched print as exemplified in the Illuminated Books whose poetry forms a part of the teaching of English in universities.   However, this expansion was accompanied by groundbreaking bibliographic studies.   As referred to before, Erdman's Marxist orientated *Blake: Prophet against Empire* was supported by his editorial work, especially with *the Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake* (1982).   Meanwhile in Britain, Sir Geoffrey Keynes was also a notable bibliographer and the author and editor of a number of individual studies and editions of Blake.   Nevertheless perhaps the most remarkable coincidence of late twentieth century scholarship was the good fortune for Blake studies of having two exemplary editors who also happened to be collectors of considerable scope and insight, namely Keynes and Essick.   Once again it is arguable that the course of Blake studies has been influenced by the intelligence and generosity to the academic community of these two scholars of considerable stature.   Both of them have emphasized how the close analysis of individual prints yields an enormous amount of new information and that Blake's printmaking was more than simply the creation of striking images but also the result of an almost lost collectivity of printmaking techniques acquired by Blake through the long course of his apprenticeship and career.

Right at the end of the twentieth century there came about both broadening and intensifying of critical emphasis on Blake's printmaking.   This appears to have arisen through a collaborative set of interactions between Essick and two other notable Blake scholars, Morris Eaves and Joseph Viscomi.   Morris Eaves's *The Counter-Art Conspiracy: Art and Industry in the Age of Blake* (1992), which in part was a development of his earlier book *William Blake's Theory of Art* (1982), placed a renewed emphasis once more on Blake's situation as an engraver dealing with a period of change in the printmaking industry.   Essick, Eaves and Viscomi also collaborated more formally with each other in a production of the volumes for the William Blake Trust facsimile series.   However, perhaps the most groundbreaking range of new discoveries about how Blake worked in producing the Illuminated Books came about the publication of Joseph Viscomi's *Blake and the Idea of the Book* (1993).

Viscomi's *Blake and the Idea of the Book* has not only dramatically refocused and realigned interest in Blake's relief-etched poems, his work has also underlined how Blake's poetry in the Illuminated Books was the result of what appeared to have been

two fairly short bursts of intense activity between 1789 and 1795 and again over an intermittent period of productivity leading up to 1820.   In short, Viscomi was the first to conclusively demonstrate that Blake produced his Illuminated Books as distinct sets of printing editions rather than as ad hoc printings-on-demand from opportunist commissions.   At the core of Viscomi's *Blake and the Idea of the Book* was the proposition that Blake's poetry was produced within the context and usual practices of printmaking, that is individual plates were run off, a sufficient quantity were held in store for the future and only those for which there was present demand were finished up by pen, ink and watercolour additions when a customer came along.   In other words, the print room practices which Blake employed minimized the time he spent at the printing press and emphasized his ability to elaborate by hand finishing the prints which has resulted from earlier printing sessions.

It would be true to say that even more than ten years after the publication of Viscomi's book its full impact has yet to be realized since if the theory of Blake's printmaking in very few editions of printing is correct, then his interest in the production of the most famous body of his works can only have entailed a fractional amount of his time since with few variations he was content to complete individual Illuminated Books only when a customer turned up and Blake was prepared to take them out of storage and complete them for sale.   Simultaneously, however, Essick, Eaves and Viscomi embarked on a further notable set of ongoing collaborations in which they are still involved to the present day.   This new project is the online work known as the Blake Archive.org.

At its beginning, although it has evolved since, the Blake Archive was an attempt to use the new Internet technologies to present to the view of the PC terminal a highly faithful reproduction of all of the plates in all of the available copies of Blake's Illuminated Books through the use of on-screen tools with which the viewer or reader could calibrate the size of the image on their monitors to the exact dimensions of the originals.   Furthermore the continual development of the Blake Archive has meant that new descriptions about materials' aspects of individual copies can be recorded within the bibliographical apparatus of the individual works on the archive.   In other words, the Blake Archive has benefited not only from the considerable expertise of its three editors but also from their distinct commitment and interest in studying and understanding Blake as a printmaker.   Needless to say, the Blake Archive has achieved

a central role in both the teaching and dissemination of Blake's works because all of this information is available freely and online.

The developments outlined above are remarkable not only because of their scale and integrity but also because by bringing an awareness of the history and techniques which governed Blake's own production of imagery, they prompted a re-evaluation of all that was done before.   By working through the coordinates suggested by the use and presence of coloured inks and pallets of colour pigmentation, Viscomi was able to reconstruct the particular printing occasions in the workshop when individual copies or parts of copies of the Illuminated Books had been printed.   Not least, for example, Viscomi was able to identify when patterns of colour had simply been reversed because Blake was both using his materials efficiently and simultaneously making his work more visually varied.   Indeed not only was it now possible to identify copies of books which were effectively made up of odds and ends from printmaking sessions Blake may have carried out years before, but this close emphasis on the prints as objects led to startling re-evaluations.

At this point in this chapter, it should be emphasized that the trajectory of developments in the late twentieth century analysis of Blake's printmaking has led to a decided requirement to re-visit all of Blake's prints. Perhaps the most startling of Viscomi's achievements was his ability to essentially reassemble and renarrate the production history of *There Is No Natural Religion*.   Essentially, by returning to the few originals which exist, Viscomi was able not only to reassemble them but also to posit a new probable date of printing for them which is c. 1794 rather than c.1798, which although accepted by Keynes and Erdman does not coincide with any extant copy. Perhaps the most remarkable of Viscomi's findings, although this is information which appears only to have presented on the online Blake Archive site, is that some plates of *There Is No Natural Religion* show evidence of colour printing.   Of course because all Blake scholars are generally aware that *There Is No Natural Religion* was printed in a very small format (size), the corresponding amount of colour printing on individual plates in individual copies is minute.   Nevertheless, the presence of these very small quantities of printed colour in this work helps to suggest a date adjacent to the period when Blake was developing larger scale colour printing with the *Book of Urizen* which was clearly dated by Blake to 1794 because this is the date he relief-etched onto the title-page.

Competing scholarly accounts of Blake's process of colour printing, the very basis of the large colour prints studied in this thesis, have formed a significant area of controversy and it is important at this stage to outline the underlying dimensions and factors involved in this debate.

A large exhibition on Blake was held at the Tate Britain in 2000-1, and Michael Phillips' two-pull theory of colour printing caused a controversy between him and Essick-Viscomi.   Their dispute is about Blake's method of making the illuminated books.   Since it shows the importance and timeliness of this issue, I would introduce in detail their controversy here.

The debate began when Essick and Viscomi published a joint issue, 'An Inquiry into Blake's Method of Color Printing'.   The first online draft of the essay appeared on 15th Oct. 2001, which was followed by the published online version (Feb. 2002) and the print version published in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly* 35 (Winter, 2002).   The article questioned Phillips' account of Blake's colour printing method.   In the exhibition catalogue Phillips described Blake's method thus:

Blake's method was without precedent, but called upon aspects of both traditional multiple-plate and 'à la poupée' colour-printing techniques (applying different colours to the copper plate using small doll-like dabbers or brushes). First, the plate was registered on the bed of the rolling press using a sheet of paper marked with the outline of the copper plate, so that it could be removed and later returned to exactly the same place in relation to the printed impression.   The text and some parts of the design were first printed in monochrome using oil-based ink. Then, removing the copper plate, the remnants of the oil-based ink were wiped away.   Using small stubble brushes, opaque colour pigments mixed with what gives every appearance of being a water-based binder were applied 'à la poupée' to the areas of the design and interlinear decoration, in the shallows as well as on the relief plateaus.   The plate was then returned to the press, registered with the monochrome impression and printed a second time (possibly not by passing the plate and impression through the rolling press again, but by Blake carefully applying pressure with his finger tips or by using the palm of his hand).   By carefully bonding together the plate and impression, and then gently pulling them apart, the colour-printed areas of design and interlinear decoration produced

highly reticulated surfaces often of great richness and individuality.   After the
opaque colour pigments had dried and were sealed by the binder, each plate was
then finished by hand, using a fine camel-hair brush and watercolours, and, in
some cases, a finely trimmed quill pen and ink for outlines and features of the
hands and faces.   When finished, each impression is noticeably different, with
some examples of the same plate colour printed using an entirely different palette
of colours (no. 18).[2]

Phillips doesn't give detailed reasons in the catalogue, but his supposition is published
in *William Blake The Creation of the Songs: From Manuscript to Illuminated Printing*.[3]
Phillips claims that Blake was so skilled at the registration that all but one extant prints
show no trace of misregistration.   The only one exception is pl. 55 'Nurses song' of
Songs of Experience from *Songs* Copy E.   He also claims that there is a pinhole
registration mark visible in one print.   Another 'evidence', he argues, for the two-pull
process is the date '1794' shown under ultra-violate light on the title-page of *Songs of
Experience* Copy T1, which was 'over-printed during colour printing'.   He also
considers the possibility of Blake being introduced to another colour printer:

> After 1789 Blake may have been introduced in person to another artist, also a
> poet, skilled in multiple plate colour printing, Henry Tresham (1750/1-1814).
> Tresham was one of Henry Fuseli's circle at Rome.   At the time of Tresham's
> return to London, Fuseli, who had returned himself in 1787, was probably Blake's
> closest friend.   Tresham had published a series of colour-printed plates, Le
> Avventure di Saffo (1784), produced by using two copper plates, the first printed
> the image followed by a second etched in aquatint that superimposed an effect of
> pale green wash.[4]

This might well be true.   Printing was a major industry, and, as we shall see later,
Blake was not 'the very first' colour printer.   Even so, this seems to be a very weak
reasoning to determine that Blake's colour printing was done in two pulls.

A fierce refutation to Phillips appeared in the article, 'An Inquiry into William
Blake's Method of Color Printing' by Robert N. Essick and Joseph Viscomi, first on
Viscomi's web site on 15 Oct. 2001.   A revised version was published in *Blake/ An*

Illustrated Quarterly 35 (winter 2002).   The introduction of online versions with good colour and magnification has been a great benefit for those involved in following the controversy, oddly not one matched by Phillips.   Vol.36, No.2 (Fall 2002) of the *Quarterly* was almost wholly dedicated to the debate.   Phillips 'corrected' his former claim that 'Blake used a form of pinhole registration in color printing four impressions from Copy T1 of *Songs of Experience* in the collection of the National Gallery of Canada.'[5]   Phillips still insists that Blake 'had used a method involving two printing stages'.   Without any photographic evidence, he asserts:

> In my effort to see every copy of the Songs in researching my book, I visited the National Gallery of Canada in August 1991.   While inspecting the examples in the collection my attention was drawn to the four color-printed impressions of the title-page, "Introduction," "EARTH'S Answer" and "LONDON."   With the help of the Senior Conservator of Prints and Drawings, Geoffrey Morrow, these were taken to the conservation laboratory and viewed under magnification, raking light and ultraviolet light.   This clearly revealed that Blake had used a method involving two printing stages, the first to print in monochrome and the second in colors.   In some instances, like that of the title-page, Blake had then applied color with a brush over areas of the color-printed pigments.   It was clear that the monochrome ink had been largely absorbed into the fabric of the paper, while the viscous color pigments had been printed with less pressure and remained on the surface, often forming minute peaks and shallows when the print had been lifted from the copper plate.

Strangely, instead of his former evidence, Phillips announced this completely new visual proof without showing any visual support for the readers.   Yet, even if this is true, one can assume that Blake might have used different binders for the text and illustration, which can explain the different degree of absorption between the pigments.

One striking thing about this issue was Martin Butlin's article supporting the two-pull theory.   In this article Butlin sums up the history of Blake studies, traditionally supporting the two-pull theory.[6]   His argument is more convincing, but not strong enough to overturn the scrupulous demonstration of Essick and Viscomi. This article makes it clear that the two-pull theory goes back to W. Graham Robertson's

account in the 1907 edition of Alexander Gilchrist's *The Life of William Blake* (404-06).
As this article makes clear, the origins of the two pull can be dated back to the first
serious analysis of Blake's colour prints executed by W. Graham Robertson. Robertson
played a very important role in establishing the experimental criticism, which would be
followed through Todd, Hayter and Miró to Essick and Viscomi themselves.　So here I
would like to trace the line, beginning with Robertson.

　　　　W. Graham Robertson's warm character seems to shine through in his personal
memoir, *Time Was* (1931).　There he recorded reminiscences, mainly episodes with his
theatrical friends.　He was a playwright and costume designer, and was close friends
with countless stars of his time, including Sarah Bernhardt (1844-1923), Ellen Terry
(1847-1928), Henry Irving (1838-1905) and Mrs. Patrick Campbell (1865-1940), who
was the inspiration of Eliza Doolittle for George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950).　He knew
Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903), and John Singer
Sargent (1856-1925), who immortalized him in a larger-than-life portrait, now hanging
at the Tate, showing him as a typical dandy, English equivalent of his friend, Comte
Robert de Montesquiou (1855-1921).　Actually, while Robertson was sitting for
Sargent, Whistler was painting Montesquiou, and the two portraits are so similar they
look like a pair.

　　　　As an artist, Robertson studied at the South Kensington School, and then
apprenticed under Albert Moore (1841-93).　Moore produced landscapes in
Pre-Raphaelite style while he was at the Royal Academy, and then left the RA to form a
sketching society, which included Simeon Solomon (1840-1905), William Blake
Richmond (1842-1921), Marcus Stone (1840-1921), Fred Walker (1840-75) and Henry
Holiday (1839-1927).　Some of those names are closely associated with the
Pre-Raphaelite circle, and William Blake Richmond was son of George Richmond
(1809-96), one of the followers of Blake in his late years, who called themselves 'The
Ancients'.　The Ancients was the first of this kind of avant-garde artistic brotherhood
in England, but there were already some in Europe instigated by the French Revolution.
In fact, the formation of the Ancients may have been inspired by wide coverage of the
activities of the Nazarenes of Germany in the London press[7].　Morton D. Paley
describes the group:

　　　　In the mid-1820s a group of young men gathered around the aged William

Blake.   They called themselves "The Ancients" and took as their motto "Poetry and Sentiment."   Meeting sometimes in London and sometimes in the village of Shoreham, Kent, they kept their artistic identity as a group for a little over a decade, although personal friendships among them continued long afterward. Three of their number—Edward Calvert, Samuel Palmer, and George Richmond— established independent artistic reputations, while the works of others such as Francis Oliver Finch and Frederick Tatham are little known, and two (Samuel Palmer's brother William and the stockbroker John Giles) were not artists at all.   Art-historical scholarship has designated the group as "Followers of William Blake," beginning with Laurence Binyon's book of that name and continuing through other studies and exhibition catalogues.   Actually, as Binyon himself cautioned, these artists were far from mere imitators, but the label has tended to stick and to obscure their individual qualities.   My purpose here is to define those qualities in Calvert, Palmer, and Richmond, and also to re-examine their artistic relationship to Blake—a relationship that was also, of course, a personal one.[8]

Paley emphasizes the difference of style and subjects between Blake and the Ancients, but Blake's influence is obvious, and also the young artists' reverence toward Blake was immense and they try to follow Blake's teachings.   Especially that tendency was strong in the youngest of the three, George Richmond.   As I shall refer in a later chapter, Richmond kept Blake's instruction on the tempera method in his notebook.[9]

George Richmond (1809-96) fell in love with Julia (1811-1881), the sister of fellow Ancients, the Tatham brothers.   When her father, the architect Charles Heathcote Tatham (1772-1842) disagreed to their marriage, they eloped and married in secret.   Julia's father eventually forgave them, and the Richmonds enjoyed a happy and long marriage with many children.   Their second son, William Blake Richmond (1842-1921), with Samuel Palmer as his godfather, was almost destined to inherit Blake's artistic tradition.   Both Samuel Palmer (1805-1881) and Edward Calvert (1799-1883) instructed the young artist with the 'idyllism prevalent in the early works of the Ancients'.[10]   Among various materials, William Blake Richmond worked on frescoes.   Joseph Sturge Southall (1835-1944) worked under William Blake Richmond as an assistant and later eagerly taught the technique.   In 1901 he was a co-founder of

the Society of Painters in Tempera.   He was trained as an artist at the Birmingham
School of Art, then one of the country's leading art schools, where he absorbed the
principles of the arts and crafts movement, particularly in drawing from nature, and won
various prizes in national competitions.

Birmingham was a place with a strong connection to the Pre-Raphaelite
Brotherhood and the arts and crafts movement.   Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery
boasts a large collection of Pre-Raphaelite artists.   According to Bob Steel's web site,
'The Birmingham School of Art differed in its teaching from the South Kensington
system used elsewhere in England.   It specialised in the applied arts, and became very
influential and renowned for its teaching of metalwork, jewellery, enamels, design and
book illustration.   It aimed to raise the general level of commercial design in the
country, and as well as artists, the student population included designers, artisans,
builders and architects…The Birmingham School concentrated on a revival of the styles
of traditional wood engraving, starting with the white line on black in the tradition of
Blake, and with strong solid lines, rather than the more detailed but often less powerful
sketchy or cross-hatched look of 'modern' engravers and etchers of the 1890s.'[11]

The interest to gem stones is also one aspect the Ancients inherited from Blake.
Paley introduces Edward Calvert's works using the image of gems:

Before Calvert ever met Blake (but not necessarily before he had seen any of
Blake's work), Calvert had drawn the gemlike *Primitive City*, signed and dated
1822.   The word gemlike is not merely laudatory, for here and in his graphic
works of the next nine years, Calvert seems to have had in mind the sort of casts
of antique gems that, according to Richmond's recollection, he studied and
collected.   Such attention to gems was another characteristic of the Ancients.
According to Blake, antique gems were of as much artistic value as much larger
works, and…Cumberland links "antique gems, bas-reliefs, and statues."   Palmer
likewise connects the grandest and most minute art in recalling that when Blake
"approached Michael Angelo, the Last Supper of Da Vinci, the Torso Belvidere,
and some of the inventions preserved in the Antique Gems, all his powers were
concentrated in admiration."[12]

Members of the Ancients had strong and diverse characteristics and they not necessarily

'followed' Blake in artistic style.   They revered him and called him the Interpreter after the character in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, did not imitate him.   This was because Blake did not teach.   As Morris Eaves convincingly argues in *William Blake's Theory of Art*, when Blake fiercely commented on the margin of Reynolds' *Discourse*, one great cause of their disagreement derives from their ways of thinking about art instruction.   Reynolds talks on the ground of the Enlightenment philosophy whereas Blake refutes with Romantic ideas.

> <How ridiculous it would be to see the Sheep Endeavouring to walk like the Dog. or the Ox striving to trot like the Horse just as Ridiculous it is to see One Man Striving to Imitate Another   Man varies from Man more than Animal from Animal of Different Species>
>
> <If Art was Progressive We should have had Mich Angelo's & Rafaels to Succeed & to Improve upon each other But it is not so.   Genius dies with its Possessor & comes not again till Another is Born with It>[13]

Many artists associated with the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were interested in Blake; Dante Gabriel (1828-82) and William Michael (1829-1919) Rossetti, William Bell Scott (1811-90) and Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909) showed particular interest, but their motto to go back to artists before Raphael is almost exactly the same as Blake's idea.   Jan Marsh introduces the Brotherhood (PRB):

> The PRB was led by three high-spirited young artists: John Everett Millais, William Holman Hunt and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.   Recruiting painters Frederic Stephens and James Collinson, sculptor Thomas Woolner and Rossetti's brother, William, they chose the name 'Pre-Raphaelite' in protest against the moribund academic principles that had dominated western art since the Renaissance.   The idea of a 'brotherhood' came from the contemporary German artists known as the Nazarenes or *Lukasbrüder* after the patron saint of painters, St Luke.
>
> The Pre-Raphaelite aim was to paint directly 'from nature'—places, people and objects seen in clear light—while also conveying a spiritual or moral message. History, religion and literature were their sources, and as models they used themselves and their friends, rather than ideal types.   They mocked the teaching

of the Royal Academy, founded by 1768 by Sir Joshua Reynolds, as out of date and 'sloshy'…

Instead, they commended early European artists like Memling, Van Eyck, Giotto and Gozzoli.   According to Holman Hunt, reproductions of Italian frescoes prompted the Brotherhood's formation…

There was also a national element to their challenge, to counter the high regard paid to French art.   Praising artists like Hogarth, Blake and Palmer, and the genius of the Romantic poets, the PRB were self-conscious Young British Artists of their day.[14]

Blake's biographer, Alexander Gilchrist (1828-61), was also close to the circle, and on his early, sudden death, the Rossettis helped his widow, Anne (1828-85) complete and publish the biography.

Robertson, who later edited the biography, was also close to the circle. Through his master Moore and Edward Coley Burn-Jones (1833-98), whose son, Philip (1861-1926), also a painter, was a few years senior at Eton, Robertson came to know many Pre-Raphaelite artists and collected their works too, along with his great Blake collection.   Sadly his collection was dispersed after his death, but even with the part of collection he bequeathed to the Tate, the gallery boasts a Blake collection that is probably the greatest in the world.   He also bequeathed some Pre-Raphaelite pictures to the Tate, such as *Proserpine* (1874) by D. G. Rossetti, *Sidonia von Bork 1560* (1860) and *Clara von Bork 1560* (1860) by Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones, and his master, Albert Moore's *The Toilette* (1886).

In 1888 Robertson got a house in Sandhills, Surrey, near Godalming.   The former owners were William (1824-89) and Helen (1848-1926) Allingham, and Robertson's first visit to the Allinghams with his mother is described thus in the memoir:

It really was just the place for us, and luckily we recognised the fact.   Mr. Allingham took me for a walk, and as he displayed the enchanting countryside, I lured him into speaking of old days and of Rossetti, with whom his friendship had been long and intimate.   I knew that in later life they became estranged, probably because Allingham, after his marriage, felt that Rossetti's household was perhaps

a little exotic; but on this he never touched, but always spoke with delight and affection of the man who had been his hero and will always be mine.[15]

William Allingham married artist Helen Patterson in 1874, when he was twice as old as her.   They had three children, and Helen frequently painted them in her works. William was born in Donegal, Ireland, and was, in Robertson's words, 'poet, editor and *litterateur*', and 'Though [he] was now white haired and elderly his features were still handsome and he had a charm of manner and speech which quite explained why so many of the great ones in Art and Literature had sought him for a friend and companion.' He was close to literary giants like Thomas Carlyle and Lord Alfred Tennyson.   (Jan Marsh counts both William Allingham and Tennyson in the Pre-Raphaelite circle.) The first place they lived after marriage was in Chelsea near Carlyle's house.   When Carlyle died in 1881, William could not stand the area without his friend, and that was when they leased the house in Sandhills.   One reason they decided to leave London to choose Surrey was because Tennyson had his summer residence nearby.   Even after William, and eventually after Tennyson's death, Helen regularly visited the family at Aldworth, Blackdown, Haslemere, their summer residence, and on the Isle of Wight.

Helen Allingham was a 'well-known painter of cottages and country lanes.' She was one of the first women who were accepted at the Royal Academy School, and there she was profoundly influenced by the teachings of Frederick Walker, Sir Frederick Leighton, and Sir John Everett Millais, co-founder of the Pre-Raphaelite movement. Especially Frederick Walker's influence is strongly perceived in her early watercolour works, with large figures dominating the centre.   She was successful in book illustration and watercolour works, and was a life-long friend of Kate Greenaway (1846-1901).   When the Royal Society of Watercolours finally opened their membership to women in 1890, Helen had the honour of being the first elected into the Society.   In 1888 William Allingham's health was deteriorating, and the family decided to move to London, and Robertson took over the house.   Robertson decorated the house with his collection of Blake and other artists and entertained many guests, including Ruthven Todd later on.

Even after moving to London, Helen Allingham visited the area frequently to paint.   She often stayed at Robertson's cottage, but there are traces of her all around the area.   When she died of a sudden illness she was in the area, visiting an old friend

at Valewood House in Haslemere, just a few miles from her old home.   Another close friend of hers was Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932), a renowned garden designer of Arts and Crafts Movement, also writer and artist.   When Helen went to Venice for a painting excursion in 1901/02, she stayed with Jekyll's married sister, Caroline Eden.   Jekyll studied at Kensington School of Art but her sight was getting bad, so instead of pursuing her career as an artist, she chose to become a garden designer.   In 1889, Jekyll met young architect Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) who was then only twenty years of age.   They both recognised each other's talents, and ever since then, they worked closely until the end of Jekyll's long life.   She bought 15 acres of land at Munstead Wood in 1883, created a garden which went together with the house designed by Lutyens and became the main inspiration of her gardening, and moved into the house in 1897.   Helen Allingham's watercolour 'Gertrude Jekyll's Garden at Munstead Wood' is in the collection of Godalming Museum.   So far I have not found any evidence that Robertson and Jekyll knew each other, yet with the proximity of their estates and their similar tastes, I cannot help but imagining them as good friends and neighbours.   The last few days of Helen Allingham are described thus by Ina Taylor in *Helen Allingham's England*:

> In September 1926 Helen was once again visiting her beloved Surrey on a painting expedition and staying at Valewood House, still in the possession of the Mangles family but occupied by the married daughter Mrs. Alice Daffarn. Despite having celebrated her seventy-eighth birthday on the twenty-sixth of the month, Helen was still sprightly enough to visit her old home Sandhills.   With W. Graham Robertson she strode over the heath and downlands she so much loved. But on 28 September she awoke in pain and died at Valewood House of acute peritonitis.   Helen's estate amounted to a staggering £25,000 which kept her family for many years.[16]

James Mangles was a pioneer of rhododendron growing in England, and Tennyson introduced the Allinghams to the Mangles, who established a life-long friendship, cultivated through shared interest in gardening.   The fullest description of the house I came across is in *Helen Allingham's England*:

The house that Helen moved to in June 1881 was ten years old, built of the traditional tile-clad red brick of Surrey cottages.   It was no cottage, however, being the largest house in Sandhills. Confusingly the house was also called Sandhills since it abutted the sandy heathland which gave the area its name. Although Helen painted all the dwellings in the hamlet, some as many as six times from different angles, she only seems to have painted her own house once.   As William Morris remarked soon after their arrival: 'Allingham's dwelling is a very pleasant and beautiful spot, but the house highly uninteresting though not specially hideous, nor the get up inside of it very pleasant (though not very bad), as you might imagine: the garden too is that discomforting sort of place that a new garden with no special natural gifts is apt to be.   I should like to have made them better it.' (William Morris to Lady Georgiana Burn-Jones 23/8/82)[17]

During their eight years at Sandhills Helen certainly bettered it, and when the Robertsons were to take the place, Helen was happy with the prospect that the garden would be properly taken care of by Mrs. Robertson.

Helen's mother, brother Arthur and sister Carrie, as well as many intellectual friends, were living in Hampstead, so it seemed the obvious place for them to make their home.   Word was put around that the Allinghams required a suitable house to lease and similarly that they had one on offer in Surrey.   Several people came to look around Sandhills and eventually the house was taken by W Graham Robertson, the dilettante actor and artist, and his mother.   William was delighted that someone theatrical was moving in and Helen consoled herself that Mrs. Robertson's interest in gardening would ensure her beloved garden did not go to rack and ruin.   At the end of 1888 the Allinghams were able to move back to London.[18]

At the Huntington Library in California, there are in sixteen boxes 1,606 pieces of letters and notebooks of Robertson.   During my three-week stay at the library in August 2006, I could see some, if not all the boxes.   Yet, just looking at the list of names of the correspondents is amazing.[19]   The name of Gertrude Jekyll could not be found among them, but the list contains prominent names in the fields of art, literature,

theatre and more.   The names of William and Helen Allingham appear with many other leading artists, writers, actors and actresses.   Regarding Blake, especially interesting names are Geoffrey Keynes, Kerrison Preston, Arthur Symons, Ruthven Todd and William Butler Yeats.   The letters to Kerrison Preston are published.   After Robertson died, his library was entrusted to Preston, which became the Blake archive placed at City of Westminster Archives Centre.

Although the Blake Collection of Robertson was dispersed after his death, all the works had been catalogued with commentary by the collector, and the catalogue was published in 1952 by the Blake Trust.   Most of the Robertson Collection came from the Butts family.   In the introduction of the catalogue, Preston explains the relationship of the Butts family and Robertson.   Robertson's first encounter with Blake was when he was sixteen or seventeen when he came across a copy of Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake*, which he later edited and republished.   Before his twentieth birthday, he had bought forty pencil drawings by Blake.   His first Blake painting was *the Ghost of Flea*, and from there the collection expanded.   He frequently visited the grandson of Blake's patron, Thomas Butts (1759-1846), Frederick John Butts (1833-1905).   Here I quote from Preston's introduction:

In 1862, on the death of B [Thomas Butts, junior (1788-1862)], the remaining Blakes undispersed by him were divided between his son and daughter.   Blake was still Pictor Ignotus, and Gilchrist's Life of him (with that name on the title page) was first published in 1863.   The daughter let most of her share perish in an attic, but the son, C [Frederic John Butts], who had much the larger share of the pictures, built a special room at Salterns, Parkstone, to house them.   He was always called Captain Butts, having held a commission in the 17th (later the Middlesex) Regiment.   Graham Robertson used to visit him at Salterns, and there he bought the fine watercolour drawing of The Ascension in February 1904, and two of the stupendous colour-prints, The Good and Evil Angels and Newton, in 1905.   At the same time Graham Robertson was steadily acquiring other items of the Butts Collection from elsewhere, and when C died on the 2nd September 1905 his widow, who re-married in 1906, was glad to dispose of the remaining 39 pictures.   Graham Robertson therefore bought them in April 1906 through the agency of Robert Ross and the Carfax Gallery for £9,000.[20]

In the 1907 edition of Alexander Gilchrist's *The Life of William Blake*, edited and with an Introduction by W. Graham Robertson, the editor contributes a section titled 'The Colour Prints' after the 'Supplementary' essay written by Rossetti.

He [D. C. Rossetti] cites the account given him by Tatham of the method employed, but adds that it fails to account for the effects produced.

Tatham's information is correct as far as it goes---but it goes no further than the first printing.

This initial process may, in fact must, have been carried out as he relates, save that the paint used---though of an oily nature, was not mixed with actual oil.

The medium employed was probably yolk of egg, which, though practically an oleate and from which an essential oil can be extracted, would not leave heavy stains upon the paper.

The drawing being made upon thick millboard, the main lines were traced over in a paint thus mixed (usually a warm brown or Indian red), and an impression from this was stamped upon paper while the paint was still wet.   Thus a delicate outline of the whole composition was obtained.   Then, still with the same medium, the shadows and dark masses were filled in on the millboard and transferred to the paper, the result having much the appearance of an uncoloured page of one of the Prophetic Books.

This impression was allowed to dry thoroughly.   Then came the stamping of the local colours.

For these later printings watercolour was probably used, though a very similar effect can be obtained by the use of diluted carpenter's glue and varnish, well mixed together, and of course applied when warm.

By the accidental reticulations of the colour on the oily surface of the paper (often leaving tracery like the patterns of frost upon a window pane) strange and beautiful effects were produced of which Blake took full advantage, shaping them into the mysterious rock-flowers of "Newton" or the mosses of "Pity," much as children evolve quaint figures and landscapes from random ink blots.   When these printings had been carried sufficiently far, the whole was worked over and finished by hand in watercolour.

No two proofs were identical, as the variations of the stamped colour ever led

the artist's brush into fresh inventions.

As these curious works, half printed, half painted, represent Blake's highest

achievement in technique, so are they also among the mightiest of his designs.[21]

It is not clear how Robertson got the idea of the second printing, because he does not explain it anywhere but this is probably where the two-pull theory originated.   Judging from this statement, Robertson assumes that Blake printed the rough outline first, and then put colours in the second printing.   In *God Judging Adam* (which was called *Elijah in the Fiery Chariot* in Rossetti and Robertson's lists), the relief-etched outline is plainly visible.   All the other large colour prints were executed planographically.   The fine outlines are drawn in by hand.   It is not clear why Robertson, who owned the prints, saw them in this way, but that was what Robertson assumed from observing the prints, and he made experiments based on his hypothesis.   The British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings holds some important experimental colour prints executed in this way, complete with the millboard.[22]   To me the outline in Robertson's prints seemed to stand out too much, compared to Blake's delicate lines, but Robertson concluded that this was the method used by Blake.   Robertson used this method of colour printing for some book illustrations, such as *Old English Songs and Dances* (London, etc: Longmans, Green and Co., 1902).

Although Robertson's hypothesis must be called into question, his role is important in establishing the early method of the current controversy surrounding Blake's method of colour printing.   It seems that even close and extended analysis of the printed surfaces can lead to a variety of interpretations when attempting to reconstruct Blake's methods.   Robertson is an important intermediary in the debate: not least, upon his death his major Blake collection, including many of the large colour prints, were bequeathed to Tate Britain where they are still seen by thousands of visitors.

The next eminent experimental critic on Blake's printing methods was Ruthven Todd.   Ruthven Campbell Todd (1914-78) was a Scottish poet, novelist and artist.   He was born in Edinburgh, and was educated at Fettes College and Edinburgh School of Art. After a short spell in the office of his father, an architect, he worked as an agricultural

labourer on Mull, for two years.   He then started a career in copy-writing and journalism, while writing poetry and novels, based in Edinburgh, London, and Tilty Mill near Dunmow in Essex (later rented to Elizabeth Smart).   He was involved with the surrealists at the time of the 1936 International Surrealist Exhibition.   During World War II he was a conscientious objector.   I came across his name briefly mentioned in a wartime memoir by the artist Joan Wyndham, *Love Lessons and Love is Blue: Diaries of the War Years*.   He moved to the USA in 1947.   There he had a position at the University of New York, and ran a small press, the Weekend Press, during the 1950s. He settled in Majorca in 1958, where he died.   He wrote also under the pseudonym R. T. Campbell: he contributed to children's literature with the *Space Cats* series.

As a Blake scholar, he would tread the exact footsteps of W. Graham Robertson, also editing the Everyman edition of Gilchrist's *Life* and experimenting on Blake's printing technique. In *Tracks in the Snow*[23] (1946) Todd expounds the scientific and artistic backgrounds of Blake and his contemporaries, Henry Fuseli and John Martin.   *William Blake: The Artist*[24] (1971), a booklet written in his last years, is a concise guide to Blake's work as artist.   Compared to *Tracks in the Snow*, which is a zealous attempt to plunge into untrodden fields, this seems to be a mature and stable account by the artist-critic.   Todd's son, Dr. F. C. C. Todd, donated the books and papers relating to Blake to the Brotherton Library of the University of Leeds.   In March 2006, I visited the library.   G. E. Bentley, Jr. catalogued the collection in the archive in *Blake Illustrated Quarterly*, 16 (1982-3).[25]   Todd was a prolific letter writer and sometimes his letters went on for pages.   Similar to his friend Robertson, he corresponded with a great number of people.   Bentley comments on Todd's style of letter writing:

> He had a large correspondence with Blake scholars and collectors—he wrote to many scholars with queries and advice, and he wrote at enormous length.   One might receive three ten-page, single-spaced, densely argued letters in a month— and then hear nothing for a year or more.   These letters were often mini-essays, and generous and admiring editors made more than one into published articles—such as the posthumous one of 1980.   Much of Ruthven Todd's best work on Blake was in stimulating others through this private correspondence.[26]

In one such letter dated 29 May 1968 to Kerrison Preston, he refers affectionately to Sandhills.

<div align="right">29 de mayo de 1968</div>

My dearest Kerrison,

The magnificent package of books finally arrived last Monday, just as I was beginning to think that they must have been engulfed in the maw of the French tribulations.   Then, of course, I should have sat down at once to write my thanks, but, muy tipico, I wanted to read first, and I have just finished the reading, and am again almost as enchanted as if I was sitting in Sandhills and a nightgale had just begun its outpouring and Graham, listening, questioned it (you recall how he used to ask questions almost as if to himself?) "What a wonderful voice you'd have, bird – if only it was trained, wouldn't you?"

The first volume of my memoirs, up to the outbreak of war in 1939, draws to a close, although I still have a vast amount of revision to do.   I'm glad to find, however, that I retain little malice and that, if I can't say something nice, I usually say nothing. WGR, of course, appears in vol.2.   Do you, by any chance, have a snapshot of him, if possible at Sandhills, taken during the forties?   I'd love to reproduce him once again as, in a notebook, I've been trying to recall my visits to him and what happened.   My trouble is that it all exists as a wonderful haze of such excitement in my memory that I am having difficulty in "particularizing:" and "To Generalize is to be an Idiot."   If only I hadn't lost all my English possessions, I would have all my letters from WGR (and from Geoffrey) to which I could refer.   (I have found that a number of my letters, to editors etc., from very early dates are now in American University Libraries and so I have, with the generous help of librarians, managed to get Xerox copies to refresh my memory).

In the letters, however, I do wish that you'd provided your end of the correspondence as well.   Bringing Sandhills back into my mind's eye is hard.   I recall the wisteria, and Graham boasting, "Very few people in England have planted a wisteria and had it reach perfection in their lifetime."   But my memory is a swirl of pictures.

Of course, Graham could never understand that I could like Rossetti, the best of Watts, Arthur Hughes and other (including himself) at the same time as liking

Henry Moore and Graham Sutherland (although I did almost convert him to G.S. by sending him an old Print Collector's Quarterly with reproductions of the early etchings).   Good Art of course cannot be judged equal with bad Art, but, in my Father's house there are, indeed, many mansions.

What happened to William?   He and I had a strange relationship outside of our mutual adoration of Graham.   My first father in law, F. A. E. Crew, F. R. S., the geneticist, put William in touch with, I think, Punnett, and they corresponded on the subject of fowls.   William was, in the early forties, breeding a fowl to lay large red (actually Indian red) eggs, round as a tennis-ball!   I wrote Frank Crew about this and he did the job of putting William in touch with the right people.

All posts seem to be slow at the moment, or at least erratic.   Sometimes letters come in one day and sometimes ten.   I haven't seen a TLS since the one that published a letter from me on the subject of copyright, so I have no idea if I have stirred up something of importance or whether it has lapsed.   My Herald Tribune, being published in Paris, hasn't reached me for two weeks, so I have to live on what I can get from the Spanish paper and on the radio.   I always thought that the collapse of a highly technological civilization would be frightful.   I was in America once when the elevators went on strike – now they are self-service, but if the electricians struck the whole of New York would come to a standstill.   Even gasoline pumps are worked by electricity (during the 1954 hurricane on Martha's Vineyard, only my local garage, running its own power, could serve gasoline).

A neighbor of mine, a very good painter called John Ulbricht, has just dropped in and has given me a magnificent portrait head (pen drawing) of myself.   I didn't even know he was making it.   I knew he has done some studies, as he wants to make a series of lithograph portraits, and I am astounded by this highly finished drawing.   I'll have it photographed as soon as another friend, with a proper camera, gets back from Barcelona.

I was surprised, and honored the other day to get an enquiry about Gilchrist from, of all distinguished places, the Clarendon Press on the subject of Gilchrist. I wrote a letter saying how I would like to do the book again, including the fact that I would like it to appear in a cheaper, unabridged, edition for the sake of the poorer student (I turned down Tom Eliot's suggestion in 1940 that Faber might do a lavish edition in favor of Dent's Everyman, as I wanted the book readily

available and I had suffered from having to buy Nonesuch and other expensive books, and I suppose this altruism has not left me).   However, this did not seem to worry the Delegates, so I'm writing them a more detailed outline.   Of course, it would be wonderful if Clarendon did do the book really nicely.

The weather here has been most unseasonable, but I've got this cottage pretty well organized both for winter and summer.   Being old, it is built into a hillside and so doesn't get the ferocious winds that blast down from the high mountain, Galatos, above the village, and I now have screening against flies in both windows and doors so that I can keep cool, and unmolested, in summer.   In the intervals, when I feel written-out, I do odds and ends about the place to improve it, but doubt if I'll ever get it quite the way it should be.   I have put so much work, and money, into the cottage that I now think that, if ever my ship comes home, I should buy it.   I cannot be expelled from the place but I'd like to own the cliff on the other side of the road, which has three small terraces which I could turn into a garden and a shed which I could rebuild as a studio – I have an etching-press and want a printing-press.   I don't know if you ever knew that I draw flowers and fungi?   I did this for years as a hobby and now find that it has become a secondary source of income as I can get up to $250 each for my more elaborate drawings.   (There will be a, not too satisfactory, drawing of Anemone pulsatilla in Kathleen Raine's book when it comes).

The Lost Traveller is being reprinted by Dover (distributed by Constable in England) pretty soon.   What did Algernon Blackwood say about it?   I'm just curious.   Tracks, under a different title, and with my account of trying to repeat Blake's printing methods, should follow before too long – the publishers want a title which will indicate the contents, and I'm trying to think one up.

Once I get the first volume of memoirs, 1935-1939, out of the way, I should have more time as vol.2 exists in notes and drafts, and there will be plenty of time to get it in shape, running up to 1946, and then the American years to 1955 will be easy too.   I meant to write one volume, but, like Topsy, it grew, but I have all the material for the other two.   Gilchrist will go slowly, but, I hope, all right, and I also want to revise and sort poems for a new volume.   Naturally, the most untidy room in the cottage is my study, but I'm trying to put in an hour or two a day on getting papers organized and think the work is beginning to have an effect.   Of

course, I get interrupted by having to write pieces, such as one for Art News on John Ulbricht, which take a lot of thought and organization and draw my attention off what I should be doing.   Letter writing is a kind of unwinding of the too taut mind.

Having just had "industrial" electricity (much, much cheaper if one can get it) put into the house, large portions of it have been rewired, in conduit-pipe which runs along the walls.   My better self looks at the pot of white paint I bought last time I was in Palma, but my lazier self says that I loathe house-painting and it can wait until my friend Anne comes up as she loves doing the job.   However, I suppose I will have to erect curtain rods, as Anne has made "glass curtains" (very thin but to cut out the glare of sun), and there's no excuse for my postponing that job.

My problems are solvable, but I get distracted by ideas, so that I even find cooking an interruption!   And I'm a good cook.   Filing papers drives me to distraction but, since Anne set me up in my filing-system, spending a week on the job, I feel I have to have things in shape before she comes up next.   Once I am organized, I feel I should be able to keep it up.

Thank you again for the books which brought back so much to me.

Love[27]

His style is rather meandering, but the letter shows a glimpse of his life in Majorca, working on many projects of writing, editing, drawing, and even printmaking, at the same time.   The letter records the full extent of pre- or wartime artistic and scholarly involvement with Blake.   Such involvement was already well under way and well established before the post war criticism of Erdman and Frye.   Todd became fascinated by Blake as a young man and once collected a lot of books with Blake's engravings and some loose prints.   Unfortunately his library of Blake and Flaxman was scattered. His first major contribution to Blake studies was his revised edition of Gilchrist's *Life*:

[Gilchrist's biography was repeatedly reprinted…and proved its lasting value.]

There were, however, a number of serious defect to the work.   For one thing, the collection of Blake's writings in Volume II, edited by D. G. Rossetti and a syndicate of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, was seriously incomplete and

inaccurate, though it displayed to the public far more of Blake's work than had previously been popularly available.   For another, Gilchrist's transcriptions of Blake's letters in his biography were often merely approximate and usually at one or two removes from the manuscripts.   And for a third, Gilchrist was alarmed by footnotes and systematically omitted identification of the sources of his information.   All these factors made the work difficult to depend upon, but, because Gilchrist had talked to many of Blake's young disciples such as John Linnell and Frederick Tatham and Samuel Palmer, his book cannot be ignored. Ruthven Todd approached these problems boldly and solved them successfully. First, he simply omitted Gilchrist's Volume II with its incomplete and inaccurate writings, reproductions, and catalogues of Blake.   Second, he corrected the texts of Blake's letters and poems in Gilchrist's biography (except where Gilchrist is the only authority for them, of course).   Thirdly, and most laboriously, he sought out systematically the factual bases for Gilchrist's conclusions and anecdotes and displayed them in meticulous notes to the biography.   Todd's edition appeared in a modest Everyman edition in January 1942, was promptly recognized as a major work of scholarship, and a new edition appeared in 1945 with somewhat expanded notes.   With its handsome prints from the Virgil electrotypes, it was attractive as well as useful, and it is certainly the cheapest and probably the best biography of Blake which has appeared.[28]

Even after the 1945 edition was published, Todd kept working on the biography with a hope to revise it yet again.   But this project did not bear fruit in his lifetime.   There were a few more projects which he did not live to complete, but one of them became the base for a later study.   This is the catalogue raisonné of Blake's art on which Sir Geoffrey Keynes also worked and which was a basis for Martin Butlin's great *Paintings and Drawings of William Blake*.

Todd's role is important in that it brought together the different spheres of art criticism, connoisseurship and practical print making and shows that basis of the relationships later formed between Viscomi, Essick, Butlin and Phillips had important precursors whose significance needs to be traced and assessed.   Together with Stanley William Hayter (1901-1988), who had established the famous Atelier 17, an experimental printmaking workshop, Todd visited the print collection of Lessing J.

Rosenwald (1891-1978) at his home in Pennsylvania.   Rosenwald was the son of a wealthy businessman who inherited his father's position as the chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Company, but retired while he was young and dedicated his time and wealth to collecting works of art and rare books and manuscripts.   In 1942 he pledged to donate his collection, including considerable amount of Blake's Illuminated Books and other prints and drawings, to the Library of Congress and the National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C., which is a part of the Smithsonian Institution.   The collection of books and prints bequeathed by Rosenwald consists a considerable part of the base of the library and gallery's collection, and in 1991, the Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress published *Vision of a Collector: The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection in the Library of Congress*, a huge volume of 100 essays commemorating the centenary of the collector's birth.   In the very first of these essays William Matheson records a memorable incident about his Blake collection:

When he began to buy from the Doctor, Rosenwald was in his busiest years with Sears, Roebuck, with a growing family and a large sense of public responsibility.   He knew that he needed the advice of people he could trust and found in the Doctor not only "a mentor, a tempter, and … a super-salesman," as he at one time described him, but most importantly, a friend.   Their close relationship ended only with Rosenbach's death in 1952.   Rosenwald gave the Doctor the major credit for the high quality of many of the rarest books in his collection.   If the condition of one of the firm's books failed to meet the Doctor's standard for the collection, he would refuse to sell it, saying a better copy would come along.   Though the two men could not, on the face of it, have been more temperamentally different, Wolf and Fleming think they go along so well because Rosenwald brought out the best in the Doctor, in part because of the inherent shyness of both men and in part because of Rosenwald's evident respect for the Doctor's wide and firmly based knowledge.

Rosenwald returned to Rosenbach's on 5 March 1929 to buy some of the most important books in the Doctor's fabled stock.   The $404,700 he spent that afternoon made this the third biggest day in Rosenbach history.   For that sum he acquired among other things four magnificent blockbooks the Doctor had obtained from the Holford collection.   Blockbooks in which both text and

illustrations are cut on the same woodblock overlap the separate woodcut print and the printed book with woodcuts, Rosenwald's developing specialization. In that same purchase he got most of the best William Blakes the Doctor had purchased from the William A. White estate, including seven of Blake's marvelous illuminated books, among them the finest known copy of *The Book of Urizen* and the only known copy of *The Book of Ahania*. These were the foundation of what is generally regarded as the finest Blake collection in America, one of the magnets that attracted scholars to the Alverthorpe Gallery and the source of many of the highly regarded facsimiles produced by the Trianon Press in association with the William Blake Trust.[29]

Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach was also a renowned collector and book dealer, whose vast collection, together with his brother's, would form the base of Rosenbach Museum and Library in Philadelphia. Matheson states that Rosenwald was different from other collectors who were customers of Rosenbach like Huntington and Richard Hoe. Rosenbach bought most of his books separately, while others tend to buy in bulk. At Huntington Library, there are many items yet to be delved because they are bought as a whole library of previous owners. Rosenwald did not buy in such a way. Also Rosenwald accumulated considerable knowledge on what he was collecting. This tendency gave his library such a high quality as a whole.

Todd and Hayter examined the only existing fragment from Blake's copperplate and concluded that the writing on the etched plates appeared so fluid and natural that Blake must have used a method that allowed him to write on another surface in normal left-to-right script, and then transfer it onto the plate. This theory has subsequently been disputed, with the argument that Blake, having been trained since the age of fifteen as an engraver of script, would have found it second-nature to write in reverse and, through his own experiments, had developed a recipe for fluid varnish with which to do so. Their points of question and investigation are reported in Todd's 'The Techniques of William Blake's Illuminated Printing'[30]. Their prime concern was since the plates were bitten so shallowly, they would not print clearly with the ordinary inking method. Todd traces Robertson's experiment and agrees with his conclusion on Blake's method of printing:

From my own experiments, I am convinced that Mr. Graham Robertson's explanation is the true one, although I would doubt whether Blake made more than two printings with his millboard before finishing the work with pen and ink and water-color.   The evidence of his own works, notably Lucifer and the Pope in Hell and the famous Dance of Albion, shows that Blake sometimes used this technique to produce "colour printed drawings" from his copperplates, where the outlines had already been produced by his burin or etching-needle.   The opaque tempera color used in printing these copper-plate polytypes was applied so thickly that, as a rule, the casual glance is not sufficient to distinguish between them and the ordinary millboard printed drawings.   But, and this is important, in the ordinary polytypes, having no engraved line to hide, Blake made use of transparent colors with results that are very close to those produced by the surrealists with the process known as decalcomanie.   (This process will be familiar to anyone who has played the childhood game of placing blobs of paint on one side of a folded sheet of paper and then squashing it flat – to find that the pressure has produced a phantasmagoric form.)

Looking at one of the ordinary polytypes, Christ appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection, it occurred to Mr. Hayter and me that we had found a way of inking these shallowly bitten plates without marring the whites, a method which would also produce the characteristic reticulated texture.

Further evidence was supplied by an examination of the posthumous prints issued by Frederick Tatham in the years following Blake's death, before the plates 'were stolen by an ungrateful black he had befriended, who sold them to a smith as old metal.'   Tatham, judging from the few drawings which I have seen (he was a semi-itinerant portrait maker put out of business by the invention of the daguerreotype), was an inept and clumsy workman who must have felt himself baffled by the problems raised by the printing of the plates.   However, he seems to have managed to avoid an undue dirtying of the whites by the expedient of inking the plates with the tip of his finger, possibly covered with a piece of cloth. The texture of the prints thus produced is quite different from that in the plates printed by Blake himself.   Apart from the fact that the inking was consistently inadequate, so that words fail to print clearly, the total result is extremely unhappy.

Regarding the actual printing of the plates, it would appear that Blake printed these pages of written matter in a press of the screw type, used for block-printing, as there is practically no plate-mark in any of the page he printed.   By this means he was able to use both sides of his paper, as in an ordinary book.   Further, it may be doubted whether he used his paper in the soaked condition common among modern copper-plate printers.   It would seem more likely that his system was that of an old letter-press printer whom I knew in England, who, having to use hand-made or rag paper, would remove it from its wrappings at least two weeks before starting of the job and leave it lying beside the press to absorb the natural dampness of the printing-shop.

For our first experiment we took a plate by M. Miró, bitten as a relief-etching, and inked an unengraved plate of the same size by running a roller across the face. This we placed carefully upon top of the engraved plate and worked over it with our hands to transfer the ink to the other surface.   Next the plates were separated, leaving the bitten one with a reticulated layer of ink.   We then took a pull of this in an ordinary rotary press and found that, in every respect except that of plate-mark, the print, speaking technically, resembled one of Blake's own printing. (Incidentally, noticing the impression of the relief-etching remaining upon the blank plate, we took a pull of that and got a kind of polytype with the print a reverse of that produced from the engraved surface.)

By this method of inking, we found, it was not only possible to vary the depth of the color from one side of the plate to the other, but also to change color as Blake himself did in some of his books.

Regarding the ink which Blake used, Mr. Hayter points out that he did not use printer's ink, or oil-ink, as a microscopic examination of a plate washed broadly with water-colors does not show the hair-line of white round the inked portions which would be inevitable if the medium was oil.   It is almost certain that he used egg-yolk, as that is water-proof when dry and does not reject water-color.

There is another problem which seems to have puzzled Blake students for generations, namely, the sources of his writing with an acid-resistant ground upon his plates.   Blake himself declared that the method had been revealed to him by the spirit of his brother Robert who had died, probably of tuberculosis, in 1787, and in The Ghost of Abel, 1822, he noted 'Blake's Original Stereotype was 1788.'

However, it is well known that his friend, George Cumberland, was experimenting with methods of writing upon copper and there can be little doubt that Blake knew of these experiments, which, as Lt. Col. W. E. Moss has pointed out to me in a personal correspondence, were only a part of the late eighteenth-century interest in the matter.

Todd carries on to Blake's account in *An Island in the Moon* and Alexander Browne's *Ars Pictoria*, probably known by Blake, to explain the method 'To Woodcut on Copper'. Along with his refuted assumption that Blake must have used a kind of 'offset' to transfer his ordinary writing to mirror writing, the inking method does not sound very convincing. Here again, the hypothesis might have been wrong, but the spirit of actually trying to execute the printing experiment should be evaluated, and the experiment itself, with the involvement of Miró and other artists, produced some interesting, artistic works on its own. Also Todd's interest in materials is noteworthy here. Todd's hypothesis, although considered wrong by now, is natural and understandable. Joseph Viscomi, when examining Blake's printing method in elaborate detail, contemplates:

It is commonplace in Blake studies to assert that illuminated printing united invention and execution, and to view it as a reaction against the division of labor characteristic of letterpress printing; but, this assertion has remained mostly theoretical and contradictory. Not much thought had been given to how—let alone exactly where in production-invention and execution intersect, except in the person of Blake himself, as author and printer. But the same laborer does not necessarily mean undivided labor; the acts of writing and printing in the creation of an illuminated book were still perceived as occurring separately. This perception is particularly evident in Ruthven Todd's theory of illuminated printing, which attempts to explain how Blake could have avoided writing directly on plates, that is, backward: he must have transferred from paper *first*. Like many before him and since, Todd assumed that Blake produced his books on paper before reproducing them in metal; this effected a modeling relation between text and plate and, furthermore, required fair copies. These are perfectly reasonable assumptions, given that the illuminated page is a print, which by definition

reproduces images made in other media, whether visual or verbal.   In fact, only by understanding the reasonableness of Todd's proposal can one fully appreciate how radically Blake broke with conventional modes of composing and printing by not transferring texts or images.[31]

In this essay, Viscomi makes free use of abundant data, including precise measurement of plates, and logic to convincingly reconstruct the order of Blake's invention and execution of some illuminated books.   Such precision cannot be found in early studies. Viscomi works at least partly with knowledge of Todd, but Todd's role has been under appreciated.   My purpose here is to fill the gap.

Todd's collaborator, Hayter, was born into a family which produced a line of able artists, but was trained as a chemist and had an unrivalled knowledge of the technicalities of printmaking, on which he wrote two major books, 'New Ways of Gravure' (1949) and 'About Prints' (1962).   In the former book, Hayter explains the experiment in his words.

During the summer of 1947, the poet Ruthven Todd and I, with Joan Miró, experimented with the printing processes used by William Blake in the creation of his plates in relief (Figs. 33a, b).   After many tries we worked out the method he probably used.   A poem was written in a solution of asphaltum and resin in benzene upon a sheet of paper previously coated with a mixture of gum Arabic and soap.   (We had suspected that Blake used a transfer method, as his text, though very perfect in detail, is sometimes not perfectly aligned with the plate.) A clean plate was well heated and the paper laid upon it and passed through the press.   The back of the paper was then soaked with water and peeled off, leaving the resist on the copper.   The designs were then drawn with a brush and asphaltum solution by the artist, the back of the plate was protected, and it was bitten in a solution of 1 part nitric acid to 2 parts water for at least 9 hours until the plate had lost about half its original thickness.   Printing by a number of different methods followed (see Chapter 8).[32]

As a practicing engraver and printer with his artistic and chemical background, Hayter describes the methods of gravure and printing in professional details.   Atelier 17, the

printing workshop he organized in Paris and the U.S., was a very unique attempt to preserve the dying occupation in a more creative process.   In other words, Hayter tried to save the old-fashioned technique of printing from gravure, which had seen its heyday in the 16th to 19th centuries and whose practitioners were regarded chiefly as artisans, and apply the method for creative and artistic works.   Many artists from all over the world inspired each other to experiment on various methods.   As Hayter says in the book, in spite of the long prosperity of the occupation, most engravers and printers produced reproduction of artistic works in the fields of painting, and the method remained artisan work for most of its history.   The few exceptions are, according to Hayter, only five artists: Hercules Seghers (1590-1640/5), Jacques Callot (1592-1635), Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669), Giambattista Piranesi (1720-1778) and Blake. Elsewhere he also refers to Francisco Goya (1746-1828) as 'using aquatint in a broader and more expressive fashion than the engravers of the previous century, showing what such a medium can become in the hands of an artist.'[33]   None of these artists except Blake made such elaborate colour prints, which shows the rareness of Blake's method.

Some of Hayter's colour prints I saw in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin in an exhibition held in March 2006 were more similar to Blake's colour prints than anything else I have ever seen.   Hayter in his long life as an artist constantly inquired and experimented his creative methods.   His two major colour-printing methods, multicoloured planography from intaglio plates and plain surfaces, are almost unique to him and Blake.   In 1967, when Hayter was still alive and working, Arthur Graham Reynolds wrote in *The Engravings of S. W. Hayter*, a booklet published by V&A:

Meanwhile the artist had been experimenting with methods of printing in colour.   'Cinq Personnages' of 1946 is an early example of the successful use of a plate printed with three colours and intaglio black in one operation.   The complex technical processes devised for this print are fully described in *New Ways of Gravure*, 1966, where the detailed account of the method occupies the whole of Chapter 11.   After the plate had been inked in black for intaglio printing in the normal way colour was added to the selected areas by pigmented silk-screens. The combination of three carefully chosen colours give a range of five or six where they lie over one another.   The urge to use colour was natural enough for a

printmaker who is equally a painter but it was at this time a pioneering gesture to apply it to an intaglio plate.   Twenty years ago the use of colour in printmaking was largely confined to the lithographic and silkscreen processes, and it is only more recently and since Hayter started upon this fruitful body of experiments that colour printmaking from engraved metal plates has become a more common feature.   So successful have the results been that at present colour occupies at least as favourable a position among the public and with students as black and white printmaking.   In subsequent plates such as 'Unstable Woman' and 'Ceres', the same methods of printing were applied.   The use of screens and stencils seems to give a certain clarity in the colour, which merges in broad bands modified where one colour is overprinted on another, and this particular method of colour printing from the metal plate was well adapted to the rather strident palette of inks which Hayter was using at that time.[34]

In a more inclusive catalogue published posthumously, Désirée Moorhead traces the development of Hayter's colour-printing technique:

In 1940 Hayter made his first colour print, Maternity (132), combining an engraved plate with silkscreens.   It was composite print with silkscreen colours printed first on to the sheet over which the engraved plate was then printed in black.   It was a cumbersome and laborious printing process but reawakened Hayter's intense interest in colour printing.   Earlier in the 1930s in Paris, with the English artist Anthony Gross, he had made attempts to print in full colour (intaglio plus colour) from a single plate.   He was convinced that Hercules Seghers, and possibly others, had perfected a technique akin to the one he sought, and with Gross he tried every conceivable combination of inking in order to find a solution.   They considered the traditional process of separating an image into component parts on different plates then recomposing the image by successive printings extremely tedious and, more important, felt that it detracted from the initial spontaneity of the artist's idea.
The prints of 1941 present a definitive break with the imagery of the 1930s. …   In 1943 there is another Burin Studies (153), and in these exercises Hayter uses the burin in a purely automatic way, leaving as much play as possible to the

unconscious. … Laocoón (1943; 154) is one of Hayter's most impressive engravings. The strong rapid lines, suggesting the sea-serpent crushing the Trojan priest and his sons, are contained in an exact equilibrium, and the image is both compelling and intense. Centauresse (1943-4; 157) is a small but extremely charming plate, and is the first colour print since Maternity; only this time an attempt was made at printing in simultaneous intaglio and surface colour. The intaglio colour is violet-red; after the intaglio had been inked, blue, green, yellow and orange inks were applied to the plate using stencils and overlapping each other in places. The viscosities of the inks used were carefully controlled and little smudging occurred although each proof was probably doctored by Hayter's hand.[35]

In the chapter wholly dedicated to the description of the conception and execution of the print, Cinq Personnages, Hayter traces the experiment and development of his colour printing technique.

The method to be used for color printing was first considered in 1930 in Paris, when some experiments were made by applying surface color with a roller to an uninked plate, making one impression, then cleaning the plate and inking it, for intaglio printing, in black and reprinting on the same paper. Owing to errors in registry a black/white line, apparently in relief, was given. Stencils were used to define areas of color, which, in this case, were crude and detached. Later, in San Francisco in 1940, a print, *Maternity*, was made, in which one opaque color, orange, and two transparent colors, blue and ochre, was printed in tempera on damp paper, using silk screens to replace stencils, and finally overprinted with black in intaglio from the plate. In 1943, another color print, *Centauresse*, was made in which red, yellow, green and blue elements of oil color were applied to the surface of an intaglio plate previously inked with violet: this provided the only transparency to modify the four colors. Though some prints were made with two successive impressions, the first being offset from stenciled color on the surface, the second being the intaglio impression, it was found that all colors could be assembled on the plate without mixing, if suitable media were used, and transferred to paper in a single impression, thus avoiding all the difficulties of

register.

In this *Cinq Personnages* plate, I proposed to employ silk screens instead of the stencils used in the *Centauresse* experiment. The large scale of the plate and the complicated overprinting in transparent color which was planned means that stencils were not applicable. The plate was to be inked in black, as for normal intaglio printing, and then, by using silk screens, three successive films of color were to be deposited wet upon the surface without mixing with the black. The whole was to be transferred to damp paper by means of the roller press, in one single operation. On the print, color would appear as offset from the plate surface and, over it, would be the intaglio impression in black, appearing slightly in relief above the surface of the paper. Relief whites, hollowed-out spaces in the plate which were uninked or cleaned out, would appear in front of the grayish whites of unworked and uncoloured plate surface.[36]

Hayter's method, described in detail here, was probably not exactly the same as Blake's. Blake would not have used either stencil or silk screen, and the overall finishing seems different. Still, it is useful for us to know that it is possible to print in colours from an intaglio plate in one operation, since that seems to be the method Blake used.

Blake's colour prints can be divided into three types based on the kind of plate from which the print was executed: planography, relief-etching and intaglio-etching. In most cases one can distinguish one from another fairly easily from sight. There are three designs colour-printed from intaglio-etched plates in *The Large Book of Designs*, *Albion Rose* (Butlin 262-1)*, Our End Is Come* (Butlin 262-2) and *Joseph of Arimathea* (Butlin 262-6). *Albion Rose* seems to have been colour printed before printed in the ordinary way. From the above account of Hayter's method, now we can be sure that it is possible to print with light pressure, using the plain of intaglio-etched plate like planography. In those Blake prints, some etched lines pick ink and show as rising outline, while others where ink was not thick enough do not show. With this explanation we can be sure that Blake had actually executed this method which some artists thought they succeeded for the first time in the twentieth century.

So far I have traced the experimental printings executed by some artists and critics who were interested in Blake's printing method. Now I would like to go back

to the current controversy.   As Essick and Viscomi point out in their reply to the article[37], the general tone of Butlin's article is not against the one-pull theory of Essick-Viscomi, and the two-pull theory Butlin suggests is quite different from the particular one Phillips claims Blake used.   Butlin assumes that Blake might have printed the intaglio lines in monotone ink with a rolling press, then colour printed using a letterpress.   This would probably make registration much easier.   With a rolling press, registration gets much more difficult, and printers had to depend on some kind of technique, like using pins, to achieve precise registration.   It has long been known that Blake owned a rolling press in order to proof-print his commercial work, but in Blake's London, printing was a major industry, and it must have been quite easy for him to get access to a letter press, even if he did not own one himself.

Robertson's ideas may not be altogether wrong; with *God Judging Adam* it seems to be the case that the method Robertson describes was used, but this is an exceptional case because it is the only large colour print etched on a copper plate rather than millboard (a kind of cardboard perhaps a little thicker and more porous than a modern post-card).   For this reason, I think this was one of the earliest examples of the Twelve Large Colour Prints Blake seems to have devised as a series.   Blake probably experimented with this print, and decided that it was a waste to use expensive copper plates when similar effects could be obtained with cheaper millboards.   This series consists of especially large prints, much larger than those used in "The Tyger" or *Milton*, and would further account for his discarding expensive copper plates.

In the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, we can find some examples of Robertson's experiments on Blake's colour printing method, complete with a sheet of millboard from which he printed the images. Although they have been neglected by modern scholars, I have studied them closely.   It looks likely Robertson executed them using the printing method he describes in the statement quoted above, in two-pull colour printing.   Obviously Robertson himself was satisfied with the result and may have considered he had uniquely revived Blake's method.   But to my eyes these prints are not similar enough to Blake's work.   The outlines are too strong and clear.   It is true that Blake emphasized the importance of outlines over colours in his art theory, but in his actual prints the outlines are not as thick as in Robertson's work. In Blake's prints, it looks as if they were drawn in with pen and ink at the finishing.

Another early example from the series is *Pity*.   In the same Prints and

Drawings Room, there are two preliminary sketches and a trial proof of the title,
showing the development of the image.[38]   As Essick claims in *William Blake
Printmaker*, this evidence seems to speak against Robertson's argument.

> The next stage in the invention of color-printed drawings is shown by the
> version of "Pity" (Fig. 124) in the British Museum.   The reeds covering the
> prone figure's upper legs also appear in both preliminary drawings, but were
> eliminated in the three finished prints (Figs. 125-27).   The reeds, as well as its
> smaller size and unfinished state, indicate that the British Museum print is an
> intermediate, trial attempt.   As in all the larger prints, the background and the
> foreground landscape are thickly color-printed in opaque pigments---in this
> instance black, light brown, and dark green.   The figures were left unprinted for
> development directly of the impression.   Blake has added pen and ink outlines,
> particularly on the prone woman's face and on one horse's head, and has begun to
> add delicate gray, pink, and blue washes.   There would have been no reason to
> do this work if Blake had planned to print the figures with opaque pigments.   In
> this case, Robertson's use of multiple printings on each print does not seem to
> have been Blake's own method. [39]

Essick, in the next paragraph, explains how, in later prints, it is more difficult to
determine whether they were printed in single or multiple printings.   This argument
has a point, because in his later examples in the series, like *Lamech and His Two Wives,
Newton* and *Nebuchadnezzar,* Blake uses the colour printing method in such a unique
and masterly way that it is difficult to determine how he did it.   In some parts printed
pigments, watercolour wash over the print and details drawn in by pen and ink are
distinguishable, but as in *Newton*'s rocks and lichens, some parts are unaccountable.
Blake might have printed the pigments twice from the same sheet of millboard to
achieve the mysterious mottled effect.

At this point I would like to refer to the press Blake used to print.   I assume
that Blake used a letterpress for this series.   I had an opportunity to see *Lamech and
His Two Wives* out of its frame during conservation work at Tate Britain.[40]   There my
colleagues and I saw that the corners were marked with registration crosses in pencil,
and were not cut as in the Victoria and Albert Museum copy of *Naomi Entreating Ruth*

and Orpah. I could not see the Fitzwilliam version of *Naomi* out of the frame, and unfortunately the other extant version of *Lamech*, owned by Essick, is trimmed at the edge, so we cannot know what the corners were like when Blake printed them. These pencil marks are puzzling. My assumption is that Blake used these marks for registration in a letterpress or hand printing. The possibility is that he did not use any press but just pressed hard from the back with hands or using some flat object, like a *baren* used in ukiyo-e, the Japanese woodblock printing. But it is more likely that he used a letterpress. I have seen a demonstration of a letterpress at the British Library. With the type of press used in the demonstration, they use tools called tympan and frisket to hold the sheet of paper to print on. I realised that the corner marks would serve perfectly for registration in this occasion. Using this device, Blake might have printed twice in these later works.

The controversies, reconstructive experiments and engagement of modern scholars in the debate about Blake's methods of printing gives a good idea of how modern methods of art history and analysis are coming up with many new questions about one of Britain's most celebrated writers and artists. Without much written account on how Blake executed the colour prints, Robertson and Todd started with what they saw, wrote down as much information as possible and actually tried what they speculated. Although they could not straightly arrive at the correct answer, their empirical and physical approach to Blake's materials and the information so assiduously gathered by them became the firm basis of the Blake studies of the present day.

Chapter Two

The Development of Blake's Colour Printing Technique

Hayter begins his chapter on *Cinq Personnage* with these words:

For a description of the inception and development of a particular work to make some sense to a reader, it is necessary for him to be able to connect it up with a complete series of works by the artist.   Some sort of confession of faith is also involved.   To describe an act without its motive will limit its value to those who are already familiar with the subject.[41]

This is a very important thing to bear in mind in this study, so in this chapter I would like to follow the development of Blake's colour printing method, and see the set of Twelve Large Colour Prints in its connection to the complete series of works executed by Blake.

Blake's Method of Colour Printing

Blake's earliest experiment with colour printing was executed around 1794, using his unpublished early plates of *There is No Natural Religion* and *All Religions are One*.   He combined his method of relief etching and colour printing, and developed his techniques in printing his Illuminated Books in colours.   Blake's friend the miniaturist Ozias Humphry was so impressed by this method that he persuaded Blake to select and compile some designs, which gave birth to *Large and Small Books of Designs*, which developed into the Twelve Large Colour Prints.

The set consists of twelve colour prints, each having up to three pulls extant. They are basically printed from sheets of millboard, finished by hand in watercolour and ink.   Although these pictures can be counted among the most exuberant and original works executed by the artist, surprisingly, the study of these Large Colour Prints is relatively undeveloped.   Most of the study so far has been done by Martin Butlin.

In an article written in 1989, Butlin places the pictures as following:

The prints are … as a group, the first really mature individual works in the visual arts that Blake created.   Moreover they are, as a group, probably the most accomplished, forceful, and effective of Blake's works in the visual arts.   Even a work like Lamech and his Two Wives, that may seem at first sight rather awkward and ungainly in its forms, can be seen to exhibit these qualities precisely because of its content: this is not always the case with Blake.[42]

The originality of the technique explains the eloquence of the large colour prints.   It stemmed not from the individual pictures painted earlier, but developed from his own illuminated books of early 1790s.[43]

The method of Blake's colour printing was recorded by D. G. Rossetti as informed to him by Tatham (who, presumably, heard it directly from Blake):

Blake, when he wanted to make his prints in oil, … took a common thick millboard, and drew in some strong ink or colour his design upon it strong and thick.   He then painted upon that in such oil colours and in such a state of fusion that they would blur well.   He painted roughly and quickly, so that no colour would have time to dry.   He then took a print of that on paper, and this impression he coloured up in water-colours, re-painting his outline on the millboard when he wanted to take another print.[44]

In his *Catalogue* Butlin quotes a letter from Tatham of 6 November 1862 to William Rossetti to complement the above account:

They were printed in a loose press from an outline sketched on paste-board; the oil colour was blotted on, which gave the sort of impression you will get by taking the impression of anything wet.   There was a look of accident about this mode which he afterwards availed of, and tinted so as to bring out and favour what was there rather blurred.[45]

But then Butlin points out two possible errors made by this direct witness of Blake:

Tatham, who was not born until 1805, seems to have erred in several respects. Blake did not use oil paint but rather 'fresco', a medium much like that of his temperas.   Nor does he seem to have actually repainted his millboard 'plate' before taking further impressions, which were therefore weaker in intensity, requiring more finishing in pen and watercolour.   Repetition of each design was therefore limited, none being securely traced in more than three examples, and each version is unique.   In fact, Blake seems to have used this technique more for its textual qualities than as a means of reproduction.

Although its accuracy has often been questioned, Tatham's account is the earliest document available for us, and despite of the age difference, Tatham actually knew Blake, so we cannot discard his explanation too willingly.

The Twelve Large Colour Prints developed from the *Small and Large Books of Designs*, which were compilations of full-page images in colour printing from copper plates gathered from his earlier illuminated books.   After printing this series in 1795 and 1804, Blake never returned to this method, but moved on to his 'temperas' instead. Yet the method of the Large Colour Prints cannot be overlooked as transitional, because it is a key to understanding his earlier illuminated books and later temperas as well.   In other words, Blake's experiments in methods of colour printing, together with those of his predecessors such as Le Blon and Jean Baptiste Jackson, represents a European solution to printing colour which was a problem which equally challenged artists in the Japanese ukiyoe tradition.

A few decades after Blake's experiments, the situation of colour printing changed dramatically.   By the mid-nineteenth century the innovative method of lithography, together with the technology of photography, enabled colour printing to enter the modern age.   Therefore Blake's experiments must be understood as the culmination of a tradition rather than as a new beginning.

Here I would like to follow the development of Blake's printing technique in the order of dates.   G. E. Bentley Jr. assumes the date of Blake's invention of relief etching was around the year 1787, not long after the death of his beloved brother Robert.[46]   He did not apply this method to printing text straight away, but tried it with

single illustrations, like *The Approach of Doom* and *Charity*.   Viscomi estimates the date of the latter millboard print with India ink wash to be around 1788.[47]   This took place during the five years the Blakes lived at 28 Poland Street, where they moved in 1785 from 27 Broad Street with Robert after the partnership of a print shop between Blake and Parker dissolved.   In the couple of years following those experimental illustration prints, Blake produced *The Songs of Innocence, The Book of Thel* and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*.

The next place William, and his wife Catherine Blake, lived was No. 13 Hercules Buildings, Lambeth, Surrey.   The decade they stayed in this house (1790-1800) where they enjoyed their own garden for the first time, coincides with their politically radical thoughts and companions.   In these years immediately after the French Revolution across the Channel, Blake joined the circle of the radical printer, Joseph Johnson, which included Thomas Paine, William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft.   His radical tendency continued until he was involved in a trial after a petty quarrel with a soldier in his garden in Felpham, Sussex, where they lived under the patronage of William Hayley for three years after Lambeth.

During the 1790s Blake was extremely productive.   As Viscomi has shown, between 1793 and 1796 Blake printed most of his Illuminated Books, as well as started experimenting with colour printing in 1794.   One example showing this development is *The Accusers*, which he printed in various states.[48]   The earliest version is titled *Our End is come*, etching and engraving printed in olive green on paper with etched inscription 'Published June 5:1793 by W Blake Lambeth'.   This is an intaglio plate, and so requires a rolling press to print.   The next version is colour printed etching titled *The Accusers*, compiled into *The Large Book of Designs*.   Although Blake used the same intaglio plate, he only used the outlines as under drawing, and put the pigments on the surface just as in planography.   The prints are reticulated, which is characteristic of Blake's colour prints.   Obviously a rolling press is not necessary to print this kind of prints.   Interestingly Blake retouched the plate with more inscriptions within and below the image, and printed it in black ink around 1804.   Again this was probably done with a rolling press.

Another set of earlier plates was used by Blake to experiment in colour printing. These were *All Religions Are One* (?1788) and *There Is No Natural Religion* (?1788). He used these early relief etched plates of rudimentary designs as the vehicle for his

earliest experiments in colour printing around 1794.   Before that time, Blake had
hand-coloured his Illuminated Books with watercolour, working over their monotone or
black ink relief etched printing.   In my two trips to the United States made in August/
September 2006 and March 2007 I examined a number of Illuminated Books at various
museums across the U. S.   This experience helped me a great deal in tracing Blake's
colour printing method and its development, so I would like to recount it here.

      The first destination was the Huntington Library.   Apart from their Large
Colour Print 'Hecate' I examined colour-printed versions of 'Lucifer and the Pope in
Hell' [287] and 'Albion Rose, Glad Day, or The Dance of Albion' [284] in their Prints
and Drawings room.[49]   These were both printed from intaglio plates around 1795.
Another colour-printed version of 'Albion Rose' is at the British Museum as the first
leaf of the *Large Book of Design*.   There is no recorded impression of the first state
printed in intaglio.   'Lucifer' is the only extant colour-printed version, and the only
other traced impression is printed in intaglio and uncoloured.   These colour prints from
intaglio are very interesting and crucial when we consider how Blake developed his
colour printing method.   In both prints some etched lines are visible.   (In the case of
'Albion' these are the only proof that this design was printed from an intaglio plate,
since there is no uncoloured version.)   For 'Lucifer' Blake used white-line etching.
Lines cut finely and closely, such as in flames, gathered some ink and left traces on the
colour print.   Most of the background and outlines are colour-printed, but the details
and the figures are mostly touched by hand.   Blake seems to have used the etched
outline as a kind of wall to stop the flowing of pigment, so where the space is too
narrow between the lines, such as the spear or Satan's arm, he could not ink, so he
coloured later by hand.   In areas with detailed outlines, like the pope's robe or Satan's
scales, he used the etched lines to ink the outlines in black, so he had to apply
watercolour by hand.   This pattern seems to have been used in general concerning his
colour prints.   In contrast 'Albion' is mostly colour-printed with very few touches by
hand.   Some rays are washed with watercolour, details such as the face and toes are
finished with pen and brush, and shadow and outline are done by hand, but that is all.
The colour-printing method is used most effectively and beautifully, and the mottled,
multi-coloured rock, so conspicuous of the Large Colour Prints series, is already seen
here.

      The Huntington Library itself holds a rich, Blake-related collection, including a

number of original Illuminated Books and some rare facsimiles of early periods like those of William Muir.   Examining original and facsimile copies of the Illuminated Books cultivated my eyes to distinguish colour prints, and it really helped me later on when I went to the East Coast and saw even more Illuminated Books.   While in Los Angeles, I happened to go into an antiquarian bookstore, William Dailey Rare Books Ltd.   The owner told me that he used to be close with Robert Essick and has published a booklet of his on Blake, which I had just finished reading that day.   He was a great enthusiast on Blake, and when he showed me a set of facsimiles from his own collection, I could recognize that it was Muir's before being told.

After California, I flew to New York, where in collection of the Metropolitan Museum are some Muir Facsimile copies and Copy Y (c.1825) of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, which is printed in reddish brown and elaborately hand-coloured, using a lot of gold including all the titles.   Decorative lines and page numbers are added by hand around printed images with pen and colour ink.   On the page of 'The Ecchoing Green' watercolour is washed over white line etching.

Pierpont Morgan Library, also in New York, does not have any Large Colour Prints, but their collection of Illuminated Books is unrivalled.   They have a number of copies of *There Is No Natural Religion* (Copies G1, I, L, L2 and a proof sheet). Compared to the very rare *All Religions Are One*, there are many copies of *No Natural Religion* extant.   The major problem is many of them might have been printed posthumously by other hands.   Blake, in *The Ghost of Abel*, claims that he invented the 'Stereotype' (meaning the technique of relief etching) in 1788, and with their rudimentary look, *No Natural Religion* and *All Religions* seem to be the very first to be executed in colour.   Each copy is printed in a single colour ink, with little watercolour wash over it.   But studies show that the only extant copy of *All Religions* and most of the remaining original prints were printed c. 1794.[50]   Then follow other Early Illuminated Books, *The Book of Thel* (1789), *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790), *The Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793), and another version of *Marriage* (1794). These are all printed in monocolour ink and washed over with watercolour by hand. Around this period, Blake printed *America a Prophecy* in black, resembling political pamphlets of the era.   Still, Copy A at Pierpont Morgan Library was hand-coloured in watercolour c. 1795.   (I did not see the copy.)   The most interesting comparison I could make here was *Marriage* copies C and F.   Copy C, printed around 1790, is

printed in green ink on both sides of sheets and is finished in watercolour.   Copy F, c.1794, is printed in multicolour inks only on rectos and is finished in watercolour. Features characteristic in Blake's colour prints, such as mottled rocks and serpents, are already conspicuous, and plate 24 is almost an exact miniature design for the 'Nebuchadnezzar' large colour print.   1794 and 1795 were Blake's most prolific years, and the Illuminated Books newly executed in those years, *Europe, The First Book of Urizen, Song of Los*, *Book of Ahania* and *Book of Los* all show his mastery in multicolour printing, which leads directly to the early executions of Large Colour Prints. During these years Blake redid his earlier works in multicolour printing, as we saw in *The Marriage*.   At Pierpont Morgan I examined *Song of Los* Copy C and *The First Book of Urizen* Copy B.   My next destination, Yale Center for British Arts, stores *Visions of the Daughters of Albion, For Children: The Gates of Paradise, The First Book of Urizen* Copies A and C, and *Jerusalem* Copy F.   *The First Book of Urizen* Copy A is bound with a red leather cover and Copy C is unbound.   They are printed in different colours and brighter colours are used in Copy C with thicker pigments.

After the 1795 series of Twelve Large Colour Prints and 1796 *Book of Designs*, Blake almost stopped colour printing.   Apart from the second group of the Twelve Large Colour Prints, Blake only struck some reprints of mainly *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* from time to time, but would not go back to this method until his masterpieces *Milton* (1811) and *Jerusalem* (1820).   In the meantime his interest turned to temperas.   The Yale Collection holds two of these temperas, *Christ Giving Sight to the Blind Man* (listed as *Christ Giving Sight to Bartimaeus* in Butlin [420]) and *Abraham and Isaac* [382].   They are both in a series of illustrations to the Bible commissioned by Thomas Butts c.1799-1800.   The temperas are cracked all over and have a similar look as miniatures.   They have a bright and impressive glow, imitated by the Ancients later on.   The blue of mountains, green of woods and shadow of darkness are most impressive.   There are two earlier watercolour versions of *Abraham and Isaac* painted around 1780([108] [109]).[51]

Other colour prints in the Gallery were some loose leaves from Illuminated Books, *The Accusers of Theft, Adultery, Murder (War)* [285], which was exhibited at the time of my visit, and *Joseph of Arimathea Preaching to the Inhabitants of Britain* [286]. They also have a black-and-white version of *The Accusers*.   The plate for *The Accusers* (also entitled *Our End Is Come* on the first state) is etched intaglio, but *Joseph of*

Arimathea is relief-etched.   Another colour printed set is included in the *Large Book of Designs* at the British Museum.   *The Dream of Thiralata*, a cancelled plate from *America* is another example found both in this Collection and the British Museum's *Large Book of Designs.*

       The colour prints in America are scattered and fewer in number than those in the U.K., but the national wealth of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries brought a considerable amount of Blake's work to the New Continent and these collections are indispensable in considering Blake's career.   Completing these two trips tracing Blake's Twelve Large Colour Prints, I felt that I had gained much more than I had expected.   The limited length of stay and opportunity forced me to look into as many works as possible in a very short period, and that in turn trained my eyes and mind for extremely close investigation of specific works.   Also in many cases, the American prints seem to have been exposed less and therefore retain more of the original brightness than British equivalents.

       Most of the facts I have mentioned have already been recorded by scholars like Butlin, Essick and Viscomi, but first-hand experience of the material works helped bring alive the bibliographical information and open may new possibilities of interpretation. But here I would like to emphasize the importance of the years 1794-96 in the development of Blake's colour printing method as was amply confirmed during my two trips to the United States.

       Now as I have seen so far, Blake started his experiments on colour printing around 1788 which culminated in the years around 1795, and that was when he executed the most of his Large Colour Prints.   After this extremely productive period, Blake seems to have stopped colour printing until when he returned from Felpham to London in 1803 and settled back in London.   This time Blake and Catherine lived at 17 South Molton Street, just south of Oxford Street.   Martin Butlin writes about *Milton*, the first Illuminated Book Blake executed after nearly a decade of silence in his creative work in the anthology compiled to commemorate the centenary of Rosenwald's birth:

       Unlike the other two examples of William Blake's extraordinary personal development of the illuminated book included in this anthology, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* and *Urizen*, the Rosenwald copy of *Milton* is an

example of Blake's late style through and through, in both conception and execution.   Written and first printed after a long gap in Blake's production of these illuminated books—a gap partly filled by the writings in a unified whole but which never reached a final, printed form—*Milton* marks a new start.

The title page is dated 1804, a date which probably represents the completion of Blake's main text.   This seems to have been begun just before he moved from London to Felpham, Sussex, in 1800, the only time he left London, and it reflects the new inspiration he experienced during the three years he stayed there. Indeed, one of the illustrations shows "Blakes Cottage at Felpham" with an angel appearing to the poet as he walks in his garden.   In the text Blake traces Milton's spiritual journey toward salvation, seeing in this a parallel to his own regeneration; Blake's intention was that, through following this journey, the reader should himself find his own way to salvation.   Blake's identification with Milton in this book coincided with the series of watercolor illustrations to Milton's poems that he painted for the Reverend Joseph Thomas, beginning with *Comus* in 1801 and continuing with *Paradise Lost*, 1807, and *the Ode On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 1809.   The three earliest known copies of *Milton* are on paper watermarked 1808.   The Rosenwald copy, the only other complete copy of *Milton* known, is on paper watermarked 1815 and seems to have been among the works that Blake offered to produce for Dawson Turner at a price of ten guineas in a letter of 9 June 1818.   In the end, however, it was sold to another of his patrons, James Vine, whom Blake is known to have visited with John Linnell on 8 April 1822; it seems to have been sold together with the copy of *The Book of Thel* (Bentley copy O) with which it is still bound (this copy of *Thel*, a book originally produced in 1789, is also on paper watermarked 1815; Vine also owned a late copy of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, a posthumous copy of *Jerusalem*, and a set of thee engraved illustrations to *the Book of Job*).   This copy of *Milton*, together (p.299) with *The Book of Thel*, later formed part of the important collection of works by, among others, Blake and J. M. W. Turner that belonged to B. G. Windus; after the death of Windus's grandson the Reverend G. P. de Putron they passed to Frank Bemis and were acquired by Lessing J. Rosenwald in 1939.[52]

As we see from the description, when Blake returned to colour printing in *Milton*, his style had considerably changed, with less full-page illustration, but his skills as a colour printer had reached its zenith.

1795 is thought to be the year in which Blake executed most of the Twelve Large Colour Prints.   Although these pictures can be counted among the most exuberant and original works produced by the artist, their study remains relatively neglected, the most extensive analysis being that of Martin Butlin.   In an article written in 1989, Butlin describes the pictures thus:

> The textual effects brought about in these twelve designs by Blake's process of color printing, akin to that of monotype but capable of creating more than one impression, are unmatched in his work and is, indeed, unique in art.   These textures grew out of Blake's work as an engraver and led on to further technical developments in the tempera paintings of later in his career.   The prints are also, as a group, the first really mature individual works in the visual arts that Blake created.   Moreover they are, as a group, probably the most accomplished, forceful, and effective of Blake's works in the visual arts.   Even a work like Lamech and his Two Wives, that may seem at first sight rather awkward and ungainly in its forms, can be seen to exhibit these qualities precisely because of its content: this is not always the case with Blake.[53]

In the same journal, David W. Lindsay contributes an article summarizing the history of research and arranging the twelve pictures in order.[54]   He points out two major findings done by Butlin: one on a title and the other on dating.   In 1965 Butlin identified the supposed representation of Elijah as the "lost" *God Judging Adam* referred to in Blake's notes of his account with his patron, Thomas Butts.   The second finding was quite a controversial one.   In 1981 Butlin published an article in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 'A Newly Discovered Watermark and a Visionary's Way with his Dates'.   In this article he reported that 'recent conservation treatment at the Tate Gallery has revealed that the Gallery's large color print of "Newton," signed and dated by Blake in his own hand "1795 WB inv [in monogram]", is watermarked "JWHATMAN/1804"'.   This discovery cast a doubt not only on the dating of the large colour prints but also on Blake's dating as a whole.   Especially in the case of the large

colour prints, the nine years in question meant a crucial difference in interpretation according to the significant change in Blake's arts observed during the years.

To begin with the basic fact, Butlin points out three examples of watermarks discovered so far: *Hecate, or The Night of Enitharmon's Joy* is watermarked "JWHATMAN/1794", and *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Newton* are watermarked "JWHATMAN/1804", all of which are possessed by the Tate Gallery. Though these watermarked years do not necessarily show the years of execution, they at least allow us to estimate ten or more years of difference between the dating and the execution, and clearly speak against Blake's own dating of 1795.

Among the twelve subjects of Large Colour Prints, *Pity* and *God Judging Adam* seem to be the earliest examples. Some critics considers *God Judging Adam* as the first to be executed, 'because of the use of an initial printing in outline.'[55] Only in this work, the outline is etched on the plate to distinguish the pigments placed on the plate. This is the same method as the one he used to print *The Accusers*. In the other works, it seems that Blake placed the pigments side by side without printed outlines for clear distinction. In the earlier works the method is used only in backgrounds, and it seems that the main purposes are to simplify the procedure of painting the background, while enjoying the accidental effects caused in the course of printing. Therefore the parts that require more precision, like the figures, are finished in pen and ink and watercolours. Among the Tate prints, one feature is unique to *Pity*. Unlike all the other colour-printed areas, the night sky on the top does not show any mottled effect characteristic of the method. Yet the area is colour-printed in the trial print and the pigment resembles that of the other colour-printed areas rather than watercoloured areas. In my opinion, Blake probably flattened the pigment with a brush while it was still wet in order to spread the colour to the small area under the flying horse's head coloured with the same pigment. That means Blake was not skilled enough to colour-print small areas like this. The method is used rather as a means for mass-production, and the detail is finished by hand. Therefore the difference was created rather by hand, as in the case of *God Judging Adam*. In the three known versions of this picture, the sunbeam behind God varies in all versions, and this area is obviously finished in pen and ink and watercolours.

In the later works Blake no longer used this method as a means of

mass-production.   Not only the watermarks but also the maturity of this skill clearly speaks out that *Newton* and *Nebuchadnezzar* are produced in later years when Blake achieved more skill in colour printing.   Colour printing gives expression to the pictures. By this time Blake came to know perfectly the amount of pigments to place on the board in order to get the utmost effect.   The beauty of the multi-coloured rock in *Newton* can never be achieved by other methods.   Even the figures are mostly colour-printed and finished by pen and ink only in *Nebuchadnezzar*.   They are true masterpieces born out of this method.

Although the accuracy has often been questioned, D. G. Rossetti records the method as informed by Tatham:

> Blake, when he wanted to make his prints in oil, … took common thick millboard, and drew in some strong ink or colour his design upon it strong and thick.   He then painted upon that in such oil colours and in such a state of fusion that they would blur well.   He painted roughly and quickly, so that no colour would have time to dry.   He then took a print of that on paper, and this impression he coloured up in water-colours, re-painting his outline on the millboard when he wanted to take another print.   This plan he had recourse to, because he could vary slightly each impression; and each having a sort of accidental look, he could branch out so as to make each one different.   The accidental look they had was very enticing.[56]

One interesting example of how Blake made each version different according to the accidental look of the initial printing can be seen when we compare the two versions of *The House of Death*, one from the Tate and the other from Fitzwilliam.   In the Tate version, there is a figure behind the cloud, prostrate with his hands at his ears.   In Fitzwilliam version, a furnace replaces this figure.   Blake must have decided how to finish the design seeing the result of the printing.

In his catalogue Butlin quotes a letter from Tatham of 6th November 1862 to William Rossetti to complement the above account:

> They were printed in a loose press from an outline sketched on paste-board; the oil colour was blotted on, which gave the sort of impression you will get by taking

the impression of anything wet.   There was a look of accident about this mode
which he afterwards availed of, and tinted so as to bring out and favour what was
there rather blurred.[57]

But then he points out two possible errors made by the direct witness of Blake:

In fact Tatham, who was not born until 1805, seems to have erred in several
respects.   Blake did not use oil paint but rather 'fresco', a medium much like that
of his temperas.   Nor does he seem to have actually repainted his millboard
'plate' before taking further impressions, which were therefore weaker in intensity,
requiring more finishing in pen and watercolour.   Repetition of each design was
therefore limited, none being securely traced in more than three examples, and
each version is unique.   In fact, Blake seems to have used this technique more
for its textual qualities than as a means of reproduction.

But even these statements may be upset by his own publication later in the same year.
Based on his discovery of the watermarks, Butlin, in the appendix of his 1989 article
endeavours to date as many versions of the Large Colour Prints as possible.   With
some reservations, he sorts them out into 'early' execution of circa 1795 and 'late'
execution of circa 1804-5.   *Elohim / Satan* and *Nebuchadnezzar / Newton* are pointed
out to be 'late' executions.   In most cases, the up to three pulls of each picture were
sorted in the same group, with two exceptions; *God Judging Adam* and *Newton*.   In the
case of *Newton*, although knowing the danger of too hasty judgment without seeing the
originals, I am strongly tempted to include all of the pulls in 'late' executions.   Butlin
explains the bad condition of the version in subject, being 'not varnished but appears to
be very worn, perhaps the result of an old varnish having removed'.   Some versions of
the Large Colour Prints are, unfortunately, varnished or coated, as with the case of
Christ Appearing to the Apostles in the Tate.   The varnish makes it extremely hard,
almost impossible, to distinguish the different effects made by colour printing and
watercolour in the surface.   Therefore, I suppose, it must be impossible to tell the
difference in such a poor condition.   The other case is *God Judging Adam*.   Butlin
reports that one version of this picture has different colour in the colour-printed area.
This seems to favour the account of Tatham.   Yet we have to consider the fact that this

is likely to be a peculiar case, if we assume it was etched on a copper plate.   If we believe Tatham's account that Blake used millboard for these prints, durability of such boards may well be questioned.

Before the discovery of the watermarks, the years between 1797 and 1805 had been regarded as Blake's most barren period of agony and pain.   It had been thought that Blake was struggling in a bottomless swamp, working on *The Four Zoas* manuscript which never saw the light of the day.   The new dating of the large colour prints can even upset this concept.   In this new light, these years, though with pain and agony, can be regarded as a period of experiments, finally bearing fruit of powerful masterpieces and leading to mature and peaceful arts of his later years.   After 1805 Blake does not seem to have returned to the large colour-printed drawings, but instead moved on to another new method of 'tempera' drawings.   But, as the Large Colour Prints came out of his earlier experiments in printing, the 'tempera' drawings were also the fruit of his colour printing experiments and works.   They also developed into his later masterpieces of Illuminated Books, *Milton* and *Jerusalem*.

Chapter Three
History of Colour Printing

This chapter will discuss how colour printing developed independently in Europe, with specific reference to Britain and in Japan in the eighteenth century, and to suggest certain points of convergence between these geographical distant traditions. Before the age of colour photography, colour printing from a copper or wooden plate was the only means of reproducing colour images for book illustrations or for art.   The basic problem of keeping the different colours separated proved to be an enormous, almost insuperable, challenge for eighteenth-century engravers and printers in both West and East.   The danger was that the colours would blend or blur and outline or form would be lost.   In a world of black-and-white engraving or etchings, colour printing was an attractive proposition if only a cheap and reliable process could be invented. As such, now largely obsolete practices of colour printing, although highly important in the age before colour photography, have been a neglected area of research with few scholars attempting to reconstruct historical methods.

William Blake invented at least two methods of colour printing, one from copper and one from millboard.   However, exact details of how he worked are still an area of some controversy even though the Blake collector Graham Robertson, the majority of whose Blake collection is in Tate Britain, had experimented with Blake's supposed methods as early as 1907.   I would like to investigate how Blake came at the end of a period of searching for such a technique, a goal sought by European as well as by Japanese artists.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the dispute about Blake's method of making the illuminated books shows the importance and timeliness of this issue.   In this chapter, in order to examine Blake's method, I would like to trace the preceding history of colour printing up to his lifetime.   Also, as there flourished in Japan an art of colour printing contemporary to Blake, I would like to trace the history and technique of Ukiyo-e, in order to compare it with Blake's colour printing and to shed new light on both.

History of Colour Printing in Europe

The history of colour printing in Europe begins almost at the same time as the history of printing itself.   In 1456 Gutenberg's 42-line Bible was printed with the rubrics painted by hand.[58]   The first colour printed Psalter came out the next year. The same publisher, Fust and Shoeffer of Mainz, produced colour printed books in following years.[59]   They cut the metal into interlocking sections so that each section could be inked separately, and put together for printing.   This laborious method did not suit commercial purposes, and was abandoned for centuries until it was re-introduced in Britain in the nineteenth century to prevent forgery in bank notes.[60]

At the end of the fifteenth century Erhard Ratdolt, a printer of Augsburg, attempted colour printing from wood blocks.   Indeed, it may be significant that the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art collection which holds many of Ratdolt's works was compiled by the eighteenth century British banker poet, Samuel Rogers (1763-1855), author of The Pleasures of Memory.[61]   In other words, the issue of colour printing was far from being a merely decorative process but was intimately connected with the efficient operation of the commercial world.   Indeed, for a number of reasons, the attempt to solve the printing problem of printing in colour was being independently approached in both Western Europe and the Far East.   In Japan, as we shall see later, it developed and culminated in the flourishing tradition of Ukiyo-e in the eighteenth century, but the differential between its labour and costs and those of hand-colouring meant that its potential remained unexplored in Europe.

During the sixteenth century many prints were made from chiaroscuro woodcut, using two or three wood blocks and a narrow range of colours to imitate the effects of wash and highlights in drawings.   This method was widely practiced to disseminate the drawings of the Mannerists.   In *A Descriptive Catalogue*, Blake writes scathingly of this method:

These Pictures, among numerous others painted for experiment, were the
result of temptations and perturbations, labouring to destroy Imaginative power,
by means of that infernal machine, called Chiaro Oscuro, in the hands of Venetian
and Flemish Demons; whose enmity to the Painter himself, and to all Artists who
study in the Florentine and Roman Schools, may be removed by an exhibition and

exposure of their vile tricks.   They cause that every thing in art shall become a Machine.   They cause that the execution shall be all blocked up with brown shadows.   They put the original Artist in fear and doubt of his own original conception.   The spirit of Titian was particularly active, in raising doubts concerning the possibility of executing without a model, and when once he had raised the doubt, it became easy for him to snatch away the vision time after time, for when the Artist took his pencil, to execute his ideas, his power of imagination weakened so much, and darkened, that memory of nature and of Pictures of the various Schools possessed his mind, instead of appropriate execution, resulting from the inventions; like walking in another man's style, of speaking or looking in another man's style and manner, unappropriate and repugnant to your own individual character; tormenting the true Artist, till he leaves the Florentine, and adopts the Venetian practice, or does as Mr. B. has done, has the courage to suffer poverty and disgrace, till he ultimately conquers.[62]

In other words, although this passage has generally been taken to refer to Blake's attitudes to Florentine and Venetian painting, the phrase 'that infernal machine, called Chiaro Oscuro' is also linked to how Blake goes on to say that 'They cause that every thing in art shall become a Machine …. that the execution shall be all blocked up with brown shadows.'   As Morris Eaves argues, the 'infernal machine' Blake refers to was the division of labour increasingly practiced in the engraving trade but 'Chiaro Oscuro' also has the specific meaning retained in the title of John Baptist Jackson's *An Essay On The Invention Of Engraving And Printing In Chiaro Oscuro, As Practised by Albert Durer, Hugo di Carpi, &c.* (1754).[63]   Jackson's book, which came about from his Battersea business in developing print technologies for wallpaper making, promoted a method of printing in a limited range of colour (hence 'Chiaro Oscuro').   However, Jackson also notes the pedigree of attempts to colour print, reminding the reader that '*Titian*, *Salviati*, *Campagniola,* and other *Venetian* Painters … drew their own Works on Blocks of Wood to be cut by the Engravers then living' and that 'even *Raphael* … drew the Blocks which were cut by *Hugo di Carpi* … who was the original Projector of printing in *Chiaro Oscuro*.'   He also referred to how he had been encouraged himself to 'engrave in *Chiaro Oscuro*, Blocks after the most Capital Pictures of *Titian*, *Tintoret*, *Giacomo Bassano*, and *Paul Veronese*, which are to be found in *Venice*.'[64]   In other

words, buried within Blake's reference to pictures being 'blocked up with brown shadows' lies the residual meaning implied in his reference to 'that infernal machine, called Chiaro Oscuro.' Blake's particular resentments suggest his own perception of his role as printmaker.   That is, as Jackson had put it, 'even *Raphael* … drew the Blocks which were cut by *Hugo di Carpi*,' so originating and making authoritative the separation of painter and engraver.   In other words, submerged in some of Blake's most familiar references to art are extraordinary references to print making, and colour printing in particular.

That the struggle to successfully print colour was already well advanced by the end of the eighteenth-century is also alluded to in Jackson's remarks in his earlier, anonymously published, *An Enquiry Into The Origin Of Printing In Europe* (1752) where he had dismissed printing from copper plates, the very method Blake was to develop.   Referring to Jacob Christofel Le Blon, Jackson noted attempting to print colour from engravings made by the popular mezzotint method were particularly difficult: 'Had this one Article been properly considered, le Blond, must have seen the impossibility of repeated Impressions of Blue, Red, and Yellow Plates, so as to produce only Twenty of these printed Pictures to be alike. This is obvious to every one who has any Knowledge, or has seen the cleaning of Copper-plates after the Colour was laid on; the delicate finishings of the Flesh must infallibly wear out every time the Plate is cleaned, and all the tender light Shadowing of any Colour must soon become white in proportion as the Plate wears.'   Puffing his own process by contrast, 'The new invented Method of printing in Colours by Mr. Jackson is under no Apprehension of being wore out so soon.'[65]

Jacob Christofel Le Blon (c.1667 -1741), the 'le Blond' of Jackson's narrative, had moved to England in 1718 and patented a method for colour printing in 'natural Coloris' using a three plate method based on blue, yellow and red printings (*ODNB*). Le Blon was really a colour theorist attempting to achieve a predictive method of separating and combining a few base colours in order to multiply their effects.   Again, the issue Blake takes up in *A Descriptive Catalogue* about those who wish that 'every thing in art shall become a Machine' is pertinent to the role of Le Blon in the development of colour printing.   Although Le Blon's career brought only indifferent

success, he claimed the patronage of Robert Walpole, for what he described as his 'Pursuit of this Art … of reducing the HARMONY of Colouring in PAINTING to Mechanical Practice, and under infallible Rules.'[66]   While Blake emphasizes 'his own original conception' and 'power of imagination,' Le Blon refused to believe painting 'cannot be reduc'd to certain Rules of Art' and denied the authority of those 'supposing it only to be some peculiar incommunicable Talent, or inspiration.'[67]   Quite clearly, Blake's own development of colour printing came within a context where there was no division of labour into an 'infernal machine' and no substitute for 'inspiration.'

The extent to which Le Blon's colour theory and adaptations into colour printing had entered into both eighteenth-century scientific discourse and artistic practice is readily apparent because of the way in which his ideas were disseminated through the highly influential publishing mechanism of the Royal Society.[68]   The physician and antiquary Cromwell Mortimer's (*c.*1693–1752) description of Le Blon's discoveries printed in 1731 in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* emphasized that the basis of his work was grounded in its utilization of Newton's *Opticks: or, A Treatise Of The Reflexions, Refractions, Inflexions And Colours Of Light* (1704).[69]   Mortimer wrote that by Le Blon basing his techniques on '*three* primitive Colours' of red, yellow and blue, 'By these Rules he light [*sic*] on the Manner of Printing any Object in its *natural* Colours, by the Means of three Plates.'   To what extent Mortimer himself had witnessed Le Blon's printmaking, Jackson was probably correct to advise caution, but the method appeared simple enough:

> The Plates are engraved chiefly after the *Mezzo Tinto* Manner; only the *darker Shades*, and sometimes the *Out-Lines*, where they are to appear very sharp, are done with a common Graver. Each Plate is not completely engraved, but only contrived to take such a *Portion of the Colour* as is necessary with the *other two Plates*, to make the Picture compleat.[70]

What Mortimer and the Royal Society clearly appreciated was the potential commercial application of Le Blon's process, particularly if it could be utilized for the weaving of tapestries, one of Le Blon's suggestions. Mortimer pointed out that tapestry 'Workmen who have any good Notion of *Painting*, and are capable of adjusting the Colours, are

not to be had, but for excessive Wages' where Le Blon's process would allow a lowly '*Draw-boy*' to pull the correctly coloured threads through the loom by following a simple pattern, indeed 'any common *Draft-Weaver*, tho' not acquainted with *Drawing* or *Painting*' could follow 'the original *Pattern*.'[71]

As G. E. Bentley Jr. points out in *The Stranger from Paradise*, Blake seemed to use "demon" as a synonym for "villain", and Blake's outraged theological treatment of these technical issues led many to conclude that the author was mad.[72]   Blake's bigotry and strong language might have misled his readers, yet at least it shows his familiarity with the idiom.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century lived in the Netherlands the first prominent colour printer, Johannes Teyler.   He used intaglio plates for the first time, and inked *à la poupée*; that is to say, he put various coloured inks on a copper plate and printed at a single impression.   He accomplished a very high quality of prints, unrivalled for several decades.   I assume his method shared basic common features with Blake's colour printing method.   Although he produced many exquisite prints, Teyler's elaborate and expensive method couldn't find any immediate successors. Blake's techniques of illuminated printing were later to meet a similar fate.

In the eighteenth century the reproduction of drawings in an intaglio tradition produced much more convincing results than the relief methods of the earlier chiaroscuro printers.   At the end of the seventeenth century the mezzotint method was discovered.   This enabled the printers to gain a range of tones, even with a single black ink.   Along with this came, in 1704, Isaac Newton' *Opticks*, which Jakob Christophe le Blon combined to originate the three- or four-colour method.

In 1704 Isaac Newton's *Opticks* explained the nature of light.   Newton's publication had put into the public domain the idea that there are three primary colours, red, yellow and blue, from the balance of which all others may be achieved.   Although this is a gross simplification, and the primaries are not the same for pigments as they are for light, it was sufficient to give a few pioneering printers the stimulating idea that the ideal colour printing process might be achieved with just three carefully balanced mezzotint plates.   Foremost among these printers was Le Blon, who applied Newton's theory of colour to printing inks.   In his method, he carefully analyzed the proportion of each primary colour, and prepared the mezzotint copper plates according to the

proportion.

Le Blon's method was extremely laborious. Not only did the printmaker have to judge by eye the right balance for yellow, blue and red in creating a separate image on each of the three copper plates, but then had to hold a near-perfect register in printing the plates. The piece of paper went through the press three times, once for each colour. By the use of pinholes at the corners of the image, the paper was laid as accurately as possible on the inked plate before rolling through the press. This technique was developed out of the necessity to ink the plates quickly. Basically the aim of multi-plates printing is to make the inking process easy. In Japan, where the printers became extremely skilful in registration, they prepared up to twenty plates according to the colours required. In the West, Le Blon's theory restricted the number of plates to only four, including the black for outlines.[73]

Before and during the French Revolution colour printers and prints played an important role in the revolutionary movement. These were the years in which intaglio colour printing in France entered its most brilliant phase. With the arrival of the Directoire and the Consulate, the flourishing printers destroyed the revolutionary plates and printed subjects more suitable to the new taste of the age. The role the printers played before and after the French Revolution shows a typical characteristic of the medium: its radical and speculative nature. Throughout the history of printing, we find unusually high incidence of bankruptcy, or near bankruptcy among the printers. In some cases, like with Thornton and Teyler, rich investors end up in using up their wealth. Blake also suffered poverty almost the whole of his lifetime, complaining about his art not being widely recognized.

Eighteenth-century English colour printing arises after a period of inertia when Edward Kirkall, a Yorkshireman who came to London, started producing colour prints. He was contemporary with Le Blon, who had moved to London in 1720. Kirkall used one metal plate to mezzotint the shadows and etch the outlines. Then he added tones by one or two wood blocks engraved in the chiaroscuro manner. The result was a compound print, executed with both relief and intaglio methods.

No printer in England directly followed Kirkall's method, but John Baptist Jackson, who had worked under Kirkall in his youth, went to Paris and brought the technique to the Le Sueurs brothers before returning to England in 1754. There, seeing his prints did not sell very well, he set up a factory at Battersea for the

production of pictorial paperhangings but he also published an *Essay on Engraving and Printing in Chiaroscuro*. A copy of this book is placed in the King's Library in the British Library with an inscription denoting that it was the first work, published in England, that was illustrated using colour printing.

Le Blon, who set out his career as a printer in the Netherlands, moved to London in 1720 and stayed until 1732. While in this city, he set up a 'Picture Office', aiming to distribute cheaper but good quality prints to decorate people's houses instead of more expensive paintings as part of the general expansion of the consumer economy. Although his invention was a landmark in the history of colour printing, this project ended up as a financial failure, leaving the company in bankruptcy.

By this time, the main stream of commercial colour printing in England moved on to newly acquired methods; aquatint and stipple engraving, a chief practitioner of which was William Wynne Ryland. Ryland was later appointed engraver to the king and used his skill of engraving in the crayon manner for the *Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings* (1788) compiled by Charles Rogers. His partnership to sell prints ended in bankruptcy, but his engravings after Angelica Kauffman in mezzotint, and later in stipple, brought him great success. In 1780 he held an exhibition of prints after pictures by Kauffman, possibly the first exhibition by a London print-seller. He led an extravagant life and was ultimately executed for forging bills to the value of £7,000.[5]

In Blake's own time, the chief practitioner of stipple engraving was Francesco Bartolozzi whom Blake refers scathingly to in his Public Address of 1809 when he complained that 'Engraving … has Lost all Character & all Expression.'[6]

The technique of stipple engraving, which won such popularity, was brought into England from France by Ryland, but the printing method adopted in England was different from that in France. Ryland did not bother to prepare multiple plates according to the number of the colours required, but instead printers used a single plate. Often they inked the plate in black or another single colour (a reddish-brown tint was common), but they also produced multi-coloured prints by inking the plate *à la poupée*. This became the method generally practiced in England throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the print industry was at its peak. Invented by a London engraver, Robert Laurie (1749-1804) in 1776, it required much skill and heed on the printers' part, because no matter how well the plate was engraved, if it had been blotted

in the printing process, the impression could have been destroyed.   Much caution was required for wiping, as well as inking the plates.

The next intaglio method introduced into colour printing was aquatint, which was the latest one before the introduction of photography in preparing the plates.   This is a method to 'stop out' the biting of acid using resin or alcohol, and often printed in black or single colour ink, but as in the case of stipple engraving, we find some examples printed in multi-colours.   Again, in England, the technique of *à la poupée* was used, whereas in France multiple plates were prepared in a method invented by Jean Baptiste Le Prince (1733-81), a French painter and engraver.

The earliest adaptation of aquatint to colour printing seems to have been at least as early as 1768 in Amsterdam.   Its introduction into England was by Hon. Charles Greville, who purchased the detail of the method from the inventor, Le Prince and communicated them to his engraver friend, Paul Sandby (1730/31-1809), who seems to have modified and improved it.   Sandby was a topographical watercolourist and graphic artist, who was born in Nottingham but came to live in the London area, both in Windsor and in Great Pulteney Street on the edge of Soho in 1752 He was a founder member of the Royal Academy and his brother was its first Professor of Architecture.   Blake was born just around the corner in 1757, so he might have known the older artist as a neighbour in his childhood.

In early days, aquatints in England were executed only in monochromes.   We have to wait some thirty years, for the days of F. C. Lewis, to see English multi-colour aquatints, which appeared just after the heyday of their French equivalents, though without matching their exuberance.   Usually they were printed in mono-colour ink or two or three colours at most, and were often combined with other techniques like engraving or etching.   Still there were some examples of multi-colour aquatinted prints. One of the most beautiful examples was Dr. Robert John Thornton(1765-1832)'s *Temple of Flora*, as it was first announced in 1799, or *The New Illustration of the Sexual System of Carolus von Linnaeus*.   Blake's dept to Thornton on his depiction of plants and vegetation is pointed out by Piloo Nanavutty.[74]   Dr. Thornton, when he inherited the family fortune in 1797, left his medical practice to pursue his lifelong passion for botany. He commissioned a few artists who specialized in botanical works to execute the plates, and wrote down the most allegorical and fanciful explanations of the plants to accompany them himself.   He had to give up this ambitious project of 90 images when

it went bankrupt a third of the way through.   Yet, this is an outstanding work in the history of colour printing in England, and the individual prints are still much sought-after objects among the collectors.   It is interesting to note that this project was contemporary to Blake's experiments on colour printing although they don't seem to have collaborated or exchanged ideas, even though they did have a connection later on, when, through the introduction of John Linnell, Thornton commissioned a series of illustrations on Virgil's *Pastorals*.   Blake finished them in woodblock printing, which did not please the commissioner, although they were going to be admired by the young followers of Blake later on.   This was the only time Blake employed the method of woodblock printing.   Geoffrey Keynes describes the situation:

> Dr. Thornton was not an imaginative man.   He was enterprising and prolific where botany and medicine were concerned, and employed recognized artists to illustrate his works, sometimes on a lavish scale.   Unrecognized genius, however, left him unimpressed, and Blake's woodcuts only prompted him to jeer.   When they were laid before him he was horrified by such rough and amateurish work, and immediately gave directions that the designs should be re-cut by a professional wood-engraver.   This would have been done but for the intercession of Linnell, and, it is said, of Sir Thomas Lawrence and James Ward, whom Thornton happened to meet at the house of a common friend.   Though these artists warmly praised the woodcuts, Thornton remained uneasy, and felt that he had to apologize for the inclusion of such work in his book.   Accordingly he caused the following note to be printed below the first woodcut.   'The Illustrations of this English Pastoral are by the famous BLAKE, the illustrator of *Young's* Night Thoughts, and *Blair's* Grave; who designed and engraved them himself.   This is mentioned, as they display less of art than genius, and are much admired by some eminent painters.'[75]

The style of these prints was imitated by Blake's later followers who called themselves 'the Ancients'.   The chief members of the group included Edward Calvert, Samuel Palmer, George Richmond and Frederick Tatham.

History of Colour Printing in Japan

   This history of colour printing in Western Europe was paralleled by a similar quest to print colours in Japan where technologies of reproduction revolved around wood blocks rather than the copper plates which were the European norm. Of course, from 1635 until 1854 Japan was closed to Europeans except for limited access for Dutch traders so that widespread exchange of culture was not possible. However there are intriguing patterns of parallel development.

   The history of printing in Japan begins well before the period of Ukiyo-e. The earliest example of wood-block printing goes back to mid-eighth century, and even in the fourth century Chinese prints had been introduced into Japan. There can be found some examples of Korean books in the fifteenth century, and *Ise-monogatari*, printed in 1608, is the oldest extant book printed in Japan with illustrations. These illustrations were hand-coloured on black and white prints, but in 1667 a book of designs for kimono was colour printed using four colours, although each print was in monochrome.

   Yet, it was with the arrival of the form of Ukiyo-e that Japanese colour printing saw its outstanding popularity and rapid progress. The term 'ukiyo-e' is often wrongly identified as the artistic form of colour printing, but it also includes painting. Still, the majority of the form was colour printing. 'Ukiyo-e' is a form of popular art which saw its golden age in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: its main subjects were depictions of popular beauties, actors and sumo-wrestlers, scenes from plays or historical stories, landscape, and birds and flowers. Many schools flourished and masters held large workshops with many apprentices, but we have to understand that in this art the horizontal influences, such as the trends of masters working contemporarily, were stronger than the tradition inherited vertically.

   Ukiyo-e printing started from black and white prints in the last few decades of the seventeenth century. The earliest known artist is Hishikawa Moronobu who died in 1694. These black and white prints were called 'Sumi-zuri-e', meaning pictures printed in Chinese ink. In the former half of the eighteenth century, this developed first into 'Tan-e'', and then 'Beni-e' and 'Urushi-e'. 'Tan-e' means pictures of 'tan', an orange pigment traditionally used in Japan made from lead, sulphur and niter. This was a method of painting orange as a chief colour, with some other colours such as green and

yellow, over 'Sumi-zuri-e'.   Later on, the pigment 'tan' was replaced by 'beni', which was a red pigment taken from safflowers, and this method was 'Beni-e'.   'Urushi' means japanese lacquer, and the name comes from the lacquer-like effect caused by the Chinese ink mixed with fish glue.   'Urushi-e' is included in 'Beni-e'.

The early colour printing method called 'Beni-zuri-e' was introduced in 1744. This was a method using two to three colour plates apart from the black plate, and colours such as green, indigo, yellow were used together with red.   This technique flourished for twenty years, until an innovative method called 'Nishiki-e' was invented by Suzuki Harunobu and dominated the scene for more than a century.

The beauty of the prints was so striking that they were called 'Nishiki-e'. 'Nishiki' means Japanese brocade or just splendour.   This is a method of multicolour printing invented in 1765 and practiced by countless masters.   One thing we have to bear in mind is that these artists were regarded as mere artisans and their social ranking was among the lowest.   Although their prints were highly sought after when the Western world discovered them in the late nineteenth century, they were executed and treated merely as a form of popular art.   Also they were mass-produced and the labour was strictly divided between designer, engraver and printer.   There are many parallels to the ambivalence of Blake's own status as commercial engraver excluded from the domain of the fine arts.

Ukiyo-e colour printing can be said to be a form of art typical of 'Edo' in two ways; as the place name and the name of an era.   The Edo period, which lasted for about 260 years from the beginning of the seventeenth century until mid-nineteenth century, coincides with the flourishing of Edo, the former name of Tokyo before Japan opened.   Some Ukiyo-e artists took active parts in Kamigata, which is in the Kyoto-Osaka area, but this art can be counted as the popular culture which flourished in Edo under the government of shogun.   Interestingly, the peak of Ukiyo-e printing is considered to be the 1790s, when Kitagawa Utamaro and Toshusai Sharaku produced their masterpieces.   This exactly coincides with Blake's execution of his colour prints.

In 1853 U.S. naval officer, Matthew Calbraith Perry forced his four ships into the fortified harbour of Uraga and convinced the Japanese to accept his message to open the country and conclude a treaty with the United States.   This was the beginning of the modernization of Japan, involving huge changes in people's lives.   The popular art of ukiyo-e continued to exist in the following century, but had lost the vigour it held in

its heyday, the Edo Era.

The art of ukiyo-e was not appreciated in its home country as work of art, but Japanese prints fascinated many Western artists especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Sadly, the craftsmanship of ukiyo-e has been lost.   Such a system was able to be maintained only in the context of the society it was born and flourished.   Yet, even now there are a small number of craftsmen trying to hand down the art to the future generation.   In June 2007 I had a chance to see a demonstration of ukiyo-e printing performed at the Adachi Institute of Woodcut Prints in Tokyo.   The performance was really impressive.   My impression was that ukiyo-e was a warm and living art.   The pigments were rubbed into the woodblocks, and when printed, they seem to ooze out from the block.   The precise inking technique was acquired after long experience, yet it seemed almost instinctive.   Master printers can control the amount of pigments so that they would even express graduation in colours.

Press, Pigments and Technique of Colour Printing

Basically, the technique of engraving plates can be divided into three categories: intaglio, relief and planography.   To print intaglio plates, a very strong pressure is required, which can be gained from a rolling press.   Images can be printed with less pressure, such as that of letter-press or even just rubbing by hand, from relieved or plane plates.   As a commercial engraver, Blake engraved and etched a lot of intaglio plates, and owned a rolling press for proof printing.   Yet, as he developed his own art of colour printing, he started from intaglio plates to relief and plane plates. His Twelve Large Colour Prints are, with one possible exception, mostly planography, and I assume that he used a letter-press to print this series.   Ukiyo-e wood blocks are typical examples of relief engraving, and they were printed without a press, rubbing forcefully from the back using a tool called 'baren'.

The method of multi-colour printing can be categorized into two groups; inking a single plate *à la poupée*, and preparing plates to the number of colours required.   As I mentioned before, *à la poupée* was the dominant method used in England, and Blake employed it as well.   Ukiyo-e printing is a typical example of multi-plate printing, where the blockcarvers prepared as many as twenty wood blocks if required.   In the

West, Le Blon's technique of analyzing every colour into the three primary colours reduced the number of plates to three, or four with the use of an additional plate for black.   In any case, registration comes into question with this method.   When a print is made from multiple plates, printers need some clues or devices to put together the different parts into the original image of the design. With a printing press, this is not so difficult, but with a rolling press, pins were used to indicate.   In ukiyo-e printing, the blockcarver carved the mark called kento on every plate, and the sizes of paper were regulated.

Until the nineteenth century, whatever the form of art, say, painting, printing, even glazing glass or porcelain, the artists themselves had to prepare the colours by mixing pigments and binders.   In Japan, black sumi was prepared by dissolving a bar of Chinese ink into water, and sometimes adding nikawa fish glue for gloss.   Other pigments were placed dry on the plate itself, and mixed with rice starch glue with a brush right there.   What Blake used for binders is not recorded, but interesting research is going on among paper conservationists and technical art historians.   It is generally accepted that Blake did not use oil, but is likely to have used some kind of gum, sugar, egg tempera and animal glue.   Apparently he used the same mixture as he printed when finishing the prints with brush.

The technical requirements of colour printing make it virtually impossible for a working printer to ink the same plate twice.   There are only two options: a) a single plate printed *à la poupée*, or b) multiple plates, designed to simplify the inking, printed separately with registration to reconstruct the original design.   Blake's own experiments must always have remained within the limits of working practicability: therefore I conclude that he printed most of his designs *à la poupée* from one plate.

In this chapter, I compared the history of colour printing in the West and the East.   We cannot assume any direct influence between the techniques of the West and the East.   Probably Blake knew nothing about Japanese Ukiyo-e prints, though some of the essays in this volume suggest possible routes of transmission.   Yet considering their separate development, what is most striking is not the differences between Ukiyo-e and Blake's colour printing but their similarities.

Chapter Four
Pigments and Method

In Blake's time artists made their own pigments. Tracy Chevalier, who wrote a novel on Blake[76], in her earlier novel[77] explores the seventeenth century Delft of the Baroque artist Johannes Vermeer. Both in the novel and its popular film adaptation[78] there are scenes where either the artist or his assistant grinds raw materials to make pigments. Blake lived in a transient period when the merchants were starting to sell ready-made watercolour paints but still many artists were practising the traditional method.

There were handbooks for such operation and one of the most popular among them was Robert Dossie's *The Handmaid to the Arts*.[79] This book offered recipe for all kinds of craftsmanship, from preparing inks, cements, and sealing wax to methods of etching, engraving, scraping mezzotint, from glass and china work to papier maché. It was very popular and the second edition was published in 1764, and another revised edition with several more entries was published in 1796. Blake may have owned a copy of this work.[80] The very first chapter deals with the pigments for painting:

Part I. Of the Materia Pictoria: or, The nature, preparation, and use of all the various substances employed in painting.

Chap. 1. Of the substances in general used in painting.

The principal kind of substances used in painting is the COLOURS: by which, is to be understood, all the various bodies employed by painters, for producing the difference of hue or teint: but, as several of these are of a solid consistence, and an earthy, or incohering texture, it was necessary, as well for the laying them on, and spreading them properly, as for the binding and making them adhere to the grounds on which they are laid, than, in many cases, somewhat of a fluid natue [*sic*] should be added to give them an unctuous consistence while used, and proper degree of tenacity when again dry: and, to this end, many different kinds of bodies have been applied; from whence proper VEHICLES have been formed, which, at the same time, answer the double purpose of reducing the colours to a state fit for

their being worked with the brush or pencil, and of cementing them to each other and the ground they are laid upon; as also of defending them from being easily injured by accidents.

The substances used in painting may be therefore all considered as of these two kinds; *Colours* and *Vehicles*. For, though there are several used occasionally, which are not immediately subservient to the principal intentions of vehicles; yet, being employed to remedy the defects of those which are, they must be considered as subordinate to them; and ought, consequently, to be classed with such as compose vehicles. (Vol.1, pp.1-2)

Here Dossie is explaining how a colour or pigment should be mixed with its vehicle, that is the binding, to be used in painting. This binding is the substance that decides whether a painting is oil or watercolour, or even ink. Therefore we have to understand that whatever method Blake used, he used certain pigments together with different bindings. In other words, whether it was watercolour or colour print or tempera, the substance was mixed by the artist using various binding.

In the next chapter Dossie explains various colours and their nature:

Colours may be either PIGMENTS or fluids. By *pigments*, is meant all such solid bodies as require to be mixed with some fluid, as a vehicle, before they be used as paints, (except in the case of crayons, where they are used dry.) These make the far greatest part of the whole: the fluid colours being only a small number employed along with water colours; and asphaltum, which is sometimes employed in oil painting.

Colours are distinguished into several kinds, according to the vehicles in which they are worked; as oil colours, water colours, enamel colours, &c. As the same sorts of pigments, however, are, in many instances, employed in more than one kind of painting, as vermillion and lake in several, and ultramarine in all, I shall not distribute them into classes, in that view, till I come to speak of their particular application; but treat at present of them promiscuously in teaching their general nature and preparation; dividing them according to their affinity in colour only; since this method of arrangement will not only render each article more easy to be found; but, at the same time, exhibit to the artist together the whole stock of every

kind from whence he must take what he wants on each occasion: by which, he will be the more enabled, to chuse what may best suit his particular purpose.   For the same reason, also, this method is certainly more expedient than the disposing them in classes, according to their natural relation to each other, as earths, minerals, vegetables, &c; which would lead to the like kind of confusion and repetition.[81]

Then he proceeds to explain some terms, such as 'brightness', 'foulness', 'breaking the colour', 'standing' which means durableness, 'flying' or 'flying off' of colours.   Other terms explained are 'glazing', 'washing', 'to have a body', 'to cover', 'fattening', 'warmth' and 'coolness'.   He lists all the colours available in the country, and complains:

Of the above enumerated colours, but few are in universal use; most painters having only a select set out of them, and being, in general, unduly prejudiced against those they reject: and some of the best of them, as scarlet oker, terra de sienna, terra verte, true Indian red and umbre in oil painting, and bistre and gall stones in water painting, are, either through their scarcity, or the ignorance which prevails concerning their qualities, at present very little regarded; though some of them were formerly in common use; and all of them might be so with great advantage to the art.[82]

Yet probably it was easier for artists to stick to their limited palette, and Blake seems to have done the same.   In recent years a lot of research analyzing Blake's palette has been done by museum curators and conservationists.   Unfortunately those results were known to only a few scholars in the field of Blake literature, but now the situation is changing.

In April 2003, Professor David Worrall, Dr. Joyce Townsend of Tate and I co-organized a Blake conference with speakers from both literary and conservationist fields.   This was timed to coincide with the publication of *William Blake: The Painter at Work*[83] and a special exhibition at the Blake room.   Articles compiled in this volume consist of reports of analyses of Blake's material, using state of the art techniques.   Here I would like to summarize some of the material.

'The State of Knowledge on William Blake the Painter' by Bronwyn Ormsby and Joyce Townsend with Brian Singer and John Dean is a concise summary of the history of criticism in this field.   The first account of Blake's printing and painting technique appears in J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times* (1828), followed by Gilchrist's *Life* (1863).   Apart from Essick and Viscomi, Raymond Lister was the only critic who examined Blake's tempera and watercolour techniques.   Raymond Lister (1919-2001), who was born into a family of architectural ironworkers in Cambridge, had a great range of interests and produced many books.   Encountering an accomplished miniature painter, Albert Cousins, who was one of the visiting staff for a short period, at St. John's College Choir School, they cultivated firm friendship and Cousins introduced William Blake and miniature painting, which both became lifelong interest for Lister.   Starting from Blake, he followed the track of his followers, the Ancients, and became expert on their arts.[84]   As a practicing artist, Lister's interest always turned to their technical aspects.   His books referring to Blake's techniques include *Prints and Printmaking*, *The Paintings of William Blake* and *Infernal Methods*.[85]

Then follows the report of some scientific analyses of Blake's materials:

Maheux analysed pigments from a number of watercolours, and reported that Prussian blue, gamboge, vermilion, madder lake, red lakes, red ochre mixed with the other reds, blue verditer and charcoal black had been used, but not bone black[86].   Vallance analysed gums[87] and proteins[88] in a preliminary study of Blake temperas at Tate, and a single analysis of the medium in *Lamech and his Two Wives* (B298, Robert Essick) has been published[89], as summarised by Essick[90]. Karaya gum *Sterculia urens* or *Astragalus verus* gum (substituted for gum tragacanth and perhaps sold as such), but not gum arabic or tragacanth, was suggested as the most likely identification.   According to Donnan's recent analyses, Blake used bone black, Prussian blue, natural ultramarine, vermilion, madder lake, yellow ochre and gamboge in his early illuminated books, while Prussian blue and gamboge were suggested for Blake's green mixture, and vermilion and gamboge for his orange mixture[91].   Earlier remarks, such as Lister's on his use in the colour prints of gold leaf, shell gold (gold leaf mixed with honey and ox gall and sold in mussel shells) and gold powder, mixed with honey before use, were based on practical experience[92].[93]

In *Blake: Illustrated Quarterly* 14, Ruthven Todd's letter written in response to Robert M. Ryan was published in the corner 'Minute Particulars'.[94]   The editors introduce:

> NOTE: Several years ago, in *Blake Newsletter 28*, we published a short piece by Robert M. Ryan on Blake's phrase "poisonous blue," concerning some of the chemical properties of the painter's pigment "prussian blue."   Soon we received a letter from Ruthven Todd giving us his preliminary thoughts on the matter and promising, as Ruthven's letters always did, further thoughts in publishable form. After his death in 1979, the following unfinished draft was found among his papers.   THE EDITORS.

The last paragraph of Todd's unfinished typescript goes:

> Now, having stated my tentative idea that the "poisonous blue" was merely the nitric acid with which Blake bit his copperplates, and having done my best, thanks to Dr. Harley, to show the innocence of Prussian Blue, I feel that I should list the various blues, with some note of their toxicity, which were available to William Blake.   In doing this I draw not only upon Dr. Harley's book but also upon personal correspondence with her.   I should remark here that Woad is kept for a third section of these notes.   It had a more symbolical than actual pigmentary meaning by the end of the 18th Century.

This study shows the tendency of Todd's interest in Blake's materialistic aspect.
     After the pigments, the Tate team shows the state of knowledge concerning Blake's work on a tempera.   The brush is said to have been a camel's-hair brush, which is in fact made from the tail hairs of Russian squirrel (*kolinski*)[95], and Smith described Blake at work:

> Blake's mode of preparing his ground, and laying them over his panels for painting, mixing his colours, and manner of working, were those which he considered to have been practised by the earliest fresco-painters…His ground was a mixture of whiting and carpenter's glue, which he passed over several times in

thin coatings: his colours he ground himself, and also united them with the same sort of glue, but in a much weaker state.   He would, in the course of painting a picture, pass a very thin transparent wash of glue-water over the whole of the parts he had worked upon, and then proceed with his finishing.[96]

Then some other early documents are introduced:

Carpenter's glue is animal glue, possibly in its purer form, gelatine.   Tatham's account was similar:

Blake painted on Panel or canvass covered with 3 or 4 layers of whitening & carpenters Glue [perhaps made from rabbit skin]; as he said the nature of Gum was to crack, for as he used several layers of colour to produce his depths, the Coats necessarily in the deepest parts became so thick, that they were likely to peel off.[97]

Gilchrist also described Blake's tempera technique and preferred palette:

He ground and mixed his water-colours himself on a piece of statuary marble, after a method of his own, with common carpenter's glue diluted, which he had found out, as the early Italians had done before him, to be a good binder.   Joseph, the sacred carpenter, had appeared in a vision and revealed *that* secret to him.   The colours he used were few and simple: indigo, cobalt, gamboge, vermilion, Frankfort-black freely, ultramarine rarely, chrome not at all.[98]

Blake's patrons and followers John Linnell and Samuel Palmer described Blake's methods and aims in his late tempera painting from observation.   Linnell wrote: 'The first copy of Cennino Cennini's book seen in England was the one I obtained from Italy, and gave to Blake, who soon made it out, and was gratified to find that he had been using the same materials and methods in painting as Cennini describes, particularly the carpenter's glue'.[99]   There is a contrary view that Blake could have read a manuscript copy of Cennini's *Il Libro dell'Arte*, or *The Book of Art*[100] in the late 1790s,[101] just when he began to experiment with his 'frescoes' as discussed in the previous chapter.

Linnell wrote of the temperas, 'water-colour on a plaster ground (literally glue and whiting); but he always called it either fresco, gesso, or plaster…white was

laid on and mixed with the colours which were tempered with common carpenter's glue.'[102]   Palmer discussed 'Blake's white', made by mixing whiting with animal glue and used by implication only for temperas.   He recreated it, and recorded that there was a trick in getting the glue proportion and strength right.[103]

On some colour prints Blake inscribed 'fresco' and Viscomi divulges the connection:

Tatham is mistaken about the medium, which was gum and glue-based colors and not oil-based inks or colors, as are commonly used today for monotypes, and Blake would not have had to work too quickly or worry too much if his colors dried to the touch on the support, because he almost certainly printed on dampened paper, whose moisture would have reconstituted the colors.   The colors, though, he applied "strong and thick" to create a unique spongy opaque paint film, but also to enable a second and sometimes a third impression to be pulled from the millboard without having to replenish the colors.   Generally speaking, depending on the paper's dampness and thickness and the amount of printing pressure, the colors are strongest in first impressions and less intense in subsequent pull.   The presence of light outline and colors in second impressions is proof that outline and colors were both printed together for the first impressions as well, even for the one color-printed drawing with a relief-etched outline…

To use millboard to print colors requires at least minimal sealing of its porous surface.   Blake could have done this with a coating of glue size or gesso, which is chalk or whiting mixed with size and painted over panels or canvas to produce a very white ground…One can sand gesso smooth or leave the striations created by brushing it on for a rougher feel for brushes.   Colors printed from such a textured ground will replicate that texture if they are thin or pressed hard enough, or hide it if they are thick or opaque enough…

The striations in the surfaces of *The Night of Enitharmon's Joy* and *Christ Appearing to the Apostles* suggest that Blake painted his large color-printed drawings on gessoed grounds.   Butlin notices "a striated" effect in *Pity*, as well as in impressions of *Newton* and *Nebuchadnezzar* (cat. 311, 307, 302), but believes it may have been "produced by only partial adherence" of paint to paper "as if the paper were slightly oily" ("Physicality" 17).   The striations, though,

appear not to have been created by the paint layer, but by the textured surface of the millboard, because the same striated patterns are visible across different printed colors, as is clear in the Metropolitan Museum's copy of *Pity*. Gesso is used in fresco painting, and if Blake "always called" his "plaster ground" "fresco, gesso, or plaster," as Linnell states, then Blake's writing "Fresco" on five of his large color prints in an "Indian-type ink" (McManus and Townsend 82) is fitting.[104]

Viscomi also suggests that *Satan* and *Elohim* were both executed from millboard at a very early stage, maybe with *God*. Butlin counts the pair in late pulls, but Viscomi relies on an accurate measurement and concludes that they were printed from metal planographically:

At least one of the 12 large color-printed drawings, however, was not printed planographically. *God Judging Adam* has traces of an embossed outline, indicating that the support was metal, probably copper, and that the outline was etched in low relief; it also has a platemaker's mark, indicating that it was printed from the sheet's verso. For the only color-printed drawing known for sure to have been relief etched to be on a sheet's verso suggests that Blake was probably unsure of himself, continuing the experiments started with the small trial proof for *Pity*, which was also etched in low relief (see below), and intending to preserve the recto, the side normally used for engravings and etchings, should the experiment not work out. *God Judging Adam* is 43.2 x 53.5 cm. Because it is the only impression certainly to have come from a metal plate—and metal is much more expensive than millboard—Essick believes it was most likely the first of the large color-printed drawings executed ("Supplement" 139). This is probably so, as will be shown below, but its place in the sequence is suggested by its technical connections to earlier experiments in color printing and not by its support, for two other designs may also have been printed from metal. Though printed planographically, *Satan Exulting over Eve*, at 43.2 x 53.4 cm., and *Elohim Creating Adam*, at 43.1 x 53.6 cm., are the same size as *God Judging Adam*, raising the possibilities that one of these designs is on its recto and the other on a copper sheet acquired at the same time. If either *Satan* or *Elohim* was printed

from a copper matrix, then Blake not only used metal before millboard, but he also printed planographically from metal before millboard.[105]

Satan and *Elohim* have been the most difficult to decide the execution date, but with this evidence probably it's safe to decide them as early prints.   Viscomi suggests that Blake worked in the following order:

> Blake possibly went from small *Pity* to *God Judging Adam* and returned to *Albion rose* to think more on the problem of defining form.   The idea of a non-printable outline—neither in relief nor intaglio—but paintable along with blocks of colors could have grown out of painting and printing *Albion rose*. Alternatively, it could have grown out of painting over a low relief outline of *God Judging Adam* and realizing that the outline's function could be served planographically, that it was the painting over the outline rather than printing the outline that mattered most.   Once Blake made that discovery, returning to color print an intaglio etching or moving to the planographic printing of *Elohim* or *Satan* and then to millboards must have come quickly.[106]

My order is slightly different.   I still feel that pairs should be retained. Below is my sheer speculation, but Blake probably printed *God* first with its relief-etching.   After pulling three prints he wiped the pigments off, and on the other side, he put some pigments to see if he can print without outlines.   Seeing *Elohim* and thinking it was good, he wiped the pigments off, and looking at the printed image, designed the counterpart to Adam, Eve's picture.   Now being sure he could execute planographically, and liking the idea of pairing, he took a piece of millboard and designed *Angels*.   Or, *Angels* might have been done before Adam and Eve, since he already had an idea of a large colour print from the design.   Also, compared to other prints in the series, these four prints have more reddish tone in their palette.   This makes me feel that Blake must have done the four prints together, or in a fairly short period of time, short enough to share a palette.

Here I would like to go back to the discussion of pigments.   Some early documents state that Blake ground his pigments himself, but in Blake's time it was also possible to buy some ready-made pigments.   The Tate team supposes that he probably

ground his pigments in the traditional way[107]:

> Although artists in eighteenth-century London were able to purchase materials from a few colourmen as well as herbalists and apothecaries, the manufacture of watercolour materials essentially began in 1776, when a well-known engraver, Matthew Darly, advertised 'Transparent colours for staining drawings'.   Until that point watercolour artists were seemingly restricted to purchasing raw materials, and it was therefore commonplace for watercolour artists to prepare their own colours by grinding the pigment and mixing it with the required portion of gum Arabic.
>
> However, by the late eighteenth century the number of established colourmen had grown.   By the 1780s Reeves had invented the first soluble watercolour cakes.   By 1801 Ackermann was also producing watercolours in boxes accompanied by detailed instructions and best practice manuals.   By this stage many other colourmen were also established, including: Sherborn, Rowney, Middleton, George Blackman, Kebby, John Skidmore of Holborn, Charles Schofield, John Scott of the Strand, James Newman and, a little later, Messrs Roberson, who were experimenting 'with pigments ground in honey instead of being bound into a hard cake'.
>
> Blake would have known of these shops and suppliers through his tuition at Henry Pars' Drawing School as well as his engraving apprenticeship and study at the Royal Academy.   Hence, Blake would have been tutored in the preparation of his own paints during the 1760s, and problems with the prototype watercolour cakes may have influenced him to continue preparing his own colours, as his disciples and followers stated he did.
>
> Of the historical accounts, only one record by Gilchrist refers to Blake's purchase of art materials (Gilchrist 1863, p.69).   However, there are no surviving records as to where she [Mrs Blake] intended to purchase them.

In the introductory essay[108], Robin Hamlin discusses Blake's motives to work in tempera.   He places the large colour prints as 'conceivably, Blake's way of asserting the validity of his own re-discovery of true fresco':

In Blake's day it led quite a few British painters to copy the supposed painting techniques of such masters or, along with colourmen and also mountebanks, to research them in the hope that, by recovering the secrets of the grounds, colours, and varnishes used by the Old Masters and then employing them, their own are would automatically rival these masters.   The ways of doing this were sometimes quite drastic…Blake was one such experimenter.   As an engraver this was not altogether surprising.   The notion of experimentation lay very much at the heart of the whole print-making process in which he had been trained: Blake's undertaking, in his indenture, to 'keep' his master's 'Secrets' recognised that experimentation and invention, whether with materials or with 'proof' impressions taken from a plate as a prelude to further work on the image cut in the metal, were part of the craft of engraving.   But Blake need not have taken such a course; after all, very few printmakers of his time explored the medium in the way he did.   However, it is a constant with Blake, underpinning his first work on the illuminated books still discernible right at the end of his life in his and Edward Calvert's experimentation in 1826 with an etching ground that led to a chimney fire…

This naturally led Blake to enquire into types of paint media that matched his artistic aspirations.   So far as we know, though, Blake the painter was not forensic like Reynolds, even if his own comments on his 'Experiment Pictures'— that they 'have been bruised and knocked about, without mercy, to try all experiments'—might suggest an affinity with him.   Nonetheless, his experiments with one medium in particular, which he called 'fresco', ought to be seen in relation to activity in the London art world at the time (1795) when he first attached that word to some of those works.   These were the large colour prints… Blake's use of the word at this moment takes on an almost polemical tone if we consider that he would undoubtedly have been aware of the 'true' frescoes painted by J.F. Rigaud in 1794 for the ceiling of the Common Council Room in the City of London's Guildhall.   Rigaud believed that his scheme was 'the first work painted in Fresco in London', and it must be seen as a characteristically patriotic initiative by John Boydell who commissioned them, but also, as Rigaud noted, 'a new opportunity of introducing a kind of painting, which may in time afford employment to Historical Painters'.   Rigaud advertised his achievement by

showing his four oil sketches for them at the Royal Academy in 1795 as 'executed at Guildhall', though the frescoes themselves were later taken down because of faulty plastering.

Among the 'wonderful recipes' alluded to by Opie was the 'Venetian Secret'. The 'secret' emerged in December 1795, with its discoverer Provis claiming that he had a recipe for painting in oil that Titian and other Venetian masters had used. Very much a by-product of the British School's preoccupation with Old Master colouring, the method, copied from an old document claimed by Provis to have been lost in a fire, was taken up by the then President of the Royal Academy, Benjamin West.   Starting in early 1796, he painted a number of 'experiment pictures', to apply a term Blake would use later to define the testing of his own tempera and fresco recipes.   Other Academicians followed suit, helping along by demonstrations from Provis's daughter, but by the end of 1797 the process was seen as a fraud and all those artists taken in by it were branded as dupes.

After the Twelve Large Colour Prints Blake started to produce what he called tempera drawings, which he produced over one hundred from 1799 until the end of his life.   He repeatedly defended this method in his writing and gave instruction to his followers on its recipe and they inherited it.   Later in the same essay, Hamlyn describes how this method became central to Blake's identity as an artist:

By 1794-5 he might well have been aware through his friend George Cumberland of Cennino Cennini's (c.1370-c.1440) *Il Libro dell'Arte*, or *Book of Art*, written in c.1390.   Indeed, some of his techniques match Cennini's description, as will be discussed in the section on temperas.   With Cennini tracing his artistic lineage straight back to Giotto, Blake by the mid-1790s would have found confirmation of his place in the lineage that he had already allotted himself in the 1770s.   If he was not aware of it in 1794-5, then we can detect the same sensation on his noting, on being given an 1821 Italian edition of Cennini by Linnell, that he 'was gratified to find that he had been using the same materials and methods in painting as Cennini describes'.   In 1808 Blake's resolve 'to print an account of my various Inventions in Art' somewhat echoed Cennini's efforts. Blake's 'account' was never published though parts of what he had to say about

them were undoubtedly included in his *Descriptive Catalogue* for his 1809 exhibition.   This made great claims for how he had 'recovered' fresco painting and thus the 'Art'.   In March 1825, acting (so to speak) as a Giotto for the young artist George Richmond, he copied out chapter 6 from an 1821 Italian edition of Cennini's book: 'How you begin drawing on a little panel; and the system for it'. Written in Richmond's sketchbook, not always accurately and with one instruction omitted, this may have been their first meeting.   Richmond then working on his first tempera, *Abel the Shepherd* that was painted on wood.   It was also to Richmond, who had come to Blake for advice on how to regain his powers of invention, that the advice to pray was given—as done by William and Catherine in the same circumstances—inevitably recalling, for example, the prayers of dedication and praise to the Almighty, the Virgin Mary and several saints (including St Luke, the patron saint of painters) that open and close Cennini's book.[109]

For Blake the road from the large colour prints to temperas must have been a continuous way.   He used the same material in different method.   People wonder why he abandoned the colour printing method.   Was he unsatisfied?   His 1818 letter still shows an utter confidence in his achievement.   I think the only and simple reason why he did not produce more colour prints was because he could not find a buyer.   I suppose the reason he did two more printing, *Newton* and *Nebuchadnezzar* in 1804 was because Butts agreed to buy the set.   And that is the reason they were delivered in the last lot.

Putting the information from the Butts Account and the titles inscribed in pencil on a table[110], I found an interesting correspondence between the two.   The pencil inscription appears only on the prints on the account, except for *Christ* which is now in Yale Collection.   I suspected that the print might not have been inspected out of the frame, and contacted Yale Center for British Arts.   The curator wrote that he would ask the conservationists to take the print out of the frame to see if it has any inscription but unfortunately I could not hear from them any more.   Since the last two prints are included in the 7 September delivery, I assume that it was the last delivery.   The best print of *Naomi* is now at V&A and the print was probably not owned by Butts.   One possible reason is because he already owned a watercolour of a similar title, *Ruth, the*

Dutiful Daughter-in-Law.[111]   Supposing Butts did not own the print in his collection, the first delivery would have been *Satan Exulting over Eve, Pity* and *Hecate* before 5 July for which Butts had already paid on the date the account was made.   I imagine that after seeing the first delivered prints Butts agreed to buy the whole set, and then Blake printed the last two prints.   So if, in 1818, Dawson Turner agreed to buy the second set, Blake might have printed another series of Large Colour Prints.

Therefore we can see how crucial the colour printing experiments leading to the production of the Twelve Large Colour Prints were in Blake's whole career and identity as an artist and poetical genius.   Now, what is actually known at this point about the actual materials used to print the series?   Robert Essick summarises a chemical analysis performed on his *Lamech* print in Appendix II of his *William Blake Printmaker*[112]:

A piece of color printing on paper, 8 mm. x 3 mm., was taken from the lower left corner of "Lamech and his Two Wives" in my collection.   The small amount of varnish on the fragment was removed before analysis.   Examination under a microscope revealed that the paper was covered with an uneven layer of glossy medium with no visible pigment particles. Variation in the dark amber color seemed to be due to the variation in thickness of the medium.   A speck of green, probably a portion of the green pigment on contiguous portions of the print, was too small for further analysis in order to identify any sub-microscopic inorganic pigments.   None was found.

Chemical analysis began with removal of a sample of the medium layer from the paper and testing it for solubility in water and chloroform.   During a short observation period, the sample was not dissolved by either.   Since the material was suspected to be an organic polymer, it was hydrolyzed (1N HCl at 100°C for 18 hours) to break it down into monomeric constituents.   The hydrolysate showed no response to amino acid reagents, indicating that the medium was not a protein and thus not an animal glue or egg tempera.   The neutralized hydrolysate was submitted to thin-layer chromatography on silica gel as a means of separating the various monosaccharides that would be present in a plant gum.   Three spots were resolved with relative flow values corresponding to those of rhamnose, glucose, and galactose (.771, .503, and .445 respectively after development twice

with benezene / butanol / pyridine / water, 1/5/3/3-upper layer).

Several exudate gums possess only rhamnose and galactose.   However, glucose is seldom a constituent of plant gums.   The common seed mucilages in which it is found can be ruled out since none consists of the specific monosaccharides revealed by chromatography.   Nor could the material be gum arabic (Acacia senegal) or gum tragacanth (Astragalus gummifer) since no arabinose was found.

In order to determine the source of the glucose, paper fibers were removed from below the medium layer and submitted to hydrolysis.   A few paper fibers were inadvertently included in the medium hydrolysis and could have provided the glucose.   For comparison, clean cellulose fibers from ashless filter paper were hudrolyzed under the same conditions.   Both subsequent chromatographs showed traces corresponding to glucose.   Paper fibers may have accounted for the presence of glucose in the medium analysis, but the glucose spots seemed disproportionately intense for the amount of fiber included relative to the amount of medium.   The fact that clean cellulose showed the same response would seem to rule out the possibility that the glucose was derived from starch used as a paper size.   It is of course possible that Blake purposely dissolved a little starch in the vehicle to increase the viscosity or otherwise modify its characteristics.   The addition of common sucrose can be ruled out because of the absence of a chromatograph spot corresponding to fructose.

Assuming that the glucose was an intentional additive or a product of cellulose degradation, the monosaccharide profile of rhamnose and galactose suggests a gum from one of the following plant species: Cochlospermum gossypium (kutira gum), Sterculia villosa, Sterculia cinerea, Sterculia urens (Karaya gum), Astragalus verus (related to gum tragacanth and perhaps sold as such, but chemically distinct).   The insolubility in water of the sample is to be expected of these gums, which become completely soluble only after prolonged soaking and agitation aided by warming.   Further, any of these could have the dark amber color observed in the medium sample without the addition of foreign pigments.

The analysis was performed by John W. Twilley, Department of Chemistry, University of California, Riverside.   This appendix is based closely on his report. Mr. Twilley is an expert in media analysis, and has been involved in a project to

identify chemically a wide range of plant gums to assist in the preservation of artifacts containing them.

This chemical analysis proved that Blake did not use animal glue in his bindings. Joyce Townsend and her group of the Tate use more of chemical analyses, and much of the materials Blake used are now identified.   The techniques available at the point of the research and future possibility are explained by Joyce Townsend.[113]   She writes that all historical pigments are identifiable because they were ground by hand and large particles remain in the material, but it is more difficult to identify the bindings.   One major technique the team used to identify Blake's pigments was *Infra-red false colour photography (IRFC)*:

> Prussian blue produces a very dark colour, copper blues and smalt appear a lighter blue and indigo and ultramarine have a characteristic deep red colour in IRFC.   Prussian blue and indigo were both used widely in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century watercolours and often produce a similar colour in normal light, but are very clearly distinguished by this method.   Vermilion appears a bright yellow in IRFC, red ochre a greyish yellow, while madder, carmine and alizarin are also yellow, and the red lake brazilwood (and possibly other pigments from similar sources) appears a darker orange-red colour.   Yellows generally appear white, except for yellow ochre, which appears a dull grey.   Blacks appear a darker colour than in normal light and all white pigments become transparent. Different types of watercolour medium do not seem to have an effect on the IRFC image.   Similar colour results were obtained from the watercolours and the large colour prints.   The ability to recognise Prussian blue and indigo, and therefore the blue in the mixed greens, was significant for the study of Blake's works.

The results of their research on the Twelve Large Colour Prints are reported by Noa Cahaner McManus and Joyce Townsend:[114]

> In this study, in one sample from *Pity* and two from *The Night of Enitharmon's Joy*, gums Arabic and tragacanth were identified, and either sugar or honey was found to be present as a plasticiser or humectant.   At this date they would have

been used 'raw'.   This is the same gum-and-sugar mixture found in Blake's tempera paintings.   Gum of unspecified type, but no oil medium, was found also in *Naomi...* Gum tragacanth is a more suitable gum to use for printing than gum Arabic alone, and the addition of honey is also practical and sensible.   It would have improved the handling qualities of the paint, and it was an additive used by many and easy to obtain.   It is also significant that Blake was using numerous watercolour washes, which is to say gum-based materials, over the printing and that they would 'wet out' the already applied paint much more successfully over existing gum than over any other medium he could have used for printing (though it could be argued that gum washes would also wet glue-based paints successfully —and did in the case of the temperas).   It may have been the case that Blake added small amounts of whole egg, egg white or ox-gall to the mixture.   All of these can improve the working properties of paint to an astonishing degree when only an undetectable 1 per cent or so by weight is added.

From examination of the works it can be seen that an ordered sequence was followed for all of them.   The printed image was hand-coloured when it was dry, as there seems to be no smudging of the reticulated patterns, while applying hand-colouring directly after the printing stage would have altered the character of the printed surfaces.   The difference in style between the different impressions of a single design also indicates that they could have been hand-coloured at different times.   Knowledge of the circumstances and dates of the sale of several large colour prints to Butts, as well as the common style seen in this particular group, further suggest that the hand finishing was carried out only when a buyer was found.

Even a brief examination shows that Blake expended far more time finishing the pulls that had printed more successfully, and used a greater variety of materials and colours, then he did on the inferior pulls of the same design…

Blake's choice of pigments was narrow.   He was using generally the same limited palette as for the watercolours, and extending it with Naples yellow, red lead and ultramarine for temperas as well as colour prints.   The frequent addition of lead white at the colour-printing stage suggests that he sought to make highly opaque paint that could be contrasted with thin opaque washes of watercolour as well as the more conventional transparent watercolour washes.   Not surprisingly,

the same palette was used by Blake for both the colour printing and hand colouring.

The pigments identified (see Appendix 4) conclusively include Prussian blue in every case, mixed with carbon black for the printing of dark areas; blue ultramarine; vermilion in almost every print, used for bright reds and mixed with lead white for both printed and painted flesh tones; red lake less often; red lead in one instance; yellow gamboge, probably used frequently though it has not always survived; Naples yellow on occasion; yellow, brown and red ochre's; lead white in some of the printed colours; chalk and china clay in others, when the pigments served to give an opaque paint; chalk as the only white pigment used for hand finishing; bone black in watercolour washes; and lamp black in the Indian ink. Blake seldom used so much chalk that it lightened the colour of the paint, an exception being its mixture with Prussian blue round the prone figure in *Pity*. This pigment has such a high tinting strength that it is generally lightened with white.   Lead white was extensively used along with yellow in the upper background of *God Judging Adam*, and it was mixed with Prussian blue in the same work and with carbon black in small areas on the horse.   Lead white also seems to have been employed for mixtures with different pigments on the large rock in *Newton*.

One peculiar occurrence in all the large colour prints is the pigment used for the figures' hair or at least part of their hair and/or beards, both printed and hand-painted.   In normal light it has a reddish brown and resinous or gummy appearance, and it leaves a stain on the reverse of the paper, as Indian ink does. It may be dragon's blood, the deep golden/brown gum from rare trees in South-East Asia, available in Blake's era but probably never very popular with watercolourists.   The only passing references to its use are as varnishes for furniture and musical instruments.

A drying oil was found in a sample of black ink from *Pity*.   Boiled linseed oil has been the traditional medium for printers' ink, which usually also included a resin, not found in the inks studied here.   A brown halo surrounds the black graphic lines, which further suggests that only the black ink contains oil. Blake's Indian ink probably varied in composition.

As well as white pigment, Blake employed the paper tone in the composition,

as for example in the sheet of paper next to the feet of *Newton*.   In *God Judging Adam* the white in the figure of God and the horses is the paper support.[115]

As for the printing what the materials tell is:

Examination of *Naomi* at low magnification and in raking light suggests that colour printing was done in one pull and without much pressure applied.   All the colours—slate blue, bright blue, mixed green, yellow grey/black—were applied to the 'plate' without overlap, leaving uncoloured areas for the figures of Ruth and Orpah and for Naomi's head and hands.   The bright blue and the slate blue paint were made from a rather finely ground (and hence lower quality and cheaper) ultramarine and coarsely ground, opaque, lead white.   The slate blue and the black paints both include a fine-grained black pigment, probably lamp black, and Prussian blue, mixed with lead white.   The green was mixed from a fine-grained, very dark blue pigment (probably the same as that used for the blue paint) and a coarser, opaque yellow one.   The shading in the green is caused both by uneven mixing of yellow ochre and Prussian blue, which must have been accidental, and uneven thickness of the paint when printed.   The yellow printed area in the foreground was mixed from yellow ochre, chalk and china clay, and was used without any blue toning.   Yellow ochre is sufficiently opaque that lead white was unnecessary in the formulation of the green and yellow paints, and so these areas do not register on the X-radiograph.   These paints all have a gum medium.[116]

Thus the one-pull theory is scientifically proven.   As for the light pressure I suppose that Blake used a letter-press to print the Large Colour Prints.   The report mentions with a photograph to the corner pencil marks on *Lamech*, but they assume they were not by Blake:

Many colour prints are on untrimmed paper, and some bear hand-written inscriptions that have rarely been given any consideration, nor reproduced for study.   One inscription is regarded as contemporary with Blake's lifetime, but almost certainly not his, namely the title on the lower margin of *Lamech and his Two Wives* (fig.43).   Other titles or even inventory numbers on Tate colour prints,

which have been rather obviously added for identification purposes by nineteenth- or earlier twentieth-century owners or more likely print room curators, are written in small and cramped characters and are placed where any frame would cover them.[117]

And the caption to figure 43 says 'Detail of lower-right corner of *Lamech and his Two Wives* (fig.63) showing the very smooth texture of the wove paper, part of an inscription in graphite pencil, and registration marks for framing, in graphite pencil.' The first point that is wrong with this passage is that those hand-written inscriptions actually were given considerations from time to time. Some critics assumed that they were not by Blake, but it is surprising considering the fact that Martin Butlin of the Tate relied on one of these inscriptions to upset the previous consensus and rediscovered the true identity of *God Judging Adam*. Jenijoy La Belle's theory also depends on the inscriptions being Blake's own, and I also believe the immediate and instinct response of Dr. Keri Davis who saw the *Lamech* inscription with me, crying out 'It's Blake's handwriting.' Dr. Davis is an expert on handling with historical documents and is used to identifying Blake's handwriting. And if the titles were inscribed by Blake, it is natural to assume that the corner marks were also drawn by Blake. Therefore I suggest that these marks are not registration marks for framing, but registration marks for printing from a letterpress.

In this chapter I tried to gather information in a materialistic light to analyse the prints from materialistic point of view. This kind of materialistic study of Blake had been long neglected, since among Blake critics, apart from some artists with scientific inclination like Ruthven Todd, scientific interest and means were lacking, and among conservation scientists Blake was either not a very popular subject or the rareness of his works discouraged them from investigating in detail. Therefore the Tate project and conference opened an immense possibility in front of us. Although we need a little while to get used to their special terms, they can give us a huge amount of fascinating information. Now we can tell a great deal about the materials Blake used in quite decisive manner. But what drove Blake to produce these prints? In the last chapter I would like to discuss what stimulated Blake to execute such prints from social and subjective aspect.

Chapter Five
Examination of the Twelve Large Colour Prints

The best-known set of Twelve Large Colour Prints, which is assumed to be printed for Thomas Butts as the first pull and was reassembled and bequeathed by W. Graham Robertson, is now in the collection of the Tate Britain. The British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and the National Gallery of Art in Edinburgh, Scotland also have some prints, and altogether, the majority of the prints can be seen in Britain. Yet, some works have crossed the Atlantic to be in collections in the United States. Below is the list of the whereabouts of the Twelve Large Colour Prints. The bracketed numbers are from Butlin's Catalogue Raisonne.

ELOHIM CREATING ADAM
・Tate (the only known version; bought by Butts, 7 Sep. 1805) [289]
　・Pencil sketch on page 54 of Blake's notebook
　・Untraced since 1818; second copy [290]

SATAN EXULTING OVER EVE
・Tate (owned by Thomas Butts; purchased in 1996; varnish removed) [291]
・Getty Center, Los Angeles [292]
　・Eve and Satan (Untraced since 1904; pencil on paper) [293]

GOD JUDGING ADAM
Hand-finished relief etching, printed on paper from a copper plate
・Tate (bought by Butts, 5 Jul. 1805; Presented by W. Graham Robertson, 1939) [294]
・Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (probably the first pull) [295]
・Philadelphia Museum of Art (the last pull) [296]
　・watercolour, c.1790-3; George Goyder Esq., Long Melford, Suffolk [258]

LAMECH AND HIS TWO WIVES
- Tate (bought by Butts, 5 Jul. 1805; Presented by W. Graham Robertson, 1939) [297]
- Essick, Los Angeles (trimmed & varnished) [298]

NAOMI ENTREATING RUTH AND ORPAH TO RETURN TO THE LAND OF MOAB
- V & A [299]
- Fitzwilliam (trimmed & varnished) [300]

NEBUCHADNEZZAR
- Tate (bought by Butts, 7 Sep. 1805) [301]
- The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (varnished) [302]
- The Minneapolis Institute of Arts [303]
  - untraced since 1887 [304]
  - untraced since 1885; sepia, perhaps drawing [305]

NEWTON
- Tate (bought by Butts, 7 Sep. 1805; presented by W. Graham Robertson, 1939) [306]
- The Lutheran Church in America, Torresdale, Philadelphia [307]
  - Sketch; Fitzwilliam [308]
  - Wren; untraced since 1880 [309]

PITY
- Tate [310]
- Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [311]
- Yale Center for British Art (varnished) [312]
  - Try-out; British Museum [313]
  - Sketch; British Museum [314]
  - Sketch; British Museum [315]

HECATE

- Tate (Presented by W. Graham Robertson, 1939; first pull) [316]
- National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh [317]
- Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, California (varnish removed by Tate team) [318]
    - Sketch; Ian L. Phillips Esq., London (now in Essick's collection) [319]

THE HOUSE OF DEATH
- Tate (bought by Butts, 5 Jul. 1805) [320]
- British Museum [321]
- Fitzwilliam Museum [322]
    - pen & wash, c.1790; Tate [259]

THE GOOD AND EVIL ANGELS STRUGLING FOR POSSESSION OF A CHILD
- Tate (bought by Butts, 5 Jul. 1805) [323]
- Mr. and Mrs. John Hay Whitney, New York [324]
    - pen & watercolour, c.1793-4; The Cecil Higgins Museum, Bedford [257]

CHRIST APPEARING TO THE APOSTLES AFTER THE RESURRECTION
- Yale Center for British Art (varnished; bought by Butts, 7 Sep. 1805)   [325]
- National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. [326]
- Tate (varnished) [327]
    - Untraced since 1863 [328]
    - Untraced since 1863 [329]

I have seen most prints on the list except 'The Good and Evil Angels' in a private collection [324] and 'Nebuchadnezzar' in Minneapolis [303].   In this chapter I will examine each colour print extant, following the order of the list above.

The earliest document recording titles included in this group of prints is the account of 12 May 1805 – 3 March 1806, between Blake and his patron Thomas Butts. It lists eight prints under two dates:

5 July

4 Prints Viz

1 Good & Evil Angel 2 House of Death 3 God Judging Adam 4 Lamech … 4.4.0

…

7 Septr

4 Prints Viz

1 Nebuchadnezzar 2 Newton 3 God Creating Adam 4 Christ appearing …
4.4.0[118]

The other known document which refers to the Twelve Large Colour Prints is a letter
from Blake to Dawson Turner, dated 9 June 1818.

Sir,

I send you a List of the different Works you have done me the honour to
enquire after—unprofitable enough to me, tho' Expensive to the Buyer.   Those I
Printed for Mr Humphry are a selection from the different Books of such as could
be Printed without the Writing, tho' to the Loss of some of the best things.   For
they when Printed perfect accompany Poetical Personifications & Acts, without
which Poems they never could have been Executed.

				£	*s.*	*d.*
America	…	18 Prints folio	…	5	5	0
Europe	…	17 do. folio	…	5	5	0
Visions &c	…	8 do. folio	…	3	3	0
Thel	…	6 do. Quarto	…	2	2	0
Songs of Innocence …		28 do. Octavo	…	3	3	0
Songs of Experience…		26 do. Octavo	…	3	3	0
Urizen	…	28 Prints Quarto	…	5	5	0
Milton	…	50 do. Quarto	…	10	10	0

12 Large Prints, Size of each about 2 feet by 1 & 1/2, Historical & Poetical,
Printed in Colours … Each 5.5.0

These last 12 Prints are unaccompanied by any writing.

The few I have Printed & Sold are sufficient to have gained me great reputation
as an Artist, which was the chief thing Intended.   But I have never been able to

produce a Sufficient number for a general Sale by means of a regular Publisher. It is therefore necessary to me that any Person wishing to have any of them should send me their Order to Print them on the above terms, & I will take care that they shall be done at least as well as any I have yet Produced.

    I am, Sir, with many thanks for your very Polite approbation of my works,

                    Your most obedient Servant,

                          William Blake

    9 June 1818
    17 South Molton Street[119]

Comparing the prices Blake gave to his works, we can see how much he valued the colour prints, since he charges each print even higher than most of the Illuminated Books as a set.

    Dawson Turner (1775-1858) was a banker, botanist, and antiquary, born in Yarmouth. He was a polymath with a large, talented family and wide circle of friends including many important names. His primary interest in botany shifted to antiquaries, pictures, books and manuscripts, and around the time the letter was written, he was associated with artists such as John Crome (1768-1821), John Sell Cotman (1872-1842) and Benjamin Robert Haydon (1786-1846). Crome and Cotman were both painters and etchers of Norwich, who were hired to give drawing lessons to Turner's wife and daughters. He published many of his books with illustrations produced by his family and protégés in forms of drawings, paintings, etchings and lithographs. His eldest daughter, Maria Sarah (1797-1872) married one of his father's protégés, William Jackson Hooker on 12 Jun. 1815, and their second son, Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911) succeeded the father's post at his death. William Jackson Hooker was the first full-time director of Kew Gardens. The father and son were both important botanists, and Joseph Dalton Hooker was a very close correspondent of Charles Darwin. Other daughters married men of note as well. Unfortunately there is no record of Turner actually buying any of Blake's work, and the second set of Large Colour Prints remained unsold. Yet certainly this circle of botanists and artists had a taste for Blake, and it is interesting to note that in his later years Cotman taught two of the Rossetti brothers, Dante Gabriel and William, as a successful drawing teacher. In his early years in London, Cotman worked as an assistant to Rudolph Ackermann, publisher of

engravings and dealer in the Strand.   Ackermann was an emigrant from Saxony who was apprenticed as a saddler and had a career as a carriage maker and even as a publisher he published thirteen books of designs for carriages.   He kept close connections with German émigrés, most important for his later career were those with engravers the Facius brothers (Johann Gottlieb and Georb, both b. c. 1750, d. in or before 1813) and J. C. Stadler, who all worked for the leading publisher John Boydell (1720-1804).   His business extended from selling prints and wallpapers to producing watercolour paints.   His ties with Germans also led to his establishing the first significant lithographic press in England and playing an important part in popularizing lithography by publishing the inventor of lithography Senefelder's *Treatise* in 1818. Cotman moved to London in 1798 and started working for Ackermann, and the following year he joined the circle of Dr. Thomas Monro (1759-1833), who was one of the most important connoisseurs of the time and a physician.   After working as an assistant to his father who was also a physician at the Bethlem, or Bedlam, Hospital, Dr. Monro was appointed as a physician himself.   This post at the most prominent madhouse in the nation made him a recognized expert on insanity.   He attended Margaret Nicholson, who had attempted regicide, and twenty-five years later, her attempted target, King George III, as well.   However, he is rather infamous for his unconvincing testimony in 1815-16 before the House of Commons committee on madhouses, concerning scandalous abuses at Bethlem.   After the hearing, he decided to resign his post, and soon afterwards gave up the medical practice altogether.   Since then, he devoted himself in collecting arts and supporting artists.   He became a major founder of the British school of watercolourists, turning his house into an evening studio and holding drawing sessions in his expense.   Artists gathered in this circle include J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851), whose talents were first recognized by the doctor, Thomas Girtin (1775-1802), John Varley (1778-1842) and his pupils William Henry Hunt (1790-1864) and John Linnell (1792-1882) and others.   In the case of John Robert Cozens (1752-1797), Monro attended him both as patron and mad-doctor after the artist became deranged.   Among those artists, Varley and Linnell are most important in connection to William Blake.

Now I would like to examine each print in detail in the order of the list.   The first print is *Elohim Creating Adam*.   There is only one copy of this image, which is in

the Tate collection.   This is the only subject in the set with only one copy left, but it is assumed that there was at least one more copy printed, since, as mentioned above, in 1818, Blake offered a complete set of the twelve large prints to Dawson Turner after selling a complete set to Thomas Butts in 1805.   The editors of Blake Archive comment:

> The subject of "Elohim Creating Adam" is derived from Genesis 2:7. The Elohim, a Hebrew word for God or Gods, grasps with his left hand some of the earth he uses to form Adam, while he molds Adam's head with his right hand. Blake represents this act of creation as also a fall into material existence and mortality, the latter indicated by the giant worm coiled around Adam's legs.

> Note: Acquired by Thomas Butts in 1805 from Blake; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; his widow, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 1906 through Carfax and Co., London, to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).

> The title, "Elohim creating Adam," is inscribed in pencil below the design, almost certainly not by Blake.

> Blake's monogram signature and date are within the design area, about half way between the bottom margin of the image and Adam's torso and upper left arm.

On the account the print appears as 'God Creating Adam'.   The Blake Archive editors assume that this impression was printed c. 1805.   This print went straight through the Butts family into Robertson's collection.

   Satan Exulting Over Eve also has only two copies extant, one is at the Tate and the other is at the Getty Center in Los Angeles, California. In his Catalogue Raisonne[120], Martin Butlin assumes that the Getty version is probably the first pull.   The most obvious difference from the Tate version is Satan's left leg, which is omitted in the Tate version.   He argues that the leg did not come out well in the second pull, and concludes that the one-legged Tate version is the second pull.   The Tate version was not in the

Robertson Collection, but was originally in the Butts Collection, just as the other colour prints of the Tate collection derived from the Robertson Collection were.   It had been heavily varnished, and the paper conservationists at the Tate led by Piers Townshend did an excellent job when they removed the varnish and restored its original brightness to a considerable degree.[121]   Still the Tate version is in a poor condition with less brilliance and blurred contours.   The Getty version is signed and dated 1795 by Blake, and the mottled effect of colour printing is particularly impressive in the serpent.   The image of this print is shown on the Blake Archive.   The editors' notes explain:

> "Satan Exulting over Eve" takes its subject from the story of the fall in Genesis 3:1-6, but the design was also influenced by Eve's dream of Satan and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in John Milton's "Paradise Lost," Book 5. Neither source, however, offers a precedent for Blake's double representation of Satan. His still human and angelic form, armed with shield and spear, hovers over the sleeping Eve, but his bat-like wings indicate his fallen condition. His serpentine form coils around Eve's lower body, arches over her head, and rests its crested head on her chest. Her right hand lies limply over the forbidden fruit.

> Note: Perhaps acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; perhaps acquired by Frederick Tatham upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; the dealer Joseph Hogarth, who offered the print, with the assistance of George Richmond, to John Ruskin c. 1843; at least briefly in Ruskin's possession, but probably returned to Hogarth; possibly the work sold Southgate and Barrett's auction, 13 June 1854, lot 1922 (18s. to the dealer H. Palser); sold Sotheby's, 5 June 1896, lot 273 (£31 to the dealer Frank T. Sabin); William Bateson by 1906; by inheritance to his widow by 1927; by inheritance to their son, Geoffrey Bateson; sold   from Geoffrey Bateson's estate in 1983 to the London dealer John Morton Morris; sold by Morris early in 1984 to the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, California ($325,000).

The Tate print is not on the Blake Archive, so I take the provenances from Butlin:

Thomas Butts; Thomas Butts jun., ? sold Foster's 29 June 1853 (in 83 as 'Satan traversing the Realms of Space' with Nos. 418 and 430) £1.2.6 bt.   Strange; J. C. Strange by 1863; …; Quaritch, offered *catalogue 228* March 1904 (314), *catalogue 273* March 1909 (288) and *Catalogue of Works on the Fine Arts* 1909-10 (288) £40; Dr. Greville Macdonald by 1914; Francis Edwards, offered *catalogue 654* 1941 £30, sold 1942 to John Craxton.

At the point this catalogue was compiled this print was in John Craxton's private collection.   Now this print is in the Tate Collection, and its online catalogue explains that it was

Purchased with assistance from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the Friends of the Tate Gallery, the Essick Foundation, Edwin C. Cohen and other benefactors honouring Martin Butlin, Keeper of the British Collection 1967-1989, 1996.

It also states that

The paper on which this work was printed was once stuck to a tightly-stretched canvas. The surface had been varnished, to make it look more like an oil painting. Satan's face and body had been 'strengthened' with oil paint, a medium Blake never used. These additions were removed during conservation to reveal a lightly-printed but more colourful image.

There are three copies of *God Judging Adam*, at the Tate, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and Philadelphia Museum of Art.   The subject is explained thus by the editor of the Blake Archive:

"God Judging Adam," loosely based on Genesis 3:17-19, embodies Blake's criticism of legalistic tyranny, judgment, and punishment of the sort he also explores through the character of Urizen in the illuminated books of the mid-1790s. God, riding on a fiery chariot, holds his book of laws on his lap and

points toward Adam with his extended right arm. Adam's long beard indicates
that he has already been marked by mortality.

This group is one exceptional example among the large colour prints, because it can be
assumed from clearly visible lines that it was probably printed from a copper plate as
relief printing, not as planograph from a piece of millboard.   Further evidence is given
in the editors' notes of the Blake Archive:

The printing matrix would appear to be a copperplate etched in relief. Evidence
for this is provided by indentations around some of the printed areas representing
God in the impression in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Butlin 296); and letters
blind-embossed lower right, probably created by a platemaker's mark, visible in
the impression in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Butlin 295).

Of the three copies, the Metropolitan version is thought to be the first pull, since it has
the thickest layer of pigment colour.   The Philadelphia version is the last pull with little
pigment and heavy hand finishing.   Probably to cover the thin printing, unusually wide
areas, for example, the black and red of the beams of the sun, are hand-coloured.   In
this version, a tiny amount of China White is added effectively by hand.   The
Metropolitan version has the beautiful multi-colour, mottled rock at the feet of Adam,
but in the Philadelphia version the bottom area might have been cut and with a darker
colour it looks more like shadow rather than rock.   This Philadelphia version, which is
thought to be the last pull, was heavily finished by hand.   Butlin states:

The last pull of the print, the background painted much darker than in the other
versions as if to illustrate the related passage from *Urizen*: 'But no light from the
fires.   all was darkness In the flames of Eternal fury' (Keynes *Writings* 1957,
p.225).   Andrew Wilton, in conservation, has however doubted the authenticity
of at least the finishing in pen and watercolour, as has David Bindman (in
Burlington Magazine, CXX, 1978, p.418), a view strengthened when the print was
exhibited together with Nos. 294 and 295 in 1978.   However, the underlying
traces of colour-printing seem to be genuine. (p.162)

Considering the very different finishing of various works, I wonder why these commentators suddenly have to be so sceptical about the authenticity of this work. It was printed from a copper plate, so it should have been easier to print at different times. Still, the print itself and the colours seem to be close enough, so I assume Blake did all three in one go and heavily hand-finished the last pull with less amount of pigments as usual. The Tate and the Metropolitan versions of *God Judging Adam* are in the Blake Archive, and their provenances are as below. The Tate print was

Acquired by Thomas Butts in 1805 from Blake; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; his widow, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 1906 through Carfax and Co., London, to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).

On this print, a title, "God speaking to Adam," is inscribed in pencil below the design, almost certainly not by Blake. The Metropolitan print was

Perhaps acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; perhaps acquired by Frederick Tatham upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; the dealer Joseph Hogarth, who offered the print, with the assistance of George Richmond, to John Ruskin c. 1843; at least briefly in Ruskin's possession, but probably returned to Hogarth; Mrs. Alexander Gilchrist by 1863; James S. Inglis by 1892; Mrs. Louis Inglis, who sold the print to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1916.

The provenances for the Philadelphia copy are:

Mrs. Blake; Frederick Tatham, sold Sotheby's 29 April 1862 (189) £1.14.0 bt. Col. Gould Weston; by descent to Mrs. Hunter-Weston; Miss Nora Hunter, sold anonymously Christie's 15 July 1957 (16. repr.) £4,200 bt. Sessler's, Philadelphia, sold 1957 to Mrs. William T. Tonner[122], given 1964 to the Philadelphia Museum (received 1972). (Butlin)

The two existing copies of *Lamech and his Two Wives* are in the collections of

the Tate and the private collection of Robert N. Essick in Los Angeles, California. This design is obviously intended as a pair with *Naomi Entreating Ruth and Orpah to Return to the Land of Moab*, the two copies of which are at the V&A and Fitzwilliam. The Tate *Lamech* and the V&A *Naomi* both have corners cut across. We had a chance to see the Tate *Lamech* out of the frame, and we discovered that the corners were not cut off, but rather the design was printed with no pigment on the corners. Along with some pencil inscriptions probably in Blake's hand, we found four corner marks in pencil. Assuming from a demonstration of a letter press at the British Library I happened to see in 2002, I think that Blake might have used the corner marks for registration on a letter press. Although the press owned by Blake was a rolling press, which offered a huge incentive to print intaglio etched plates and was used to proof print his commercial prints, it seems more reasonable to think that he used a letter press to print his large colour prints. Planography does not require such a strong pressure, so it could have been done even without any press. Yet it must have been easy for Blake to find a letter press available, which should have made it easier for him to register and print. Unfortunately *Naomi* at the V&A was framed and I could not see whether it has similar marks. They were both framed in matching frames with the corners covered. Even more unfortunate is the fact that *Lamech* in the Essick Collection and *Naomi* at Fitzwilliam from Sir Geoffrey Keynes Collection are both trimmed and varnished. *Lamech* is cut down from 43.1 x 60.8 cm (Tate) to 38.5 x 48cm (Essick), and *Naomi* from 42.8 x 58 cm (V&A) to 37.5 x 49cm (Fitzwilliam). Additional information from the Blake Archive:

> The subject of "Lamech and His Two Wives" is derived from Genesis 4:23-4. Lamech, a descendent of Cain and the central figure in the design, has in a rage killed the young man lower right. Lamech clutches his head in despair and in the knowledge that the penalty of Cain will fall on him "seventy and sevenfold" (Genesis 4:24). Leech's two wives, Adam and Zillah, cling together on the left. Blake may have known the more detailed telling of the story in the Apocrypha, as well as the traditional association between Lamech's son, Tubalcain, and metal working.

The provenances of the Tate *Lamech*:

Acquired by Thomas Butts in 1805 from Blake; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; offered at Sotheby's, 24 June 1903, lot 1 (apparently bought-in at £156 by the dealer Stephens and returned to F. J. Butts); the widow of F. J. Butts, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 1906 through Carfax and Co., London, to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).

And of the Esscik's print:

J. W. Pease; bequeathed in 1901 to Miss S. H. Pease; the executor of her estate, Lord Wardington; offered Christie's, 2 Dec. 1938, lot 59 (bought-in by Lady Wardington); by descent in the family of Lady Wardington; offered Sotheby's, 28 Nov. 1974, lot 136 (bought-in at £3500, but acquired immediately after the auction by the Oxfordshire book dealer Colin Franklin); purchased from Franklin by Robert N. Essick, May 1975. The varnish was removed from the work and the print was repaired and conserved in 1994.

The subject of *Naomi*:

"Naomi Entreating Ruth and Orpah to Return to the Land of Moab" illustrates Ruth 1:11-17. Ruth clings to her mother-in-law on the left, while Orpah, also a widow of one of Naomi's sons, departs on the right in sorrow to return to her own land of Moab. Ruth will follow Naomi to Bethlehem. The slight halo around Naomi's head indicates her role as a forebear of Christ.

The provenances of the V&A *Naomi*:

Acquired by George Blamire at an unknown date; sold Christie's, either 7 or 9 Nov. 1863, either lot 120 or 271 (£5.7s.6d. to Halsted, probably a dealer); J. E. Taylor; given by Taylor to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1894.

The provenances of the Fitzwilliam *Naomi* are taken from Butlin:

J. W. Peace, bequeathed 1901 to Miss S. H. Pease; her executor Lord

Wardington, sold Christie's 2 December 1938 (58) £52.10.0 bt. Geoffrey Keynes.

Although it's stored at the museum, the ownership probably hasn't changed from the private collection of the Keynes family.

The three prints of *Nebuchadnezzar* are at the Tate, Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Minneapolis Institute of Arts.   According to the Blake Archive,

The subject of "Nebuchadnezzar" is derived from the biblical Book of Daniel, 4:31-33. A "voice from heaven" tells the Babylonian monarch that he will "be with the beasts of the field." The prophecy is fulfilled immediately, and Nebuchadnezzar grows "hairs   ... like eagles' feathers" and "nails like birds' claws." For Blake, this image probably represented the descent of a mighty ruler, and perhaps all of humanity, into a state of fallen nature.

Butlin describes the Boston print thus:

Although the gum or size makes it difficult to be certain, this appears to be the last of the three known pulls of the composition.   Nebuchadnezzar's right knee has been re-drawn a bit further to the left and the thigh made thinner; his hand has been enlarged by drawing a pen outline over the mottled greens and reds used for the foreground. (p.165)

I have not seen the Minneapolis version which is assumed to be the second pull, but even comparing the black-and-white photographs, this version is clearly the third pull with some significant changes made after the second pull, especially on the mouth. The varnish has darkened and in some parts brittled and cracked.   The impressive use of red in flesh and ground is similar to the first pull of *Christ Appearing* at the National Gallery.   Examining the brittled parts, I wondered what caused it.   The paper conservationist of Boston Museum, Katrina Newbury, stated that it was a common practice in the nineteenth century for artists to apply gum Arabic to the surface of paintings in order to give the composition a unified and good look.   She seemed to

assume that it had been applied by the artist, but I think it was contained in the varnish applied by some early collector.   The surface is badly cracked around some specific materials, especially black chalk, which has an absorbable quality and was not easily mixed with other materials, so the person who applied the varnish might have put even more gum there than the other part.   I wondered whether gum Arabic was likely to turn yellow as time goes by, and she replied that it might be the case, but unless you compare by taking samples it was difficult to decide.   After the conversation with the paper conservationist, I wondered whether the brittleness has something to do with the flesh-colour pigment as well, because it happened at the outline of the figure but not at the background where black is used also.   The provenances are:

Acquired by Thomas Butts in 1805 from Blake; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; his widow, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 1906 through Carfax and Co., London, to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).   (Blake Archive)

Probably acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; probably acquired by Frederick Tatham upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; sold from Tatham's collection, Sotheby's, 29 April 1862, lot 190 (£4 to Francis Turner Palgrave); sold c. 1873 to Henry Adams; his niece Mrs. Robert Homans (nee Abigail Adams), probably by inheritance in 1918; given by Mrs. Homans   to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1927.   (Blake Archive)

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell by 1863; General Archibold Stirling 1902; …; Mrs. Clifton, sold to Agnew's, sold 1957 to the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. (Butlin)

On the Tate print, 'the title, "Nebuchadnezzar," is inscribed in pencil below the design, almost certainly not by Blake.'   (Blake Archive)

The two prints of *Newton* are at the Tate and Philadelphia Museum of Art. The Philadelphia version is obviously a later pull than the Tate version with a thinner colour print.   Although not as beautifully effective as the Tate version, this version still

retains the mottled multicolour on the rock.   Divided at the contour of Newton the design has a clear contrast between the brushed-over dark upper right half and the lighter lower left half with the mottled rock, Newton's figure and white wash standing out between the rock and the figure.   The subject is one of the most famous among Blake's whole works.

> In "Newton," the great scientist is represented as a heroically proportioned youth sitting at the bottom of the ocean. Sea creatures decorate the rocks below and behind him. Newton bends forward to measure a geometrical diagram on a partly unrolled scroll. Taken together, his environment and his actions indicate the descent of the human form divine into materialism and abstraction.   (Blake Archive)

There is a change on the list regarding the location of *Newton*.   The print was owned by The Lutheran Church in America, Torresdale, Philadelphia at the time the list was compiled, but now it is on long-term loan to Philadelphia Museum of Art.   On arriving in Philadelphia, I was trying to locate the church in vain until the very last moment.   At that point I finally received a reply to my wandering e-mail message to the Prints and Drawings Room staff of Philadelphia Museum of Arts, telling me that both the prints seemed to be in their collection.   That saved me a possibly wasted trip to Torresdale in the outskirts of Philadelphia.   On my visit to the museum I was curious about the provenance of the 'Newton' print, but the curator knew little about it.   On the museum record it said that the print was on long-term loan from the Lutheran Church in America. There were some letters concerning the print, and in one of them from the church to the museum it was stipulated that it should be clearly stated the print was 'the gift of Florence Foerderer Tonner in memory of her dear parents, Robert H. Foerderer and Caroline Fischer Foerderer.'   Comparing that credit line to the one of 'God': 'Gift of Mrs. William Thomas Tonner, 1964' I was convinced that they came from the same collection, but the curator was still dubious.   Later that day, when I went back to my accommodation with an Internet connection, I confirmed that they were actually from the same collection and I could know what happened to the Lutheran Church as well. Mrs. William Thomas Tonner, nee Florence Foerderer, inherited her parents' estate, Glen Foerd, in 1934.

After the departure of her two daughters to marriage and children, and then the death of her husband in 1948, Florence continued to live at Glen Foerd. She remained very active in the cultural and social affairs of Philadelphia, until her death in 1972 at the age of 89. At that time, she bequeathed the property to the Lutheran Church in America. She also stipulated that, should the Church no longer be able to sustain the estate, it should pass into the care of the local community. This transition occurred in 1988, and still today, the community organization which is the Glen Foerd Conservation Corporation, and the Fairmount Park Commission, are the custodians of the grounds and the mansion.[123]

Provenances:

Acquired by Thomas Butts in 1805 from Blake; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; his widow, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 2 June 1905 to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).   (Blake Archive)

?Mrs. Blake; ?Frederick Tatham; Joseph Hogarth, offered c. 1843 through George Richmond to John Ruskin, and ?sold Southgate's 7-30 June 1854, 13th evening (5509, as 'Archimedes') 8/- bt.   H. Palser; Samuel Prince, sold Sotheby's 11-14 December 1865, 1st day (273) £5.10.0 bt.   Halstead; …; R. M. de Forest 1919; J. W. Bartlett, sold anonymously American Art Association 30 January 1924 (66, repr.); George C. Smith jun. by 1927, sold Parke-Bernet's 2 November 1938 (95, repr. pl. 9) $1,800 bt.   Sessler's, sold to Mrs. William T. Tonner, bequeathed to the Lutheran Church in America.   (Butlin)

Again, 'the title, "Newton," is inscribed in pencil below the design, almost certainly not by Blake' on the Tate print.   At Philadelphia Museum, when I wondered if any conservation work had been done on the prints, the paper conservationists of the museum kindly came to talk to me with a special bright light and goggles-shaped lenses for a closer look.   They knew about the conservation work at the Tate but assured me

that no such work has been done on the prints in their collection.   I will quote some information from the result sheet I got from them on a loan examination on *Newton*.

> **Medium:** Oil paint (est.), watercolor, black ink, yellowish resin, traces of graphite
>
> **Title of Exhibition:** *The Twilight of Reason*
>
> **Exhibition Begin Date:** 10/15/2001   **End Date:** 01/14/2001
>
> **Borrowing Institution(s):** Louvre, Paris, France

> **Condition Summary:** The drawing is stable for loan.   Previously it was removed from a warped board and discrete areas of brown paint in the hair consolidated.   Paint remains secure.   Securely hinged to insert in 4-ply overmat. (See previous reports: Examination 8/82, Treatment 9/87, Loan 1/87)   Paper: wove.   No watermark.
>
>   Dimensions: H – 17 3/4" (45.2 cm) W – 23 3/8" (59.5 cm)

Pity has three prints existing at the Tate, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Yale Center for British Art.   The Metropolitan *Pity* is mounted, and on the left of the paper is typewritten:

> "Pity like a naked, new-born babe,
> Striding the blast, or Heaven's cherubim horsed
> Upon the lightless couriers of the air,
> Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye."

> Thus Macbeth steels himself to murder Duncan.   To suggest darkness, wind and speed, Blake painted his picture in reverse on a varnished cardboard, from which he pressed the colors onto this paper, where he finally drew the outline with a pen.

The lines are quoted from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* I, vii, and the inscription attributed to Frederick Tatham relates the subject to the speech by Macbeth.   Also

> The closed eye of the horse suggests that Blake has transposed sightlessness from the observer (one who cannot see the wind) to the observed (blind horses). While

pity might seem an ennobling emotion, the result of empathy, Blake's writings of the 1790s indicate that it is only the useless product of a fallen condition. As he writes in "The Human Abstract" in "Songs of Experience," "Pity would be no more,/ If we did not make somebody Poor" (Erdman page 27).   (Blake Archive)

Butlin assumes that the Metropolitan version was the first to be completed, if not printed first:

Less finished in pen and watercolour, and with bolder drawing of the mother's features than in the Tate Gallery's print; possibly therefore the first version to be completed, more in tune with Blake's style in the mid 1790s.   In certain details, such as the drawing of the babe's left arm, it is closer to the British Museum's trial print than are the other versions.   The mother's arm has been enlarged on the right.   On the other hand the Tate's print seems to be more heavily mottled, so it may have been the first actual pull. (p.169)

Along with *God*, *Pity* is thought to be one of the earliest subjects among the Twelve Large Colour Prints, for there remain a number of sketches and trial prints that show Blake's experiment leading to completion of the series.   Yale *Pity* is the third pull, so the colour print is very thin and it is also varnished and framed.   The varnish has darkened and it makes the print look yellowish all over.   Details are finished in black ink with pen, and the scratching for rain is visible.   It seems that the watercolour has been washed over for shadows, but it is difficult to distinguish because of the varnish. Provenances:

Acquired by Thomas Butts from Blake, possibly c. 1805; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; his widow, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 1906 through Carfax and Co., London, to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).   (Blake Archive)

On this Tate print, Blake signature is incised into the pigment.   The provenances of the Metropolitan version are:

Perhaps acquired by Blake's wife Catherine at his death in 1827; perhaps acquired by Frederick Tatham upon the death of Mrs. Blake in 1831; W. Fuller Maitland before 1876; Robert W. Goelet; inherited by Goelet's widow, who gave the print to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1958.   (Blake Archive)

And the Yale version was:

Perhaps acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; perhaps acquired by Frederick Tatham upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; the dealer Joseph Hogarth, who offered the print, with the assistance of George Richmond, to John Ruskin c. 1843; at least briefly in Ruskin's possession, but probably returned to Hogarth; acquired c. 1878-80 by Arthur Burgess; J. W. Pease, probably no later than 1888; bequeathed by J. W. Pease to Miss S. H. Pease in 1901; her executor, Lord Wardington; offered Christie's, 2 Dec. 1938, lot 56 (apparently bought-in by Lady Wardington at £56.14s.); offered Sotheby's, 28 Nov.   1974, lot 137 (not sold, but acquired immediately after the auction by the Oxfordshire book dealer Colin Franklin); offered in Franklin's 1977 *Catalogue of Early Colour Printing* for $30,000; acquired in 1977 by Paul Mellon, who gave the print to the Yale Center for British Art in the same year.   (Blake Archive)

Hecate, or the Night of Enitharmon's Joy also has three prints, which are at the Tate, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, and Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, California.   Although the Blake Archive states that the newly proposed subject matter is generally accepted, the subject of this image is still controversial.

The title "Hecate" was first given to this work by William Michael Rossetti in his 1863 catalogue of Blake's pictorial works.   Later interpreters identified the three human figures as the triple form of the classical moon goddess and witch, and further associated the image with the reference to "triple Hecat's team" in Shakespeare's "A Midsummer Night's Dream," Act 5, scene 1. In 1990, the art historian Gert Schiff proposed a different textual source, Blake's own "Europe a Prophecy," plate 5, lines 1-9 (Erdman page 62). In Schiff's interpretation, the

front-most figure is Enitharmon, a representative of mystery, fallen nature, and sexual repression in "Europe." She separates and imprisons the youthful female (left) and male (right); her minions are creatures of the night (the owl and monstrous bats) or of ignorance (the ass and the lizard or toad). Schiff's title, "The Night of Enitharmon's Joy," is taken from the passage in "Europe" and has been generally accepted by Blake scholars.   (Blake Archive)

The Tate version has a watermark of '1794 J Whatman' and Blake's signature is incised into the pigment.   It was

Acquired by Thomas Butts from Blake, possibly c. 1805; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; his widow, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 1906 through Carfax and Co., London, to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).   (Blake Archive)

The Huntington 'Hecate' was

Perhaps acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; perhaps acquired by Frederick Tatham upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; the dealer Joseph Hogarth, who offered the print, with the assistance of George Richmond, to John Ruskin c. 1843; at least briefly in Ruskin's possession, but probably returned to Hogarth; acquired c. 1878-80 by Arthur Burgess; J. W. Pease, probably no later than 1888; bequeathed by J. W. Pease to Miss S. H. Pease in 1901; bequeathed to Mrs. Valentine Dodgson in 1938; apparently by bequest to John Dodgson; sold Christie's, 21 Nov. 1952, lot 35 (£220.10s. to the dealer Frank   T. Sabin); sold by Sabin to The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in 1954.   (Blake Archive)

And the provenances of the Edinburgh 'Hecate' were

John Scott, given 1862 to the Royal Scottish Academy, given 1910 to the National Gallery of Scotland.   (Butlin)

Joyce Townsend and Piers Townshend record that a Tate team, led by Kasia Szeleynski, then Head of Paper Conservation, successfully removed the varnish and cleaned the print.   The date of this conservation work is not recorded in the article.   The Tate version is clearly the first pull, judging from its bright colours and the amount of pigment.   The other version is in Scotland.   Although it is considered to be executed c.1795, the earlier period of large colour prints, at least the first pull shows a glimpse of the effect Blake would achieve in later prints like *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Newton*.   This is also true to the Getty *Satan*, whose serpent is printed with great success using various bright colours.   The chromatic lightness seems to contribute to its effectiveness, though it is difficult to tell whether the Tate 'Satan' has not lost its effect due to the previous varnishing, which apprehension also applies to the Huntington *Hecate*.   The way the owl and the newt (?) are depicted is much cruder than the Tate version, and it has an overall yellowish tone with some parts even seeming to show the colour of the paper. There is a similarity between this print and the Tate *Pity* in the way Blake used a brush to spread the blue pigment printed and also the way he used something like the wooden end of a brush to make scratches.   The Huntington version clearly lacks the depth of impression caused by the greener Tate version, yet it still retains the mysterious allure of this extraordinary series.   Some colour-printed parts, like the rock beneath the leg of the kneeling figure, are printed in different colours from the first pull, which seems to back up Frederick Tatham's account of Blake's method.   The method of Blake's colour printing was recorded by D. G. Rossetti as informed to him by Tatham (who, presumably, heard it directly from Blake):

> Blake, when he wanted to make his prints in oil, … took a common thick millboard, and drew in some strong ink or colour his design upon it strong and thick.   He then painted upon that in such oil colours and in such a state of fusion that they would blur well.   He painted roughly and quickly, so that no colour would have time to dry.   He then took a print of that on paper, and this impression he coloured up in water-colours, re-painting his outline on the millboard when he wanted to take another print.[124]

The three prints of *The House of Death* are all in collections within England.

They are located relatively close to each other, two being in London at the Tate and the British Museum, and the third at Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.   The subject matter is taken from Milton:

> "The House of Death" is based on Adam's vision of "a Lazar-house" in John Milton's "Paradise Lost," Book 11, lines 477-93.   "Triumphant Death" hovers above the stricken, his "Dart[s]" descending below each hand. The curved form extending between his hands seems poised ambiguously between a bow and a scroll. The figure far right, with a dagger in his left hand, may be a personification of Milton's "despair" who "tended the sick."   (Blake Archive)

The Tate version has a watermark of '1794 I Taylor', and a title, "The House of Death Milton," is inscribed in pencil below the design, 'almost certainly not by Blake'.   The print was

> Acquired by Thomas Butts in 1805 from Blake; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; his widow, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 1906 through Carfax and Co., London, to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).   (Blake Archive)

The British Museum print was

> Perhaps acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; perhaps acquired by Frederick Tatham upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; the dealer Joseph Hogarth, sold Southgate and Barrett's auction, 15 June 1854, lot 2784 (£1 to Olwen, possibly the code name for a dealer); the dealer Francis Harvey, offered Foster and Son auction, 21 May 1862, lot 11 (bought-in   at £3.5s.); George A. Smith, sold Christie's, 16 July 1880, lot 90 (£4.4s. to the dealer Francis Harvey); William Bell Scott,   sold Sotheby's, 21 April 1885, lot 173 (£12.15s. to Thibaudeau acting for the British Museum).   (Blake Archive)

The Fitzwilliam print was

Probably acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; Frederick Tatham, probably upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; sold from Tatham's collection, Sotheby's, 29 April 1862, lot 188 (£1.11s. to the dealer H. Palser); William Linnell, the son of Blake's friend and patron John Linnell, by 1876; William Linnell's son-in-law T. H. Riches, probably by 1906; bequeathed by Riches to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1936.   (Blake Archive)

This print has inscription by William Linnell on the back of its frame:

"This drawing by Wm Blake does not belong to the series of Mr J. Linnell Senr. but was bought by me of a dealer in London. William Linnell."

There are two prints of *The Good and Evil Angels Strugling for Possession of a Child*, at the Tate and in a private collection of Mr. and Mrs. John Hay Whitney in New York.   The Tate version is considered to be the later of the two pulls.   The images of both prints are available on the Blake Archive.   The image already appears in Blake's earlier Illuminated Book.

The textual context of the earliest version of "The Good and Evil Angels," on plate 4 of "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell"   (1790), offers some insight into its meaning. On plate 3 of "The Marriage," Blake introduces the "contraries...the religious call Good & Evil" (Erdman page 34). We can identify the figure on the left in the color printed drawing as the "Evil" angel, shackled on his left ankle, blind or at least with eyes closed, and rising before flames. On the right, holding a child apparently struggling to be free, is the "Good" angel. On plate 4 of "The Marriage," the "voice of the Devil" continues to explore the binary oppositions of fallen vision and claims that the religious identify "Evil" with "Energy" and "the Body," and the "Good" with "Reason" and the "Soul" (Erdman page 34). In his comments that follow, the Devil does not so much reverse this equation as deny the linked differences themselves, stating that the body is an aspect of soul. The color print may also indicate the fall into the errors of the good/evil, body/soul, energy/reason distinctions. The child may thus represent humanity caught

between these contending oppositions.   (Blake Archive)

Provenances:

Acquired by Thomas Butts in 1805 from Blake; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; Frederick J. Butts, apparently by inheritance in 1862; his widow, c. 1905, by inheritance; sold 2 June 1805 to W. Graham Robertson; given 1939 by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection).

By inheritance to Mrs. Blake; by bequest to Frederick Tatham; sold Sotheby's, 29 April 1862, lot 182 (£1.16s. to the dealer Toovey); Henry Cunliffe, probably acquired in or shortly after 1862; sold Sotheby's, 11 May 1895, lot 104 (£8.8s. to the dealer Frank Sabin); Mrs. Payne Whitney by 1919; by inheritance to John Hay Whitney; by inheritance to Betsy Cushing Whitney; by bequest to the Greentree Foundation, 1998; sold Sotheby's New York, 5 May 2004, lot 5 ($3,928,000 to an anonymous private collector).

The three prints of *Christ Appearing to the apostles after the Resurrection* are at Yale Center for British Art, the National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. and the Tate. They are all available on the Blake Archive.   The subject is taken from the Gospel:

"Christ Appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection" illustrates Luke 24:36-40. Christ stands in the midst of his followers and shows them his stigmata, but they are "terrified and affrighted." Blake shows the apostles bowing down before Christ, with at least one clasping his hands together in prayer.

Provenances:

Acquired by Thomas Butts in 1805 from Blake; Thomas Butts, Jr., apparently by inheritance in 1845; John Clark Strange by 1863; perhaps the work offered by the dealer Francis Harvey in a catalogue of c. 1865 for £15.15s.; perhaps the work sold from the collection of the Rev. Samuel Prince, Sotheby's, 11 Dec. 1865, lot 275 (£4.10s. to the dealer Halstead); acquired, apparently from a dealer named

Johnson, by Charles Eliot Norton in 1867; American Art Association auction, 2 May 1923, lot 13 ($6100 to the dealer Gabriel Wells); sold by Wells to Yale University Art Gallery in 1929; transferred to the Yale Center for British Art in 1979.

Probably acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; acquired by Frederick Tatham, probably upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; sold Sotheby's, 29 April 1862, lot 186 (£2.10s. to the dealer H. Palser); William A. White by 1919; acquired from White's collection by the dealer A. S. W. Rosenbach c. 1929 and sold to Lessing J. Rosenwald in 1930; given by Rosenwald to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, in 1945.

Perhaps acquired by Blake's wife, Catherine, upon his death in 1827; perhaps acquired by Frederick Tatham upon Mrs. Blake's death in 1831; the dealer Joseph Hogarth, sold Southgate and Barrett auction, 29 June 1854, lot 7112 (8s. to M. Sharp, probably a dealer); J. W. Pease; Miss S. H. Pease by bequest in 1901; sold Christie's, 2 Dec. 1938, lot 57 (£75 to Alec Martin of Christie's acting for W. Graham Robertson); bequeathed by Robertson to the Tate Gallery (now Tate Collection) in 1948.

The Tate version is varnished all over and it is difficult to see how much colour printing was done in this print.   The Yale print is from the original Butts Collection, though it seems to be the second pull.   Like the Tate version, it is all varnished, but the quality is much higher.   Christ's halo is brighter, and although the overall tone is sober and dark with green and brown dominating, the colours and lines are clearer.   The lines of shadow in the garment of the foremost figure on the right are beautifully colour-printed in green.   The National Gallery of Art has the first pull, in which many colours are printed, and the outline and details are finished by pen and ink.   This is the only version of the subject with no varnish.   A lot of red and pink are used for flesh and it is difficult to tell whether the colour of the garments of the apostles are colour-printed or washed over with watercolour.   The difference of colours may have been caused by the change of colour of varnish or it may have been washed over.   Some narrow areas between figures are hand-painted.

Chapter Six
Interpretation

In the field of art history, we can find a parallel to literary scholarship concerning Blake's acceptance and understanding. Although Blake as an artist has always been highly valued and appreciated, if in a limited circle where he was known at all, until around early twentieth century, he was considered to be an idiosyncratic, self-taught genius, almost separated from the world around him and the tradition leading to his age. One of the first critics who went against this current and showed Blake in line of tradition was Anthony Blunt (1907-1983). In his article published in 1938,[125] he sees some works by Blake in a line of tradition coming down from the mediaeval arts throughout the ages. The compasses depicted in 'The Ancient of Days' represent the tradition of the depiction of the Creation, especially of the second day when God delineated the Firmament, which symbolises the imposition of order on chaos. Compasses are also associated with Jesus, or more directly to Joseph, as a carpenter, in some pictures including Nicolas Poussin's 'Holy Family on the Steps'. Moreover, as in Blake's Large Colour Print 'Newton', they symbolise mathematics, and ultimately science and philosophy in general and human reason. Blunt also points out that there is a drawing by Blake after Michelangelo in British Museum which foreshadows 'Newton'. It is the figure of Abias, one of the ancestors of Jesus depicted in a lunette of the Sistine Chapel, which Blake probably drew after an engraving by Giorgio Ghisi.

This article was written at the beginning of Blunt's career as an art historian, which is almost equivalent to the beginning of academic art history in Britain. In her remarkable biography of Blunt, Miranda Carter describes the situation:

Thus settled, Blunt began in earnest to pursue a career in academic art history. His arrival at the Warburg on 13 September 1937, thirteen days short of his thirtieth birthday, was a crucial turning point in his career. With its scholarship and its almost metaphysical belief that art was a manifestation of the triumph of reason over chaos, the Warburg attracted him enormously. He felt at home there. 'He was utterly charming – wonderful manners – was very polite,' remembered

one of his colleagues.   The job that Fritz Saxl had created for him was as a general editor for the Warburg's publications, which included new books by well-respected European scholars such as Jean Adhémar and Jean Seznec.   Saxl wanted the books to feel more 'English' – a euphemism for the fact that, while the foreign scholars persevered in English, many were still dreadful at it.   Blunt, the conscientious stickler for detail, was perfect for the job, and he showed extreme dedication.   Even his holidays were spent in daily contact with the Institute.

'I'd never had a day's training in art history,' he said later.   'There was no means of doing so in this country… Coming into this professional atmosphere was of enormous importance to me.   In five minutes one learnt more from Saxl than in an hour from anyone else.'   The art historian John Pope-Hennessy, paying a characteristically backhanded compliment, agreed.   Saxl, he wrote, 'transformed Anthony Blunt from a jejeune Marxist journalist into one of the most accomplished art historians of his day'.[126]

The Warburg Institute, which developed from the unique library of Aby Warburg (1866-1929) and helped by Fritz Saxl (1890-1948) into a scholarly institute, was first affiliated to the University of Hamburg.   However, under the threats of Nazism, the institute relocated its library to London in 1934.   Many eminent scholars were associated with the institute, but some, including Erwin Panofsky, exiled to the United States, and others came over to London with the valuable collection.   Saxl was the first director from 1929 to 1949.   On the other hand, the Courtauld Institute of Art was founded in 1932 through the philanthropic efforts of the industrialist and art collector Samuel Courtauld and the art historian Sir Robert Witt.   It is a self-governing college of the University of London specialising in the study of the history of art, and is generally considered the most prestigious institution for the subject in the world.   The first director was William George Constable from 1932 to 1936, who was succeeded by T. S. R. Boase, and the third director was Blunt from 1947 to 1974.   So in the year 1938, Blunt had just started his career as an academic art historian at the newly started Courtauld Institute whose reputation and future were unsure, and was to be greatly led by Blunt himself.   It is not too much to say that Blunt established the high standard of British academic art history himself.   That is yet to come.   Now let us turn back to Blake criticism.

Another article placing Blake in tradition was published three years later.   C. H. Collins Baker (1880-1959), in 'The Sources of Blake's Pictorial Expression'[127], points out that some images that Blake used repeatedly were actually taken from earlier masterpieces known to Blake through prints.   They include the ass in *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* and *Hecate* from Alexander Brown's *Ars Pictoria* and Dürer's *St. John Chrysostom* whose background figure would develop through a plate in *Marriage* into a Large Colour Print, *Nebuchadnezzar*.   Collins Baker started his career as a landscape painter, and later turned to art history.   According to ONDB,

In 1911 he began to figure as an art critic, contributing articles to *The Outlook* and to the *Saturday Review*; he also accepted an appointment as private assistant to Sir Charles Holroyd, director of the National Gallery, rising to the rank of keeper in 1914. Early in his career at the National Gallery he wrote his most important book, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters* (2 vols., 1912), which is a pioneering work in the study of British art. He continued as keeper under Holroyd's successor, Charles John Holmes, who was director from 1916 to 1928.

While continuing his work as keeper, Collins Baker in 1928 accepted the position of surveyor of the king's pictures, publishing *A Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court* in 1929. Ellis Waterhouse, who worked for him at the National Gallery, wrote on 16 January 1976 that 'CHCB was certainly not happy as surveyor … [he] was very unassuming and unsuspicious and totally unsnobbish and miraculously unsuited to having anything to do with a world of royal servants' (Archives of the Royal Collection). However, Collins Baker retained the position until he resigned in 1934, and was made CVO in the same year. He also accepted the offer in 1930 to prepare a catalogue (published in 1936) of the British paintings in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California. Increasing friction with the board of trustees at the National Gallery, in particular with the chairman, Lord Lee, encouraged him in the autumn of 1931 to explore with Max Farrand, the director of the Huntington, the possibility of a professional connection. On 2 February 1932 he accepted the post of senior research associate in British art at the Huntington and in March resigned from the National Gallery. For a while he remained in England, continuing his work as surveyor of the Royal Collection; this led to the publication in 1937 of a catalogue

of the pictures at Windsor. After moving to California in late 1933 he pursued a variety of projects, principally a study of the papers at the Huntington of James Brydges, first duke of Chandos, which he published with his wife, Muriel, in 1949. In that year he retired and returned to England, where he spent the remainder of his life. Although incapacitated by arthritis in his last years, he continued work on a projected book on minor Georgian portrait painters. He died on 3 July 1959 at his home, 8 Holyoake Walk, Finchley, Middlesex.

In many ways, he can be seen as a predecessor to Blunt.   A generation older than Blunt, Collins Baker belongs to the old-fashioned British scholars Blunt was, in a way, rebelling against.   Interestingly the position of the surveyor of the king's pictures was to be taken by the younger scholar later, right after the war from 1945.   The Huntington Collection, which includes a number of Blakes, must have brought the older man of letters to this field.   Common to those critics is the position which allowed them access to vast collections of arts, such as the National Gallery or the Royal Collection, and the task to publish catalogues.   From such mental database they could draw pictures of various ages and countries to compare with Blake's designs.

In 1943 Blunt published an even fuller article of the subject[128], which would lead to the publication of his monograph *The Art of William Blake* (1959).   In this article Blunt examines Blake's borrowings from earlier art under four headings:

(1) Ancient art

(2) Mediaeval art

(3) Renaissance and Mannerist art

(4) Oriental and primitive art

Here I excerpt only the points relevant to the Twelve Large Colour Prints.   Three prints, *Pity*, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *The House of Death* (called *The Lazar House* by Blunt) are mentioned.   Comparing the drawing at British Museum and the Water-Colour at the Tate Gallery, Blunt sees two possible borrowing from earlier art in *Pity*:

Another curious instance of borrowing from Raphael occurs in one of Blake's apparently most spontaneous and original designs, the "Pity", where the figure at the very top with outstretched arms is an echo of God the Father in the Loggie painting of "God appearing to Isaac".   Another possible connection with 16th

century Italian art in this design can be seen in the hair of the central figure blown out almost straight in the wind.   This suggests that Blake may have had in mind a representation of Occasio such as that shown in the painting by Girolamo da Carpi of "Chance and Penitence" in the Dresden gallery.

These examples support what has been said above, namely that it was the Mannerist rather than the classical elements in Michelangelo and Raphael that attracted Blake.   If this view is accepted, we need not regret that Blake knew these artists indirectly through engravings rather than in the original.   The prints after Michelangelo and Raphael with which Blake was familiar were executed by their Mannerist followers and therefore tended to exaggerate the non-classical qualities in their work.   It is therefore possible that Blake would have found these 'translations' more to his taste than the originals, and I am inclined to believe that he might have felt himself somewhat lost if he had been faced with, say, the Segnatura frescoes themselves.

For *Nebuchadnezzar* Blunt adds another German source, Lucas Cranach's Were-Wolf. He introduces an episode from Gilchrist which shows a characteristic of Blake's borrowing.

Blake did not, however, confine his admiration to Italian artists.   He was an enthusiastic admirer of Dürer and of the German and Flemish engravers of the same time.   We know moreover that he saw original paintings of this type in the collections of Truchsess and Aders in London.   It is not therefore surprising to find similarities to their work in his designs.   The closest parallel is to be found in his coloured print of "Nebuchadnezzar" which goes back to certain figures in German engravings.   Gilchrist tells us that Samuel Palmer also noticed this similarity but he told Gilchrist that Blake only saw the prints in question many years after he made his own design.   The similarity is so close, however, that it is difficult to believe Palmer's statement.   When Blake was impressed by a figure in any work of art he seems to have absorbed it completely into his stock of visual images, and it became as much a part of the store as elements which he had drawn from nature or from any other source.   It is, therefore, quite likely that when Palmer showed him the German prints containing a figure like his

Nebuchadnezzar, Blake had entirely forgotten that he had ever seen a print of this kind, and he probably had no idea that he had been inspired by such a model.

In the last part of the article, Blunt unfolds an interesting discussion about Blake and Reynolds' ideas of *copying* and *imitating*. For Blake, copying is a process by which the artist learns the language of art, but he thinks that it is impossible for one artist to imitate another. He rounds up the article with Blake's borrowings from his contemporary artists. We can see Blake shared the artistic language with many artists, especially with those he was close, like Flaxman, Romney, and especially Fuseli.

One of the most dramatic figures in Blake's compositions is the bearded old man with outstretched arms who hovers at the top of the "Lazar House", dated 1795; but we can find an almost identical figure in Fuseli's drawing of the "Fertilization of Egypt," which was copied and then engraved by Blake as an illustration to Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, published in 1791. In this case also the dates are clear enough to prove that priority belongs to Fuseli.

The Journal issued another article following the steps after Collins Baker and Blunt, 'Blake and Emblem Literature' by Piloo Nanavutty in 1952.[129] It supplements Blunt's article, adding another genre of earlier art Blake borrowed from, namely, the emblem literature. This genre was still very popular in Blake's time. Nanavutty points out some authors from whom Blake borrowed frequently, chiefly Andrea Alciati (1492-1550), Frances Quarles (1592-1644), Nicholas Reusner (1545-1602) and others. The emblem literature was a prevailing source for various arts since the Renaissance era, and its influence on Blake is especially prominent as he designed some of his illuminated books in the style.[130] To understand emblems, various sources had to be sought. In the introduction to the new translation of Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* (1567), the translators emphasize the prevailing influence and popularity of Conti in the English Renaissance, especially on Spencer and Milton.[131] Such knowledge of Classics, myths and legends, along with many others, like literature, proverbs, arts, fables, science, nature, etc. was considered to be required in order to understand the meanings behind the illustration and aphorism of an emblem. In the preface of the new English-Latin edition of Alciati's *Emblematum Liber*, John F. Moffitt underlines

the influence of the author, which can be applied to the emblem literature itself.

> My purpose here is to make available to all English-speaking persons interested in the arts an accessible translation of a key text in post-medieval European culture.   For centuries, the *Emblematum liber* by Andrea Alciati was considered an essential part of the library of anyone who participated in humanistic learning and creativity.   Since its initial publication in 1531, scholars had depended upon this often-reprinted picture book to interpret the meaning of contemporary art and literature.   Likewise, writers and artists turned to Alciati's *Book of Emblems* in order to invest their creative work with an understood moral significance.
>
> Alciati's illustrated text was shared by all the well-educated.   For the culture of Humanism, which flourished during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, it was the common leaven, just as the Bible had provided the intellectual structure of the Middle Ages, or the Qu'ran furnishes the basic key to understanding Islamic culture.   Without Alciati's *Emblematum liber* one lacks an essential key to the once easily read meanings attached to many of the greatest artworks produced from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth century.[132]

Nanavutty shows how Blake borrowed images from emblems and how he used them in ways suitable to him.   This is also what Blunt emphasizes about Blake's borrowing. But here we should remember that the influence of emblem literature on Blake was not limited to the images: its very presupposition that each image bears meanings can be considered to have influenced Blake's whole work.

In 1959 Blunt published a monograph, *The Art of William Blake*.   In this study, Blunt elucidates the artistic theory of Blake, following the life and development of his works.   The book came out as a result of the Bampton Lectures delivered at Columbia University in 1959.   This is characteristic of the author.   Among his many faces, the one as a lecturer was one of the best remembered by those who knew him.   His biographer records:

> Many Courtauld students who went on to work in art history dated the moment they picked their career to the occasion when the director [Blunt] made them feel that

the subject was theirs.

     He could be an equally compelling lecturer.   In front of an audience he seemed more at ease than before a single person.   'He had this gift of speaking his lectures as if he was having a personal conversation with you,' said Dick Kingzett, of Agnew's. … Another ex-pupil remembered being among an audience which Blunt reduced to tears in a lecture on William Blake and the conditions in which the new urban poor lived in the Industrial Revolution.   'He recited that Blake poem about miserable people pounding the streets.   I discovered that tears were pouring down the faces of people around me, at the incredible pathos of the awful cruelty and social deprivation of the Industrial Revolution.'[133]

     In the second chapter, 'Blake and the Sublime', Blunt expounds how the concept of the sublime played a great part first in literary and then in artistic criticism during the eighteenth century.   Starting from Longinus' *On the Sublime*[134], he introduces how critics as Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-1779), Edmund Burke (1729-1797), his protégé, James Barry (1741-1806)[135] and Joshua Reynolds (1723-92) discussed the idea and how the idea influenced Blake's art.   One of the earlier essays on this subject published in England was written by John Baillie (d.1743), a physician and writer, *An Essay on the Sublime*, published posthumously.   In the Introduction of its reprint[136], published in 1953, Samuel Holt Monk of the University of Minnesota places the author in a line coming down from the third earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713) and Joseph Addison (1672-1719).   The latter met Boileau, the first translator of Longinus into English (1674), in 1700 in Paris during his grand tour.   Pat Rogers describes the encounter in ODNB:

     By late summer 1700 Addison, now more fluent in conversation, had returned to Paris and was able to see more of Stanyan, who had been appointed secretary at the embassy there.   Interviews were arranged with leading figures in French culture, notably the philosopher Nicolas Malebranche and the poet Boileau, then at the peak o his influence throughout the western world as a living embodiment of all that was classical and therefore best.   Though Boileau was sixty-four, considered elderly in those days, and somewhat deaf, he impressed his visitor with

his comments on literature, including a preference for Homer's unselfconscious manner of narrative over the preachy manner of his fashionable imitator Fénelon—a valuation of showing rather than telling, in modern terms.   Addison was grateful for the advice and his later criticism shows how much he learned from Boileau's precepts and example.

Baillie's essay was commended and borrowed extensively in Alexander Gerard's 'An Essay on Taste' (1759).   Edmund Burke (1729-1797) discusses the subject in *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757). Although Burke might not have known Baillie's essay, since, according to Monk, 'it passed immediately into oblivion', he surely must have known the works of his Whig precursors.   Burke's concept of the sublime differed from the other contemporary critics, and although they use different terms, his theory seems to be the closest to Blake's.   Blunt writes:

> The essential difference between Burke's ideas and those of the writers just mentioned [Mengs, Barry, Reynolds] is that for them the sublime is really a superior form of the beautiful, whereas for Burke the two ideas are opposed and mutually exclusive.   Burke starts from Longinus' view that the sublime produces a violent effect but takes it much further in maintaining that the degree of violence is a measure for the value of the emotion.   He then argues that pain and danger can be more violent than pleasure, and that these emotions are, therefore, the chief sources of the sublime.   "Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite pain and danger, that is to say whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror is a source of the Sublime; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotions which the mind is capable of feeling."   As for Longinus, the passion aroused by the sublime is astonishment, but Burke defines more precisely the qualities which go to arouse it: terror, obscurity, power, vastness, infinity, difficulty, magnificence, and darkness.
>
> Naturally this new definition of the sublime brings with it new examples. Burke is primarily concerned with literature and his examples are mainly drawn from written works.   He admits very few classical authors into the category, the most important being Lucretius, for the description of the storm at the beginning

of Book III, and Virgil, for the descent of Aeneas into Hades in Book VI of the *Aeneid*.   The Bible is far more productive of sublime passages, though only the Old Testament.   The books most favoured by Burke are Psalms and Job. Shakespeare is only quoted once, in the section on "Magnificence," for the description of the king's army in *Henry IV*, Part I.   Milton provides many more examples, particularly from *Paradise Lost*, in which Burke singles out as the most purely sublime passage the description of Satan, Sin and Death at the Gates of Hell.

In the visual arts Burke quotes only one instance of the sublime, and that, surprisingly enough, is Stonehenge, which qualifies on the ground of its size and the difficulty of its construction.

Burke may be said to have transformed the sublime from a classical into an anti-classical conception, and to have transferred it from classical to Hebrew literature.   In this he was to some extent following in the steps of Bishop Lowth, who in his lectures on Hebrew poetry, given at Oxford in the years 1741-50, emphasized the association of the sublime with the books of the Old Testament, quoting Job as the supreme example.   This enthusiasm for the Old Testament, suggested by Lowth and taken up by Burke, was to become common at the time of the Romantic movement.   Coleridge, for instance, writes in terms which echo Burke and Lowth: "Could you ever discover anything sublime, in our sense of the term, in the Classical Greek literature?   I never could.   Sublimity is Hebrew by birth."[137]

This topic was prevalent around this time.   In the Advertisement of his book, Alexander Gerard states:

The Edinburgh Society for the encouragement of arts, sciences, manufactures, and agriculture proposed, in the year 1755, a gold medal to the best Essay on Taste; and, not having assigned it that year, repeated the proposal in 1756.This determined the author to enter on the following enquiry into the nature of Taste.[138]

Interestingly this essay is published with three dissertations on the same subject by Mr. De Voltaire, Mr. D'Alembert, F.R.S. and Mr. De Montesquieu.   These essays are

introduced with another Advertisement:

> The following essays, upon the same subject which Professor Gerard has treated in such a masterly manner, are the productions of three of the greatest and most elegant writers, that the French nation has ever produced. There can be no doubt about their title to a place in this volume, which, by such a valuable addition, will contain, perhaps, all that can be said concerning the principles, the nature, the characters and extent, the rise and decline of true taste; matters hitherto injudiciously treated by many pens, and but superficially by the best.[139]

Although Blake is critical about what Burke says and uses different terms, in practice his taste and subject matters fit precisely to what Burke defines as the sublime. Blunt shows how Blake goes even further on seeing the Hebrew inspiration not only in literature and architecture, as was widely discussed since the sixteenth century, but also in visual arts, especially sculptures. Blunt associates this discussion with production of some works of Blakes, including two Large Colour Prints, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *the House of Death*.

> Mortimer made engravings of *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Death on the pale Horse*, both subjects extremely rare at the time but in full accord with Burke's idea of the sublime and later illustrated by Blake. From Shakespeare Blake took many subjects, but it is significant that they include one from the only passage quoted in full by Burke, namely the description of Prince Henry from *Henry IV*, Part I, and a large proportion of the others illustrate the kind of horrid theme which his contemporaries chose with particular pleasure from the tragedies and the histories: Richard III and the ghosts, Hamlet and his father's ghost, the ghost of Caesar appearing to Brutus, the ghost of Banquo appearing to Macbeth, Lady Macbeth and the sleeping Duncan, Lear and Cordelia. All these subjects can be paralleled in drawings or paintings by Fuseli, or Romney, and in many cases the rendering as well as the choice of subject is closely similar to that of Blake.
> Blake seems not to have interested himself seriously in the illustration of Milton until after 1800, and when he did so, it was for special and personal reasons which will be examined later. Some of his earlier designs, however,

such as the *Lazar House* of 1795, show that he was aware of the importance of *Paradise Lost* at a relatively early period, and at that time his choice tended towards the grim themes which his friends, such as Fuseli, preferred in the poet. In connection with Burke and his views on Milton, it is significant that Blake, Barry, Fuseli, and Stothard all made illustrations to the episode of Satan, Sin, and Death at the Gates of Hell which Burke had singled out as the purest example of the sublime.   Their renderings of the subject bring out the strength and weakness of each artist: Barry literal and precise, and using an idiom derived from Michelangelo; Stothard reducing the scene to drawing-room terms; Fuseli violent in his Mannerist distortions and foreshortenings; Blake crude and yet by his very directness convincing.

A number of these illustrations to Shakespeare and Milton were made at a relatively late period in Blake's career, and they underline the fact that even as a mature artist he had much in common with the painters whom he had known and admired in his youth.   As will be shown later, he continued not merely to admire them but also to borrow motives from their works, even at a time when he had struck out on a line completely personal, completely new, and far beyond the ken of his more prosaically minded friends.[140]

In chapter 3 'Vision and Execution in Blake's Painting' Blunt interprets Blake's idiosyncratic artistic terms and theory.   For Blake vision and imagination were crucial, and he used some words, like *dictation*, in a rather special sense.   Using examples like the *Visionary Heads* and the *Descriptive Catalogue*, Blunt defends Blake on the ground of Platonism, or rather neo-Platonism, and Mannerism.[141]   Blunt writes:

His view is summed up in a passage from the *Descriptive Catalogue*:

I assert for My Self that I do not behold the outward Creation & that to me it is hindrance & not Action; it is as the dirt upon my feet, No part of Me.   "What," it will be Question'd, "When the Sun rises, do you not see a round disk of fire somewhat like a Guinea?" O no, no, I see an Innumerable company of the Heavenly host crying, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty."

The artist, that is to say, does not study the material world for its own sake but regards it as a series of symbols behind which lies truth; and this truth can be apprehended provided the artist has the key with which to penetrate the mystery. The key is, of course, provided by the imagination. This faculty enables the artist, as Blake says, to see *through* not *with* the eye and so to penetrate beyond the finite to the infinite and to reach direct communion with the divine: "He who sees the infinite in all things sees God; he who sees the ratio sees himself only." (pp.25-26)

This neo-Platonistic view on art has something in common with the emblem literature.[142] Emblems usually consisted of three elements:

In their canonic form, emblems are, in short, symbolic combinations of pictures and words. The internal harmony of an emblem is established by its three essential components; hence, it is known as an *emblema triplex*, so distinguishing it from the two-part *impresa*. The first component of an emblem is the *inscriptio*, or terse motto, which provides the title, typically cast in the form of a proverb, providing a clearly defined declaration of purpose through Aesop-like "conventional wisdom." The second element is the *pictura*, or symbolic illustration of the central motif, an anecdote often drawn from classical mythology. Absent in an *impresa*, the essential third feature of an *emblema* is the *subscriptio*, or declaration appended below ("sub") the picture, and this is most often presented as an epigram. The meaningful symbiotic relationship between the mute and the speaking halves ("*muta Poesis et Pictural loquens*") in an emblem is connotative rather than denotative.[143]

Some works mentioned before do not fit the strict definition of the genre. Some have only two parts and therefore should be called *impresa*, and some seem to be just illustration to biblical text, as some work by Quarles.[144] Interestingly, Quarles' literary work also shows foreshadow of what we find in Blake. For example, the title of one of his works, *Divine Fancies* is echoed in Blake's 'Memorable Fancy' in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, and Quarles contemplates on subjects such as Jacob, David and Goliath, and Nebuchadnezzar, familiar subjects in Blake. For instance:

On NABVCHADNEZZER.

What luckless Accident hath bred such ods
Betwixt great *Babels Monarch*, and his *Gods*,
That they so oft disturbe him, and affright
His broken slumbers with the *Dreames* of night!
Alas, what hath this Princely Dreamer done,
That he must quit the *Glory* of his Throne,
His Royall *Scepter*, his Imperiall *Crowne?*
Must bee expeld his *Honour*, and come downe
Below the meanest *Slave*, and, for a Season,
Be banisht from the use, the Act of *Reason?*
Must be exil'd from *humane shape*, and chew
The cudde, and must be moistned with the dew
Of heav'n; nay, differ in no other thing
From the bruit beast, but that *he was a King?*
What ayle thy Gods, that they are tune'd so rough,
So full of rage? what, had they meat enough
To fill their *golden* Stomacks?   Was thy knee
Bent oft enough?   What might the reason be?
Alas, poore harmlesse things! it was not they;
'Twas not their wills: I dare be bold to say,
They knew it not: It was not they that did it;
They had no pow'r to *act*, or to *forbid* it:
Deserv'dst thou not, Great King, the stile of *Beast*,
To serve such Gods, whose Deities can digest
Their servants open wrongs? that could dispense
With what they'endure without the least offence?
Illustrations *Beast*, methinks thy better'd state
Has no great reason to complaine of *Fate:*
Thou art more neere to him thou didst adore,
By one *degree*, then ere thou wert before:
'Tis some promotion; That there is lesse ods

Betwixt thy *Nature*, and thy *senselesse Gods*.[145]

Quarles' style of illustrating Biblical text may also have inspired Blake's execution of the illustrations to the Book of Job.   So here, when we say the emblem literature, we do not have to limit it in the narrow definition of the term but think about a tradition where pictures are fraught with symbolic meanings.

> The broader context later impelling all this interpretive ingenuity became that of a "meaningful universe," the one created by God in order to reveal himself and his divine plan to mankind; hence, everything that exists necessarily points to a meaning lying beyond any given *res*, the thing itself.   Since each natural *res* contains potential meaning, it simultaneously becomes a *res significans*.   As such, it next points to its *sensus spiritualis, sive mysticus* (spiritual meaning), with this deduction then directing the individual's conduct in this world and enhancing his hope for salvation in the next. Typically, this interpretative undertaking was addressed to the "Book of Nature" (*Liber naturae*), …[146]

In this tradition nature, as well as a picture, becomes a vehicle of meanings which man ought to seek.   Therefore it is natural that Blake vehemently attacked Reynolds' view of nature, which was the exact opposite to his own.   Here he expands his earlier discussion in his 1943 article on Blake's theory of line and colour and on his borrowing. What is notable in our discussion is his reference to some Large Colour Prints.   First, on *Pity*:

> In some instances the borrowed motive is only introduced at a very late stage in the evolution of the design.   Two drawings survive for the colour-print of *Pity* which enable us to follow the development of the design.   The essential elements are there from the beginning: the dying mother, the heavenly figure riding on the "sightless courier of the air," and the "naked new-born babe"; but in the first drawing they are loosely disposed in a pattern much higher in format than the final design and based on two diagonal movements.   In the second drawing the shape approaches the final print and the design has been reduced to a more horizontal form, but without that rigid emphasis on the horizontal lines which is

so characteristic of the finished composition.   In the last stage two important changes take place; the dying mother takes on the form of a mediaeval recumbent tomb effigy, and a second figure is introduced at the top of the design, partly no doubt because Shakespeare refers to "Heaven's Cherubin" in the plural.   What is curious is the fact that this second figure is taken almost literally from an engraving after Raphael's design of *God Appearing to Isaac* in the Vatican Loggie. In this instance, therefore, Blake only introduces his borrowed elements at the very last stage, but he does so in a different manner in the two cases.   With the mother it is to give final form to a figure which has been slowly evolved along quite different lines; with the second cherub the figure is inserted exactly as it appears in Raphael's design.   (p.36)

He also explains the development of *The House of Death* (*The Lazar House*) and *Good and Evil Angels Struggling for a Child* in relation to the group of artists Blake was very close to:

Fundamentally, however, it is futile to argue the question of priority.   The essential point is that there were certain motives and certain images which were, one might almost say, the common property of the whole group to which Blake, Fuseli, Flaxman, Romney, and Stothard belonged, and that each member of the group produced his own particular interpretation of the motive.   This fact is well illustrated by the history of the figure of an old, bearded man with arms outstretched, which is to be found in the works of all these artists but is most familiar from Blake's *Lazar House* of 1795.   The figure seems to appear first in this particular circle in the engraving by Blake after Fuseli which illustrates Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, published in 1791.   Here it represents the Nile, and it is natural enough to find that the artist has based the figure on a relief of Jupiter Pluvius from Montfaucon.   In Fuseli's original drawing the figure is loosely indicated, and in the engraving Blake has given it a sharper form much closer to Montfaucon.   He then uses it himself for the *Lazar House*, a theme which Fuseli also illustrated, though whether before or after Blake is not clear, and in any case his bat-winged figure is somewhat different, though ultimately deriving from the same source.   In the meantime Flaxman had used it for his

engraving of the *Statue of Four Metals* in the Dante series, following Montfaucon
fairly closely.   Finally it reappears in one of Romney's most original
wash-drawing, which probably illustrate the line from *Paradise Lost*:

> Thou from the first
> Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread
> Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss. (Book I, lines19 ff.)

Never did Romney come so close as in this drawing to the spirit of Blake, who, it
should be added, liked him as a man and admired his imaginative designs, if not
his portraiture.

Another instance of various artists of this group using a common image is
provided by Blake's *Good and Evil Angels Struggling for a Child*, of which four
versions are known: one, probably dating form the later 1780s, was formerly in
the collection of Mrs. Nöttidge; a second, slightly later, belongs to Mrs. Payne
Whitney; a third is on page 4 of the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*; and the fourth
is a colour-printed drawing, dated 1795, in the Tate Gallery.   All these are
reminiscent in pattern of a wash-drawing by Flaxman in the Fitzwilliam Museum,
which probably dates from 1783; it represents three women, one naked and two
draped, floating in front of what appears to be an arch or the entrance to a cave.
A similar group was used by Fuseli for *Satan Starting at the Touch of Ithuriel's
Spear*, known from a drawing and a line engraving of 1807.   In Blake's hands
the group becomes more and more characteristic of his style as he develops it.   In
the first version the chained figure is handsome in a conventional way, like the
figures in Flaxman's drawing, and he gazed before him with wide-open eyes.   In
the later versions he becomes increasingly sinister in expression, and his eyes take
on a frightening blankness which clearly indicates that he is blind, a symbol of his
fallen and imperfect state.   (pp.41-42)

In Chapter 4 'The First Illuminated Books' Blunt traces the development of
Blake's Illuminated Books up until the Lambeth Books, in which he includes the
Twelve Large Colour Prints.   He starts:

During the years 1789 to 1798 Blake's creative energy as a visual artist found
expression in a new medium, engraving, which he had hitherto used most entirely

for reproducing the works of other artists, and in a new field, the illustration of his own works. The first year of the period, 1789, is marked by the production of the *Songs of Innocence* and the *Book of Thel*, in which Blake launched on the world in complete and mature form his new method of illuminated printing. (p.44)

As is shown in the tone of the passage, Blunt sees this period as a burst of Blake's creativity. Blunt regards the series of the Twelve Large Colour Prints as expansion of the ideas expressed in the frontispiece to *Europe*, which is also called the *Ancient of Days*. Apparently this was his favourite picture, since the subject marked the starting point in his 1938 article and he returned to the subject repeatedly. He introduces Robertson's method, and assumes the prints as conforming a series:

There are good reasons for supposing that these colour-prints were planned by Blake as a single series. They were all produced in a very short period of time, and they are more or less identical in format and technique. Moreover, all the subjects can be shown to bear on themes connected with Blake's interpretation of the early history of the world as it is set forth in the Lambeth Books. The first in the series is the print of *God Creating Adam*. This is Blake's version of the creation of man as an evil act, and God is Jehovah-Urizen, like the figure on the title page of *Europe*. His "creation" of man consists in reducing him from the life of infinity to the restricted and finite life of this world, which is symbolised by the serpent wound round the leg of Adam, the regular symbol in Blake for materialism. (p.58)

Blunt considers the series has an order, which goes:

1) *God Creating Adam*
2) *Satan Exulting over Eve*
3) *God Judging Adam*
4) *Lamech and his Two Wives*
5) *Lazar House*
6) *Hecate*
7) *Newton*

8) *Nebuchadnezzar*

9) *Pity*

10) *Ruth*

11) *Elijah*

12) *Los, Enitharmon and Orc (Good and Evil Angels)*

At this point, *God Judging Adam* was thought to have been lost, and was called *Elijah*. Blunt doesn't include *Christ Appearing to the Apostles* in the series.   His interpretation is as following.

1. Creation

2-4 The Fall and its immediate consequences

       (4. Death as one of the consequences)

5. Another result of the Fall, sickness and suffering.   *Paradise Lost*, Book XI.

6. A parallel theme.   Superstition, another aspect of the domination of Urizen.

7-8. Form a sort of trilogy with 6.

9. *Macbeth* / Enitharmon, identified with pity and the female principle.

10. Probably still dealing with the same theme of pity.

11. The relation to the whole group is slightly different.

       Continuity of the poetic tradition/ Unhappy position of the poet

12. One aspect of the tragedy of man under the old dispensation

The three prints that Blunt called trilogy is the most controversial in their interpretation. His explanation is:

Another print not taken directly from the Bible seems to develop a parallel theme.   This is the composition of *Hecate*.   This print is usually said to illustrate either *Macbeth* (Act III, scene 5, or Act IV, scene 1) or Puck's last speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but in fact it bears very little resemblance to either description, except for the fact that in Puck's speech she is referred to as "triple Hecate" and is so depicted by Blake.   In the print she is surrounded by evil-looking creatures—a donkey, eating thistle leaves with serrated edges like bat's wings (always a symbol of evil with Blake), an owl, and an animal of which only the head is visible but which looks like some enormous lizard—while over her head hovers a still more alarming creature with a devilish face and bat's wings. Hecate herself has her hand on an open book.   She seems in fact to be depicted

as the goddess of necromancy, a function which she regularly performed in Antiquity.   In this case the print would represent superstition, another aspect of the domination of Urizen in this case through the priesthood of established religion.

If this interpretation is correct, the *Newton* and the *Nebuchadnezzar* would form a sort of trilogy with *Hecate*.   Newton is a character regularly quoted by Blake, together with Locke, as the exponent of Urizen's religion of reason on earth.   The figure of Newton is shown seated at the bottom of the sea and holding the compasses, both details which relate the figure to Urizen, one to his appearance on the frontispiece to *Europe*, the other to the plate in *Urizen* which shows him submerged in the waters of materialism.   *Nebuchadnezzar* symbolises the further stage of man's degeneration.   Newton shows him abandoning imagination in favour of reason only; in Nebuchadnezzar reason has vanished and man has submitted himself wholly to the dictates of the senses.   (pp.59-60)

Blunt concludes that 'this series of prints must be regarded as the most magnificent expression of the ideas expounded by Blake in the Lambeth Books.'

The monotony and emptiness which might result from the use of such simple methods are avoided by means of the great richness of texture produced by Blake's special technique and the elaboration of details within the main scaffolding.   The result is a combination of intensity and control rare in Blake's work, and it could be argued that from a purely artistic point of view these are his most successful compositions.

At about the same time Blake made a series of small prints of great beauty, now in the British Museum, which were produced by a combination of the methods used in the printed books and the monotype process used for big prints. These small prints are pulled from the metal plates of pages from the Lambeth Books, but from the illustrations only, without any text.   They also differ from the corresponding plates in the books in that the full colouring was applied to the plate, as was the case in the big prints, so that the rich and mottled texture obtained by this method is used over the whole surface and not only for the outline, as is normally the case with the books themselves.   The result is an effect

of gem-like beauty never to be found in the books, and the pages of *Thel*, for instance, take on a quite new intensity of colour.   The coloured print of *Glad Day* was made by the same process, but its gaiety and its more optimistic theme suggest that it was made later, probably after 1800, when Blake was beginning to emerge from the despondency of the Lambeth period.   (pp.62-63)

Chapter 5 'The Illustration to the Bible and to Milton' deals with the years from 1795 to 1809, when Blake had a one-man exhibition which ended in failure.   One significant and successful project was the series of tempera paintings of Biblical subjects which Blake executed in the years 1799-1800 for his friend and patron Thomas Butts.

These paintings are executed in the technique which Blake called "fresco" and which, he declared, was infinitely superior to the hated oil painting.   It is in fact a variant of the tempera medium, but Blake probably used carpenter's glue instead of egg, with the result that, contrary to his hopes and predictions, the paintings have darkened and flaked more than his other works and more than contemporary works in oils.   In recent years, however, many of them have been restored with success and have regained much of their original beauty.
The mood of this series, as indicated by the choice of subject, is entirely different form that of the colour-prints of 1795.   It may have been out of deference to the taste of Butts, who probably did not feel at home in Blake's mythological world, that the artist chose all his themes from the Bible, but the actual selection of them is certainly his own personal choice.   (p.65)

In September 1800, Blake moved to Felpham where he worked for his friend and patron, William Hayley.   In the three years he spent in Sussex, in spite of an increasingly difficult relationship with Hayley, Blake got over his despondency and regained the bright vision he had in his childhood.   This resulted in another series of biblical pictures for Butts, started at Felpham and continued after his return to London.   This time the series consisted of watercolours.

There is little doubt that Blake was here following the same procedure that he

had used in the tempera set, but on a far bigger scale, for more than eighty compositions are known to have belonged to it, and of these the greater part still survive.   In fact this must have been intended to be "Blake's Bible," just as the loggia frescoes are "Raphael's Bible."   It would be imprudent to attribute too precise a significance to the exact choice of subjects, many of which no doubt had for Blake some private and personal association, but the general trend of the argument is fairly clear.   As in the tempera series, the New Testament receives a bigger share than the Old, though twenty-seven are devoted to the latter, and the Gospels are given relatively fewer items, because twelve are allotted to the Apocalypse and, more surprisingly, five to the story of St. Paul.   (pp.69-70)

Another significant influence of his Felpham years was his growing interest on Milton.   His study of Milton resulted in his illuminated book, *Milton*, started at Felpham and finished later, and various illustration series, the first of which was *Paradise Lost* executed for Butts in 1818.   In recent studies this assumption is questioned.   The Blake Archive records the execution of Milton illustrations by Blake as follows:

The poetry of John Milton was important to Blake as both poet and artist from his earliest years.   As he told John Flaxman in a letter of 12 September 1800, "Milton lovd me in childhood & shewd me his face" (Erdman page 707). Several early drawings, such as the *Satan, Sin, and Death* of c.1780 (Butlin 101), were probably inspired by Milton.   In 1790-92, Blake loosely sketched several illustrations to *Paradise Lost* in his Notebook (Butlin 201).   He composed his first series of water colors illustrating one of Milton's poems in 1801 when the Rev. Joseph Thomas commissioned the eight designs for *Comus* (Butlin 529, sometimes called the "small" set).   These were also acquired, and probably commissioned, by Thomas.   The date of composition is established by the "1807" date inscribed on five of the designs.   Blake executed another series of twelve *Paradise Lost* designs, with a larger format, in 1808 for his chief patron Thomas Butts (Butlin 536).   In this later group, eleven of the designs are variants of those in the Thomas set, but the fourth design of 1807, "Satan Spying on Adam and Eve and Raphael's Descent into Paradise," is replaced with a different subject, "Adam

and Eve Asleep." Blake began a third series of *Paradise Lost* designs for John Linnell in 1822 (Butlin 537) but apparently completed only the three water colors now extant.

Here, as usual in his work as an illustrator of other poets' works, Blake paid close attention to the text, but this disciplined approach did not preclude his own interpretations. For example, Blake's choice of subjects places greater emphasis on Christ's role in Milton's epic than most series of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century illustrations of *Paradise Lost*.

Blake's literary response to the life and works of John Milton finds its fullest expression in the illuminated book *Milton a Poem* (c.1804-10).[147]

Sets of illustrations on Milton listed on the Archive are as follows:

> *Comus*
>> Thomas Set, 1801(B527; Huntington)
>> Butts Set, c.1815 (B528)
>
> *Paradise Lost*
>> Thomas Set, 1807 (B529; Huntington)
>> Butts Set, 1808 (B536)
>> Linnell Set, 1822 (B537)
>
> *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*
>> Thomas Set, 1809 (B538; Whitworth Art Gallery)
>> Butts Set, 1808-15 (B542)
>
> *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*
>> Butts Set, c.1816-20 (B543; Pierpont Morgan)
>
> *Paradise Regained*
>> (Butts c.1816-20?) Linnell c.1820-25? (B544; Fitzwilliam)

This brings us into Blake's last years discussed in Blunt's last chapter, 'The Last Phase: *Jerusalem*, the Book of Job, and Dante. As the title shows, the greatest projects in these years were his last illuminated book, *Jerusalem* (1804-20), the illustrations to the Book of Job both in watercolour and engraving, and the illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Blunt praises the achievement made by Blake in the Book of Job in that it is normal:

The *Illustrations of the Book of Job* are Blake's most conventional productions in the visual arts.   Technically they are straightforward line-engravings, and although the combination of text and illustrations is less usual, it is not unique and it is much simpler than the layout of the Prophetic Books.   In style, moreover, Blake has given up the use of those Mannerist effects which were so marked in the biblical series of watercolours.   The proportions of the figures are now normal, and the designs are simple and straightforward.   But to say that they are conventional does not mean that they are not original.   It could, on the contrary, be argued that the very fact that they are less eccentric than most of Blake's productions gives them a sort of universality which is lacking in his other works. For once he has reduced his visions to terms which are readily intelligible to all, and they have gained, not lost, in the process.   It is no matter of chance that the *Book of Job* should have been known and admired at times when the rest of Blake's works were thought to be the ravings of a lunatic. (pp.85-86)

Blake was not the primary concern for Blunt.   Above all he was a Poussin scholar.   He poured his heart's blood on the study of this artist.   Miranda Carter writes:

Of all the artists he wrote about, it was Poussin, as Blunt admitted in his 1967 monograph on the artist, who was 'my first love'.   Poussin was the artist about whom he felt most strongly, and was the centre of his intellectual world.   He would also become the subject of Blunt's most bitter professional feud. Somehow it was appropriate that it should be so.   It would be hard to think of a more difficult, recondite, mysterious artist.   It seems apt that like Blunt, Poussin has proved a magnet for conspiracy theorists and fantasists.   For Blunt, however, there were genuine mysteries surrounding Poussin.   There was no consensus about what precisely his corpus of work consisted of; many paintings were missing, many attributions confused.   Blunt set out to rectify this.   Poussin also had a reputation primarily as a chilly master of formal composition, unemotional and forbidding.   Blunt believed he was a great deal more than that.   His paintings had used erudite symbolism to convey meaning.   After his death Poussin had been called a '*peintre-philosophe*', a painter-philosopher, and was

famous for his learning.   In his *Lives of the Painters*, Poussin's biographer and
contemporary, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, had praised him for his 'fine mind and his
wide reading, not only, I say, of history and tables and the branches of learning in
which he excelled, but in the other liberal arts and in philosophy'.   Blunt's other
task, therefore, was to rediscover Poussin's intentions and the significance of his
iconography.   Walter Friedlaender had begun to work on both these problems,
and now Blunt followed in his footsteps, sorting out Poussin's corpus, and
explaining his meanings: a combination of traditional connoisseurship and
Warburgian art history.   Out of the connoisseurship came the five-volume
catalogue of Poussin's drawings, on which he collaborated with Friedlaender; a
series of articles in the *Burlington Magazine*, which were called collectively
'Poussin Studies'; and a 1966 critical catalogue, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin*,
as well as a host of other pieces on Poussin's followers and copyists.   From
Blunt's attempts to understand Poussin's intentions and meanings came, along
with a cluster of articles, his 1967 book *Nicolas Poussin*.[148]

The description strongly reminds us of his study on Blake.   What Blunt saw in Blake
was his intellectualism, which was probably the utmost attraction to Blunt.   Another
aspect was his aspect of retreated revolutionary to which Blunt almost identified himself.
Blunt was very unfortunate to have had his relationship with the Soviet Union revealed
at the height of the Cold War.   He was disgraced and forsaken by many.   But his
political enthusiasm, which was not very strong anyway, saw its peak in his very youth.
The rest was only consequences of the course of events.   But when he was young,
when he saw the Nazis and fascism having their own way and feared they might destroy
everything precious, he sought for help in Communism.   He could not help but feel
affinity with Blake:

> At first sight, Blake was not Blunt's type at all: he was a romantic, an
> anti-rationalist who believed that science and Reason were evil things which
> crushed man's potential, curbed his imagination, and held him back from
> expressing his deepest impulses.   'Passions and Expression is beauty itself,' he
> wrote.   But, though Blunt believed himself a devotee of classicism and saw
> himself in essence as a rational man, he was deeply attracted by Blake's

Dionysian wildness, his public spurning of organized religion and social hypocrisy, his belief that man's impulses should not be restrained 'whether by law, religion, or moral code'. He admired Blake the man too: 'His passionate sincerity, his uncompromising integrity, his hundred-percent quality command respect and admiration,' he wrote. 'His complete individualism and his bold defence of personal liberty have clear topical significance today, and his bold assertion of spiritual values has a direct appeal to those who are themselves trying to escape from the dominance of materialism.' He saw Blake as a man fundamentally at odds with his time: a natural opponent of authority, a revolutionary-turned-recluse.

Blunt felt that Blake—traditionally portrayed as mad and uneducated, an isolated visionary—had been much misunderstood. His engravings and drawings had attracted little serious study. Blunt established that he had actually been part of a group of radical artists, and had been well read, and well versed in classical and Christian iconography through his work as an engraver. Ironically, Blunt's desire to root Blake in a tradition, and to see him as a revolutionary rather than an intensely spiritual half-mad genius, to pin down his influences, in some senses missed the point of him. His most significant contribution to Blake studies was to show how inextricably the art and the poems were bound together.[149]

Still the impact of this monograph on Blake Study in the art history field was immense. Also he paved the way for his students who followed his steps and developed the study. Therefore it is not surprising that the next important book in this field came out from one of his students, David Bindman.

But before this monograph came out, there were two important articles concerning the Twelve Large Colour Prints in a festschrift dedicated to S. Foster Damon for his seventy-fifth birthday. Martin Butlin contributes 'The Evolution of Blake's Large Color Prints of 1795'. This rounded up several articles Butlin had published on Blake as a curator of the Tate Gallery. In 1957 various exhibitions were held to celebrate the bicentenary of Blake's birth, and summarizing the fruits borne through the year, Butlin records his observation on how Blake shifted his emphasis from poetry towards design:

Blake's style in the early 1790's had in fact shed much of the flowing linear classicism of these designs.   This development can be traced in a number of works which came to light in the bicentenary exhibitions.   The reappearance of three more of the twelve *Tiriel* drawings listed by Rossetti brings the total of known examples up to eight; in addition a rough sketch in the Tate Gallery seems to be related to the series.   The poem of *Tiriel* can be dated c.1789 and it has been suggested that the drawings, in monochrome, were to be engraved but that Blake abandoned this project to turn to the much more personal technique of his illuminated books.   The style of the *Tiriel* drawings, which is unlike that of the books, leads directly from the independent designs of the mid-1780's to the large colour-prints of 1795.   There is indeed an earlier water-colour version of the *Elijah* print that must be contemporary with the *Tiriel* drawings; this work was lent by George Goyder to the exhibition at the Whitworth Institute, Manchester. Earlier versions in water-colour of two of the other prints seem to date from the early 1790's, *The House of Death* at the Tate Gallery and Mrs. Nottidge's *Good and Evil Angels*.   A work which must also date from about this time but which is much closer to the more decorative style of the earliest illuminated books is the earlier of the two water-colours of *Queen Katherine's Dream* in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

The large colour-prints of 1795 combine the principles of design developed in the independent water-colours with the new technique of the illuminated books, the development of which was well displayed at the British Museum.   The textual effect of printing in opaque colours characteristic of the large prints first appears in about 1794 in such books as the British Museum copy of *Urizen* and the pages of the *Songs of Experience* lent by Sir Geoffrey Keynes.   In these the balance between text and illustration is already upset in favour of the latter and in the same year Blake published plates from many of the books separately without text in the first of the so-called *Books of Designs*.   The way in which these illustrations break away from the confines of the printed page is an answer to those critics who see Blake as primarily a poet; his designs are only literary in the sense that their content is philosophical, not merely aesthetic, and that they thus rely on a complex and difficult symbolism.

Only in the Washington exhibition was it possible to compare two versions of the same design side-by-side; these were the two prints of *Elijah in the Fiery Chariot* from the Lessing J. Rosenwald and Mrs. William T. Tonner collections. However, the latter was sold at Christie's on 15th July 1957 and it was possible to see it with the Tate Gallery's version fresh in mind.   It is clear the in this case at least the three pulls were taken one after the other following only one painting of the millboard 'plate'.   The third print, Mrs. Tonner's, therefore contains very little of the printed opaque pigment and was largely finished by hand whereas the Rosenwald print, that least touched by hand, is paradoxically the closest to Blake's intention.   In the Rosenwald print such a detail as the more distant of the horse's back legs is clearly defined by the printing alone; in the Tate version the form is less clear while in Mrs. Tonner's it has had to be freshly outlined in ink[150]

Then in 1965, Butlin reported his discovery that the print, which had formerly been called Elijah, was actually the missing *God Judging Adam*.   He found a pencil inscription, saying *God Speaking to Adam* during conservation work at the Tate Gallery. Butlin argues that the pencil inscription was most probably by Blake.

There remains the fourth title listed in Blake's account with Thomas Butts under 5th July 1805, 'God Judging Adam'.   No work of this title can be traced to the Butts Collection nor does it appear in any of the Butts sales, and, though it is mentioned by William Rossetti in the first edition of Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake*, 1863, the fact that it is listed as 'From Mr. Butts' with a reference to the 1805 account suggests that Rossetti's source was the account rather than any direct knowledge of the print.

Although many of the large colour-prints have been trimmed all the prints from the Butts Collection in the Tate Gallery retain much if not all of the original margin of the paper as much as five inches wide in some cases and usually bears a title, written in pencil in an early hand, almost certainly Blake's own.   Six such inscriptions have been known for some time but a seventh, very indistinct and possibly at one time erased, has only just been recognized.   This is on the print usually known as *Elijah* and consists of four words. The first is 'God', the last 'Adam', and the third almost as clearly 'to'.   The second word, taking into

account the grammatical context as well as the apparent formation of the letters, seems to read 'speaking'.   'God speaking to Adam'—this lacks the pungency of 'God Judging Adam' in the 1805 account, but a similar disparity, though working in the opposite sense in point of emphasis, occurs between the 'God Creating Adam' of the 1805 account and the title 'Elohim creating Adam' written on the margin of that design.

The title *Elijah* does not appear in the 1805 account, nor does it occur until nearly sixty years later, when it was used almost simultaneously in a Sotheby's sale catalogue of 29th April 1862 and in Rossetti's lists.   The sale, anonymous but almost certainly of works from the collection of Blake's executor Frederick Tatham, included as lot 189 'Elijah about to ascend in his Chariot, *a large design in colour*'.   This title was canonized by William Rossetti in his lists published the following year, the version then in the possession of Mrs. Alexander Gilchrist being catalogued as 'Elijah mounted in the Fiery Chariot'.

Once given this title was superficially appropriate enough and it is impossible to think of the inscription 'God speaking to Adam' having been made after it came into common usage in 1862-3.   Even if not written by Blake, which seems most probable, the inscription must therefore reflect the opinion of its first owners, the Butts family.

Moreover once recognized this original title, particularly in the stronger form of the 1805 account, accords much better with the forbidding mood of the design.[151]

Butlin concludes by associating the design with the myth in Blake's Illuminated Books:

There is an earlier form of the composition of the large colour-prints, the somewhat tentative water-colour in the collection of Mr. George Goyder which can be dated to the early 1790s (Repr. Geoffrey Keynes: *William Blake's Illustrations to the Bible* [1957], No.64).   In this the so-called Elijah is seated in a chariot of clouds, only a red glow overhead anticipating the flames of the colour-prints.   This would seem to offer conclusive proof that the flames in the prints are not those of inspiration, transmitted by the Prophets of the Old Testament, but those of 'eternal fury', introduced by Blake into the colour-printed

version of the design to reinforce his depiction of Urizen's imposition of a rigid moral code.   The print thus takes its place as one of a series in which Blake chose various subjects from the Bible, literature, and his own imagination to illustrate his very individual views on the Fall and Salvation, deliberately finding in these subjects parallels to the events and characters of his own writings.

In a book review on the facsimile of *Vala, or the Four Zoas*, edited by G. E. Bentley Jr.[152], he delves into the development and meaning of *The Good and Evil Angels*.

Bentley's neglect of the visual side of Blake's work is perhaps explained by his assertion that 'it seems evident that Blake's pictorial inspiration habitually derived from a literary source, rather than the other way about'.   In the knowledge that Blake probably destroyed most of the rough drafts for his poems (the three fragments associated with the *Vala* manuscript, pp.141-5, are surely only a minute token of a vast number of lost drafts) it will never be possible to assert definitely that an idea appeared in one of Blake's designs before he used it in his writings, but a water-colour of c.1792-3, recently acquired by the Tate Gallery (see *The Tate Gallery Review 1953-1963, 1963,* pp.46-7) and reproduced here for the first time, shows the germ of an idea not fully worked out in writing until verses on p.62 of *Vala or the Four Zoas*, in a section of the draft convincingly assigned by Bentley to the years 1802-3.   This water-colour is a version made ten years earlier of the drawing that accompanies, and in this rare case closely illustrates, the verses in *Vala*, and also of a similar composition used in *America* about 1793.   Even as it appears in *America* the design, which shows Los and Enitharmon weeping over their son Orc, bound to a rock by the chain of Los's jealousy, illustrates the *Vala* text rather than the one it accompanies, and the Tate Gallery water-colour, lacking the figure of Enitharmon, must be earlier still, being therefore the earliest extant expression of this theme

Furthermore the composition seems to have lain behind the evolution of the large colour-print of 1795 known as *The Good and Evil Angels Struggling for Possession of a Child*.   In *America*, while the figure of Los is almost identical with that in the Tate Gallery's water-colour, that of Orc is altered and is much

closer to the colour-print and to the two earlier versions of that subject, the illustration of c.1793 in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* and the water-colour of c.1793-4 in the Cecil Higgins Museum, Bedford (repr. THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, C, 1958, p.45).   The subject of these three works has never been adequately explained: Blake's own inscription on the Tate Gallery's pull of the 1795 colour-print merely reads 'The Good and Evil Angels', the same title being used in Blake's account with Thomas Butts of 5th July 1805.   In the Bedford water-colour the chained figure again seems to represent Orc, now fully grown and surrounded by flames, reaching out to snatch a child from a figure still very close in type to Los in the Tate water-colour, but the child introduces a new element into the composition which cannot be matched in Blake's writings.   In the 1795 colour-print the chained figure changes in character: he is older still and, in the version in the Tate, blind, only the flames behind him remaining to suggest the revolutionary energy of the youthful Orc.   Yet the composition is utterly convincing visually, a self-sufficient expression of a theme evolved in parallel to Blake's writings but distinct from them, unsupported by any literary source.   For Blake both painting and poetry derived from a single Poetic or Prophetic Genius, but neither was dependent on the other.[153]

Based on all these findings and studies Butlin emphasizes the importance of the series within Blake's entire oeuvre and discusses its evolution from the illuminated books in his article in the aforesaid Festschrift.[154]

Blake's large color prints of 1795 have a good claim to be his greatest work. …
This achievement is heralded scarcely at all in Blake's previous independent pictures.   Comparison with the closely related water-color versions of "God judging Adam" and "The Good and Evil Angels" only serves to demonstrate the sudden maturing of Blake's style.   Significantly there are also earlier versions of "The Good and Evil Angles" and "Nebuchadnezzar" among Blake's illustrations to his illuminated books, but they again lack the impact and sense of scale of the large prints.   Nor do these precursors have the culminative effect of the complete series of prints, in which the dogmatic purpose that alone for Blake justified his art is fulfilled through each design expressing, in a way that has not yet been fully

unraveled, an aspect of his fundamental beliefs about the dilemma of man in the created world. Both in the degree to which, in this sense, Blake's art is a literary one, and in the way the prints represent the culmination of tendencies and techniques developed in the illuminated books, the large color prints of 1795 mark the point at which Blake's primary and most successful means of expression ceased to be poetry and its illustration and became purely visual.

A vital factor in the impact of the large color prints is their technique. This consisted of printing in heavy opaque pigment from a plate, probably of millboard, and finishing in pen and water color. The opaque pigment was probably akin to the form of tempera, made with carpenters' glue, used by Blake in all but his latest tempera paintings; he sometimes called this medium "fresco." This technique produced the extraordinarily rich and subtle textures that characterize, for instance, the Tate Gallery's copies of "Newton" and "Nebuchadnezzar." Although most of the prints exist in more than one copy, usually three, the thick colors seem to have been applied to the plate only once: successive pulls were then taken while the pigment was still wet, each print receiving less pigment then the one before and consequently requiring more finishing in pen, for the outlines, and water color. Thus, paradoxically, those least finished by hand were closest to Blake's original intentions.

To the extent that the prints were created by a reproductive process, while at the same time differing in details of line and color, they were conditioned by Blake's experience as a printer and engraver and more especially, in just this very particular of variation within a set design, by the technique of his illuminated book. (pp.109-10)

Early illuminated books were printed in monochrome ink and added colours in watercolour. This developed into multicolour printing after *Urizen.*

But the most important contribution to the revolutionary character of the illustrations to *Urizen* was the use of color printing instead of water color. In *Urizen* this technique was used from the beginning; only in the late copy in the Rosenwald Collection did Blake use water color in the rich and elaborate manner, with some use of gold, that characterizes his late illuminations. So too the

earliest copies of *Europe*, also of 1794, seem to have been color-printed, though in a less heavy and consistent manner.   Copies of *Visions of the Daughters of Albion, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* and *Songs of Experience*, which had all previously been colored in water color, were also color-printed, likewise, there is good reason to believe, in about 1794 or 1795.   This development had been anticipated by the increasing heaviness of Blake's coloring, as in the first copy of *America* in 1793, and certain books in which the opaque pigment may have been applied by hand rather than by printing.

The technique of color printing in the books was close to that already described in connection with the large color prints of 1795, but in the books the opaque pigment seems generally to have been printed from the same etched plate following the monochrome printing of text and outlines common to all copies of the books.   The uneven surface of the plate sometimes added effects of its own to the texture produced by the color printing, as on pages 11, 14, 19 and 27 of the British Museum's copy of *Urizen*.   The similar effects in the sole example of the separate color print of "Lucifer and the Pope in Hell" in the Huntington Library made it clear, long before the recent discovery of the monochrome print now in the British Museum, that this was printed from an etched plate, and the same can be said of 'Joseph of Arimathea preaching to the Inhabitants of Britain," of which no monochrome print is yet known.

The sustained power of the color-printed illustrations to *Urizen* is unparalleled in Blake's books.   It is no coincidence that they accompany Blake's most concise, and most negatively pessimistic, expression of his views on man's creation and fall.   The internal logic of Blake's evolution as a philosopher, together with external forces such as the failure of his earlier hopes in practical politics as one of the group of Radicals that also included Joseph Johnson, Tom Paine, Joseph Priestley, William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft, seems to have made this period, the mid 1792's, the most gloomy of his life, when the apparently insuperable problem of evil led him to a form of Manichaeism.

The despairing, agonized protagonists of *Urizen* almost break out of the bounds of the page, and the next step was literally that—the production of some of the illustrations from the books as separate color-printed designs without text.   Some were bound up to form the so-called "Large" and "Small" Books of Designs: the

latter incorporate the title page of *Urizen*, retaining its original date 1794 in one copy but with this altered to 1796 in the other.   One set of these designs, produced for Ozias Humphry (who went blind in 1797), was later described by Blake in a letter of June 9, 1818, as "a selection from the different Books of such as could be Printed without the Writing, tho' to the Loss of some of the best things. For they when printed perfect accompany Poetical Personifications & Acts, without which Poems they never could have been Executed" (K 867).   It was the special virtue of the large prints of 1795, that, at least for Blake, they were self-sufficient from the beginning. (pp.113-14)

These illuminated books led to the Large Colour Prints, and in turn they were followed by 'a prodigious output of other designs', including watercolours, temperas, later illuminated books and illustrations to the Book of Job.

Looking back the studies we have traced so far, earlier criticism was concerned with borrowings, but, after going through Blake's life and art theory, the emphasis of the study has now shifted to the material development of individual work within the artist's oeuvre.   And now the next article concerns itself with the interpretation.   In the first part of the article, Kostelanetz explores through the mythology depicted in Blake's illuminated books and follows the iconography of two important symbols: the white-haired and bearded old man and open-armed youth.

Blake's two most important visual symbols represent the two sides of what he saw to be the primary division of the human psyche and of human society: the essential energy or divine poetic genius of man which expresses itself socially as candid sexuality, political liberty, and artistic creation on the one hand; and, on the other, the abstracting reason which subordinates the particular to the general and human variety to a single rule, and which attempts to construct a society based on law, moral codes, and political repression governed by a tyrant or oligarchy. Politically, the opposition is between what Karl Popper calls an open society (based on democracy and "piecemeal engineering") and its enemies, the advocates of a closed totalitarian society based on oligarchy and "Utopian engineering" which justifies the cruelty of its means by its ends.   As we shall see, Blake develops a visual personification for each of these two states of mind: the open

mind is depicted finally as a naked youth in flames, often running or standing with open arms or carrying a hammer; the closed mind is depicted as an old, often blind, white-haired and bearded man, usually clothed in a white robe and seated in a crouching position over a scroll or decalogue.[155]

Such an attempt to interpret some prints an the connection to Blake's other works had already been attempted by George Wingfield Digby, Keeper in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in *Symbol and Image in William Blake*.[156]   In this book, based on three lectures given at the Victoria and Albert Museum in February 1954, elucidates Blake's symbols and ideas especially in *The Gates of Paradise* and the then newly found picture at Arlington Court, with reference to nearly sixty other designs and paintings.   He does not interpret the whole set but only the prints which come into his course.   The prints discussed in this book are *Satan exulting over Eve, The Elohim creating Adam, The Good and Evil Angels* (he also calls it *The Living Moment between the Opposites*, very unconventionally), *Newton, The House of Death (Lazar House)* and *God Judging Adam* (still called *Elijah about to ascend*).   Kostelanetz fuses the methods of Blunt and Digby and interpret the whole set.   She slightly changes the order of Blunt's theory and arranges the prints in the following order:

    1) *God Creating Adam*

    2) *Satan Exulting over Eve*

    3) *God Judging Adam*

The results of this Urizenic creation, this fall from eternity into a limited human form and mind, are depicted in the next six prints.

    4) *Nebuchadnezzar*

    5) *Newton*

    6) *Hecate*

    7) *Good and Evil Angels*

    8) *Lazar House*

    9) *Lamech and his Two Wives*

The cause of man's Fall, of the imagination's submission to the restrictive, closed rule of reason, was the natural pity of on man for another.

    10) *Ruth*

    11) *Pity*

The final print of the series, which may have been added after 1795 during the time when Blake was illustrating the Bible for Butts in 1801-5, anticipates Blake's final solution to the problem of the Fall into a limited human body.

12) *Christ Appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection*

Her interpretation is as follows:

1) *God Creating Adam*

The Elohim is clearly similar to Blake's depictions of Urizen in *The Book of Urizen*.   Here, God has the same white hair and beard, the same white robe and muscular body as Urizen; and his creation, like Urizen's, is molded from a "clod of clay" into a human body (Adam's head and right arm have not yet been fully formed).   That this creation is a fall from Eternity is evidenced by the serpent that winds its binding, restricting coils around Adam's body (it is, of course, the serpent specifically associated with the enclosing world of Experience in *America* and *Europe*).   This fall into a mathematical, limited form is emphasized by the composition of the print, a series of geometrically straight horizontals (God's body and wings and Adam's torso) counterpoint against the right-left diagonals of God's and Adam's arms and placed against a background of a half-circle, the rising (or setting) sun.

2) *Satan Exulting over Eve*

That this Creation is indeed a Fall is demonstrated by the next print in the series, "Satan exulting over Eve."   The repetition of the winged figure over the prostrate body wrapped round by a serpent encourages an identification of god with Satan and Adam with Eve: God-Urizen's molding of the human body is equivalent to Eve's eating of the forbidden fruit—both are an expulsion from paradise.   The presence of Satan's shield, spear, and green bat-wings further underline his association with the militant, tyrannical Urizen.

3) *God Judging Adam*

The expulsion itself occurs in the next print, "God Judging Adam" (the print formerly called "Elijah" but retitled by Martin Butlin in 1965), where Adam's fall is seen both in his willingness to obey Urizen (before whom he stands with bowed head) ad in his physical assimilation to Urizen—both figures have identical beards, white hair, and physique.   (Blake often used this pictorial device of repeated

features and positions to reveal the spiritual identity of two seemingly separate characters, as Joseph Wicksteed has pointed out in his discussion of Job's relation to God in Blake's illustrations for the Book of Job.)   Adam's limited vision which cannot see beyond Urizen or his abstracted world is emphasized by the strict repetition of line, form, and color in the print: the vertical lines of Adam's right leg and torso are repeated in the horse's left foreleg and in God's back and legs; the horizontal line of god's knees and thighs, accentuated by the stone book upon his lap, are repeated in the horse's back; the single left-right diagonal of the horse's upper rein runs directly through God's extended, judging arm and scepter; and the entire scene is flatly placed against the circle of flames of God's chariot on the right.   The colors too are limited to the yellow/reds of the horse and flames and the contrasting white of God's figure and Adam's hair.

4) *Nebuchadnezzar*

Adam is confined within a mental and physical world ruled by Urizen, a world of political tyranny, rationalism, superstition, a total restraint of energy, sickness, and death.   "Nebuchadnezzar" represents the oppressive policies of the tyrant who, like Bromion in *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, imposes "one law for the lion and ox" (as the caption under the Nebuchadnezzar on Plate 24 of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* makes clear) and is thus associated with the Urizen who rules with

> One command, one joy, one desire,
>
> One curse, one weight, one measure,
>
> One King, one God, one Law.   (*Ur 4:38-40, E 71*)

The design itself is appropriately confined to a central rectangle (bounded by Nebuchadnezzar's back, right arm, palm, knee, and right thigh) placed against a large triangle formed by two intersecting wheat sheaves.

5) *Newton*

"Newton", the companion piece to the "Nebuchadnezzar," represents the limited, rationalistic philosophy which is based solely on the empirical sense data of the five senses stated in *The Song of Los* (*SoL 4:14-17, E 66*).   The limited vision of Newton is further emphasized by the fact that he looks *downward* rather than up to heaven, by his use of compass and geometric diagram (linked to the Urizenic creation of the "Ancient of Days" frontispiece to *Europe*), and by his

environment which is probably under water.   The deep blue-green coloring and the curious plant life (possibly anemones) indicate a seascape and thus link Newton to the figure of Urizen under water on Plate 6 of *The Book of Urizen*. Like Newton's mind, the composition itself is severely limited; here, to a series of intersecting triangles: the hill on the left, the figure of Newton in which his head forms the apex, the calves of Newton's legs, the compasses, and the triangle actually drawn on the scroll.

6) *Hecate*

The threefold figure of Hecate is a traditional emblem of witch-craft, superstition, and mystery, as in Shakespeare's *Macbeth* where her brew includes many of Blake's Hecate's companions:

> Eye of newt and toe of frog,
>
> Wool of bat and tongue of dog,
>
> Adder's fork and blind-worm's sting,
>
> Lizard's leg and howlet's wing …   (IV, I, 14-17)

and again in Puck's description of Hecate in *Midsummer Night's Dream*:

> Now the hungry lion roars,
>
> And the wolf behowls the moon:
>
> Whilst the weary ploughman snores,
>
> All with weary task fordone.
>
> Now the wasted brands do glow,
>
> Whilst the screech-owl, screeching loud,
>
> Puts the wretch that lies in woe
>
> In remembrance of a shroud.
>
> Now it is the time of night
>
> That the graves all gaping wide,
>
> Every one lets forth his sprite,
>
> In the church-way paths to glide:
>
> And we fairies, that do run
>
> By the triple-Hecate's team,
>
> From the presence of the sun,
>
> Following darkness like a dream,
>
> Now do frolic …   (V, I, 378-94)

In Blake's "Hecate," Hecate is specifically linked with Urizen's rule of one religion and one mystery by her crouching position over a book of indecipherable hieroglyphs (the position assumed by Urizen on the title page of *The Book of Urizen*) and by the bat-winged monster above her head. The fact that Blake chose a female witch to illustrate this theme may anticipate his later emphasis on the Female Will as both cause and result of the Fall.

7) *Good and Evil Angels*

All three themes—political oppression, rational thought, and superstition—are summarized in the more general statement of "The Good & Evil Angels Struggling for a Child" which seems to represent the restraint of all energy, both of the child and of the adult. The youth in flames, Blake's familiar image for the poetic imagination, has been blinded and chained down by the dictates of empirical reason, as were both Oothoon in the *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*, Plate 4, and a similar figure of energy in an early version of this print in *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Plate 4. But here, energy has been perverted into evil; like Los in *The Book of Urizen*, the creative impulse has been distorted into a blind fury which jealously attacks the very child (Orc?) it should protect. And this newborn child, like Orc, struggles with open arms and kicking legs to be free; but he, too, is pinioned in the arms of the well-intentioned "Good Angel," who, like the protective nurses and mothers of *Songs of Experience* or Enitharmon in *The Book of Urizen*, tries to temper the child's exuberance into socially acceptable behavior.

8) *Lazar House*

The physical results of the Fall are depicted in the next two prints. "The Lazar House" or 'House of Death" is based on Milton's famous description in *Paradise Lost* (II,477-99) of "maladies of ghastly Spasm, or racking Torture" over which "Triumphant Death his Dart / Shook but delaid to strike, though oft invok't / With vows, as their chief good, and final hope." The horizontal corpses upon the ground, the vertical figure of Pestilence or Death with dagger in hand (later used for the traitor Hand in "Jerusalem and Hand," *J* 25,) at the right, and the ironically blessing arms of a blind Urizen-God spread horizontally above the scene and raining down upon man by Urizen's imprisonment of his spirit in a mortal, bodily form.

9) *Lamech and his Two Wives*

The other immediate result of the Fall, of course, was murder and death; and Blake returns to the Bible, not to the too-well-known tale of Cain and Abel but to the Genesis 4 account of Lamech's murder of a man, to illustrate this theme in "Lamech and his Two Wives," in a composition whose severely vertical lines of the bodies and horizontal line of the corpse are relieved only by the slight curves in the robes of Lamech and his wives.

10) *Ruth*

The cause of man's Fall, of the imagination's submission to the restrictive, closed rule of reason, was the natural pity of one man for another.   As Blake explained in *The Book of Urizen*, Los fell because he took pity upon Urizen shut up in the void (*Ur 13:48-51, E 76*).   Blake illustrates this natural pity in the print of "Naomi entreating Ruth" where Ruth is shown clinging sympathetically to Naomi while Orpah abandons her mother-in-law.

11) *Pity*

The evil implications of this act are suggested in the more complex print "Pity", however, which is based on Shakespeare's description in *Macbeth*:

> And pity, like a naked new-born babe,
>
> Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, hors'd
>
> Upon the sightless couriers of the air,
>
> Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye,
>
> That tears shall drown the wind.   (I, vii, 21-26)

Here, the newborn child, who assumes the same posture as the newborn Orc who appears in flames on Plate 20 of *The Book of Urizen*, leaves behind a dying or dead mother; the division of mother and child, the result of "man begetting his likeness, / ON his own divided image" (*Ur 19:15-16, E 78*), brings death and separation into the world.   In this sense, then, the print includes a reference to Macbeth's "horrid deed," the murder of Duncan, the breaking of all familial ties and social bonds.

12) *Christ Appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection*

The final print of the series, which may have been added after 1795 during the time when Blake was illustrating the Bible for Butts in 1801-5, the "Christ appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection", anticipates Blake's final

solution to the problem of the Fall into a limited human body.   As defined in "To Tirzah," an 1805 addition to *Songs of Experience*, the fallen mortal body must be "raised a spiritual body."   Christ's resurrected body, then, is both natural—he appears in his anthropomorphic, traditional guise—and spiritual.   This return to a Christian resolution is the pattern of the many visions and revisions of Blake's complicated manuscript, *Vala, or the Four Zoas*, undertaken between 1796 and 1807.   Here Blake specifically wrestles with the problem posed by the Tate Gallery color prints: if form, especially the human form, is a sign of man's fall from Eternity into the limited, closed world of Urizenic Experience, and if, contradictorily, the severely formalist style based on abstract geometric patterns, strong linear rhythms, and clear outlines which Blake used so effectively in the color-print series is the most authentic articulation of antique, divinely inspired images (as Cumberland, Flaxman, and Fuseli had taught Blake to believe), then Blake is at the same time rejecting and affirming form, and especially the human form.   His finest designs both denounce the fall into the human form as an unmitigated evil and portray that same human form as an ideally beautiful, heroic, Michelangelesque figure.   The human form cannot at one and the same time be the destructive prison of man's innate divinity and a powerful aesthetic image of beauty, strength, and grace.   Blake was therefore forced to seek a new conception of the human form which would allow for both its manifest natural beauty and its possible perversion into a closed system.   His initial solution, articulated both in *Vala* and here, in "Christ appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection," was an affirmation of the traditional Christian concept of the resurrection of the spiritual body.   After death, the fallen, vegetating, mortal body of man is cast off; and man is raised a "spiritual body," in the "human form divine" of Christ himself.

Kostelanetz's keyword to discuss the series is 'human form divine' and as a conclusion she sees Blake's return to a Christian resolution as the result of *Vala, or the Four Zoas*. Since the rediscovery of *God Judging Adam*, *Christ* was brought into the set, and with this print with obvious iconography, Blunt's pessimistic understanding of the series was no longer valid.   Therefore Kostelanetz had to come to this conclusion.

  David Bindman's Blake as an Artist (1977) was the first book in this line of art history Blake criticism to cover the life and art of Blake in a large scale.   In chapter 11

The Myth of Creation: the completion of the Bible of Hell and the Large Colour Prints,
Bindman follows the line of interpretation after Blunt and Kostelanetz in fuller and
smoother narrative.   After discussing the development of Blake's colour-printed
designs from the early illuminated books through the *Small* and *Large Book of Designs*,
Bindman places the twelve colour prints in Blake's myth.

> Although the twelve designs make reference to Blake's transcendental myth,
> ten of them have an immediate source in imagery and episodes from Milton,
> Shakespeare and the Bible; only *Newton* and *The Good and Evil Angels* refer back
> directly to Blake's myth.   The literary sources are, however, of secondary
> importance.   The subjects can all be related to the matter of the Prophetic Books,
> and Blake has been able to suggest interconnections between the episodes which
> would otherwise be unclear.   Thus *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Newton* are paired as
> representatives of Science and the Senses; *Pity* with *Hecate* as expressions of the
> Female Will, and *Elohim* and *God* express the slavery of Religion.   Even without
> placing the designs in a fixed order it is possible to see them as representing the
> salient points of Blake's myth as it applies to the history of man on earth, from his
> physical creation by Jehovah to the rationalism of the eighteenth century
> represented by *Newton*.[157]

The fixed order goes through a further change and is proposed thus:
> 1) *God Creating Adam*—Genesis, ii, 7.
> 2) *God Judging Adam*—the aged Adam offers submission to Jehovah
> 3) *Satan Exulting over Eve*—the second stage of the Fall: the division into
> sexes

> The three designs discussed so far established two parallel lines of
> development in the series; one the dominion of Urizen over the Fallen world and
> the other the division of sexes, from which arises Orc.
> 4) *Pity*—the birth of Orc from Enitharmon lying on the ground.
> 5) *Good and Evil Angels*—the next episode in the childhood of Orc

> A group of three Colour Prints of relatively unusual subjects from the Old

Testament continue the theme of the submission and division of man under the Old Dispensation.

6) *Lamech and his Two Wives*—the arts in the Fallen world huddling together, but still the prey of the vengeful

7) *Naomi, Ruth and Orpah*—a story of division

8) *Nebuchadnezzar*—his madness depicted here is associated with materialism

The Old Testament scenes were probably intended to be followed by

9) *Christ Appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection*—the necessity of a Second Coming

10) *Hecate*—the mystery and darkness, an apt parallel to Enitharmon's '1800 year sleep'

11) *Lazar House*—the miseries of the pre-revolutionary era, where Death presides over a scene of disease and self-destruction

12) *Newton*—embodies the modern creation of a philosophy of the five senses

Both Kostelanetz and Bindman follows Blunt's footstep in basically placing the series in Blake's myth of creation as the Fall, but each one of them gives different narrative and explanation.

Bindman's book is based on his doctoral dissertation of 1971. Between this date and the year of publication, there were three noteworthy publications concerning the Twelve Large Colour Prints. In 1971 two articles with the same title, 'Blake's Newton', were written by scholars from the both sides of the Atlantic: John Gage[158] and Robert N. Essick.[159] They were followed by a collection of academic papers, a book edited by Robert N. Essick.[160] Gage's article develops the theme of Blake's borrowing from Michelangelo in Blunt's 1938 article and *The Art of William Blake*, and could be seen as a stepping-stone to Jenijoy La Belle's article which would appear in 1980. Gage starts with driving the discussion of Blake's borrowing from Michelangelo forward, but also argues that there was the influence of Newton's *Opticks* on Blake through Joseph Priestley's *History and Present State of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light and Colours* (1772) and elucidates Blake's notion of double vision and his representation of rainbows in his designs. Gage speculates on the diagram Newton is drawing in the print:

Although an association has been recognized between the compasses of *Newton* and the *Ancient of Days*, and Motte's frontispiece to his translation of Newton's *Principia*, there seems to be no relation between the diagram Newton is measuring in Blake's print, and any published there. The relationship of the chord of the circle to the triangle is closer to Figure 2 of Newton's *Opticks*, bk.i, pt.i, which illustrates the passage of a ray of light through a prism. Blake seems to have taken up the idea of a ray of light formed by the prism into a rainbow, by showing the arc of the bow *within* the prism itself, and thus making the diagram far more legible than Newton's construction would have been on this scale. This interpretation of the diagram is reinforced by the introduction of the white cloth over the scientist's shoulder which may symbolize the ray of white light from which Newton derived his prismatic colours, for later, in *Jerusalem*, Blake alluded to the weaving in a cavern of what appeared to be a rainbow.

I have by chance seen a diagram very similar to Newton's reproduced in an article.[161] The diagram is titled 'Diagram of *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows by D. Gorczynski*' (photo: author). The diagram is used to show that a rainbow painted in Constable's picture is theoretically impossible in the circumstances, therefore to reveal the artist 'allow himself considerable artistic license' in rendering the rainbow in his picture. It seems that the author commissioned a scientist to draw the diagram depicting the degree of the sunlight necessary to have the rainbow in the place where Constable painted it. Blake might have seen a similar diagram somewhere, or as Gage suggests, added the actual rainbow to the plain diagram just showing the degree of sunlight coming in. Gage concludes the article:

It is, indeed, the compasses—which Blake may have thought of as dividers—which Christ holds in common with the Newton of Blake's print; and the man Jesus recurs often in his prophecies as a symbol of division, and hence, according to Blake's doctrine of generation, of the material world. Newton's gesture and his instrument have long been related to those in the frontispiece to *Europe*, which shows the Ancient of Days holding a pair of compasses in the Heavens, creating the Universe, an activity which, as *Genesis* has it, was

conducted in a series of divisions.   Blake was not only aware of the multiplicity of the Newtonian corpuscles of light, but also that the scientist's chief contribution to the understanding of colours had been to derive them from white light by a process of division through the prism.   The divided light of the rainbow was thus for him a perfect image of he divided and fallen material world; and in portraying Newton in the act of creating this division—plotting perhaps the arc of the rainbow in the prism—Blake invented one of the richest images of materialism in his art.

Essick's study is an attempt to explain *Newton* and *Nebuchadnezzar* within Blake's myth.   He inherits the discussion of compasses and objects like the sea, the rock, the polyps and the mantle as symbols of materialism, and compare *Newton* with various other works by Blake to understand it.   *Nebuchadnezzar* is interpreted as a possible future for *Newton* if he is not redeemed.

Urizen objectifies his mental state to create the material world which in turn becomes a net to entrap him.   The creator is undone by his own creation, as happens even to Los in *The Four Zoas*: "He became what he was doing: he was himself transform'd" (Night the Fourth, line 287).   The same fate awaits Newton: he may himself become an abstraction.   Perhaps the angular and strained attitude of Newton's body warns of such an event.   The next stage of man's fall form the divine is presented in the 1795 color print "Nebuchadnezzar".   Newton already is bent over the ground, and a slight shift forward will bring him to the animal-like posture of the Babylonian monarch.   The addition of a few more years of age and some more furrows to Newton's brow will transform his face into the fearful visage of man sunk even beneath abstract reason to become a beast.

Essick concludes by showing possible remedies from Blake's other works.   These articles show the growing interest especially in *Newton*, and a tendency to interpret it separately from the series.

Two years later, Essick edited a sort of anthology of essays based on, as the subtitle shows, Blake's art and aesthetics.   The collection starts with Blake's

contemporary and covers early criticism, some of which we have seen, including Todd's report of his experiments, Blunt's essay on the compasses, and Collins Baker's paper on Blake's borrowings.　Among Blake's contemporaries are J. T. Smith's *Nollekens and his Times*, George Cumberland's letters to his brother, telling about the 'new mode of printing', and Robert Doosie's *Handmaid to the Arts.*　Early critical essays also include big names like Laurence Binyon, Northrop Frye and David V. Erdman.　As Essick summarizes in the introduction,

It is symptomatic of Blake's nineteenth-century reputation that, except for the *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, he was best known for his designs to Blair's *Grave*.　Softened and conventionalized by Schiavonetti's graver, harnessed to Blair's intelligible if turgid poem, the illustrations were accessible to those unwilling or unable to cope with Blake's more arcane productions, whether visual or verbal.　The second volume of Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* (1863 and 1880) is about equally divided between a selection from Blake's poems and a catalogue of his art; the Poet and Painter were given equal, if at times uninformed, attention.　In this century the balance has shifted towards the poetry, for the pace-setting American Blakeans (Damon, Percival, Frye, Erdman) have devoted far more attention to Blake's writings than to his visual statements.　The English (Keynes, Todd, Raine) by and large have been more old-fashioned, and thus more balanced, in their view, but most of us come to Blake's art with modes of inquiry developed through the study [of] literature.[162]

This tendency does not only reflect the interest of the scholars but the accessibility to the visual sources.　With the development of technology, reproduction of images has become more and more easy and inexpensive.　Therefore since around this time, Blake criticism consciously shifted its interest to a more balanced view of Blake's oeuvre.

In 1980 Jenijoy La Belle's 'Michelangelo's Sistine Frescoes and Blake's 1795 Color-Printed Drawings; A Study in Structural Relationships' appeared in *The Blake Illustrated Quarterly*.[163]　This is an attempt to view the whole series of prints in relation to the Sistine Chapel Ceiling frescoes.　In her complicated theory, she first explains the whole structure of the Sistine Ceiling, and then seeks parallels between Blake's print and Michelangelo's panel.　In doing so, rather than seeing similarities,

she contrasts their interpretation and looks for differences.   The pairs and comments follow thus:

1. *Elohim Creating Adam—Creation of Adam*

Blake inscribed *Elohim creating Adam* on the only known impression of this design, thereby indicating that God is here the creator in Genesis and a God of justice and vengeance—not of pity.   Michelangelo's design is both prototype and antitype, both model and contrary, for Blake's.   With terrible energy, Blake has transformed Michelangelo's conception from the spiritual to the physical, from creation to bondage, from hope to despair.   *Elohim creating Adam*, particularly when viewed in its relationship to Michelangelo, makes it clear why Blake referred to this period in his career as among his "dark, but very profitable years."

2. *Satan Exulting over Eve—Creation of Eve*

The worm wound about Adam is compositionally replaced in *Satan exulting over Eve* by a giant serpent, his head resting victoriously on Eve's breast.   A youthful and heroic, yet saddened, figure of Satan hovers like a triumphant warrior, spear and shield in hand, above his earth-bound victim and in front of hellish flames.   Here again Blake has shifted Michelangelo's prototype to an even darker view of human nature and Biblical history; yet he remains within the general compass of Michelangelo's subject matter and organizational strategy.

3. *God Judging Adam—The Fall and the Expulsion*

Progressing backwards in states of consciousness but forward in the chronological narrative, we come to Michelangelo's panel showing both the fall and the expulsion from the Garden of Eden.   As we have seen, Blake's first two color-prints embody images of the fall, and both contain a worm or serpent wrapped about the human form much as Michelangelo's serpent wraps herself around the tree of the knowledge of Good and Evil.   As far as we know, Blake never made a color-print of the expulsion; rather he shows us the central event which must necessarily come between the fall and the punishment—*God judging Adam*.   A stern Elohim with his left hand on the tablet of the law comes to man in a blazing sun-chariot. … Adam, bearing the burden of mortality, has grown as

aged as his God.   The gesture of God's right arm and hand and the suggestion of a sword or shaft extending from his hand to Adam's head recall the gesture and sword of the angel expelling Adam and Eve from Paradise in Michelangelo's design.

4. *House of Death—Deluge*

Blake responded in a different and much freer way to the panels depicting the story of Noah. … *Deluge* shows not the total inundation of the earth, but rather an early point in that catastrophe where men and women struggle among themselves for the remaining patches of dry ground and for the last places in small boats or on the gunwales of the Ark.   The less active groups of characters in this composition are not overcome by sudden terror, but stand as mute embodiments of suffering and despair—the dominant mental states pictured in Blake's *House of Death.* …

Milton describes "a Lazar-house"

> wherein were laid

Numbers of all diseas'd, all maladies

Of ghastly Spasm, or racking torture. …

Dire was the tossing, deep the groans, despair

Tended the sick busiest from Couch to Couch;

And over them triumphant Death his Dart

Shook, but delay'd to strike, though oft invok't

With vows, as thir chief good, and final hope.

<div align="center">(Paradise Lost, XI, 479-81, 489-93)</div>

Blake has personified these states of pain and despair in the six victims below the figure of Death, his features generally reminiscent of the Elohim we have seen earlier.   His eyes closed, Death holds between his outstretched hands an object suggesting both a bow (from which his darts are about to be shot) and a scroll, a list of victims who will suffer the penalty of mortality announced in *God judging Adam*.   Despair, standing on the right, does not so much tend to the sick as sink into thoughts of murder or suicide, emblemized by the dagger in his left hand.

5. *Nebuchadnezzar—Drunkenness of Noah*

The lowest state of consciousness symbolized in the central Sistine panels is

presented by the *Drunkenness of Noah*.   Noah has sunk into a drunken stupor, into unconsciousness, and his nakedness is not an image of the human form divine but of the imprisonment of the soul in gross physicality.   Blake's *Nebuchadnezzar* gives us a more horrific portrayal of an equally low, or even lower, state of bondage.   The color-print illustrates a passage from the Book of Daniel:

> The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon
>
> Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men,
>
> and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was
>
> wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs
>
> were grown like eagles' feathers, and his
>
> nails like birds' claws (4:33).

The Babylonian monarch has been reduced to a sub-human, animalistic condition —much as Michelangelo showed a hero at the moment of his greatest shame.

   6. *The Good and Evil Angels— Separation of Heaven from Earth*
                          Creation of the Sun and Moon
                             Separation of Light and Darkness   (central panels)

   …Blake sees a causal connection between those creative acts which necessarily entail division and the contraries of good and evil personified in the color-print. Blake could have used this same line of reasoning to generate his design in response to the three panels where Michelangelo shows the creation of contrary states: heaven and earth, land and water, sun and moon, darkness and light. Rather than showing the creator, Blake pictures the created, with man as a child struggling between opposing forces, much as Michelangelo's *ignudi* are caught between base materiality and a higher state of consciousness.   The design includes the four classical elements—fire on the left with what may be its personified form shackled by the left ankle to the earth below, and, on the right, water with the air above.   Both Blake and Michelangelo are embodying in their designs the same elemental process, and both are more concerned with the dramatic presentation of energy than with straightforward narrative. …

   7. *Lamech and His Two Wives—The Triumph of Esther/The Punishment of Haman*

8. *Naomi Entreating Ruth and Orpah—David and Goliath*

9. *Pity—Judith and Holophernes*

The Brazen Serpent   (corner spandrels)

Three of the remaining prints follow conceptually Michelangelo's corner spandrels.   The iconographic significance of the corner compartments and their relationship to the entire composition are complex.   One can emphasize the heroic context of these scenes and the way in which the events portrayed contributed to the triumph of the Israelites.   Typologically, these scenes may even refer to Christ.   On the other hand, these incidents may be seen as tragic. … Three of Blake's colour-prints are similarly poised between tragedy and divine comedy, with the visual emphasis on the former.   *Lamech and His Two Wives* returns us to a story in Genesis (4:23-24)—the murder of a young man by Cain's great-great-great grandson.   Lamech pulls at his hair in despair over the penalty which will fall on him seventy and sevenfold while his wives cling to each other for comfort.   The Biblical story offers no hope, but by suggesting a cruciform posture in the fallen youth, Blake may be hinting at typological possibilities much as Michelangelo does in his proto-crucifixion scenes, *The Punishment of Haman* and *The Brazen Serpent*.   The bold and oddly abstract corner of a tent thrusting into the design at the left margin may have been suggested to Blake by the similarly schematic background tent in Michelangelo's *David and Goliath*.   A further parallel comes to us by way of contrast: in *David and Goliath*, youth heroically slays age; in *Lamech*, age tragically murders youth.

10. *Hecate—*Sibyls

11. *Newton—*Prophets

12. *Christ Appearing to the Apostles*

Some of the most illuminating parallels between the organization of the Sistine frescoes and Blake's color-prints are between Michelangelo's Sibyls and Prophets and Blake's two designs, *Hecate* and *Newton*, designs which would seem to present the most difficulties in any attempt at fitting them into a structured group with the other color-printed drawings.   Around his central sequence of nine panels Michelangelo arranged gigantic figures of five Sibyls alternating with seven Prophets.   The female soothsayers have their dark parallel in Blake's

Hecate, a figure traditionally associated with necromancy and prophecy. … Ever since Rossetti's catalogue of Blake's art appeared in 1863, this design has usually been associated with Shakespeare's references to Hecate in *Macbeth* and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, although Paley has pointed to Virgil's *Aeneid*, translated by Dryden, as a possible source.

Blake's idealized portrayal of Newton's body contains a potential for salvation through the realization of man's divinity.   The central realization of the human form divine in Blake's later works is Christ, who is both man and God.   He is not represented in the Sistine Ceiling, but many of the individual motifs and the conception of the whole point toward His coming. … Blake's antithetical Prophet (*Newton*) and Sibyl (*Hecate*) lead us finally to *Christ Appearing to the Apostles*, the Savior whose coming is necessitated by all we see in the Sistine Chapel.

La Belle's theory is interesting and unique, but as the other attempts to explain the whole series in one narrative, not very convincing or decisive.   Yet the way she associates Blake with Michelangelo in a similar way to his relation to Milton is eye-opening.   On discussing *House of Death* she writes:

On the version in the Tate Gallery Blake inscribed the title and the word "Milton," thereby referring us to the description of the Lazar House in *Paradise Lost*.   We would seem to have here an illustration to Milton and not a Blakean re-casting of the Sistine Chapel; the relationship to Michelangelo, however, becomes clear when we consult the context of Milton's description of the Lazar House.   It is part of the Pisgah sight, a vision of the future, given by the Angel Michael to Adam.   By this means, Adam (with the reader of *Paradise Lost*) experiences the history of the world from the creation to the flood—the same history envisioned for us in the Sistine panels.   Milton presents three central incidents which show the consequence of Adam's fall: Cain's murder of Abel, the Lazar House, and the Deluge.   This Miltonic association between the last two events, both embodiments of death and despair, gave Blake ample precedent for using the *House of Death* to fulfill the same thematic function as Michelangelo's flood in Blake's group of color-prints.   Blake's design would seem to be a synthesis of influences: the most important poet in his literary heritage and the

greatest artist in his pictorial heritage.   Blake has taken his subject from Milton, but that subject remains within the conceptual framework presented by the Sistine frescoes.

Considering the way Blake digested and adapted his predecessors, this discussion seems plausible.   La Belle fancies a room with the walls covered with Blake's frescoes, since 'Blake hoped that his work in this medium would achieve the same greatness for his country and age that the works of Michelangelo and Rafael had achieved for the Italian Renaissance.'   That is well indeed.   But I would imagine the order of the colour prints should be in the order suggested by David W. Lindsay in the following article. Lindsay suggests to pair the prints into six pairs, but La Belle already proposed two of the pairs: *Elohim Creating Adam* and *Satan Exulting over Eve*, from its structural similarity, and *Lamech* and *Naomi*, from the cut corners.

In 1989 two articles are devoted on the discussion of the Twelve Large Colour Prints in the same issue of *The Huntington Library Quarterly*.   In 'The Physicality of William Blake'[164] Martin Butlin proposed two important theories.   One is about the date and the other is about the pairing.   Based on the discovery of 1804 watermark on *Newton* and *Nebuchadnezzar* made around 1980 and reported by himself[165], Butlin reconsiders the whole set and comes to six pairing, which is developed by David W. Lindsay in the article immediately following Butlin's in the following order: *Elohim Creating Adam – Satan Exulting over Eve*, *God Judging Adam – The Good and Evil Angels*, *Lamech and His Two Wives – Naomi Entreating Ruth and Orpah to Return to the Land of Moab*, *Nebuchadnezzar – Newton*, *Hecate, or, The Night of Enitharmon's Joy – Pity*, and *The House of Death – Christ Appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection*.

Blake's tendency to date his works earlier than its execution, or rather put the ideal, or conceptual, date had been known to Blake scholars, but nobody had ever doubted the '1795' date of the Twelve Large Colour Prints until this publication, and many, including Butlin himself, were rather shocked by the news.   Well-known examples of Blake's 'pre-dating' include *Joseph of Arimathea*, *Albion Rose* and *Our End is Come, or The Accusers*.[166]   Morris Eaves explains this tendency using Blake's concept of the 'Artist's Year':

Blake emphasizes that his experiment pictures were "painted at intervals" (E 536-37).   The span of space and time that governs the pattern of lapse and return is an extension of the "pulsation of the artery" that Blake names, in his *Canterbury Pilgrims* prospectus, the "Artist's Year": "No Work of Art, can take longer than a Year: it may be worked backwards and forwards without end, and last a Man's whole Life; but he will, at length, only be forced to bring it back to what it was, and it will be worse then it was at the end of the first Twelve Months. The Value of this Artist's Year is the Criterion of Society: and as it is valued, so does Society flourish or decay" (E 556).   The history of art in Blake's time is full of stories about paintings so highly finished that a decade is insufficient to complete them, and of engravers who go to their graves working, working, and still working on the highly finished fancy prints-to-be of history paintings long since exhibited and faded from the public memory.   The artist's year is of course no natural year of 365 days but an imaginative year that may begin "September next" (E 556) or any other time and end, similarly, when the imagination that uses the latter as its criterion sees the making of a painting as a pattern of steady, linear improvement, and accordingly values paintings in hours lapsed, turning painters into day-laborers.[167]

Bearing the new discovery in mind, Butlin attempts to rearrange the whole set.   As he categorizes the prints, they come into pairs and divided into two groups of early and late prints.   There are some prints that Butlin cannot decide, but roughly they are categorized at the following:
Early Prints:

God Judging Adam—Good and Evil Angels

Pity—Hecate

Lamech—Ruth and Naomi

The House of Death—Christ Appearing

Late Prints:

Elohim Creating Adam—Satan Exulting over Eve

Newton—Nebuchadnezzar

In this article Butlin struggles to find more clues to determine the dates, as the inscription and remaining documents, but the mystery seems to have deepened.

In the next article Lindsay attempts to seek another narrative to combine the whole series, and this time the Bible is proposed as the key narrative.   He suggests the paired order mentioned earlier, and even a parallel history between the prints placed on the right and those on the left.   But like all his predecessors, although eloquent, his theory is neither very convincing nor decisive.   Yet his suggestion of left-right placement of each pair is plausible.   Each pair is designed to face each other in certain order.

Meanwhile, as both Butlin and Lindsay point out, the title of one of the prints, *Hecate*, had been questioned by some critics.   Lindsay writes:

Although many commentators have linked *Hecate* and *Pity* on the grounds that both works are illustrations of Shakespeare, the assumption behind that argument are not universally accepted.   The belief that *Pity* illustrates Macbeth's image of the "naked new-born babe/ Striding the blast" stems from an inscription by Tatham, and can be confirmed through analysis of the design; but the received title of *Hecate* is based on Rossetti's identification of the three-figure group as the "triple Hecate" of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and that identification has been vigorously challenged by Jean Hagstrum and Christopher Heppner.[168]   The two prints are nonetheless connected by similarities in color and tone, by the obscurity and complexity of their iconography, and by a nightmare-imagery reminiscent of Fuseli; and Butlin reports that the incised signature "Blake," otherwise found only on *Satan*, appears bottom left on the Tate copy of *Hecate* and bottom right on the Tate copy of *Pity*.   There is a *prima facie* case, then, for envisaging these prints side by side, with *Hecate* on the spectator's left; and such an exercise immediately reveals a compositional contrast between verticality and horizontality, stillness and rapidity, frustration and release.[169]

Lindsay goes on to associate *Hecate* with other works of Blake, and ultimately suggests the print as 'a Blakean interpretation of Matthew 2:11-23'.

In 1990, art historian, Gert Schiff, who was commissioned to prepare for the large exhibition of Blake's works at the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo, proposed in the exhibition catalogue that the source of the picture is Blake's own *Europe* and boldly titled it *The Night of Enitharmon's Joy*.   Schiff follows the

interpretation of Hagstrum denying the figure being Hecate.   Since the central figure is not unification of three women but three separate figures, a grown-up woman and two adolescents, a male and a female, Hagstrum suggests that they are young lovers divided by a jealous goddess.   Bindman suggests that 'Hecate points to an open book, the pages of which are blurred and unclear like the "Book of Brass" carried by Urizen in *The Book of Urizen*, plate 5'.   Bindman, who still regards the design as Hecate, associates the print with *Europe*.   Bindman describes the design 'enigmatic' and 'the mystery and darkness for which she stands would be an apt parallel to Enitharmon's '1800 year sleep'. [170]   Schiff interprets the print as the plan of Enitharmon to enslave mankind by sexual oppression:

> Now comes the night of Enitharmons joy!
> Who shall I call?   Who shall I send?
> That Woman, lovely Woman! may have dominion?
> Arise O Rintrah thee I call! & Palamabron thee!
> Go! tell the human race that Womans love is Sin!
> That an Eternal life awaits the worms of sixty winters
> In an allegorical abode where existence hath never come:
> Forbid all Joy, & from her childhood shall the little female
> Spread nets in every secret path.

> My weary eyelids draw towards the evening, my bliss is yet but new.
>
> (*Europe* 5:1-10)[171]

Since then the new title has been widely accepted.   Schiff was a German art historian, best-known for his work on Fuseli.   His terminal illness prevented him from attending the opening of the exhibition and he passed away at the end of the year in New York.[172] Mei-Ying Sung suggests that it is based on Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.[173]

When viewed together with *Pity* the Shakespearean link looks incontrovertible. The Metropolitan *Pity* is mounted, and on the left of the paper is typewritten:

> "Pity like a naked, new-born babe,
> Striding the blast, or Heaven's cherubim horsed

> Upon the lightless couriers of the air,
>
> Shall blow the horrid deed in every eye."

Thus Macbeth steels himself to murder Duncan.   To suggest darkness, wind and speed, Blake painted his picture in reverse on a varnished cardboard, from which he pressed he colors onto this paper, where he finally drew the outline with a pen.

The lines are quoted from Shakespeare's *Macbeth* I, vii, and on an early drawing, an inscription by Frederick Tatham relates the subject to the speech by Macbeth.

In this chapter I have traced the history of art criticism on Blake's Twelve Large Colour Prints.   Many critics tried to explain the whole set in a sequenced narrative but none has succeeded.   It seems to me that the only plausible theory is the various studies by Martin Butlin, based on the physical materiality of Blake's prints. Also, although the attempts to combine the whole set fail, interpretation of each individual print is largely credible.   Therefore I suggest to give up the quest for a unifying narrative and see the set from a different point of view.

All the critics since Anthony Blunt have searched for a story, based on the belief that the series consists a unity.   This is understandable and I do not deny the belief.   As can be seen from the letter to Dawson Turner, Blake clearly saw the prints as a set and listed them as such.   As the pre-dating shows, although the actual execution of some prints was in 1804, the concept was born in 1795 as a set of twelve prints.   Obviously the method is unique and the format is almost the same with all the prints.   As Butlin showed, the twelve prints are made up of six pairs, and each pair embodies a theme.

In 1995 Christopher Heppner dedicated a whole chapter in his book *Reading Blake's designs*[174] to the Twelve Large Colour Prints.   In the chapter titled '12 Large Prints…Historical & Poetical' Heppner confirms the pairing theory with substantial narrative to interpret the designs.   He also suggests to interpret the prints not in unifying narrative but as individual, or at least in pairs.   With *Pity* and *Hecate*, he goes back to Shakespearian interpretation, though in personalized way:

> Blake's print is simultaneously both profoundly original and deeply shaped by
>
> Shakespeare's imagery.   It has its own structure, with an implicit narrative that

we must recreate in interpreting the design… [W]e have story or poem that provides the body, so to speak, of the imagery and/or narrative, and a soul or reorganizing structure that recasts the body into a new form, and gives it a new though related meaning; in this case, the informing "Vision" is profoundly indebted to the originary text.   When Blake wrote that "All but Names of Persons & Places is Invention both in Poetry & Painting" (E 650) he was countering Reynolds's apparent subjection of the painter to literature, but his claim of independence for the painter does not cancel the deep relation to Shakespeare in this print [*Pity*]. (p.120)

Heppner struggles to explain *Hecate* using images of witches depicted by other artists in Blake's circle, and *God Judging Adam* and *Good and Evil Angels* using Blake's earlier works, but concludes:

Blake's twelve prints are difficult enough when considered separately without adding the burden of trying to reconcile their disparate images.   The attempts at the reconciliation have not produced genuinely helpful results so far; and have sometimes worked to obscure internal details that reveal important aspects of the act depicted.   If Blake had more in mind than a visual similarity sufficient to enable an owner to hang two prints together in one room, his intentions have not yet been deciphered. (p.146)

I follow the theory that the Twelve Large Colour Prints developed from Blake's colour printing experiments, and I propose that he executed one pair at one time.   The first pair should be *God Judging Adam* and *Good and Evil Angels*, since they both developed from earlier watercolours.   Butlin dates *God* watercolour c.1790-93 and *Angels* watercolour c.1793-4 in his catalogue.[175]   The latter developed from pl.4 of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790).[176]   Blake's colour printing experiments in full-scale began in 1794 with *The Book of Urizen*.   His stunning performance in 1795 leading to the Twelve Large Colour Prints is elaborated by Viscomi in his recent article, 'Blake's "Annus Mirabilis": The Productions of 1795'.[177]   Handling digital techniques in full efficiency, he gives a revolutionary and decisive explanation to the development of Blake's colour printing technique.   His discovery that two designs in *The Song of*

Los were actually printed from millboard is groundbreaking.   Another innovative proposal is one already published in another article[178] in detail.   Using 'virtual designs' Viscomi shows how Blake's disparate images can be sewn together to make larger designs.   The most amazing suggestion is to form a diptych from two virtual designs consisting of plates 3-4 and 6-7, sections titled 'Africa' and 'Asia' respectively.   With the author's monograph and date, it creates a new type of illuminated book, complete without a title page.   In the 2007 article he also suggests that *The Large* and *Small Book of Designs* were compiled in 1796, after the execution of some of the Large Colour Prints.   Therefore after *Marriage* (1790), the image stuck to Blake's mind, and he made a watercolour in around 1793, and after the miraculous development in 1795 Blake came to print the first pair of the Large Colour Prints, both after his already existing designs, but probably one from a copper plate and the other from millboard, which he had already tried for some small designs.

Butlin comments on the first pair:

In July 1805 he had delivered *Lamech*, but not the apparent companion *Ruth and Naomi*, which are seen here as a pair, together with *House of Death*, *God Judging Adam*, and *Good and Evil Angels.*   Whereas the first two do not seem to be paired, the last two do form a satisfactory juxtaposition, similar in their general color schemes and united by the theme of fire.   In *God Judging Adam*, if one accepts the parallel with the lines in *Urizen*, the scene seems to take place "In the flames of eternal fury" from which no light emerges.   In *Good and Evil Angels* the fire surely represents energy as defined in the words that accompany the design in its original form in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "Energy is the only life…Energy is Eternal Delight."   This design in the original book illustrated for Blake the error of dividing man into different elements, a theme graphically shown in the composition, and contrasts with the equally unacceptable condemnation of Adam by the God of the Old Testament in what seems to be the companion print.[179]

Pity and *Hecate* followed.   *Pity* developed from several sketches and a trial print, and *Hecate* also has a preliminary sketch in pencil and wash, now in the collection of Robert Essick.   Although these are rather free and imaginative rendition from the

original, I still think this pair represents Shakespeare for Blake. With these prints Blake was showing off that he can emulate John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery singlehandedly.[180] I will come back to this discussion in the final chapter. *Naomi* and *Ruth*, therefore, responds to Thomas Macklin's Poet's Gallery and the Bible Project, and *Death* and *Christ*, to Milton Gallery, proposed by Joseph Johnson in 1790 but carried out by Fuseli ten years later. The later two pairs are also taken from either the Bible or Milton and Blake's own myth. *Death* and *Christ* is the least obvious to be paired, and even Butlin had to come to conclusion by leaving them out after all the other pairings were done:

> This leaves *The House of Death* and *Christ Appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection*, but not just because they are the only two subjects left. Here, rather as in the previous pairing, the two compositions are contrasted with each other, horizontals against verticals, while being unified by the motive of a single figure gazing up at the main character. *The House of Death*, illustrating Milton's description of the lazar-house in *Paradise Lost*, is for Blake a condemnation. It appears, of the suffering that results from the imposition of Mosaic Law. *Christ Appearing* is at least at first sight a much more positive subject than the companion designs, representing the revelation of the New Testament, but only one of the Apostles seems actually to see the resurrected Christ truly while the others remain bowed in superstitious adoration; alternatively, if the subject is seen as that of "Doubting Thomas," Blake's outlook is even more negative, even the one convinced Apostle having only been convinced by the physical reality of Christ's wound.[181]

This negative impression might have come from the varnished state of the Tate *Christ*. Also it is impossible to identify, or even experience, the original palette of this print. But judging from the titles, to me it seems to be a simple pairing of death and resurrection. Seen from this point of view, each pair shares similar palette and has structural unity.

Chapter Seven
Blake's Motivation

Morris Eaves in his *The Counter-Arts Conspiracy* rewrites, so to speak, the
history of English Arts from Blake's, or rather a Blakean's, point of view.   In his
fascinating and gripping new history, we learn the situation in which Blake worked as
an artist and the ongoing discussion that Blake joined in with his art theoretical writing.
In part I, 'Nation: The Making of an English School of Painters', Eaves reveals the
discussion prevalent in Blake's time on the belatedness of English art and the optimism
on reviving the national art.   In part II, 'Commerce: A New Maecenas' he explains the
situation where arts get commercialised through the activities of artists/dealers like
Boydell and Wedgwood.   The situation around 1789 is vividly described:

Even for Boydell, who had begun as an independent engraver in 1746 and had
been working very successfully in the printselling trade for decades, 1789 was a
red-letter year not only for his business and personal prestige but also for English
engraving and the English school of painting.   Three years earlier he had first
announced his Shakespeare Gallery scheme, aiming ultimately to publish
illustrations of Shakespeare's plays (in one format) and an illustrated edition of
the plays (in another).   The illustrations would be engraved versions of paintings
produced specially for the occasion by England's best painters.   The project
would be financed through an expanded version of a system that Boydell had used
successfully in the past: commission paintings and engravings, pay the painters
and engravers partly or wholly in advance, and recoup the investment plus profit
upon publication of the reproductions.   Capital for the commissions would come
from Boydell's pocket, considerably supplemented by money made from advance
sales of the Shakespeare works by subscription.   As they were finished, the
paintings and engravings would be shown and the related Shakespeare products
would be sold at the gallery, located in Pall Mall, in the "polite" end of town.
Boydell hired the architect George Dance the Younger to turn what had once been
the bookshop of Robert Dodsley into the Shakespeare Gallery, complete with

imposing façade.   Since a major commercial advantage of the Shakespeare project was its broad appeal in two markets—for buyers who wanted the most recent and lavish edition of Shakespeare's text *and* those who wanted the latest work by the current generation of English painters—Boydell had to organize not only the painters and engravers with whom he was accustomed to dealing but also the typographers (to design special typefaces), printers (William Bulmer created the Shakespeare Printing Office), editors (George Steevens edited the plays), and publishers.   These daunting complications came out of Boydell's resolve to magnify demand—existing, latent, and new—and to benefit from the economies of international scale that his earlier successes in continental markets encouraged him to contemplate.

By 1789, the year of the toast, the commercial apparatus was in place, subscriptions for the Shakespeare were brisk, the gallery held its first exhibition, and Boydell's nephew Josiah was supervising a "manufactory at Hampstead" that the *British Mercury* claimed was filled with engravers toiling away at their Shakespeare copperplates.   Most of the prominent English painters, including Reynolds, had been brought into the project to keep the Hampstead engravers and others who worked independently busy for some time to come.   Though public criticism of the gallery started early, hopes for the biggest and best project of English commercial patronage ever were running high and already inspiring imitators.   Thomas Macklin's Poets' Gallery got under way in 1788, to be followed by Macklin's Bible project in 1790, Fuseli's Milton Gallery the same year, and William Bowyer's Historic Gallery in 1792.   All the schemes except Fuseli's used the Boydell formula, which included combinations of commissioned paintings by various hands; engravings of the paintings; a publishing venture— editions of Shakespeare, the poets, the Bible, Hume's *History of England*— underwritten by subscription; and an exhibition gallery.   Although Fuseli's solo Milton Gallery, which had no major publishing/engraving project as its focus, was financed by individual patrons, its entrepreneurial spirit was as Boydellian as its name: "I am determined to lay, hatch, and crack an egg for myself too, if I can," Fuseli remarked to William Roscoe (17 August 1790, Knowles 1:174-75). Meanwhile, Fuseli was also a major contributor to the Shakespeare Gallery. Boydell, trying to occupy some of the Milton territory that Fuseli had left

unguarded, eventually published three Milton volumes edited by William Hayley.[182]

The 'toast' in the passage refers to the frequently quoted anecdote about the toast made by either Reynolds or the Prince of Wales at the Academy dinner for 'the Commercial Maecenas' Boydell.   This levitated atmosphere of nationalism may be the English disorientated reaction against the French Revolution happening right across the Channel. The revolution's impact on the economy became the chief cause for the failure of many of the projects.   By 1805 many of the projects failed, including the bankruptcy and selling through a lottery of Boydell and Bowyer[183].   Blake in his letter to William Hayley dated 11 Dec. 1805 writes:

> Dear Sir
>
> I cannot omit to Return you my sincere & Grateful Acknowledgments. for the kind Reception you have given my New Projected Work.   It bids fair to set me above the difficulties. I have hitherto encounterd.   But my Fate has been so uncommon that I expect Nothing—I was alive & in health & with the same Talents I now have all the time of Boydells Macklins Bowyers & other Great Works.   I was known by them & was look'd upon them as Incapable of Employment in those Works it may turn out so again notwithstanding appearances I am prepared for it, but at the same time sincerely Grateful to Those whose Kindness & Good opinion has supported me thro all hitherto.   You Dear Sir are one who has my Particular Gratitude. having conducted me thro Three that would have been the Darkest Years that ever Mortal Sufferd. which were renderd thro your means a Mild & Pleasant Slumber.   I speak of Spiritual Things.   Not of Natural.   Of things known only to Myself & to Spirits Good & Evil. but Not Known to Men on Earth.   It is the passage thro these Three Years that has brought me into my Present State. & I *know* that if I had not been with You I must have Perish'd—Those Dangers are now Passed & I can see them beneath my feet It will not be long before I shall be able to present the full history of my Spiritual Sufferings to the Dwellers upon Earth. & of the Spiritual Victories obtaind for me by my Friends. …[184]

It was not only Blake who felt left out of this lucrative and fashionable trend.   Eaves shows a print by James Gillray entitled *Shakespeare Sacrificed, or The Offering to Avarice*.   This print was Gillray's revenge when he offered a hand to engrave for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery and was rejected.   Blake was, in Susan Matthews' words, 'passed over.'[185]   On the frontispieces were lavish praises for the artists involved, such as 'Embellished with Engraving from Pictures and Designs by the Most Eminent English Artists'.[186]   In Gillray's print Benjamin West, James Barry, James Northcote, Henry Fuseli, Joshua Reynolds and John Opie are ridiculed.   Popular artists such as Angelica Kauffman and Luigi Schiavonetti were involved, and so were many artist friends of Blake's, such as William Hamilton, George Romney and Thomas Stothard.

But Blake did not have to go empty-handed from this enthusiasm.   G. E. Bentley Jr. sees the *Night Thoughts* project as a result of this trend:

However, Richard Edwards was just once inspired by the great changes in the air in 1794.   The standards of British typography, book design, and binding had made enormous strides in the previous three decades and now rivalled those of France and Holland and Italy.   In particular, book illustration had been radically transformed by Alderman Boydell's imperial Shakespeare Gallery (1786-1805) and by his chief rivals, Macklin's Poets' Gallery (1788 ff.) and Bible (1791-1800), and Bowyer's Historic Gallery of illustrations to Hume's *History of England* (1792-1806).   These great undertakings, costing tens of thousands of pounds apiece, involved most of the great English painters of the day, with commissions of up to £1,000 for a single painting; all the great line engravers in England were employed at fees of up to £800 for a single folio plate; and the best printers such as Bensley and Bulmer were commissioned.   Type, ink, and printing houses were invented for the purpose.   Each publisher had a fashionable gallery to which the public flocked for the annual exhibitions of specially commissioned huge paintings, and each publisher sustained public interest by issuing his works in parts over more than a decade, at a cost to subscribers of up to £105 (for Boydell's Shakespeare).

A number of illustrious illustrated folio publications grew up in the shadows of these giants, such as Boydell's Milton (3 vols, 1794-97), his edition of Farington's

History of the River Thames (1794, 1796), and Thornton's *Flora* (1797-1807), but they were only seriously rivalled by one other British illustrated literary work. This was the edition of Young's *Night Thoughts* undertaken by the twenty-six-year-old publisher of cautious ephemera, Richard Edwards.

There was a striking incongruity both between Richard Edwards's previous publications and his public obscurity as compared to those of the titans he was challenging, and between the obscure craftsmen of genius whom he commissioned to make all his designs and all his engravings, William Blake, as compared to the scores of famous Royal Academy painters and engravers employed to illustrate Bowyer's Hume, Boydell's Shakspeare, and Macklin's Bible.[187]

Also he had commissions from his friend Fuseli to engrave for his Milton Gallery, and various similar projects came out. The Rivington edition of Shakespeare (1805)[188] is one of them, and Blake engraved at least two illustrations after Fuseli, 'Romeo and the Apothecary' and 'Queen Katherine's Dream'.[189]

My theory is that Blake did all those experiments on colour printing and produced the illuminated books and Twelve Large Colour Prints in order to emulate the current publishing boom. That explains why the similar colour-printing project by Thornton coincided Blake's project. It was not accidental but both projects were inspired by the London publishers' atmosphere. In that sense there was another possible stimulus for Blake. In the Tate Collection there is a print titled *The Fall of Rosamond* (1783) by Blake after Thomas Stothard. The plate is etched with stipple engraving, printed in three colours and finished in watercolour. According to Essick, *Separate Prints*, this was 'the first separate plate Blake engraved after a design by his friend Thomas Stothard', and 'it is possible that the plate was first issued by Macklin as an open-letter "proof"'.[190] There are several prints extant and some are printed in one or two colours. But such an example as the Tate version might have stimulated Blake to develop his own multi-colour printing method.

Blake was not the only artist who tried to emulate those projects single-handedly. In a sense, Fuseli, who seems to be right in the middle of the trend, can be seen as such, and Benjamin West is another. Eaves introduces an episode about West's popular design *The Death of General Wolfe*:

General James Wolfe led British troops against the French (under Montcalm) at Quebec in 1759, virtually ensuring that Canada would be British.   Benjamin west painted his first of at least six or seven pictures of Wolfe's death a decade later and in 1771 exhibited it at the Royal Academy, where its rich combination of the exotic, the heroic, and the modern in a historical fabrication with classical underpinnings created a sensation.   But it took William Woollett's print from the painting and an engraved key—not published until 1776 by Boydell—to establish West's reputation, along with Woollett's and Boydell's.   That coalition of patriotic subject, history painter, printmaker, and publisher held the potential for commercial success that Boydell—who claimed to have made £15,000 on an investment of £200 to £300 for *Wolfe*—later tried to organize and magnify with his Shakespeare Gallery project.   It seems just to conclude with Richard Godfrey that "West is a central figure in the history of English engraving, for he understood that history painting could only be subsidized by the sale of engravings, and was at pains to cultivate the friendship of the best engravers". Woollett's prints after West were so well regarded that the engraver's name often supplanted the painter's, and Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Woollett justly show *Wolfe* in the background.   Three decades after *The Death of Wolfe* and a year after the death of Boydell, West was trying to repeat his success when he teamed up with the engraver James Heath to produce a painting and print showing the death of Nelson at Trafalgar.   (The *Nelson* print was executed as a same-size companion to the *Wolfe*.   The technological gap persisted: the painting took considerably less than a year to complete, the engraving five years.)   After the royal patronage of West ceased in 1810, he reverted to the patronage of the public, charging admission to see his huge painting *Christ Rejected* and *Death on the Pale Horse*—in premises rented for the purpose.[191]

Underlying all those narratives is the artists' confidence that the audience would understand them, which in Blake's case leads to his one-man exhibition in 1809.

Blake grudges about the gallery proprietors passing over his talent but do not attack them.   Actually in a letter written in the previous year (the last year of life for Boydell) Blake is sadly compassionate towards him:

I have also seen Alderman Boydel, who has promised to get the number and prices of all Romney's prints as you desired. He has sent a Catalogue of all his Collection, and a Scheme of his Lottery; desires his compliments to you; says he laments your absence from London, as your advice would be acceptable at all times, but especially at the present. He is very thin and decay'd, and but the shadow of what he was; so he is now a Shadow's Shadow; but how can we expect a very stout man at eighty-five, which age he tells me he has now reached? You would have been pleas'd to see his eyes light up at the mention of your name.[192]

Also he was not quite 'passed over'. There is one plate he did for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery. I saw the print at Huntington. It is a small print engraved after John Opie and the scene is *Romeo and Juliet* IV, v (1799). There are other versions of the same design: a large print by G.S. and J.G. Facius, and a second small print by Peter Simon.[193] Another reason I suppose is that Blake was so much on the side of Boydell's discourse, he could not really attack him, unlike Gillray or Blake's friend George Cumberland who vehemently attacked the commercial project.[194]

Hiding his commercial face under a pedagogical and benevolent mask, Boydell led the discussion to promote arts among the public. Shakespeare was his chief weapon to advocate the English history painting against portrait painting. The 'Englishness' of Shakespeare was widely advertised. The concepts of other galleries are more or less the same. Therefore when Blake describes the Twelve Large Colour Prints as 'Historical & Poetical Printed in Colours', now we can see that he is talking in the same language. And at that point, I mean not in 1818 when the letter was written but in the context of 1795 when the prints were conceived, these words were almost synonymous to Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible.

Stuart Sillars in *Painting Shakespeare* depicts how the Shakespeare project started:

In November 1786 Josiah Boydell entertained to dinner his uncle, the print-publisher Alderman John Boydell. Among the other guests were the artists Benjamin West, Paul Sandby, and George Romney; the King's Bookseller George Nicol; and the poet and patron William Hayley. At some stage in the evening,

the idea of what was to become the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery was raised. Exactly who made the suggestion would later be much disputed, but the result was clear: the commissioning of a number of paintings from a diversity of British artists, each one treating a scene from one of the plays, that would together establish a national school of painting to equal those from the rest of Europe. The paintings would be reproduced as large-format engravings that would make the images familiar in England and beyond, and also prove a sound commercial venture. When the Prospectus was issued on 1 December 1786, in addition to the 'Series of Large and Capital Prints,' it offered 'A Most Magnificent and Accurate Edition' of the plays, edited by George Steevens. Both would be issued in serial parts, of which 'one number, at least, shall be published annually', and sold by subscription.[195]

Sillars dilates on the social impact of the reading of the images in terms of history, politics, gender etc., but here most relevant to our argument is the historical aspect. As we have seen, Shakespeare was used here as an icon of English history. Sillars argues that the illustrations pursue historical authenticity even to the degree that they correct, or add details, to Shakespeare's text.

Another dimension of novelistic materialism in the Boydell images is the representation of events narrated rather than enacted in the text, which assimilates them into the continuous narrative constructed by the omniscient narrator of novel or history. This erasure of the distinction between presented and described action not only changes the literary mode from dialogic to diegetic: it also offers new opportunities for comment on language, character and narrative device…

The transference of the plays into this idiom is revealed most completely in James Northcote's three *Richard III* images. It is instantly evident in their concern with one subject, the murder of the princes in the tower that, seen through the writings of Hume, becomes the major historiographical reinvention of the play, presenting Richard as the epitome of evil and the murder as his diabolic climacteric. As well as the older sources in More and Edward Hall, Hume drew on more recent writing. John Pointon's *Chronological History of England*, revealingly subtitled *An Impartial Abstract of the most Remarkable Transactions*,

give this account in 1714: 'King Richard, to secure the Government to himself, causes his 2 nephews, the Innocent King *Edward V.* and his brother, the Duke of *York*, to be miserably murdered.'

This tone is directly rendered in the Boydell images.   The first…characterises the main figures through the simple, unqualified terms of the popular romance… To novelistic tradition is added art historical reference: Richard wears the medallion of the order of the garter and the garter itself, continuing the tradition begun by Hogarth.   The second image approaches the murder more closely.   It visualises the details of Shakespeare's text…

The third image develops further the novelistic history. … Again, the image dwells on sentiment, showing the bodies being handed down a staircase and ennobling the moment by borrowing the composition of Caravaggio's *Entombment of Christ* (1602-4) which Northcote would have seen in Rome. This is a rare instance in the Boydell collection of the use of Biblical Old Master iconography, but whether or not the original readers established the link the emotional power of the image is still strong, deriving from the situation, and enhanced by the upraised hands at the lower left: a gesture commonly associated with nurture or supplication is turned to darker narrative purpose.   The most revealing element of the image is its physical setting.   Shakespeare makes no mention of the place of burial, but More places it 'at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde under a great heape of stones' and Hume follows this almost exactly: 'After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrell, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground under a heap of stones.'

Clearly, Northcote's image follows the details recorded by More: Lennox's dicta about Shakespeare's inferiority to his sources have been read in literal terms and applied not to a novel but to a work of history, so close has the relation come between them.   Hume's narrative, given added authority by a footnote allusion to its source in More, is here silently absorbed into Shakespeare's text: the play, its source and the image elide to form part of the great novel of English history.[196]

Thus Shakespeare was a vehicle to carry historical images and the text was not given such authenticity as we are used to in our time.   This is a rather natural consequence at

the end of the tradition of text modification.   Even when David Garrick (1717-79) 'revived *Macbeth* in 1744 after its absence from the stage since 1671, he claimed to present it "as written by Shakespeare", but nonetheless retained some of the songs added by Davenant and omitted the porter scene and various other passages deemed unsuited to contemporary tastes'.[197]   Yet, the situation was changing.   Interest in Shakespeare was burgeoning through performance and textual editing.   Sillars gives as an early example *Macbeth and Banquo meeting the Weird Sisters* (1750) by John Wootton (c.1682-1764) to explain the situation of Shakespeare illustration in the eighteenth century:

> Wootton's painting is an early example of a discursive medium increasingly
> significant during the eighteenth century: the visual image that offers a critical
> reading of one of the plays of Shakespeare.   This it does in three linked ways.
> It stresses the collapse of Macbeth's moral universe as implicit within the first
> meeting with the witches; it suggests later events by the use of emblematic detail
> in the presence of the owl, magpie and crows; and it visualises the language of the
> disturbance of the natural world and its order.   Today familiar from critical
> scrutiny over many generations, these textual operations were not discussed in
> explicit terms until much later: it was probably Bradley, for example, who first
> drew attention to the function of landscape in the text's moral trajectory, in a
> critical text founded on structural analyses in which the influence of painting, and
> perhaps even performance, was minimal.   Wootton's painting makes these
> critical points with striking visual immediacy a hundred and forty years before
> Bradley lectured on *Macbeth*, and in this it is representative of the special power
> of eighteenth-century Shakespeare painting.[198]

Blake lived and worked right in this context.   One interesting aspect of this period is artists illustrated Shakespeare from the text.   Also, the word 'illustrate' had a slightly different sense:

> Leaving aside the tradition of portraits of actors in character—an important
> tradition, but one marginal to the discussion of paintings as textual criticism—it is
> clear from both general and specific evidence that paintings were based on

reading the plays.   This reflects the intellectual climate where a knowledge of Shakespeare and an interest in the aesthetics of visual representation were closely connected; a telling detail here is that Richardson's theoretical writings and Theobald's edition of Shakespeare shared the same London publisher.   In practical terms, knowledge of the published texts is most obvious in paintings of plays that had received no recent productions.   Elsewhere, the painter's use of editions that pursue the chimerical grail of Shakespeare's authentic text rather than contemporary adaptations is evidenced by the inclusions of characters omitted from performance, most frequently the Fool in paintings of *King Lear…* In this way, the theory of painting, the practice of textual editing and the process of critical interpretation find an overlapping focus in the tradition of visual criticism.   Here it is worth recalling that, to Johnson, 'illustration' meant textual elucidation and comment; only in 1816 is the first use of the word in the meaning now commonly accepted, 'an illustrative picture,' recorded in the OED (4b).   In the second half of the eighteenth century, the two significances were given tangible form in paintings that consisted rich and subtle Shakespeare illustrations: the texts of the plays are given powerful critical readings, often with the aid of iconographic allusions, in a manner that followed the published theory of painting, to be decoded and discussed by an increasingly educated body of readers.[199]

Most of Blake's Shakespeare illustration fits into this definition.   *Pity* and *Hecate* can be seen as typical examples of 'illustration' in this sense.

Blake's interest in Shakespeare was not suddenly aroused by the popular Shakespeare Gallery.   His interest in Shakespeare burgeoned when he was very young:

The only precise evidence of Blake's knowledge of Shakespeare comes from Benjamin Heath Malkin: 'Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis, Tarquin and Lucrece, and his Sonnets…These poems, now little read, were favourite studies of Mr. Blake's early years.'[200]   Malkin goes on to say that Blake's father bought him various classical casts, and continues that the 'indulgent parent soon supplied him with money to buy prints, when he immediately began his collection, frequenting the shops of the print-dealers, and the sales of the auctioneers' (p.xix).   The

period referred to is Blake's study at William Pars' School, which he entered at the age of ten, two years after the first appearance of Johnson's Shakespeare; though there is no evidence, it is certainly possible that the young Blake acquired the *Works* in one edition or another at this time. Quotations from the plays and sonnets appear in the *Notebook*, and the influence of Shakespeare's verse is apparent in the early *Poetical Sketches* of 1769-78, most clearly in Blake's short history play *King Edward the Third*.[201]

On the visionary art's side, one of his earliest Shakespeare scenes is *Lear and Cordelia in Prison*[202] among his small watercolours illustrating English history, probably painted around 1779 right after his apprenticeship ended. Catalogued among the early miscellaneous works is a set of Seven Shakespearean Subjects[203], now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. They are small (each approx. 7.5 x 9.5 cm), oval drawings in pen and watercolours depicting characters from Shakespeare. Butlin estimates that they were executed c.1780. The subject matters are 1. *Juliet Asleep*, 2. *Falstaff and Prince Hal*, 3. *Othello and Desdemona*, 4. *Cordelia and the Sleeping Lear*, 5. *Lear Grasping His Sword*, 6. *Macbeth and Lady Macbeth* and 7. *Prospero and Miranda.* The next works catalogued by Butlin is *Macbeth and the Ghost of Banquo* (c.1785)[204] and *Oberon, Titania and Puck with Fairies Dancing* (c.1785)[205]. Then in the first few years of 1790s Blake painted about a dozen pictures in watercolour[206]. The Shakespeare Gallery was already open and booming, so Blake could have been influenced by the trend. Interestingly the set is catalogued with Illustrations to Mary Wollstonecraft and preliminary watercolours for *Los and Orc*, *Three Falling Angels*, *The Good and Evil Angels*, *God Judging Adam* and *The House of Death*, leading directly into the colour printing experiments.

After the Twelve Large Colour Prints, when Blake was in Felpham he designed for Hayley a portrait of Shakespeare among Eighteen Heads of Poets including Dante, Milton, Chaucer and Spenser. But his most important work illustrating Shakespeare was the Six Extra-Illustrations to a Second Folio Edition of Shakespeare (1806 and 1809) and two further illustrations of one of the designs, *Queen Katherine's Dream* (1807 and c.1825).[207] The titles of the six illustrations are 1. *Jacques and the Wounded Stag*, 2. *Richard III and the Ghosts*, 3. *Queen Katherine's Dream*, 4. *Brutus and Caesar's Ghost*, 5. *Hamlet and His Father's Ghost* and 6. *As If an Angel Dropped*

Down from the Clouds.

Now it is appropriate to turn to Milton in Blake's work. Although the influence in later works is immense, Blake's interest in Milton was not fully aroused until his three years in Felpham. Just a few days before his move to Felpham, in a letter written in excitement to Flaxman, Blake wrote:

[To] Mr [John] Flaxman, Buckingham Street, Fitzroy Square

[Postmark: 2 o'clock 12 Sp. 1800]

My Dearest Friend,

It is to you I owe All my present Happiness It is to you I owe perhaps the Principle Happiness of my life. I have presumd on your friendship in staying so long away & not calling to know of your welfare but hope, now every thing is nearly completed for our removal [from] <to> Felpham, that I shall see you on Sunday   as we have appointed Sunday afternoon to [ca]ll on Mrs Flaxman at Hampstead. I send you a few lines which I hope you will Excuse. And As the time is now arrivd when Men shall again converse in Heaven & walk with Angels I know you will be pleased with the Intention & hope you will forgive the Poetry.

To My Dearest Friend John Flaxman
    these lines

I bless thee O Father of Heaven & Earth that ever I saw Flaxmans face
Angles stand round my Spirit in Heaven. the blessed of Heaven are my friends upon Earth
When Flaxman was taken to Italy. Fuseli was giv'n to me for a season
And now Flaxman hath given me Hayley his friend to be mine such my lot upon Earth
Now my lot in the Heavens is this; Milton lovd me in childhood & shewd me his face
Ezra came with Isaiah the Prophet, but Shakespeare in riper years gave me his hand
Paracelsus & Behmen appeard to me. terrors appeard in the Heavens above
And in Hell beneath & a mighty & awful change threatened the Earth

The American War began   All its dark horrors passed before my face

Across the Atlantic to France.   Then the French Revolution commencd in thick clouds

And My Angels have told me. that seeing such visions I could not subsist on the Earth

But by my conjunction with Flaxman   who knows to forgive Nervous Fear

I remain for Ever Yours

WILLIAM BLAKE[208]

On the visual arts, Butlin summarises:

Next to the Bible and Shakespeare, Milton would have been the staple reading of any young man in eighteenth-century England with an interest in literature. There are indeed various early drawings of what seem to be Miltonic subjects (Nos. 101-6, 259; see also Nos. 320-2, 587-92, 661-2, 781A and 845).   However, it was not until 1801 that Blake began to do series of illustrations to Milton's poems.   This was the result of a commission for illustrations to *Comus* (No.527) from the Rev. Joseph Thomas, for whom Blake later also illustrated *Paradise Lost* in 1807 (No.529) and *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* in 1809 (No.538). Blake painted a second, slightly varied, set of illustrations to *Paradise Lost* within a year of the first for his chief patron at this time, Thomas Butts (No.536), presumably to fill the gap left by the completion of the illustrations to the Bible and, perhaps, the Book of Job (see No.550).   Some years later, perhaps as late as 1815, Butts also had versions of the *Comus* and *Christ's Nativity* series (Nos. 528 and 542) and in or after 1816 a new series illustrating *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* (No.543).   Also of c.1816-20 are the illustrations to *Paradise Regained* (No.544), bought in 1825 by Blake's last important patron John Linnell, by which time he had already got Blake to begin a third set of illustrations to *Paradise Lost* (No.537).[209]

Yet about a decade before his Felpham years, right at the peak of the galleries boom, Blake had a commission to engrave a Milton illustration after Fuseli.   G. E. Bentley Jr. writes about Blake's connection to Joseph Johnson (1738-1809):

From 1779, when he was just out of his apprenticeship, Blake had been engraving plates for the distinguished bookseller Joseph Johnson of St Paul's Churchyard. Johnson admired his skill with a graver, and "said He is capable of doing anything well"; "Blake is certainly capable of making an exact copy of the [*Wedgwood*] vase, I believe more so than Mr. B[*artolozzi*]", despite Bartolozzi's considerably greater fame and fashionableness.

From 1779 to 1786, Johnson was one of the chief employers of Blake's graver, with sixteen plates for seven books, chiefly in duodecimo. Most of these plates are modest in ambition, such as those for Bonnycastle's *Introduction to Mensuration* (1782) and Nicholson's *Introduction to Natural Philosophy* (1782), but a few have greater aesthetic pretensions, such as the eight charming plates after Stothard for Ritson's *Select Collection of English Songs* (1783). Beginning in 1787, when Blake met Fuseli, his commissions from Johnson become increasingly ambitious.

Johnson gave Blake commissions for 90 plates in 1786-1801, including forty-four unsigned plates after Chodowiecki in duodecimo for Mary Wollstonecraft's translation of Salzmann's *Elements of Morality* (1790-91), quarto plates after Fuseli in Darwin's *Botanic Garden* (1791, 1795), many sensational quarto plates for Stedman's *Narrative of … the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796), and especially his plate for Fuseli's proposed Milton (1791) and his six plates *after his own designs* for Mary Wollstonecraft's *Original Stories from Real Life* (1791). As Johnson wrote to William Hayley on 4 January 1802, "Ever since I have had a connection with Mr Blake I have wished to serve him & on every occasion endeavoured to do so. I wish his to be paid for what he is now doing fair & even liberal price…".[210]

The Milton project is mentioned under the headline of Johnson in ODNB:

The Swiss exile Fuseli, in particular, was a close friend of Johnson. First introduced to Johnson and the bookseller Andrew Millar in 1764, Fuseli lived with Johnson until 1770 and they collaborated on a number of projects, including an ill-fated attempt in the 1790s to publish a grand new edition of Milton, edited

by William Cowper; Johnson hoped to supplement the work with engravings based a gallery of paintings illustrating the life and works of Milton produced by Fuseli.   However, Cowper's increasing infirmity led Johnson to abandon the project.

Although Johnson abandoned the project, Fuseli continued on his own.   David Irwin writes about Fuseli's efforts to open the Milton Gallery:

> Throughout the eighteenth century Milton's poetry was generally held in high esteem.   Often praised by writers, his poems were also a source of artistic inspiration.   Hayman, Romney, Blake, Fuseli (and Lawrence once), all sketched and painted from *Paradise Lost*.   And the finale of Loutherbourg's Eidophusikon was 'Satan arraying his Troops on the Banks of the Fiery Lake'.
>
> The most important, single, artistic interpretation of Milton was Henry Fuseli's Milton Gallery, opened in London in 1799 and again in 1800.   The idea of such a gallery had originated ten years earlier in 1790.   The publisher Joseph Johnson, realizing the Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery was nearing completion and thus Fuseli's Shakespearean commitments terminating, decided to publish Milton's poetical works edited by William Cowper.   Johnson therefore commissioned Fuseli to paint thirty pictures to be engraved as illustrations.   But Cowper's mental illness and Boydell's opposition to the scheme caused Johnson to abandon his plan.
>
> Fuseli made the bold decision to continue on his own.   The first hint of this is in a letter to his friend William Roscoe, in 1790.   Fuseli writes:
>> 'There are', says Mr West, 'but two ways of working successfully, that is, lastingly, in this country, for an artist – the one is, to paint for the King; the other, to meditate a scheme of your own.'   The first he has monopolized; in the second he is not idle: … In imitation of *so great a man*, I am determined to lay, hatch, and crack an egg for myself too, if I can.   What it shall be, I am not yet ready to tell with certainty; but the sum of it is, a series of pictures for *exhibition*, such as Boydell's and Macklin's.
>
> One of the earliest of Fuseli's letters that indicates his scheme is already started and is absorbing his attention, is dated October of the following year.[211]

Tracing the correspondence between Fuseli and his friend Roscoe through unpublished letter in the Roscoe Collection of the Liverpool Public Library and some published responses, Irwin attempts to uncover the difficulties, including the financial one, overcome by Fuseli to realize the gallery.   Even the realization of the exhibition did not bring Fuseli the financial relief he was seeking.   Yet its impact was great.[212]   Both in Shakespeare and Milton designs, Fuseli's influence on Blake, or their interrelationship, is obvious.

The course of events from the conception of the project to the aftermath of the Milton Gallery is followed in detail in Luisa Calè's *Fuseli's Milton Gallery*.[213]   In *The Oracle* of 13 Jan. 1792, *Satan taking his flight upwards from Chaos* was advertised to be intended for Blake, but this commission was not fulfilled.   His bitter resentment is reflected in caricaturing the design in *the Book of Urizen*, plate 11, and the bruising and knocking about, without mercy, to try all experiments on his picture from Milton's *Paradise Lost* in *Descriptive Catalogue* of 1809.[214]   When the gallery finally opened, Milton's *Vision of the Lazar-house* was exhibited and catalogued as No.24 (perhaps c. 1790-4).[215]

Thus having seen the places of Shakespeare and Milton in Blake, we can see the place of the Twelve Large Colour Prints as the point where Blake's Blakeness burgeoned.   He was aware of his own literary interest early in his life and was starting to fumble around with drawing illustrations when his apprenticeship was over and he was independent.   But in early 1790s, prompted by the outward stimulation of the galleries boom, Blake produces some watercolours which solidified his ideas, and through his experiments completed his version of decorative prints, based on 'historical and poetical' themes.   The colour-printing experiments also led to his further invention of temperas (or frescoes) with which he promoted his favourite themes even further.

As was discussed in Blunt's book, in the years after Blake's return from Felpham, apart from his personal mythology, majority of his visual works can be divided into either of the four categories, 1)the Bible, 2)Shakespeare, 3)Milton and 4)Dante.   Interest to Dante materialized late, so through most of his working life Blake clung to the three themes, which consolidated in the Twelve Large Colour Prints.   In this sense, the series was pivotal in Blake's whole oeuvre.

Conclusion

In the first chapter, stimulated by the one-pull/ two-pull controversy between Michael Phillips/ Martin Butlin vs. Robert Essick/ Joseph Viscomi, I traced the two-pull theory back to its origin, the Victorian collector and critic of Blake, W. Graham Robertson and his younger friend and successor, Ruthven Todd and S. W. Hayter. Even now when their theory on Blake's printing technique is generally rejected as incorrect, they still hold a conspicuous position in early Blake criticism as experimental critics.   As a wealthy connoisseur, Robertson possessed, among other pictures, almost a whole set of the best pulls of the Twelve Large Colour Prints bought from a descendant of Blake's patron Thomas Butts.   What was great about Robertson was, not only possessing the prints, he catalogued his collection with eloquent comments and full information, and also attempted to find out the method Blake executed those prints. From his observation of the prints, he hypothesised that Blake printed the outline first, then the colours in the second pull.   Based on this hypothesis, Robertson, who was a trained artist, executed his own designs.   The result was convincing enough for him, so in his edition of Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake*, he published the result in an additional chapter.   Todd accepted Robertson's hypothesis on Blake's process of the Large Colour Prints.   Seeing both Robertson's and American collector Rosenwald's collections, and seeing Blake's cancelled plate, he, with Hayter, a printer of Atelier 17, and other artists, experimented on Blake's relief-etched plate making method.   They assumed Blake, rather than writing all the letters in mirror writing, used a sort of offset printing.   Again, the hypothesis is now rejected on the grounds that Blake, as a trained engraver, could mirror write easily, but his scholarly work formed a basis for later Blake studies.   Finally, Hayter was not necessarily a Blake scholar, nonetheless had great interest in innovative printing technique in general, and executed a lot of experimental prints, including colour prints, and also was active as a teacher and propagator of the technique.   His colour prints from intaglio plates are in some aspects very similar to Blake's work.

In chapter two, I looked into Blake's whole colour printing experiments leading to the Twelve Large Colour Prints.   Blake's experiment on relief-etching

started around 1787, with *All Religions Are One* and *There Is No Natural Religion.*
Early prints from these plates do not exist.   The early illuminated books, *Songs of
Innocence* (1789), *the Book of Thel* (1789-90) and *the Marriage of Heaven and Hell*
(1790) were printed in monocolour and hand coloured in wash.   In 1793 *Visions of the
Daughters of Albion, For Children* and *America* follow.   The last two are printed in
blue or blackish ink with no colours added.   Then in 1794 Blake prints some early
books including *There Is No Natural Religion*, as well as *Songs of Experience, Europe*
and *Urizen*.   In 1795 Blake reprints most of the illuminated books etched so far, adding
new books, *the Song of Los, the Book of Ahania* and *the Book of Los*.   Then in 1796
Ozias Humphry persuaded him and Blake compiled *The Small* and *Large Book of
Designs,* colour printing full-page illustrations from illuminated books and three
separate intaglio-etched plates.   Most of the Twelve Large Colour Prints were probably
executed in or around 1795, but at least two prints, *Newton* and *Nebuchadnezzar,* were
printed around 1804, maybe when he found a buyer.   Yet Blake deliberately inscribed
1795 in both the late prints, showing the date of conception of the whole series.
Among the twelve designs, either *God Judging Adam* or *Pity* seems to have been
executed first.   *God Judging Adam* has some traces of being etched on a copper plate,
and *Pity* has some preliminary sketches.   For these reasons, they must be earlier prints
among the twelve.

          In chapter three I traced the history of colour printing.   During history there
has always been a desire to produce beautiful colour prints and innovative inventors and
printers, but there seems to have been very few who struck a balance between the
quality and cost.   Most of the colour prints before the end of the eighteenth century use
limited number of colours and are finished by hand.   Some printers used up their
fortune to produce high quality multi-coloured prints.   Placing Blake in the history, I
can say with confidence that the Twelve Large Colour Prints display exceptionally high
quality as colour prints.   Looking into various printers, we can categorise the colour
printing method in two types: multi plates method and single plate *à la poupée* method.
In England the mainstream was the *à la poupée* method.   With this method, a printer
places various colours on one plate using a tool shaped like a doll and print in one pull.
Therefore only one plate is used and registration is unnecessary.   In the multi-plates
method, the plate maker has to prepare as many plates as the colours.   In Japanese
Ukiyo-e printing, they used up to 20 plates to cover all the colours used.   In Europe,

Christophe Le Blon invented a way to reduce the number of plates to three or four. The three plates are for the three primary colours, red, yellow and blue.   All the colours had to be analysed into the degree of the primary colours.   The last plate was for black outline.   In this way the printer did not have to worry about inking, so they could work quickly.   Instead, they had to be very careful about the registration when they used plural plates, and they invented various ways to hold the plate in one place, including pins and marking.   This shows theoretically it is meaningless to ink a single plate twice and worry about the registration.

Chapter four dealt with the materials.   Blake may have owned Dossie's *The Handmaid to the Arts*'.   This was a handbook for all kinds of craftsmanship.   In this book we saw the recipe for the artists to make up their own materials from ground pigments and mixture of bindings.   Although merchants had already started to sell ready-made pigments, Blake probably prepared his materials based on his secret recipe recovered from the ancients.   Studies of the museum conservationists nowadays provide information gained by the state of the art science.   The research conducted by the Tate group led by Joyce Townsend resulted in the well-informed book, *William Blake: The Painter at Work* (2003).   In the Twelve Large Colour Prints and the temperas Blake produced in the following period, he used similar range of pigments and bindings.   Blake used what he called 'fresco' or 'carpenter's glue' to size the paper before he printed.   This was based on a mixture of some gum and sugar or honey, and maybe a small amount of whole egg, egg white or ox-gall.   A print was finished by hand, using the same material as printed pigments, when the print was dry.   Blake finished the better prints first.   He may not have finished a print in earnest until he found a buyer.   Now we can even tell scientifically that the prints were printed in one pull.

In chapter five I examined each print of the series and tried to record the full information available.   After listing all the prints with their location, I started with the oldest record found in document in Blake's time, the account of 12 May 1805 – 3 March 1806, between Blake and his patron Thomas Butts and a letter from Blake to Dawson Turner, dated 9 June 1818.   Then I recorded the provenances, description, pull, comparison between the pulls, and quotation from related literature, etc.   For the list of visual images, see Appendix I, Powerpoint, 'Twelve Large Colour Prints' in the CD.

In chapter six I traced the history of criticism in the field of art history.   The

academic criticism of this school was established in Britain when the Warburg Institute moved their library from Germany to London in order to escape the Nazis, and almost at the same time, the Courtauld Institute was established.   The two institutes become pillars of the field.   Soon after starting his career in the new Courtauld Institute, Anthony Blunt published a couple of articles on Blake's borrowings, which was almost the first criticism to place Blake in the tradition and his contemporary art.   Blunt's first article was followed by a similar attempt by Collins Baker.   After the war Blake developed his articles into a monograph.   This book, *The Art of William Blake* (1959), sets the themes and tone of much of the discussion to follow.   This was also the first attempt to place the Twelve Large Colour Prints in a line to Blake's illuminated books and seek for a uniting narrative.   On the other hand, Martin Butlin of the Tate made a series of crucial discoveries and wrote a number of important articles from a museum curator's point of view.   In 1969 two important articles focusing on the Twelve Large Colour Prints were written for the same Festschrift, and 1971 saw two articles sharing the same title 'Blake's Newton' were published on both sides of the Atlantic.   In 1977 Bindman, a student of Blunt's, published a monograph emulating his teacher's in length and importance.   La Belle's 1980 article follows the tradition of seeking inspiration in the Sistine Ceiling Frescoes, but has a unique approach in aiming the whole series of prints, not only *Newton*.   The two articles of 1989 are also important in that they propose the pairing of the prints.   See Appendix II, Powerpoint 'Pairs' in the CD for images.

In chapter seven I speculated on Blake's motivation to execute the Twelve Large Colour Prints.   Morris Eaves's *The Counter-Art Conspiracy* is an excellent study redefining the English art history with Blake in its centre, or right within the discourse. Eaves shows how Blake's art theory faithfully follows his contemporary discussion, and discusses some concepts, such as nation, commerce, religion and technique in this sense. Seeing from this point of view, Blake's motivation can be explained in relation to the current boom of art galleries.   Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery opened in 1789.   The project had already started a few years before, and rival galleries were opening one after another, Thomas Macklin's Poets' Gallery got under way in 1788, Macklin's Bible project in 1790 and William Bowyer's Historic Gallery in 1792.   Hiding his commercial face under pedagogical and benevolent mask, Boydell led the discussion to promote arts among the public.   The chief term he used to advocate his position was

the English History Painting and Shakespeare was used as the nationalistic icon.   In this discourse Blake stands fully on Boydell's side.   So when Blake described his set of prints in terms of 'historical and poetical', it is not extreme to interpret them as 'Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible'.   These projects aimed to sell prints as decorative furniture.   This explanation fits nicely to Blake's project.   Also if we review Blake's oeuvre on the timeline, the transition of his interest and subject matter can be explained in this context.

The Twelve Large Colour Prints that Blake conceived in 1795 developed from the earlier illuminated books both in terms of subject matter and technology.   The colour printing experiments from relief-etched, planographic and intaglio-etched copperplates and sometimes millboard, were completed in a very short period of time, mostly within the three years from 1794 to 1796.   Blake claims that his interest to Shakespeare and Milton started early and he eagerly read both writers as a youth, but before 1790 there remains only a few sketches of Shakespeare and almost none from Milton.   From 1790 to 1793, the years between their move to Lambeth and the colour printing experiments, Blake shows growing interest in Shakespeare and also some designs from his early illuminated books which would develop into Large Colour Prints later were drawn in watercolours.   The three-year colour printing experimental period follows, but not until his Felpham years, 1800-3, would Blake start illustrations to Milton.   From that period the majority of Blake's subject matter would be Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible.   By then the medium would be shifted to the temperas.   Also most of the Galleries, including the late-coming Fuseli's Milton Gallery, were suffering from financial difficulties and the discourse of the art world was also swiftly shifting from the predominance of the History Painting to the newcomer, Landscape Painting with their scientific discourse.

Blake was a very experimental and innovative artist.   He not only invented the highly original methods of relief-etching on copper and multicolour-printing from intaglio and planographic plates, but probably in 1806 or 7, he even tried his hand at 'modified' lithography[216] newly invented by Aloys Senefelder (1771-1834) in 1796. But he did not value progress or techniques.   He sought the ideal in past poets and artists.   Milton, Shakespeare, Spenser, Chaucer and Dante in Medieval Italy, where we also find Giotto, Michelangelo and Raphael, all Blake's heroes.   The Bible was crucial, but Blake aspired to seek even further, to the lost prototype of which both Greek and

Hebrew Arts are mere copies.   Such sense of value led the innovative talent to turn to the recovery of lost secrets, rather than to the progression of technology.

Blake was trained as an artist under the apprenticeship of his master Basire in antiquity and this also decided his taste.   He stored a huge amount of knowledge and images through seeing and copying old master arts.   He was also a keen reader and learner throughout his life.   With such a background it is no wonder he had such a strong sense of beauty and the skills to create exquisitely beautiful objects.   His first invention, relief-etching on copper, enabled him to produce the Illuminated Books, the early examples of which are perfect examples of such objects.

But Blake did not stop there.   Experimenting ever further, also in search of the old lost secret, Blake achieved the recipe of his fresco.   With this material Blake produced his Twelve Large Colour Prints and the temperas, which both strongly reflect his originality.   The style of the Twelve Large Colour Prints is more sublime than beautiful, which reflects the taste of this period.   Some designs grew out of his earlier works, such as the illuminated books and watercolours.   Others were his renditions of Shakespeare, Milton and the Bible.   They all started as narratives and developed from there, but were now independent as purely visual art.   At the same time, they reveal the strongest mark of Blake's personality and originality.

Blake's art and theory are deeply rooted in and strongly decided by his contemporary trend and discussion, but his execution outperformed any other artist. He was a true genius with skilful hands.   As a trained artist and engraver, colour printing as a combination of painting and printing techniques must have come as an inevitable fusion.   And as a set, the prints represent the very personality of the poet/artist in both material and subject matter, and therefore can be regarded as the pivotal point in his whole oeuvre.

NOTES

[1] Here I insert a quick resume of all the major studies of the Twelve Large Colour Prints with the author's last name, the title and the date.   For full information see Works Cited.

The first description is Tatham's account.   Then follows: Rossetti, 'Supplementary' in Gilchrist, *The Life of William Blake* (1863); Blunt, 'Blake's "Ancient of Days": The Symbolism of the Compasses'; Collins Baker, 'The Sources of Blake's Pictorial Expression' (1941); Todd, 'The Techniques of William Blake's Illuminated Printing' (1948); Robertson, *The Blake Collection of W. Graham Robertson* (1952); Nanavutty, 'Blake and Emblem Literature' (1952); Digby, *Symbol and Image in William Blake* (1957); Blunt, *The Art of William Blake* (1959); Butlin, 'The Bicentenary of William Blake' (1958); Butlin, 'Blake's "God Judging Adam" Rediscovered'(1965); Butlin, 'Review: Blake's "Vala, or the Four Zoas" and a New Water-Colour in the Tate Gallery'. (1964); Hagstrum, 'The Wrath of the Lamb: A Study of Blake's Conversions,' (1965); Butlin, 'The Evolution of Blake's Large Color Prints of 1795' (1969); Kostelanetz, 'Blake's 1795 Color Prints: An Interpretation' (1969); Gage, 'Blake's Newton' (1971); Essick, 'Blake's Newton' (1971); Bindman, *Blake as an Artist* (1977); La Belle, 'Michelangelo's Sistine Frescoes and Blake's 1795 Color-printed Drawings: A Study in Structural Relationships' (1980); Heppner, 'Reading Blake's Designs: *Pity* and *Hecate*' (1981); Butlin, 'A Newly Discovered Watermark and a Visionary's Way with His Dates'

(1981-2); Essick, *William Blake, Printmaker* (1982); Butlin, 'The Physicality of William Blake: The Large Color Prints of "1795"' (1989); Lindsay, 'The Order of Blake's Large Color Prints' (1989); Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* (1993); Viscomi, 'The Evolution of William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* [Part I]' (1997); Phillips, *William Blake The Creation of the Songs: From Manuscript to Illuminated Printing* (2000); Hamlyn et al eds., *William Blake* (The Catalogue for the Exhibition at Tate Britain, London, 9 November 2000 - 11 February 2001, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 29 March - 24 June 2001); Essick and Viscomi, 'Blake's Method of Color Printing: Some Responses and Further Observations' (2002); Essick and Viscomi, 'An Inquiry into Blake's Method of Color Printing'(2002); Phillips, 'Color-Printing *Songs of Experience* and Blake's Method of Registration: A Correction' (2002); '"Is This a Private War or Can Anyone Join In?": A Plea for a Broader Look at Blake's Color-Printing Techniques' (2002); Townsend ed., *William Blake: The Painter at Work* (2003); Viscomi, 'Blake's Visual Designs and Reconstruction of *The Song of Los*' (2006); Viscomi, 'Blake's "Annus Mirabilis": The Productions of 1795' (Fall, 2007).

[2] *William Blake*, ed. by Robin Hamlyn and others, Catalogue for the Exhibition at Tate Britain, London, 9 November 2000 - 11 February 2001, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 29 March - 24 June 2001, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), pp.106-07.

[3] Michael Phillips, *William Blake The Creation of the Songs: From Manuscript to Illuminated Printing* (London: The British Library, 2000).

[4] Phillips, p. 96.

[5]Michael Phillips, 'Color-Printing *Songs of Experience* and Blake's Method of Registration: A Correction', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 36, 2002, pp. 44-45.

[6] Martin Butlin, '"Is This a Private War or Can Anyone Join In?": A Plea for a Broader Look at Blake's Color-Printing Techniques', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 36, 2002, pp. 45-49.

[7] ODNB, 'the Ancients'.

[8] Morton D. Paley, 'The Art of "The Ancients"', *William Blake and His Circle: Papers delivered at a Huntington Symposium* (San Marino: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1989), reprinted from *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 52, 1989, pp.97-124.

[9] Robin Hamlyn, 'William Blake at Work: "Every thing which is in Harmony"', *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. by Joyce H. Townsend (London: Tate Publishing, 2003), p.37.

[10] See ODNB under the headings of 'George Richmond', 'Samuel Palmer', 'Edward Calvert', 'Sir William Blake Richmond', 'the Ancients' and 'Joseph Sturge Southall'.

[11] Bob Steel's Website, under the heading of 'Birmingham Municipal School of Art', 26/03/2008: http://myweb.tiscali.co.uk/speel/group/bhamsch.htm

[12] Paley, pp.108-9.

[13] Blake, Annotations to the Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. by David V. Erdman, Newly Revised Edition (New York:

Doubleday, 1988), p.656.

[14] Jan Marsh, *National Portrait Gallery: Insights, The Pre-Raphaelite Circle* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2005), pp.7-8.

[15] W. Graham Robertson, *Time Was: The Reminiscences of W. Graham Robertson*, with a foreword by Sir John Gielgud (London: Quarter Books Limited, 1981) (First published in Great Britain by Hamish Hamilton Limited, 1931), p.290.

[16] Ina Taylor, *Helen Allingham's England: An Idyllic View of Rural Life* (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1990), p.96

[17] Ibid, p.43

[18] Ibid, p.75

[19] See Huntington Online Catalogue: http://catalog.huntington.org/, call number: mssWR 1-707, Title: Correspondence of W. Graham Robertson, 1875-1948.

[20] W. Graham Robertson, *The Blake Collection of W. Graham Robertson* described by the Collector, edited with an introduction by Kerrison Preston (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), p.10.

[21] Alexander Gilchrist, *The Life of William Blake*, ed. with an Introduction by W. Graham Robertson (Originally published: London: John Lane, 1907) (Unabridged republication: New York: Dover Publications, 1998), pp.404-412.

[22] The British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, 1979-12-15-12 (print) and 1979-12-15-13 (millboard), both presented by Mr. and Mrs. David Bindman.   There is another print in similar style, 1914-9-10.6.

[23] Ruthven Todd, *Tracks in the Snow* (London: Grey Walls Press, 1946).

[24] Ruthven Todd, *William Blake: The Artist* (London: Studio Vista, 1971).

[25] G. E. Bentley, Jr., 'Ruthven Todd's Blake Papers at Leeds', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly,* 16,1982-3, pp.72-81.

[26] Ibid, p.74.

[27] MS *470*/38/1

[28] Bentley, pp.*73*-74.

[29] William Matheson, 'Lessing J. Rosenwald: A Splendidly Generous Man', *Vision of a Collector: The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Library of *Congress*, 1991), pp xxv-xxvi.

[30] Ruthven Todd, 'The *Techniques* of William Blake's Illuminated Printing' *The Art Collector's Quarterly*, 29, 1948, pp.25-37.   Reprinted in *The Visionary Hand*, ed. by Robert Essick (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1973), pp.19-44.

[31] Joseph Viscomi, 'The Evolution of William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* [Part I]', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58.3&4, 1997, pp.281-344.   Online version available at http://sites.unc.edu/viscomi/evolution.htm#_endref0

[32] S. W. Hayter, *New Ways of Gravure* (New York: Pantheon, 1949), p.85.

[33] Ibid, pp.200-1.

[34]Arthur Graham Reynolds, *The Engravings of S. W. Hayter* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum: 1967), pp.7-8.

[35] Peter Black and Désirée Moorhead, *A Complete Catalogue: The Prints of Stanley*

William Hayter (London: Phaidon Press, 1992), pp.22-23.

[36] Hayter, pp.158-59.

[37] Robert N. Essick and Joseph Viscomi, 'Blake's Method of Color Printing: Some Responses and Further Observations' *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 36, 2002, pp. 49-64.

[38] Figures 241, a), b) and c) in *William Blake*, Catalogue for the Exhibition at Tate Britain, London, 9 November 2000 - 11 February 2001, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 29 March - 24 June 2001 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 2000), p.196.

[39] Robert N. Essick, *William Blake Printmaker* (Princeton: Princeton U. P, 1980), p.133.

[40] 16th May, 2002.   Special thanks to my supervisor, Dr. David Worrall, Dr. Joyce H. Townsend, a senior conservation scientist at Tate, and Piers Townshend, Head of paper Conservation at Tate.

[41] Hayter, p.155.

[42] Martin Butlin, 'The Physicality of William Blake: The Large Color Prints of "1795"', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 52:1, 1989, pp.1–17.

[43] See Martin Butlin, 'The Evolution of Blake's Large Color Prints of 1795' and Robert N. Essick, *William Blake, Printmaker* (Princeton, 1980).

[44] D. G. Rossetti, 'Supplementary', Alexander Gilchrist, *The Life of William Blake*, 2 vols (London and Cambridge, 1863), I, 376.

[45] Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake: Text* (New Haven and London: Yale U. P., 1981), p.156.

[46] G. E. Bentley Jr., *The Stranger from Paradise: A Biography of William Blake* (New Haven and London: Yale U. P., 2001), pp.101-103.

[47] Joseph Viscomi, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U. P., 1993), p.193.

[48] Figures 191, 203, 203, 212 in *William Blake*, Catalogue for the Exhibition at Tate Britain, London, 9 November 2000 - 11 February 2001, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 29 March - 24 June 2001 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000), pp.160-167.

[49] See Robert N. Essick, *The Works of William Blake in the Huntington Collections* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, Botanical Gardens, 1985), pp. 195-202.

[50] See *William Blake, The Early Illuminated Books*, ed. by Morris Eaves, Robert N. Essick and Joseph Viscomi (Gen. Ed., David Bindman, Blake's Illuminated Books, Vol, 3) (London: The William Blake Trust/The Tate Gallery, 1993), p.21.   See also Viscomi, *Idea*.

[51] See Appendix IV for the *list* of items regarding Blake's colour-printing technique that I examined during my two trips to the United States.

[52] *Vision of a Collector: The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection in the Library of Congress*, ed. by Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of

Congress (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991), pp.298-99.

[53] Butlin, 'Physicality', p.2.

[54] David W. Lindsay, 'The Order of Blake's Large Color Prints', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 52:1, 1989, pp. 19-41.

[55] See Butlin, 'Physicality' and Essick, 'A Supplement to *The Separate Plates of William Blake: a Catalogue*' in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 17, 1983.

[56] Gilchrist, I, 376.

[57] Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings*, p.156.

[58] For an up-to-date bibliography of the techniques of the Gutenberg Bible, see Richard N. Schwab, 'New Clues about Gutenberg in the Huntington 42-Line Bible: What the Margins Reveal' *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 51:.3, 1988, pp.176-209.

[59] For the history of printing see Bamber Gascoigne, *Milestones in Colour Printing, 1457-1859* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge U. P., 1997) and John Gartner, *The Craftsmen's Emblem: Being the Story of the 1457 Device* (Melbourne: Printing Industry craftsmen of Australia, 1941).

[60]For the forgery of banknotes, see John Holt Ibbetson, *A Practical View of an Invention for the Better Protecting Bank-Notes against Forgery* (Wetton & Jarvis: London, 1820) and George Weston, *Genuine Memoirs of the Lives of George and Joseph Weston, who were Executed September 3d. 1782.   The First for Forgery; the Latter for Shooting* [Fourth edn, London: 1782].

[61] William M. *Ivins*, Jr., 'Woodcuts in Chiaroscuro and Color: A Special Exhibition'

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 23:3, 1928, pp.73-78.

[62] William Blake, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, Erdman, *Complete*, p. 547.

[63] Morris Eaves, 'Blake and the Artistic Machine: An Essay in Decorum and

Technology', *PMLA* 92, 1977, pp.903-27.

[64] John Baptist Jackson, *An Essay On The Invention Of Engraving And Printing In*

Chiaro Oscuro, As Practised by Albert Durer, Hugo di Carpi, &c. (London: A. Miller,

etc., 1754), p.5.

[65] John Baptist Jackson, *An Enquiry Into The Origin Of Printing In Europe* (London:

1752), p.52.

[66] Jacob Christofel Le Blon, *L'art D'imprimer Les Tableaux: Traité D'après Les Écrits,*

Les Opérations & Les Instructions Verbales (Paris, 1756), pp.xviii-xx.

[67] Ibid, p.xxii.

[68] For the influence of Le Blon's colour theory on artists, see 'Between Instruction

Manuals and Studio Practice: Thomas Sully's Notebooks,' *Archives of American Art*

Journal, 39:3/4, 1999, pp.21-32.

[69] Cromwell Mortimer, 'An Account of Mr. James Christopher Le Blon's Principles of

Printing, in Imitation of Painting, and of Weaving Tapestry, in the Same Manner as

Brocades', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 37, 1731, pp.101-07.

[70] Ibid, p.102.

[71] Ibid, pp.105-06.

[72] Bentley, p.330.

[73] Blake for all his famous invective, shows considerable familiarity with Newton's Particles of light (Notebook, p.7), and boasted of having read his work early (*Descriptive Catalogue*).

[74] Piloo Nanavutty, 'A Title-Page in Blake's Illustrated Genesis Manuscript' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 10, 1947, pp.114-22, reprinted in Essick, 1973, pp.127-146.

[75] *The Illustrations of William Blake for Thornton's Virgil with the First Eclogue and the Imitation by Ambrose Philips*, with an Introduction by Geoffrey Keynes (London: the Nonesuch Press, 1937).

[76] Tracy Chevalier, *Burning Bright* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 2007).

[77] Tracy Chevalier, *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (London: Harper Collins Publishers, 1999).

[78] Directed by Peter Webber, Produced by Andy Paterson and Anand Tucker, Starring Colin Firth, Scarlett Johansson, Tom Wilkinson and Essie Davis, U.K. / Luxembourg drama film (2003).

[79] Robert Dossie, *The Handmaid to the Arts*, 2 Vols. (London: Printed for J. Nourse, 1758).

[80] Essick, *The Visionary Hand*, p.16.   Also see G. E. Bentley, Jr. and Martin K. Nurmi, *A Blake Bibliography* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Univ. of Minneapolis Press, 1964).

[81] Ibid, pp.3-4.

[82] Ibid, p.10.

[83] William *Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. by Joyce H. Townsend (London: Tate, 2003).

[84] David McKitterick, 'Obituary: Raymond Lister', *The Independent* (London), 10 Nov. 2001, available online:

http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4158/is_20011110/ai_n14431754

[85] Raymond Lister, *Prints and Printmaking: A Dictionary and Handbook of the Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Methuen, 1984).

Raymond Lister, *The Paintings of William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Raymond Lister, *Infernal Methods: A Study of William Blake's Art Techniques* (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd, 1975).

[86] A. Maheux, 'An Analysis of the Watercolour Technique and Materials of William Blake', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly,* 17, 1984, pp.124-9, see also p.129.

[87] S. L. Vallance, B. W. Singer, S. M. Hitchen and J. H. Townsend, 'The development and initial application of a gas chromatographic method for the characterization of gum media', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 37, 1998, pp.294-311.

[88] S. L. Vallance, B. W. Singer, S. M. Hitchen and J. H. Townsend, 'The Analysis of Proteinaceous Artists' Media by High Performance Liquid Chromatography,' *LC-GC International*, 10, 1997, pp.49-53.

[89] J. W. Twilley, 'The Analysis of Exudate Plant Gums in their Artistic Applications: An Interim Report', *The American Chemical Society, Advances in Chemistry Series*, 1984,

pp.357-94.

90 Essick, *Printmaker*, Appendix 2, pp.259-60.

91 Phillips, *Creation*, p.108.

92 Lister, *Infernal Methods*, p.56.

93 Ormsby and Townsend, p.40.

94 Ruthven Todd, '"Poisonous Blues," and Other Pigments' *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 14, 1980, pp. 31-34.

95 M. Cohn, *Wash and Gouache: A Study of the Development of the Materials of Watercolour*, exhibition catalogue, Fogg Art Museum, Boston, 1977, p.32.

96 G. E. Bentley Jr., *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p.472.

97 Bentley 1969, p.517; Tatham MSS, 'Life of Blake'.

98 Gilchrist, pp.69-70.

99 Gilchrist, p.369.

100 Cennino d'Andre Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook* (*Il Libro dell'Arte*), trans. D. V. Thompson Jr., (New York: Dover Publications, 1960).

101 J. K. Stemmler, 'Cennini, Cumberland, Blake and Early Painting Techniques', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly,* 17, 1984, pp.145-9.

102 Gilchrist, p.368.

103 M. Abley (ed.), *The Parting Light: Selected Writings of Samuel Palmer*, (Manchester: Carcanet with MidNAG, 1985), pp.213-4: to Henry Wentworth Acland, dated 29 Oct. 1866.

[104] Viscomi, 'Blake's "Annus Mirabilis"'.

[105] Ibid.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Bronwyn Ormsby with Joyce H. Townsend, Brian Singer and John Dean, 'Blake's Use of Tempera in Context', in Townsend, *Painter at Work*, pp.134-149.   See p.134.

[108] Robin Hamlin, 'William Blake at Work: "Every thing which is in Harmony"' in Townsend, *Painter at Work*, pp.12-39.

[109] Ibid, p.37.

[110] See my Appendix III.

[111] Butlin, 'Physicality' see p.8 and note 29.

[112] Essick, *Printmaker*, pp.259-60, Appendix II, 'Analysis of Blake's Medium in a 1795 Color-Printed Drawing'.

[113] Joyce H. Townsend, 'Analytical Methods' in Townsend, *Painter at Work*, pp.45-51.

[114] Noa Cahaner McManus and Joyce Townsend, 'The Large Colour Prints: Methods and Materials' in Townsend, *Painter at Work*, pp.82-99.

[115] Ibid, pp.87-91.

[116] Ibid, p.93.

[117] Ibid, p.83.

[118] *The Letters of William Blake with Related Documents* ed. by Geoffrey Keynes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p.113.

[119] Keynes, pp.142-43.

[120] Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings*, p.160.

[121] On 30th Apr. 2004, Joyce Townsend (Senior Conservation Scientist from Tate), David Worrall (Nottingham Trent University) and myself (NTU) organized a one-day conference at Tate Britain to coincide with the publication of *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. by Joyce Townsend (London: Tate Publishing, 2004) and the 'Blake at Work' display.   As for the 'Satan' conservation project, see Piers Townshend and Joyce H. Townsend, 'The Conservation of a Large Colour Print: *Satan Exulting over Eve*' (pp. 100-107).

[122] On the collection, see Martin Butlin, 'The Blake Collection of Mrs. William T. Tonner' *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin*, 67:307, 1972, pp.2+5-31.

[123] *Glen Foerd on the Delaware: Historic Riverfront Estate*, Glen Foerd History: The Tonner Era (http://www.glenfoerd.org/history/history3.html)

[124] Gilchrist, I, 376.

[125] Anthony Blunt, 'Blake's "Ancient of Days": The Symbolism of the Compasses' *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2:1, 1938, pp.53-63.

[126] Miranda Carter, *Anthony Blunt: His Lives* (London: Macmillan, 2001), pp.209-10.

[127] C. H. Collins Baker , 'The Sources of Blake's Pictorial Expression' in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 4:3, 1941, pp. 359-367.

[128] Anthony Blunt, 'Blake's Pictorial Imagination' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6, 1943, pp.190-212.

[129] Piloo Nanavutty, 'Blake and Emblem Literature', *Journal of the Warburg and*

Courtauld Institutes, 15:3/4, 1952, pp.258-261.

[130] See Jean H. Hagstrum, *William Blake Poet and Painter: An Introduction to the Illuminated Verse* (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Press, 1964), especially Chapter IV 'The Emblem'.

[131] A full English translation of Natale Conti's *Mythologiae* was published for the first time recently.   The two-volume translation by John Mulryan and Steven Brown is in the series of Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies from Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.   Translated and Annotated by John Mulryan and Steven Brown, *Natale Conti's* Mythologiae.   (Tempe, Arizona: ACMRS, 2006).

[132] *A Book of Emblems: The Emblematum Liber in Latin and English by Andrea Alciati (1492-1550)*, ed. by John F. Moffitt and others (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2004), p.1.

[133] Carter, p.367.

[134] A Greek treatise on the effect of good writing whose author is not identified, probably written around the first century.

[135] On a comparison between Burke and Barry, see R. R. Wark, 'A Note on James Barry and Edmund Burke' *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17:3/4, 1954, pp.382-84.

[136] The Augustan Reprint Society, John Baillie, *An Essay on the Sublime* (1747), With an Introduction by Samuel Holt Monk, Publication Number 43 (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, 1953).

[137] Anthony Blunt, *The Art of William Blake* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco and London: Harper & Row, 1959), pp. 14-16.

[138] Alexander Gerard, *An Essay on Taste* (London: A. Miller, 1759) (Reprint, Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1971), p.i.

[139] Ibid, p.211.

[140] Blunt, *Art*, pp.19-21.

[141] On Blake and Mannerism, I wrote an unpublished dissertation presented to Sophia University, Tokyo in 2003.

[142] The Neo-Platonistic interpretation of Blake was developed further by critics including Kathleen Raine.   See *Blake and Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968) etc.

[143] Moffitt, p.7.

[144] On the popularity of Quarles' religious writing, see *Frances Quarles' 'Divine Fancies': A Critical Edition*, ed. by William T. Liston (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992).   Illustrations can be seen in Johann Abricht, A. M., *Divine Emblems, Embellished with Etchings on Copper, after the Fashion of Master Francis Quarles* (Dublin: Tims, London: Bagster and Sons, 1839).

[145] Francis Quarles, *Divine Fancies*, Lib.II, 57.   Ibid, pp.87-88.

[146] Moffitt, p.5.

[147] Blake Archive, Illustrations to Milton's "Paradise Lost":

http://www.blakearchive.org/exist/blake/archive/work.xq?workid=but529&java=yes

[148] Carter, pp.416-17.

[149] Ibid, pp.411-12.

[150] Martin Butlin, 'The Bicentenary of William Blake', *The Burlington Magazine*, 100:659, 1958, pp.40-45.

[151] Martin Butlin, 'Blake's "God Judging Adam" Rediscovered', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp.86-89.

[152] G. E. Bentley, Jr., *William Blake: Vala, or the Four Zoas: A Facsimile of the Manuscript, a Transcript of the Poem, and a Study of Its Growth and Significance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

[153] Martin Butlin, 'Review: Blake's "Vala, or the Four Zoas" and a New Water-Colour in the Tate Gallery', *The Burlington Magazine*, 106:737, 1964, pp.379+381-382.

[154] Butlin, 'The Evolution of Blake's Large Color Prints of 1795', *William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon*, ed. by Alvin H. Rosenfeld (Providence: Brown U. P., 1969), pp. 109-116.

[155] Anne T. Kostelanetz, 'Blake's 1795 Color Prints: An Interpretation,' Rosenfeld, pp. 117-130.

[156] George Wingfield Digby, *Symbol and Image in William Blake* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

[157] David Bindman, *Blake as an Artist* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), p.98.

[158] John Gage, 'Blake's *Newton*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 34, 1971, pp.372-377.

[159] Robert N. Essick, 'Blake's *Newton*', *Blake Studies*, 3, 1971, pp.149-62.

[160] *Visionary Hand: Essays for the Study of William Blake's Art and Aesthetics*, ed. by Robert N. Essick (Los Angeles: Hennessy and Ingalls Inc., 1973).

[161] Paul D. Schweizer, 'John Constable, Rainbow Science, and English Color Theory', *The Art Bulletin*, 64:3, 1982, pp.424-45.

2 Diagram of *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows* by D. Gorczynski (photo: author)
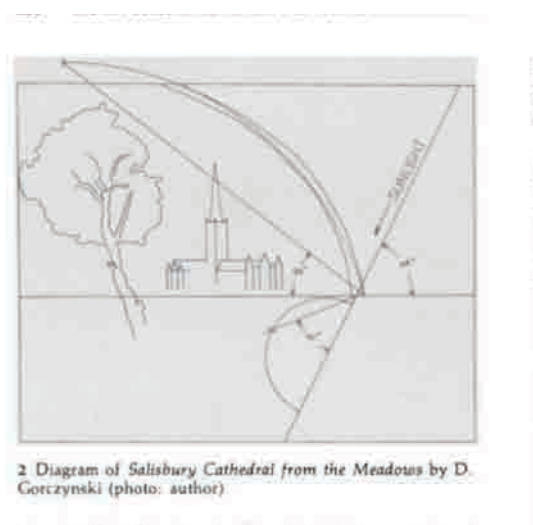
[162] Robert N. Essick, Introduction to *Visionary Hand*.

[163] Jenijoy La Belle, 'Michelangelo's Sistine Frescoes and Blake's 1795 Color-printed Drawings: A Study in Structural Relationships', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 14, 1980, pp. 66-84.

[164] Butlin, 'Physicality', pp.1-17.

[165] Martin Butlin, 'A Newly Discovered Watermark and a Visionary's Way with His Dates' in *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 15, 1981-2, pp.101-103.

[166] See David V. Erdman, 'The Dating of William Blake's Engravings' *Philological Quarterly*, 31, 1952, pp.337-43, reprinted in Essick, *Visionary Hand*, pp.161-171, and

Geoffrey Keynes, *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates* (Dublin: Emery

Walker, 1956).

[167] Morris Eaves, *William Blake's Theory of Art* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U. P.,

1982), p.117.

[168] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* V. ii. 14; Jean H. Hagstrum,

'The Wrath of the Lamb: A Study of Blake's Conversions', *From Sensibility to

Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle*, ed. by Frederick Hilles and

Harold Bloom (New York: Oxford U. P., 1965), pp.320 and 329; Christopher Heppner,

'Reading Blake's Designs: *Pity* and *Hecate*,' *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 84,

1981, pp.337-365.

[169] David W. Lindsay, 'The Order of Blake's Large Color Prints', *The Huntington

Library Quarterly*, 52:1, 1989, pp.19-41.

[170] Bindman, *Blake as an Artist*, p.100.   The same idea is repeated in Morton D. Paley,

William Blake (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p.38 and Lindsay, p.29.

[171] Erdman, *Complete*, p.62.

[172] Martin Butlin, 'Obituaries: Gert Schiff (1926-90)', *The Burlington Magazine*,

133:1061, 1991, p.518.

[173] Mei-Ying Sung, 'Technical and Material Studies of William Blake's Engraved

Illustrations of the Book of Job (1826)' (PhD thesis, Nottingham Trent University,

2005).

[174] Christopher Heppner, *Reading* Blake's *Designs* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.,

1995), pp.105-46.

[175] Martin Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings: Plates*, pl.197 (Cat.257) *The Good and Evil Angels, c.*1973-4, 29.2 x 44.5 cm.   Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford, and pl.198 (Cat.258) *God Judging Adam*, *c*. 1790-3, 19.4 x 29.3 cm. George Goyder, Long Melford, Suffolk.

[176] On the composition and execution of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, see Joseph Viscomi, 'The Evolution of William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 58.3&4, 1997, pp.281-344.   Online version can be seen at http://sites.unc.edu/viscomi/evolution.htm

[177] Joseph Viscomi, 'Blake's "Annus Mirabilis": The Productions of 1795', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 41:2, 2007, pp.52-83.   Online version with more illustrations, all illustrations in colour, and a slightly longer first section is available at http://www.rochester.edu/college/eng/blake/1795/1795/index.html

[178] Joseph Viscomi, 'Blake's Visual Designs and Reconstruction of *The Song of Los*', *Romanticism on the Net*, Issues 41-42, February-May 2006, Issues guest-edited by Dino Franco Felluga, Editor: Michael Eberle-Sinatra, Publisher: Université de Montréal, ISSN: 1467-1255 (electronic version) http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2006/v/n41-42/013151ar.html

[179] Butlin, 'Physicality' p.11.

[180] This theory was first suggested to me by my supervisor, Professor David Worrall.

[181] Butlin, 'Physicality', pp.11-12.

[182] Morris Eaves, *The Counter-Arts Conspiracy: Art and Industry in the Age of Blake* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp.34-35.

[183] On the situation leading to the bankruptcy or Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, see Winifred H. Friedman, 'Some Commercial Aspects of the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36, 1973, pp.396-401.

[184] Erdman, *Complete*, pp.766-67.

[185] Susan Matthews, '"Happy Copulation": Blake, visual enthusiasm and gallery culture', *Romanticism on the Net*, 46, May 2007.

http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2007/v/n46/016140ar.html

[186] Thomas Macklin, *Old Testament* (London: Printed for Thomas Macklin by Thomas Bensley, 1800).

[187] Bentley, *The Stranger from Paradise*, p.163.

[188] *The Plays of William Shakespeare, accurately printed from the text of the corrected copy left by the late G. Steevens, Esq. With a series of engravings, from original designs of H. Fuseli, and a selection of explanatory and historical notes: … a history of the State [by E. Malone], a life of Shakspeare, &c., by A. Chalmers,* ed. by G. Steevens, 10 vols. (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1805).

[189] See Moelwyn Merchant, 'Blake's Shakespeare' *Apollo*, new series 79 (April, 1964), 318-24, reprinted in Essick, *The Visionary Hand*, pp.233-252.

[190] Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp.134-38.

[191] Eaves, *The Counter-Arts Conspiracy*, pp.33-34.

[192] Erdman, *Complete*, pp.748-49.

[193] Eaves, *The Counter-Arts Conspiracy*, pp.58-59; Essick, *The Separate Plates*, pp.252-53.

[194] See Matthews.

[195] Stuart Sillars, *Painting Shakespeare: The Artist as Critic, 1720-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2006), p.254.

[196] Ibid, pp.265-68.

[197] Ibid, p.1.

[198] Ibid, p.5.

[199] Ibid, pp.14-15.

[200] Benjamin Heath Malkin, *A Father's Memoirs of his Child* (London; Longman, 1806), p.xxxiv.

[201] Sillars, p.160.

[202] Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings*, (Cat.53, Pl.45), pp.17-18.

[203] Ibid, (Cat. 84.1-7, Pls. 84-90), pp.31-33.

[204] Ibid, (Cat.154 Recto, Pl.167), pp.58-59.

[205] Ibid, (Cat.161, Pl.182), pp.60-61.

[206] Ibid, (Cat. 245-54, Pls.294-97) pp.125-28.

[207] Ibid, (Cat. 547-49, Pls.588-95) pp.405-8.

[208] Erdman, *Complete*, pp.707-8.

[209] Butlin, *Paintings and Drawings*, p.373.

[210] Bentley, *The Stranger from Paradise*, p.108.

[211] David Irwin, 'Fuseli's Milton Gallery: Unpublished Letters' *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.101, No.681 (Dec., 1959), pp.436-37+439-40.

[212] On Fuseli's Milton Gallery, see John Knowles, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831); Gert Schiff, *Johann Heinrich Füsslis Milton-Galerie: 64 Abbildungen* (Zürich, Stuttgart: Schweizerisches Institut für Kundtwissenschaft Zürich, 1963); Luisa Calè, *Fuseli's Milton Gallery: 'turning readers into spectators'* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2001, Clarendon, 2006).

[213] Calè, pp.46-52.

[214] Erdman, *Complete*, pp.547-48, 'Number IX, *Satan calling up his Legions, from Milton's Paradise Lost; a composition for a more perfect Picture, afterward executed for a Lady of high rank.   An experimental Picture*'; See Calè 2001, p.180.

[215] *Gothic Nightmares: Fuseli, Blake and the Romantic Imagination*, ed. by Martin Myrone (London: Tate Publishing, 2006), p.180.

[216] For a detailed discussion see Robert N. Essick, 'Blake's "Enoch" Lithograph' *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 14 (1980): pp.180-84.

Works Cited

Primary Sources

Blake, William, *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. by David V. Erdman, newly revised edition (New York: Doubleday, 1988).

-----, *Jerusalem*, ed. by Morton D. Paley, Blake's Illuminated Books, Volume 1 (London: The William Blake Trust, The Tate Gallery, 1991).

-----, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, ed. by Andrew Lincoln, Blake's Illuminated Books, Volume 2 (London: The William Blake Trust, The Tate Gallery, 1991).

-----, *The Early Illuminated Books*, ed. by Morris Eaves,

Robert N. Essick and Joseph Viscomi, Blake's Illuminated Books, Volume 3 (London: The William Blake Trust, The Tate Gallery, 1993).

-----, *The Continental Prophecies*, ed. by D. W. Dörrbecker, Blake's Illuminated Books, Volume 4 (London: The William Blake Trust, The Tate Gallery, 1995).

-----, *Milton a Poem and the Final Illuminated Works*, ed. by Robert N. Essick and Joseph Viscomi , Blake's Illuminated Books, Volume 5 (London: The William Blake Trust, The Tate Gallery, 1993).

-----, *The Urizen Books*, ed. by David Worrall, Blake's Illuminated Books, Volume 6 (London: The William Blake

Trust, The Tate Gallery, 1995).

Secondary Sources

Abley, M., ed., *The Parting Light: Selected Writings of Samuel Palmer*, (Manchester: Carcanet with MidNAG, 1985).

Abricht, Johann, A. M., *Divine Emblems, Embellished with Etchings on Copper, after the Fashion of Master Francis Quarles* (Dublin: Tims, London: Bagster and Sons, 1839).

Baillie, John, *An Essay on the Sublime* (1747), with an introduction by Samuel Holt Monk, The Augustan Reprint Society, Publication Number 43, (Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California,

1953).

Bentley, G. E., Jr., *The Stranger from Paradise: A Biography of William Blake* (New Haven, London: Yale U.P., published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2001).

-----, *Blake Records Second Edition* (New Haven, London: Yale U.P., published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2004).

-----, *Blake Records* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

----- and Martin K. Nurmi, *A Blake Bibliography* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Univ. of Minneapolis Press, 1964).

-----, *William Blake: Vala, or the Four Zoas: A Facsimile of the*

Manuscript, a Transcript of the Poem, and a Study of Its

Growth and Significance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

Bindman, David, *Blake as an Artist* (Oxford: Phaidon Press,

1977).

Black, Peter and Désirée Moorhead, *A Complete Catalogue:*

The Prints of Stanley William Hayter (London: Phaidon

Press, 1992).

Blunt, Anthony, *The Art of William Blake* (London: Oxford U.P.,

1959).

-----, 'Blake's Pictorial Imagination' *Journal of the Warburg*

and Courtauld Institutes, Vol.6 (1943), pp.190-212.

-----, 'Blake's "Ancient of Days": The Symbolism of the

Compasses' *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol.2, No.1.

(Jul., 1938), pp.53-63.

Bullock, Charles F., *Life of George Baxter, Engraver Artist and Colour Printer, Together with a Priced List of his Works* (Birmingham: W. J. Cosey & Co., 1901).

Butler, Albert Foster, *Robert Browning's Father: His Way with a Book—An Account of Annotations Made by Browning's Father in his Copy of John Landseer's Lectures on the Art of Engraving Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain* (Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1969).

Butlin, Martin, "Is This a Private War or Can Anyone Join In?": A Plea for a Broader Look at Blake's Color-Printing

Techniques', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 36, 2002, pp.45-49.

-----, 'Obituaries: Gert Schiff (1926-90)', *The Burlington Magazine*, 133:1061, Aug., 1991, p.518.

-----, 'The Physicality of William Blake: The Large Color Prints of "1795"', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 52:1, 1989, pp.1-17.

-----, 'A Newly Discovered Watermark and a Visionary's Way with His Dates', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 15, 1981-2, pp.101-103.

-----, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake: Text* (New Haven, 1981).

-----, 'The Blake Collection of Mrs. William T. Tonner'

Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin 67:307, Jul., 1972,

pp.2+5-31.

-----, 'The Evolution of Blake's Large Color Prints of 1795',

William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon, ed. by Alvin H.

Rosenfeld (Providence: Brown U. P., 1969), pp.109-116.

-----, 'Blake's "God Judging Adam" Rediscovered', *The*

Burlington Magazine, CVII, 1965, pp.86-89.

-----, 'Review: Blake's "Vala, or the Four Zoas" and a New

Water-Colour in the Tate Gallery', *The Burlington*

Magazine, 106:737, Aug., 1964, pp.379+381-382.

-----, 'The Bicentenary of William Blake', *The Burlington*

Magazine, 100:659, Feb., 1958, pp.40-45.

Calè, Luisa, *Fuseli's Milton Gallery: 'turning readers into spectators'* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 2001, Clarendon, 2006).

Carter, Miranda, *Anthony Blunt: His Lives* (London: Macmillan, 2001).

Cennino d'Andre Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook* (*Il Libro dell'Arte*), trans. D. V. Thompson Jr., (New York: Dover Publications, 1960).

Chevalier, Tracy, *Burning Bright* (London: Harper Collins, 2007).

-----, *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (London: Harper Collins,

1999).

Clarke, G. H., *Baxter Colour Prints* (London: Maggs Bros.,
1919).

Cohn, M., *Wash and Gouache: A Study of the Development of
the Materials of Watercolour*, exhibition catalogue
(Boston: Fogg Art Museum, 1977).

Collins Baker, C. H., 'The Sources of Blake's Pictorial
Expression', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 4:3, Apr.,
1941, pp. 359-367.

Conti, Natale, *Mythologiae,* translated and annotated by John
Mulryan and Steven Brown, *Natale Conti's* Mythologiae.
(Tempe, Arizona: ACMRS, 2006).

Cordingley, James, *Early Colour Printing and George Baxter [1804-1867]: A Monograph* (London: the North-Western Polytechnic, Prince of Wales Road, 1948-9).

Digby, George Wingfield, *Symbol and Image in William Blake*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

Dossie, Robert, *The Handmaid to the Arts*, 2 Vols (London: Printed for J. Nourse, 1758).

Eaves, Morris, *The Counter-Arts Conspiracy: Art and Industry in the Age of Blake* (Ithaca, London: Cornell U.P., 1992).

-----, *William Blake's Theory of Art* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1982).

-----, 'Blake and the Artistic Machine: An Essay in Decorum

and Technology,' *PMLA* 92, 1977, pp.903-27.

Essick, Robert N., *The Works of William Blake in the Huntington Collections* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, Art Collections, Botanical Gardens, 1985).

-----, 'A Supplement to The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 17, 1983-4, p.139.

-----, *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983).

-----, *William Blake, Printmaker* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1982).

-----, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake: Text / Plates* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981).

-----, 'Blake's "Enoch" Lithograph', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 14, 1980, pp.180-84.

-----, ed., *Visionary Hand: Essays for the Study of William Blake's Art and Aesthetics* (Los Angeles: Hennessy and Ingalls Inc., 1973).

-----, 'Blake's *Newton*', *Blake Studies*, 3, 1971, pp.149-62.

-----, 'The Evolution of Blake's Large Color Prints of 1795', *William Blake: Essays for S. Foster Damon* ed. by Alvin H. Rosenfeld (Providence: Brown U.P., 1969), 109-116.

Essick, Robert N. and Joseph Viscomi, 'An Inquiry into Blake's Method of Color Printing', *Blake An Illustrated Quarterly*, 35, 2002, pp.74-103.

-----, 'Blake's Method of Color Printing: Some Responses and Further Observations' *Blake An Illustrated Quarterly*, 36, 2002, pp. 49-64.

Erdman, David V., 'The Dating of William Blake's Engravings' *Philological Quarterly*, 31 (1952), 337-43, reprinted in Robert N. Essick, ed., *Visionary Hand*, pp.161-171.

Frankau, Julia, *Eighteenth Century Colour Prints: An Essay on Certain Stipple Engravers & Their Work in Colour* (London, New York: Macmillan, 1900).

Friedman, Joan M., *Color Printing in England 1486-1870* (New Haven, Connecticut: the Yale Center of British Art, 1978).

Friedman, Winifred H., 'Some Commercial Aspects of the Boydell Shakespeare Gallery', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 36, 1973, pp.396-401.

Gage, John, 'Blake's *Newton*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 34, 1971, pp.372-377.

Gartner, John, *The Craftsmen's Emblem: Being the Story of the 1457 Device* (Melbourne: Printing Industry craftsmen of Australia, 1941).

Gascoigne, Bamber, *Milestones in Colour Printing, 1457-1859* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press,

1997).

Gerard, Alexander, *An Essay on Taste* (London: A. Miller, 1759) (Reprint, Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1971).

Gilchrist, Alexander, *The Life of William Blake*, edited and with an introduction by W. Graham Robertson (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc, 1998)(An unabridged republication of the work originally published by John Lane Company, the Bodley Head, London, in 1907).

Hagstrum, Jean H., 'The Wrath of the Lamb: A Study of Blake's Conversions', *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle*, ed. by Frederick Hilles and Harold Bloom, (New York: Oxford U. P., 1965).

-----, *William Blake Poet and Painter: An Introduction to the Illuminated Verse* (Chicago and London: Chicago U. P., 1964).

Hamlyn, Robin, 'William Blake at Work: "Every thing which is in Harmony"', *William Blake: The Painter at Work*, ed. by Joyce H. Townsend (London: Tate Publishing, 2003), pp.12-39.

----- et al eds., *William Blake*, the catalogue for the exhibition at Tate Britain, London, 9 November 2000 - 11 February 2001, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 29 March - 24 June 2001 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001).

Hayter, S. W., *About Prints* (London: Oxford U. P., 1962).

-----, *New Ways of Gravure*, (New York: Pantheon, 1949).

Heppner, Christopher, *Reading Blake's Designs* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1995).

-----, 'Reading Blake's Designs: *Pity* and *Hecate*', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 84, 1981, pp.337-65.

Ibbetson, John Holt, *A Practical View of an Invention for the Better Protecting Bank-Notes against Forgery* (Wetton & Jarvis: London, 1820).

Irwin, David, 'Fuseli's Milton Gallery: Unpublished Letters', *The Burlington Magazine*, 101:681, Dec., 1959, pp.436-37+439-40.

Ivins, William M., Jr., 'Woodcuts in Chiaroscuro and Color: A

Special Exhibition', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Bulletin*, 23:3, Mar., 1928, pp.73-78.

Jackson, John Baptist, *An Essay on the Engraving and Printing
in Chiaro Oscuro, as Practised by Albert Dürer, Hugo di
Carpi, & c. and the Application of it to the Making Paper
Hangings of Taste, Direction, and Elegance, By Mr.
Jackson, of Battersea, Illustrated with Prints in proper
Colours* (London: Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand; S.
Baker, in York-Street, Covent Garden; J. Whiston and B.
White; and L. Davis, in Fleet Street, 1754).

-----, *An Enquiry Into The Origin Of Printing In Europe*
(London, 1752).

Keynes, Geoffrey, ed., *The Letters of William Blake with*

Related Documents (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

-----, *Engravings by William Blake: The Separate Plates*

(Dublin: Emery Walker, 1956).

Keynes, Geoffrey, et. al. ed., *The Illustrations of William*

Blake for Thornton's Virgil with the First Eclogue and the

Imitation by Ambrose Philips, with an introduction by

Geoffrey Keynes (London: Nonesuch Press, 1937).

John Knowles, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli* 3 Vols.

(London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831).

Kostelanetz, Anne T., 'Blake's 1795 Color Prints: An

Interpretation', *Essays for S. Foster Damon*, ed. by Alvin

Hirsch Rosenfeld, (Providence: Brown U. P., 1969),
pp.117-130.

La Belle, Jenijoy, 'Michelangelo's Sistine Frescoes and
Blake's 1795 Color-printed Drawings: A Study in
Structural Relationships', *Blake: An Illuminated
Quarterly*, 14, 1980, pp.66-84.

Le Blon, Jacques Christophe, *L'art D'imprimer Les Tableaux.
Traité D'après Les Écrits, Les Opérations & Les
Instructions Verbales* (Paris, 1756).

-----, *An Enquiry Into The Origin Of Printing In Europe* (1752).

-----, *Coloritto; or the Harmony of Colouring in Painting:
Reduced to Mechanical Practice, under Easy Precepts, and*

infallible Rules; Together with Some Coloured Figures, in order to Render the Said Precepts and Rules Intelligible, not only to Painters, but even to All lovers of Paintings (London: n.p., 1725).

Lilien, Otto M., *Jacob Christoph Le Blon, 1667-1741: Inventor of Three- and Four-Colour Printing* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1985).

Lindsay, David W., 'The Order of Blake's Large Color Prints', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 52:1, 1989, pp.19-41.

Lister, Raymond, *The Paintings of William Blake* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1986).

-----, *Prints and Printmaking: A Dictionary and Handbook of*

the Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain (London: Methuen, 1984).

-----, *Infernal Methods: A Study of William Blake's Art Techniques* (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd, 1975).

Liston, William T., ed., *Frances Quarles' 'Divine Fancies': A Critical Edition* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1992).

Macklin, Thomas, *Old Testament* (London: Printed for Thomas Macklin by Thomas Bensley, 1800).

Maheux, A., 'An Analysis of the Watercolour Technique and Materials of William Blake', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly,* 17, 1984, pp.124-9.

Malkin, Benjamin Heath, *A Father's Memoirs of his Child* (London; Longman, 1806).

Matheson, William, 'Lessing J. Rosenwald: A Splendidly Generous Man', *Vision of a Collector: The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection in the Library of Congress* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1991), pp xxv-xxvi.

Matthews, Susan, '"Happy Copulation": Blake, visual enthusiasm and gallery culture', *Romanticism on the Net*, 46, May 2007, Online: http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2007/v/n46/016140ar.html

McKitterick, David, 'Obituary: Raymond Lister', *The*

Independent (London), 10 Nov. 2001, online version:

http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4158/is_2001111

0/ai_n14431754

McManus, Noa Cahaner and Joyce Townsend, 'The Large

Colour Prints: Methods and Materials', *William Blake: The*

Painter at Work, ed. by Joyce H. Townsend (London: Tate

Publishing, 2003), pp.82-99.

Merchant, Moelwyn, 'Blake's Shakespeare' *Apollo*, new series

79, April, 1964, pp.318-24, reprinted in Robert N. Essick

ed., *Visionary Hand: Essays for the Study of William*

Blake's Art and Aesthetics, pp.233-252.

Moffitt, John F., tr. & ed., *A Book of Emblems: The*

Emblematum Liber in Latin and English by Andrea Alciati (1492-1550) (Jefferson, North Carolina, and London: McFarland & Company, 2004).

Mortimer, Cromwell, 'An Account of Mr. James Christopher Le Blon's Principles of Printing, in Imitation of Painting, and of Weaving Tapestry, in the Same Manner as Brocades', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* 37, 1731, pp 101-07.

Nanavutty, Piloo, 'Blake and Emblem Literature', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 15:3/4, 1952, pp.258-261.

-----, 'A Title-Page in Blake's Illustrated Genesis Manuscript',

Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 10, 1947,

pp.114-22, reprinted in Robert N. Essick ed., *Visionary*

Hand: Essays for the Study of William Blake's Art and

Aesthetics, pp.127-146.

Ormsby, Bronwyn, et al., 'Blake's Use of Tempera in Context',

in Townsend, Joyce H., ed., *William Blake: The Painter at*

Work (London: Tate Publishing, 2003), pp.134-149.

Phillips, Michael, 'Color-Printing *Songs of Experience* and

Blake's Method of Registration: A Correction', *Blake: An*

Illustrated Quarterly, 36, 2002, pp. 44-45.

-----, 'Blake's Illuminated Printing', *William Blake*, the

catalogue for the exhibition at Tate Britain, London, 9

November 2000 – 11 February 2001, and the Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York, 29 March – 24 June 2001 (New

York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000).

-----, *William Blake, the Creation of the Songs; From*

Manuscript to Illuminated Printing (London: British

Library, 2000).

Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of

Congress, ed. *Vision of a Collector: The Lessing J.*

Rosenwald Collection in the Library of Congress

(Washington: Library of Congress, 1991).

Reynolds, Arthur Graham, *The Engravings of S. W. Hayter*

(London: Victoria and Albert Museum: 1967).

Robertson, W. Graham, *The Blake Collection of W. Graham Robertson* described by the collector, edited with an introduction by Kerrison Preston (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).

-----, *Time Was: The Reminiscences of W. Graham Robertson* with a Foreword by Sir John Gielgud (London: Quarter Books Limited, 1981) (First published in Great Britain by Hamish Hamilton Limited, 1931).

Rossetti, D. G., 'Supplementary', Alexander Gilchrist, *The Life of William Blake: Pictor Ignotus*, 2 vols (London and Cambridge:1863), I, p.376.

Salaman, Malcolm C., *The Modern Colour-Print of Original*

Design (London: Bromhead, Cutts & Co., 1920).

Schiff, Gert, *Johann Heinrich Füsslis Milton-Galerie: 64 Abbildungen* (Zürich, Stuttgart: Schweizerisches Institut für Kundtwissenschaft Zürich, 1963).

Schwab, Richard N., 'New Clues about Gutenberg in the Huntington 42-Line Bible: What the Margins Reveal' *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 51:3, Summer, 1988, pp.176-209.

Sillars, Stuart, *Painting Shakespeare: The Artist as Critic, 1720-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2006).

Steevens, G., ed., *The Plays of William Shakespeare, accurately printed from the text of the corrected copy left*

by the late G. Steevens, Esq. With a series of engravings,

from original designs of H. Fuseli, and a selection of

explanatory and historical notes: ... a history of the State

[by E. Malone], a life of Shakspeare, &c., by A. Chalmers,

10 vols. (London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1805).

Stemmler, J. K., 'Cennini, Cumberland, Blake and Early

Painting Techniques', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly,* 17,

1984, pp.145-9.

Sung, Mei-Ying, 'Technical and Material Studies of William

Blake's Engraved *Illustrations of the Book of Job* (1826)'

(PhD thesis, Nottingham Trent University, 2005).

Taylor, Ina, *Helen Allingham's England: An Idyllic View of*

Rural Life (Exeter: Webb & Bower, 1990).

Todd, Ruthven, '"Poisonous Blues," and Other Pigments'.

Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly, 14, 1980, pp. 31-34.

-----, 'The Techniques of William Blake's Illuminated Printing'

The Art Collector's Quarterly 29, Nov. 1948, pp.25-37.

Reprinted in Robert Essick, ed., *Visionary Hand* (Los

Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1973), pp.19-44.

Townsend, Joyce H., ed., *William Blake: The Painter at Work*

(London: Tate Publishing, 2003).

Twilley, J. W., 'The Analysis of Exudate Plant Gums in their

Artistic Applications: An Interim Report', *The American*

Chemical Society, Advances in Chemistry Series, 1984,

pp.357-94.

Vallance, S. L., et al., 'The development and initial application of a gas chromatographic method for the characterization of gum media', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 37, 1998, pp.294-311.

-----, et al., 'The Analysis of Proteinaceous Artists' Media by High Performance Liquid Chromatography,' *LC-GC International*, 10, 1997, pp.49-53.

Viscomi, Joseph, 'Blake's "Annus Mirabilis": The Productions of 1795', *Blake: An Illustrated Quarterly*, 41, 2007, pp.52-83. Online version with more illustrations, all illustrations in colour, and a slightly longer first section:

http://www.rochester.edu/college/eng/blake/1795/1795/index.html

-----, 'Blake's Visual Designs and Reconstruction of *The Song of Los*', *Romanticism on the Net*, Issues 41-42, February-May 2006, Issues guest-edited by Dino Franco Felluga, Editor: Michael Eberle-Sinatra, Publisher: Université de Montréal, ISSN: 1467-1255 (electronic version): http://www.erudit.org/revue/ron/2006/v/n41-42/013151ar.html

-----, 'The Evolution of William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* [Part I]' *Huntington Library Quarterly*

58.3&4, 1997, pp.281-344. Online version:

http://sites.unc.edu/viscomi/evolution.htm#_endref0

-----, *Blake and the Idea of the Book* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1993).

Wakeman, Geoffrey, *The Production of Nineteenth Century Colour Illustration* (Loughborough, Leicestershire: The Plough Press, 1976).

Wark, R.R., 'A Note on James Barry and Edmund Burke' *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 17:3/4, 1954, pp.382-384.

Weston, George, *Genuine Memoirs of the Lives of George and Joseph Weston, who were Executed September 3d. 1782.*

The First for Forgery; the Latter for Shooting, fourth edn.

(London: John Walker, 1782).

Appendix I

Twelve Large Colour Prints

By William Blake

ELOHIM CREATING ADAM

- Tate (the only known version; bought by Butts, 7 Sep. 1805) [289]☐

SATAN EXALTING OVER EVE

- Tate (owned by Thomas Butts; purchased in 1996; varnish removed) [291]

- Getty Center, Los Angeles [292]

GOD JUDGING ADAM

- Tate (bought by Butts, 5 Jul. 1805; Presented by W. Graham Robertson, 1939) [294]

- Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (probably the first pull) [295]

- Philadelphia Museum of Art (the last pull) [296]

LAMECH AND HIS TWO WIVES

- Tate (bought by Butts, 5 Jul. 1805; Presented by W. Graham Robertson, 1939) [297]

- Essick, Los Angeles (trimmed & varnished) [298]

NAOMI ENTREATING RUTH AND ORPAH TO RETURN TO THE LAND OF MOAB

- V & A [299]

- Fitzwilliam (trimmed & varnished) [300]

NEBUCHADNEZZAR

- Tate (bought by Butts, 7 Sep. 1805) [301]

- The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (varnished) [302]

- The Minneapolis Institute of Arts [303]

NEWTON

- Tate (bought by Butts, 7 Sep. 1805; presented by W. Graham Robertson, 1939) [306]

- The Lutheran Church in America, Torresdale, Philadelphia [307]

PITY

Tate [310]

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [311]

Yale Center for British Art (varnished) [312]

Try-out; British Museum [313]

HECATE

- Tate (Presented by W. Graham Robertson, 1939; first pull) [316]
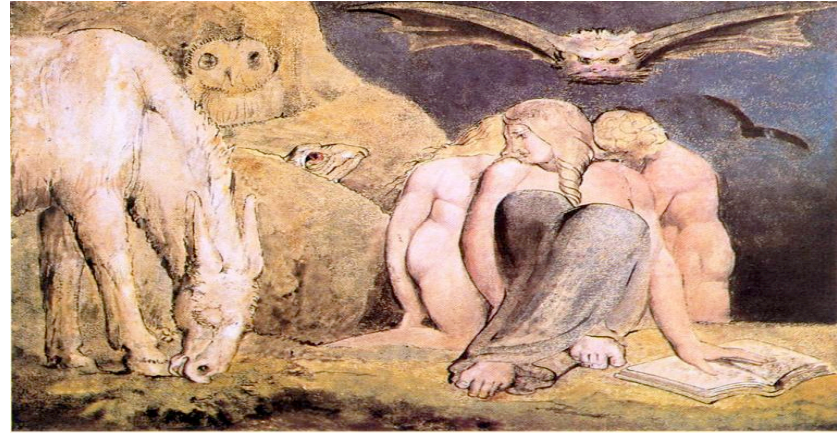
- National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh [317]

- Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, California (varnish removed by Tate team) [318]

THE HOUSE OF DEATH

- Tate (bought by Butts, 5 Jul. 1805) [320]

- British Museum [321]

- Fitzwilliam Museum [322]

THE GOOD AND EVIL ANGELS STRUGLING FOR POSSESSION OF A CHILD

- Tate (bought by Butts, 5 Jul. 1805) [323]

- Mr. and Mrs. John Hay Whitney, New York [324]

CHRIST APPEARING TO THE APOSTLES AFTER THE RESURRECTION

- Yale Center for British Art (varnished; bought by Butts, 7 Sep. 1805) [325]

- National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. [326]

- Tate (varnished) [327]

- Appendix II

Twelve Large Colour Prints In Pairs

By William Blake

ELOHIM-SATAN

GOD - ANGELS

PITY - HECATE

LAMECH - NAOMI

NEWTON - NEBUCHADNEZZAR

DEATH - RESURRECTION

Twelve Large Colour Prints

By William Blake

ELOHIM-SATAN

GOD - ANGELS

PITY - HECATE

LAMECH - NAOMI

NEWTON - NEBUCHADNEZZAR

DEATH - RESURRECTION

Butlin number	Title	Provenance	Watermark	Butts Account	Title Inscription
289	**ELOHIM CREATING ADAM**	Tate		7 September God Creating Adam	Elohim creating Adam
291	**SATAN EXALTING OVER EVE**	Tate		(Butts Collection)	
292		Getty Center			
294	**GOD JUDGING ADAM**	Tate		5 July God Judging Adam	God speaking to Adam
295		Metropolitan Museum of Art			
296		Philadelphia Museum of Art			
297	**LAMECH AND HIS TWO WIVES**	Tate		5 July Lamech	Lamech and his two Wives
298		Essick			
299	**NAOMI ENTREATING RUTH**	V & A			
300		Fitzwilliam			
301	**NEBUCHADNEZZAR**	Tate	JWhatman 1804	7 September Nebuchadnezzar	Nebuchadnezzar
302		The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston			
303		Minneapolis Institute of Arts			
306	**NEWTON**	Tate	JWhatman 1804	7 September Newton	Newton
307		Philadelphia			

310	**PITY**	Tate		(Butts Collection)	
311		Metropolitan Museum of Art			
312		Yale Center for British Art			
316	**HECATE**	Tate	1794 JWhatman	(Butts Collection)	
317		National Gallery of Scotland			
318		Huntington Library and Art Gallery			
320	**THE HOUSE OF DEATH**	Tate	1794 I Taylor	5 July House of Death	The House of Death Milton
321		British Museum			
322		Fitzwilliam Museum			
323	**THE GOOD AND EVIL ANGELS**	Tate		5 July Good and Evil Angels	The Good and Evil Angels
324		Private Collection			
325	**CHRIST APPEARING**	Yale Center for British Art		7 September Christ Appearing	
326		National Gallery of Art, Washington			
327		Tate			

date/pull	signature	size paper/print	trim/ vernish
1805	1795 WB inv	51.5 x 59.5 cm/ 43.1 x 53.6 cm	
1795/ 2	Blake	45 x 55.2 cm/ 43.2 x 53.4 cm	varnished/ mounted on stretcher
/ 1	WBlake 1795	42.6 x 53.5 cm/ 42.6 x 53.5 cm	trimmed
1795/ 2	inv WB 1795	54.5 x 77.0 cm/ 43.2 x 53.5 cm	
/ 1	Fresco WBlake inv	42.6 x 52.6 cm/ 42.6 x 52.6 cm	trimmed
/ 3		/42.3 x 51.7 cm	
1795/ 1	inv WB 1795	54.5 x 75.5 cm/ 43.1 x 60.8 cm	corners cut across approx. 5.5 cm
/ 2		37.8 x 47.5 cm/ 37.8 x 47.5 cm	trimmed
1795/ 1	Fresco WBlake inv	42.8 x 58.6 cm/ 42.8 x 58.6 cm	corners cut across approx. 6.3 x 6 cm
/ 2		37.5 x 49 cm	trimmed/ vernished
1805/ 1	1795 WB inv	54.5 x 72.5 cm/ 44.6 x 62.0 cm	
/ 3		42.1 x 60.6 cm/ 42.1 x 60.6 cm	coated with gum or size
/ 2	WBlake 1795	43 x 60.3 cm	
1805/ 1	1795 WB inv	54.5 x 76.0 cm/ 46.0 x 60.0 cm	
/ 2	Fresco WBlake in	44.2 x 57.8 cm	

1795/ 1	Blake	54.5 x 77.5 cm/ 42.5 x 53.9 cm	irregular
/ 2 (maybe finished first)	WBlake inv	42.1 x 52.8 cm/ 42.1 x 52.8 cm	trimmed
/ 3		41.6 x 51.3 cm/ 41.6 x 51.3 cm	trimmed, particularly on the left
1795/ 1	Blake	54.5 x 77.0 cm/ 43.9 x 58.1 cm	
/ 2	Fresco WBlake inv	43 x 57.7 cm	
/ 3		41.5 x 55.9 cm/ 41.5 x 55.9 cm	trimmed/ vernished
1795/ 1	WB 1795	54.5 x 77.0 cm/ 48.5 x 61.0 cm	
/ 2	WBlake 1795	42.7 x 59.0 cm/ 42.7 x 59.0 cm	trimmed, particularly top and bottom
/ 3		48.0 x 60.3 cm/ 48.0 x 60.3 cm	trimmed/ irregular
1795/ 2	WB inv 1795	54.5 x 76.0 cm/ 44.5 x 59.4 cm	
/ 1		43.8 x 58.5 cm/ 43.8 x 58.5 cm	trimmed
1795 (1805)/ 2	inv WB	43.0 x 57.3 cm/ 43.0 x 57.3 cm	varnished/ mounted on fine canvas
/ 1	Fresco WBlake inv	43.1 x 57.5 cm/ 43.1 x 57.5 cm	
/ 3		40.6 x 49.9 cm/ 40.6 x 49.9 cm	trimmed, p. right and left/ varnished

Appendix IV

Below is the list of items regarding Blake's colour-printing technique that I examined during my two trips to the United States. Numbers with no alphabet at the front is Huntington call numbers. Numbers with PML at the front is Pierpont Morgan Library call numbers.

57445   THERE IS N O NATURAL RELIGION, 1788?
(monocolour-printed in green/and brown, finished with a pen in black and grey inks)
(Black)(Printed between 1788   -94)

PML 9948.21   THERE IS NO NATURAL RELIGION, 1788
    1 proof sheet of t. p.: etching.

PML 63940.1 -10   THERE IS NO NATURAL RELIGION, 1788
    Copy I
    Contains plates Keynes a2   -4, a8 -9; b3 -4, b11.
    Duplicates: Keynes a9, a11.
    According to Viscomi, except for the duplicates, these are all late 19th century facsimiles.
    Relief etched, printed in 3 colors, some plates heightened with watercolor.

PML 44733 / PML 63940.11-12 THERE IS NO NATURAL RELIGION, 1788

Copy G1 (PML 44733) and G2 (PML 63940.11   -12)

Contains plates Keynes a.3   -9, b.3 -4, 11 (PML 44733), a.5 -6 (PML 63940.11   -12)

The Blake website has identified plate Keynes a.9 as from Copy I.

Relief etched, printed in 3 colors, some plates heightened with watercolor.

PML 75228   THERE IS NO NATURAL RELIGION, 1788

The unique plate b.10. Incipit: "Application..." with image adapted from other versions representing Newton.

  Sheet measures 293 x 219 mm (11 1/2 x 8 5/8 in.); plate mark measures 52 x 41 mm (2 1/16 x 1 9/16 in.).

  Copy L².

  Other plates from L² once owned by Keynes were given to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Binding: Matted. In Blake Miscellaneous broadside box.

Provenance: From the collection of William Muir and Sir Geoffrey Keynes.

PML 75228   THERE IS NO NATURAL RELIGION, 1788

Copy L

Large paper copy.

Relief etched, printed in green with occasional brown-black over-printing and some reinforcement with pen, on wove paper about 12 x 9 inches, b2, b6, b9 watermarked I TAYLOR [Heawood 3441]. Each plate is bordered by 4 to 5 ruled framing lines in pen and gray   -black ink.

On first page in pencil in Muir's hand at upper right: Wm. Muir Edmonton 1886; below, "Page III is missing in this copy as it is also in all other copies that I have seen or had description of. The page sometimes put in its place does not belong to this book. This one inserted here does."

This copy belonged to William Muir and was used in the printing of his facsi   mile in 1886. It comprises: Series A: T.p. and conclusion; Series B: Frontispiece, propositions I, II, IV-VII and "Therefore God becomes as we are that we may be as he is," Arrangement: Keynes a.1, b.2, b.3, b.4, a.10, b.6, b.7, b.8, b.9, b.11. [Four other leaves from Muir's collection (a^3, a4, a8, b^{10}) were in the collection of Geoffrey Keynes, b.10 being unique (now PML 75228). They were lot 470 in sale, Sotheby's, July 21, 1953. £42].

Binding: Bound in brown paper wrappers, inscribed in black ink in hand of William Muir: There is No Natural Religion By Wm Blake. In blue oasis box.

Provenance: William Muir; purchased Sotheby's, July 21, 1953, lot 469 via Jacob Schwartz.

57434   Vol.1, THE BOOK OF THEL, 1789   Copy D

(monocolour [olive green] print, watercol   our)

PML 17559   THE   MARRIAGE   OF   HEAVEN   AND   HELL,   1790
      Copy C

(One of four copies printed in 1790. See Viscomi.

27 plates printed on 15 leaves.

Title and Argument printed on rectos only; text: 22 plates on 11 leaves.

A Song of Liberty: 3 plates on 2 leaves at end.

Printed in bluish green with added watercolor.

Visible in image of serpent at foot of leaf 11 verso: "Opposition is True Friendship".

Relief etchings; added watercolor.   )

493826   Darwin, Erasmus, BOTANIC   GARDEN

(London: printed for Johnson, 1791)

(Vol.1 includes 5 plates engraved by Blake)

(one signed, after Fuseli; the others of the

Appendix IV

Portland vase.)

42625   THE VISIONS OF THE DAUGHTERS OF ALBION, 1793
      (monocolour [reddish-brown] print, watercolour)
      (Keynes: "None of the copies .. bears a watermark
      dated earlier than 1794" (p.129).)

54044   AMERICA A PROPHECY, 1793, Copies F, H
      (Printed in black)(Keynes: "None of the .. copies ..
      seems to have been printed before 1794" (p.135).)

PML 63935   THE MARRIAGE OF   HEAVEN AND HELL, 1794

      Copy F, c.1794
      (Colour printed on rectos only.
      A Song of Liberty: 3 plates at end.
      Text   printed   in   dark   brown,   with   added
watercolour)

PML 63139   THE FIRST BOOK OF URIZEN, 1794   -5, Copy B
      (monocolour [gray/green/black], watercolou   r)

Yale   THE FIRST BOOK OF URIZEN, 1794, Copies A &
C
      (Colour-printed)

54043   THE SONG OF LOS, 1795, Copies A, D

        (Colour-printed)

PML 77236   THE SONG OF LOS, 1795, Copy C

        (Colour-printed)

54038   SONGS OF EXPERIENCE, between 1799 and 1801, Copy N

        (monocolour [reddish-brown] print, watercolour)

27435   Boydell, John, BOYDELL'S GRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF SHAKSPEARE (London: Pub. by Mees.rs Boydell & co. [1804?])

        'Separate issue of the plates prepared for Boydell's ed. of Shakespeare, 1802. Though called "a selection" the plates correspond with those in the L.C. copy of the works, except that the separate issue has an addition "Shakspeare nursed by Tragedy and Comedy" (frontispiece) a portrait of Boydell, another plate in Titus Andronicus (Lavinia pursuing her young nephew) and a variation of Opie's Juliet on her couch, "engraved by W. Blake": while it lacks a variation of the first plate in Richard III (Gloster and the

princes) found in the works'

54041　　 Vol. 1, 2, 3　MILTON A POEM, 18　　04, Copy B
(watermarks on paper dated 1808)
(monocolour [black] print, watercolour)

54048　　 Blair, Robert　THE　GRAVE:　A　POEM,
Illustrated by twelve Etchings executed by Louis
Schiavonetti, from the original inventions of
William Blake, London: Printed by T. Bensley, Bolt
Court, for the Proprietor, R. H. Cromek, No. 64,
Newman Street, and sole by Cadell and Davies, J.
Johnson, T. Payne, J. White, Longman, Hurst, Rees,
and Orme, W. Miller, J. Murray, and Constable and
Co. Edinburgh, 1808

57433　　 A DESCRIPTIVE　 CATALOGUE OF PICTURES…
London. Printed by D. N. Shury 7 Berwick St. Soho
for J. Blake 28 Broad St. Golden Square 1809.

78637　　 EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS IN FRESCO
(London: Watts & co., 1809)

123151　　　 Eglantine, Edward, Esquire, MEMOIRS OF
THE LIFE OF THE CELEBRATED MRS. Q(uintin), (London:

Benbow, 1822)

Note: Mrs. Q------ is Harriet Quentin. Cf. BM, v. 60, col. 59

Illustrations: 1 print : stipple engraving ; full-page. Reduced copy of engraving by William Blake. Cf. Essick, R.N. The separate plates of William Blake, XLII

55345   THE GHOST OF ABEL, 1822
(printed in black)

Metropolitan Museum of Art
THE SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND OF EXPERIENCE, 1794
Copy Y, c.1825
Printed in reddish brown
Hand-coloured
A lot of gold (all the titles)
Decorative lines and page numbers by hand around the printed image (pen, colour ink)
The Echoing Green-watercolour over white line etching

57439   FOR THE SEXES; THE GATES OF PARADISE, c.1818-26
Vol. 1, Original green paper wrapper with autograph note

by Frederick Tatham, pls.   1-9

Vol.2, pls. 10 -19

     (some leaves watermarked 1826)

PML 953   JERUSALEM, 1804 Copy F, c.1827

     (Printed in black)

440281   Mudie, Robert, THE SEA (London: Thomas
Ward & Co., 1835)

         EVENING ON THE SEA/THE SHORE

    Baxter's Patent OIL COLOUR Printing, 3,
Charter-house Square .

     From Original Paintings by W. Fowler.

499408a   SONGS OF EXPERIENCE. WM BLAKE 1794, etc.

     (No.38 Wm. Muir; Muir's Fac Similes & c.)

     (Edmonton, England: William Muir, 1885)

     (after Copy V, Morgan Library PML 58636)

     (monocolour [ochre] pr int, watercolour)

58746   Muir's facsimile   (Edmonton,   England:
William Muir, 1885)

Vol. 1, MILTON/GATES OF PARADISE/ URIZEN/ NO NATURAL
RELIGION

Vol.2, INNOCENCE/ EXPERIENCE/ THEL/ VISIONS/ MARRIAGE

Appendix IV

271891   SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND OF EXPERIENCE, 1794
        (Falcon Press, 1947)
    Black & White Facsimile and Introduction by Ruthven Todd

441968   Chaucer, Geoffrey, **CANTERBURY TALES, PROLOGUE, 1975**
    (With an engraving by William Blake of the Pilgrims)

471714   Essick, Robert,   WILLIAM   BLAKE'S RELIEF INVENTIONS
        Los Angeles: Printed for William & Victoria Dailey, 1978
        The Press of the Pegacycle Lady, MCMLXXVIII

Some notes are quoted from online catalogues. The following museums and libraries have excellent online catalogues.
Huntington   Online   Catalogue:
http://catalog.huntington.org/
Pierpont Morgan Library Online Catalogue, Corsair:
http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/
Museum   of   Fine   Arts,   Boston:

Appendix IV

http://www.mfa.org/collections/index.asp