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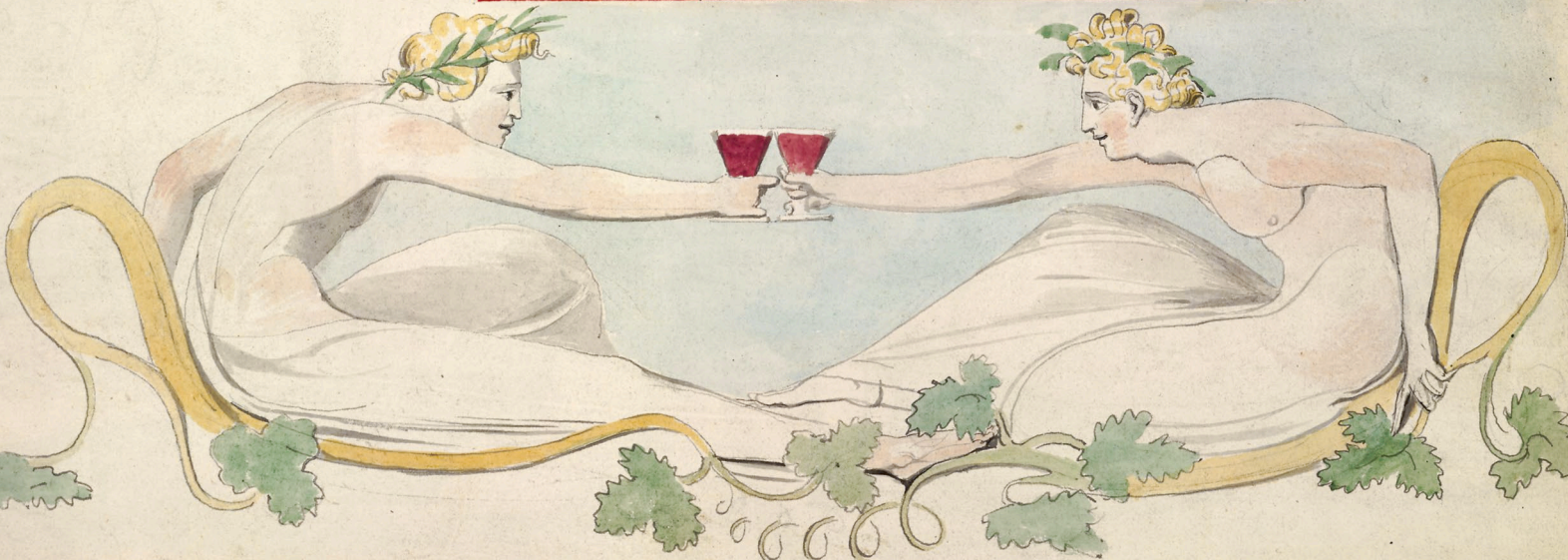
AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

For Morris

A Friend is worth all hazard we can run.

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SPRING 2024



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CO-EDITOR, 1970–2024: Morris Eaves
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 Morris Eaves, 1944–2024

 By Morton D. Paley

LIKE Morris's other friends, I find it hard to believe that his wonderful intelligence, energy, and humor are gone.

Like any other close partnership, co-editing involves problems in decision-making that must be worked out. A journal, however modest its beginnings, develops an ethos beyond the separate identities of its editors. One issue we had to address was whether our publication ought to have a particular view about the type of work we wanted to publish, or whether it should welcome all takes on Blake. By temperament, both of us wanted it to be open to all comers. We also agreed on especially encouraging junior scholars so that the editorial comments we sent would be helpful to them, and we wanted to keep a relatively low backlog so our authors would not regard their published work as dating from some past life.

Morris had some typical locutions. I can hear him now. "Paley, if you don't vote for Jimmy Carter, *our friendship is at an end*." Fortunately, I had already decided to vote for him. "Paley, *your best self* didn't write this letter." It hadn't. I wrote a new one.

A brilliant scholar and critic, Morris presented the new as if it were familiar and the familiar as if it were new. Who else would expound the epistemology and aesthetics of print-making with a projection of a dollar bill?

Morris and Georgia were wonderful cooks and intrepid explorers of restaurants, and they engaged their friends deeply in the Sublime of Food. They also led us to watch plays in theaters high and low. I remember watching one with them from the floor of a pub in London that was so far west it was literally off the map.

Morris knowingly gave free rein to his soft Louisiana accent, and his discourse was densely laced with language of a kind I hadn't heard since my schoolyard days in the Bronx. But I wasn't taken in. Did I somehow know that he was going to enrich my life for the next fifty-three years?

Compiled by Wayne C. Ripley

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Blake in the Marketplace, 2023

BY MARK CROSBY

MARK CROSBY (crosbym@ksu.edu), FSA, is an associate professor in the Department of English at Kansas State University. He has published on Blake, Hayley, William Godwin, and Thomas Paine.

- 1 READERS will note the change of author for this iteration of the annual sales review. For just over half a century, Robert N. Essick provided this journal with an invaluable survey of Blake's works, and those of his circle, as they appeared at the auction block and in the catalogues and print drawers of rare-book and art dealers. Drawing on both his scholarly appreciation of Blake and his instincts, honed by a lifetime of collecting, Essick marshaled a wealth of information from an inestimable number of diverse sources, recording and painstakingly cross-referencing Blake's creative and professional productions as they were advertised, auctioned, bought, sold, or exchanged in any given year. In some instances, his annual review has been the first venue for recording discoveries or previously untraced works. For his initial foray into the marketplace, the young Essick provided a couple of entries noting the breakup of the Blake-Varley Sketchbook and the auction of a preliminary drawing for *Joseph Ordering Simeon to Be Bound* (Butlin #156),¹ noting that the sale price of the latter was "considerably below the estimates." For readers of the sales reviews, such a phrase has rarely been used in recent times, as the economic and cultural value of Blake seemingly increases. In these first entries, Essick established a format and, over time, developed a structure that included members of Blake's circle. In the following review, I have attempted to preserve his format and structure.
- 2 Compared to the significant works that appeared at auction over the last couple of years, the Blake market in 2023 was somewhat quiet. No illuminated books—either whole, in parts, or as individual plates—or major pictorial works were auctioned in 2023. A handful of drawings—two from the smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook and a hitherto unrecorded double-sided sketch of acrobatic figures and body parts—were placed on the market. There was one impor-

tant discovery at the beginning of the year, when a pen and ink and wash drawing of Blake's Deaths Door motif on laid paper was found tipped into an 1808 copy of *The Grave*. On the verso there is a sketch of a group of trumpeters standing back to back, which seems to be related to Blake's depiction of angelic trumpeters in works such as *The Day of Judgment* (1805). The copy of *The Grave* containing these drawings was given to the University of British Columbia Library; the gift also included a copy of *Night Thoughts*.

- 3 Two notable separate plates came to auction in 2023. The final state of "Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims" sold in New York during the spring, and a previously unknown and hence unrecorded first-state impression of "The Fall of Rosamond," after Thomas Stothard, was offered in November. It is printed in reddish-brown ink, the only known copy in this color. The print includes an imprint but not a title, which is unusual for a first state. Individual Job plates continued to appear at auction throughout the year, and while I do not record sales of individual plates, it is worth noting that an 1874 impression of plate 15, "Behemoth and Leviathan," sold at Swann Auction Galleries in New York for \$14,000 hammer price (\$17,500 with the buyer's premium) on 11 May.
- 4 Throughout the year, books with Blake's commercial engravings showed up at a steady rate on the market. Of particular note was a copy of George Cumberland's *An Attempt to Describe Hafod* (1796), which includes a map attributed to Blake. Copies of this publication are rare. Two works by Blake's patron William Hayley are worth mentioning: a copy in original boards of the 1805 *Ballads* and a copy of the thirteenth edition of *The Triumphs of Temper* (1807) with Blake's engravings after Maria Flaxman's designs. In this edition, Blake's rather worn plates were exchanged at some point during the printing process for the plates after Stothard's designs that originally appeared in the sixth edition (1788). As such, copies of the thirteenth edition with Blake's plates are noteworthy finds.
- 5 As with previous sales reviews, there is a Blakeana section to record artifacts related to but not by Blake. This year saw the sale of a copy of the first prospectus for the edition of Blair's *Grave* illustrated by Blake. It is rare, with a few copies in institutional repositories and private hands. This particular copy contains manuscript annotations, including a double strike-through of the words identifying Blake as the engraver, and, below Blake's name, the following addition: "and to be engraved by L. Schiavonetti".² It sold at Christie's online auction in December for £23,940.

1. See *Blake* 4.4 (spring 1971): 112.

2. In *Blake* 20.1 (summer 1986), illus. 8, Cromek is identified as the author of the annotations.

- 6 A handful of notable works by Blake's circle appeared in 2023, including a first state of Edward Calvert's wood engraving "The Sheep of His Pasture" with some hand work possibly by Samuel Palmer. This print sold in May for £4400. John Flaxman's pen and ink and wash drawing *A Frieze Designed for Edward Knight* (1791) was listed in Lowell Libson and Jonny Yarker's *Recent Acquisitions* catalogue. This drawing, on two joined sheets, was commissioned by Knight and is one of ten large studies of bas-reliefs made by Flaxman during his time in Rome. Another Libson and Yarker catalogue, *Night Thoughts: Romantic Drawings from the Brandt Collection*, contained an earlier Flaxman drawing, *Hannah Presenting Samuel to Eli* (1783), described as "previously unknown and unpublished," as well as Henry Fuseli's black chalk drawing *Satan Summoning His Legions*, which shares compositional elements with Blake's engraving after Fuseli of the "Fertilization of Egypt" in Erasmus Darwin's *Botanic Garden*. Under Blake's circle and his followers, I have also included works clearly attributed to John Linnell, Samuel Palmer, and George Richmond.
- 7 The year of all sales, catalogues, and correspondence in the following lists is 2023, unless otherwise indicated. With a few exceptions, such as Blake's engraving after William Hogarth and rare items such as prepublication proofs, only complete copies of plates in series and letterpress books with Blake's commercial illustrations are included. Entries from auction catalogues are based on the online versions; my coverage of regional auctions is necessarily selective. Dates for dealers' online catalogues are the dates accessed, not the dates of publication. Unless otherwise indicated, the price given is the hammer price. I am grateful for help in compiling this review to David Bindman, Lowell Libson, Gregory Mackie, Morton Paley, Michael Phillips, Nicholas Shrimpton, Joseph Viscomi, and John Windle. Sarah Jones's editorial expertise has been invaluable. I am indebted to Robert N. Essick for his knowledge, advice, and friendship. My special thanks go to Shirley, Aurelia, and Elodie for their love, patience, and humor.

Abbreviations

BB	G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Books</i> (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1977). Plate numbers and copy designations for Blake's illuminated books and commercial book illustrations follow BB.
BBS	G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Books Supplement</i> (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995)
BHE	Bonhams auctions, Edinburgh
BHL	Bonhams auctions, London
BHNY	Bonhams auctions, New York

BMA	Bishop & Miller auctions, Stowmarket, Suffolk
BR(2)	G. E. Bentley, Jr., <i>Blake Records</i> , 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004)
Butlin	Martin Butlin, <i>The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake</i> , 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981)
CAG	Crow's Auction Gallery, Dorking, Surrey
cat(s).	catalogue(s)
CB	Robert N. Essick, <i>William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations</i> (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1991)
CL	Christie's auctions, London
CNY	Christie's auctions, New York
CO	Christie's online auctions
CW	Chiswick auctions, London
DNY	Doyle auctions, New York
DW	Dominic Winter auctions, South Cerney, Gloucestershire
EB	eBay online auctions
EW	Ewbank's auctions, Woking, Surrey
FM	Forum auctions, London
Freeman's	Freeman's auctions, Philadelphia
Guy	Guy Peppiatt Fine Art, <i>British Drawings and Watercolours and a Collection of Oils from a Private Collection</i> catalogue (June 2023)
Peppiatt	illustration(s), illustrated
illus.	illustration(s), illustrated
JN	John Nicholson's auctions, Haslemere, Surrey
KMAR	Killens, Mendip Auction Rooms, Binegar, Somerset
Lawrences	Lawrences auctions, Crewkerne, Somerset
LLY	Lowell Libson & Jonny Yarker, London
LT	Lyon & Turnbull auctions, Edinburgh
MKA	Mellors & Kirk auctions, Nottingham
MO	Mallams auctions, Oxford
NYBF	New York Book Fair
Parker	Parker Fine Art auctions, Farnham, Surrey
PBA	PBA Galleries auctions, Berkeley, California
pl(s).	plate(s)
PPA	Potter & Potter auctions, Chicago
RF	Riverfront auctions, Cincinnati
RF	Riverfront auctions, Cincinnati
RW	Richard Winterton auctions, Lichfield, Staffordshire
SL	Sotheby's auctions, London
SNY	Sotheby's auctions, New York
SP	Robert N. Essick, <i>The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue</i> (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983)
SRRB	Sims Reed Rare Books, London
SWD	Sworders auctions, Stansted Mountfitchet, Essex
Windle	John Windle Antiquarian Bookseller, San Francisco

WW Woolley & Wallis auctions, Salisbury,
Wiltshire
auction lot or catalogue item number

Illuminated Books

Songs of Innocence and of Experience. A posthumous copy printed by Frederick Tatham c. 1831–32. Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #11 (price on request). Recorded by Essick in the 2022 sales review, *Blake* 56.4 (spring 2023).

Drawings and Paintings

Deaths Door (recto), pen and ink and wash; *Trumpeters* (verso), pencil. Laid paper with visible chain lines, 23.5 x 16.9 cm. Tipped, between the frontispiece and title page, into a copy of Robert Blair's *The Grave* (1808) that was given to the University of British Columbia Library. On the verso there are inscriptions in pencil and ink: "by Blake" is at the top right; "The young man entering Deaths Door from Blair's Grave" is located above the sketch of the trumpeters; and a price, "10/6", is recorded below the sketch. See illus. 1 and 2.

There is also a pencil sketch on wove paper of Christ carrying keys, with the pencil annotation "In the Grave"; it is tipped into the copy opposite pl. 2, Schiavonetti's engraving "Christ Descending into the Grave" after Blake's watercolor. This pencil sketch is a copy of Schiavonetti's engraving by a hand other than Blake's.

This copy of *The Grave* contains the bookplates of Alexander Copland and Henry A. Bright. William Michael Rossetti's "Annotated Catalogue of Blake's Pictures and Drawings" includes a work in "Indian ink" titled *A Young Man Entering Death's Door* that he lists as being owned by "Mr. Harvey" (Gilchrist [1863] 2: 241). In his own copy, Rossetti annotated his catalogue to replace "Mr. Harvey" with H. A. Bright of Liverpool. He also added Bright as the owner of another Blake sketch (Butlin #621). When Rossetti updated his catalogue for the second edition of Gilchrist (1880), he omitted the ownership details of both drawings (2: 256-57). Butlin speculates that *A Young Man Entering Death's Door* (#630) may have been the untraced drawing referred to as "Death's Door. Drawing for the Frontispiece to Blair's Grave, indian ink, fine" that was sold from William Bell Scott's collection in 1885. With the appearance of this pen and ink and wash drawing, and its early provenance indicated by the Bright bookplate and Rossetti's 1863 annotation denoting Bright's ownership, the untraced work sold from Scott's collection in 1885 cannot be *A Young Man Entering Death's Door*. Rather, the drawing tipped into the front of Bright's copy of *The Grave* seems to be the hitherto untraced Butlin #630.

Stylistically, the wash drawing appears to be earlier than the *Grave* designs and may be related to the pen and ink and wash drawings that Blake executed during the 1780s. The figure entering the Gothic-style doorway wears a broad-brimmed hat and holds a walking stick in his right hand. The door is ajar; one foot has crossed the threshold. Beyond the door, to the left of the left leg of the man, there seems to be furniture, perhaps a bed with pillows, a table, or a chair. In his Notebook, Blake sketched a similar figure sporting a broad-brimmed hat and holding a walking stick in his right hand who enters a rectangular doorway and confronts a skeletal reaper, presumably Death (Notebook 19). In another emblem drawing, he depicts a striding figure with walking stick and broad-brimmed hat (Notebook 17) that was etched for *For Children* and *For the Sexes*. The emblems in the Notebook are generally dated c. 1790, with some etched and printed in *For Children* three years later. The wash drawing also offers evidence of *pentimenti*, or artistic second thoughts, with a few lines sketched over the man's garment to indicate movement to the right, which is similar to the white-line etched version of "Deaths Door," while the fuller treatment of the garment follows the movement of the figure's body to the left. There are also brush (and/or pencil) strokes forming a circle over the top half of the walking stick that, if this is an earlier work, anticipates the frontispiece to *Jerusalem*, which shares the same compositional arrangement of figure and doorway. Two diagonal lines descend from the circle to the right-ankle area of the man entering the doorway. Together with the circle, these could be part of a body of a figure loosely sketched out and then abandoned.

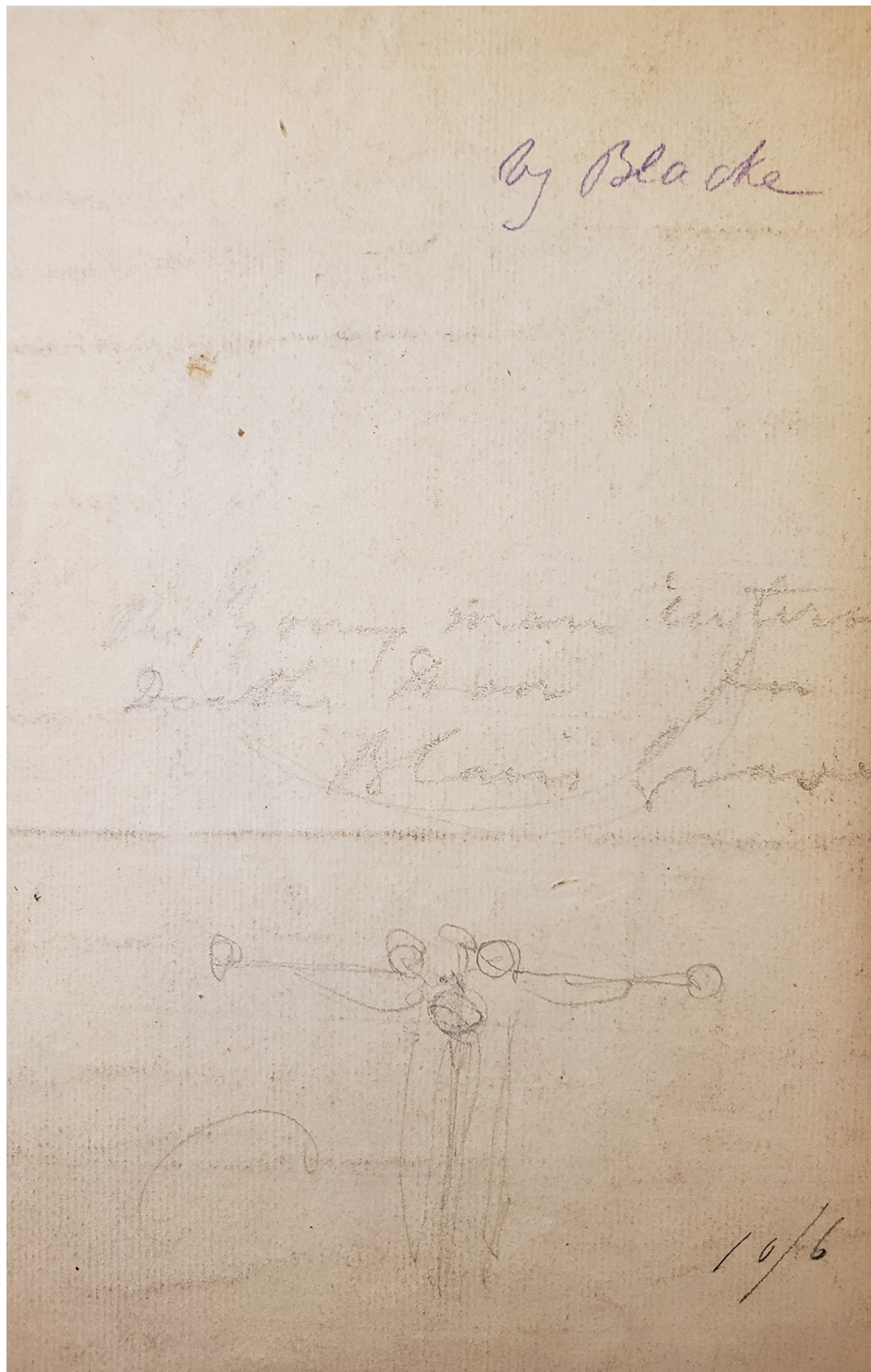
Blake's creative practice involved reusing and developing ideas. Variations of the Deaths Door motif can be seen in the headpiece of "London"; *America a Prophecy* pl. 14; a watercolor design for *Night IV of Night Thoughts* (where Blake offers a literal depiction of Young's lines "And soon as Man, expert from Time, has found / The Key of Life, it opes the Gates of Death"); one of the illustrations to *The Grave* that was engraved by Schiavonetti, and Blake's white-line etched version of this illustration; and *Christian Knocks at the Wicket Gate* from the illustrations to John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The watercolors for *Night Thoughts* and *The Pilgrim's Progress* also share the same motif of a Gothic door with the *Jerusalem* frontispiece and the hitherto untraced wash drawing. This rediscovered drawing is not an exact copy of any of the extant Deaths Door designs by Blake. It does contain variations on motifs—such as the Gothic-style door, the broad-hatted figure, and the walking stick—and could be an earlier version, or perhaps the earliest extant version, of the Deaths Door design that Blake returned to and modified at various times.

The pencil sketch of trumpeters on the verso of the wash drawing could be a later work and, as such, may be related to Blake's inverted trumpeter on the title page of *The Four*



1. William Blake, *Deaths Door*. Pen and ink and wash. Laid paper with visible chain lines, 23.5 x 16.9 cm. University of British Columbia, Rare Books and Special Collections. Reproduced with permission.

At some point the sheet was, and remains, attached with adhesive to the inner gutter of the title page of a copy of *The Grave*. Based on the provenance of the copy, the drawing on the recto is probably *A Young Man Entering Death's Door* (Butlin #630), recorded by Butlin as untraced "since c. 1870 or 1885."



2. William Blake, *Trumpeters* (verso of illus. 1). Pencil. Laid paper with visible chain lines, 23.5 x 16.9 cm. University of British Columbia, Rare Books and Special Collections. Reproduced with permission.

This sketch does not appear to have been recorded before and is therefore a new attribution to Blake. It may be a later work than the wash drawing on the recto and could relate to similar designs of trumpeters that Blake made c. 1805. If the sketch is a later work, its presence on the verso of the wash drawing corresponds with Blake's practice of reusing paper to sketch out designs.

Zoas, the gray and brown wash drawing *An Angel Awakening the Dead with a Trumpet* (1805), and, more clearly, the three angelic trumpeters in *The Day of Judgment* (1805), albeit differently arranged. In the newly discovered pencil sketch, there appear to be two trumpeters back to back, with a possible third facing the viewer. If this is a later work than the wash drawing on its verso, it suggests that Blake's creative practice involved returning to earlier works and sketching *pensieri*, or first thoughts, as he was developing ideas for the *Grave* designs. Alternatively, the wash drawing and pencil sketch could date from the same period (c. 1805) as Blake was working on the *Grave* designs and *Jerusalem*.

Double-Sided Sheet of Nude Studies, c. 1810. Pencil on paper, 23.2 x 18.7 cm. LLY, *July Night Thoughts* cat., pp. 39-41 (£118,000). On the recto are depictions of men somersaulting, performing headstands, and reclining, with studies of limbs. The verso depicts a kneeling man clutching his head, a torso seen from above, a head in profile, and limbs. These seem to be preparatory studies by the same hand and are not directly related to extant designs by Blake. While the musculature of the acrobatic figures appears similar to Blake's rendering of nudes and the contracted pose of the figure clutching his head is Blakean in conception, there remain questions about a definitive attribution. Perhaps the strongest evidence for attribution derives from the provenance. According to the cat. entry, this sheet is listed in William Michael Rossetti's "Annotated Catalogue of Blake's Pictures and Drawings" (Gilchrist [1863] list 2, no. 148; [1880] list 2, no. 177). It was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1876 (lent by W. M. Rossetti). From Rossetti, it passed to his daughter Helen Maria Madox (Rossetti), then to the Maas Gallery, where it was exhibited in 1963 as a work by Fuseli before being acquired by the collector Walter A. Brandt for £450. It is listed as a work by Blake in the LLY cat.

The Empress Maud in Bed, c. 1819. Pencil on paper, leaf 15.7 x 20.2 cm. P. 25 from the smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook, Butlin #692.25. WW, 5 Sept., #185 (£3800). There are two other Maud drawings in the smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook (see Butlin #692.23 and 27).

A Girl in Profile, Perhaps Corinna, c. 1819. Pencil on paper, leaf approximately 15.5 x 20.5 cm. P. 80 from the smaller Blake-Varley Sketchbook, Butlin #692.80. SRRB, 20 June (\$40,000). This drawing was previously advertised in the Maas Gallery Jan. 2018 online cat. as *Head of a Woman*; see the 2018 sales review, *Blake* 52.4 (spring 2019).

Manuscripts

Receipt signed by Blake, 5 July 1805, to Thomas Butts for £5.7s. Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #9, illus. (\$150,000) —same price as Windle Apr. 2022 cat. for the NYBF, #1, illus. For earlier sales and comments, see the 2019 sales review, *Blake* 53.4 (spring 2020), and 2022 sales review, *Blake* 56.4 (spring 2023). As Essick notes, following BR(2) 764, "This receipt repeats another of the same date and amount specifying that the payment was for 4 of Blake's large color-printed drawings, *The Good and Evil Angels*, *The House of Death*, *God Judging Adam*, and *Lamech and His Two Wives*." See illus. 3.

Separate Plates and Plates in Series

"Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims." DNY, 25 Apr., #0006, final state, Colnaghi impression on laid India (\$4250).

"The Fall of Rosamond," after Thomas Stothard. BMA, 1 Nov., #239, 1st state (c. 1783), before engraved title and quotation from Thomas Hull's play (£130). The impression is printed in reddish ink on laid paper that has been trimmed on the platemark to 39.5 x 33.5 cm. See illus. 4.

"George Cumberland's Card." Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #10, "printed in black ink on thick card," trimmed close to the image on the left and right margins, illus. (\$20,000). Recorded in the 2022 sales review, *Blake* 56.4 (spring 2023).

Job engravings. Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #13, complete set, impressions on Whatman paper after removal of the "Proof" inscription, leaves 37.5 x 26.7 cm., bound in mid-nineteenth-century Russian calf-backed glazed green and black flexible marble boards, illus. (\$74,950). Contains the bookplate of Henri Focillon, director of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon from 1913 to 1924. Recorded by Essick as being sold at Interencheres auction, Lyon, France, 16 Sept. 2022, for €19,000 and then listed in SRRB Dec. 2022 cat., #8, for £60,000 (see *Blake* 56.4 [spring 2023]).

Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake

Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 1791. DW, 14 June, #234, contemporary calf (same lot as Hayley, *Life of Cowper*, and Lavater, *Aphorisms*; see entries below) (£360).

Blair, *The Grave*. EB, Jan., 1808, dark-brown calf, ribbed gilt spine and gilt-lettered green-morocco spine label, including 4-pp. prospectus for "The Procession of Chaucer's Pilgrims to Canterbury" by Thomas Stothard, stains to 4 pls.,



3. Receipt signed by Blake, 5 July 1805, to Thomas Butts for £5.7s. John Windle. Reproduced with permission.

This receipt records Butts's payment for the following large color prints: *The Good and Evil Angels*, *The House of Death*, *God Judging Adam*, and *Lamech and His Two Wives*. The characteristics of all four suggest that they were created in 1795, which indicates that Blake retained them in his possession for a decade before Butts purchased them. All are now in the collection of Tate Britain.

illus. (\$1800). Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #14, 1808, original drab gray boards as issued, illus. (\$9750). PPA, 1 June, #0329, 1808 large-paper copy, contemporary boards rebaced with original red-morocco gilt lettering (passed). DW, 14 June, #238, 1808 quarto (£320). Freeman's, 27 Sept., #5, 1813 contemporary three-quarter black morocco over marbled paper-covered boards (passed). Galerie Bassenge, Berlin, 11 Oct., #2005, 1813, illus. (passed). Cheffins, 12 Oct., #166, 1813 (£360). FM, 30 Nov., #239, 1808 (passed) and #240, 1813 (passed).

Bürger, *Leonora*, 1796. Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #19, full red straight-grain morocco with gilt-lettering back-strip, illus. (\$19,750). There is a faded manuscript inscription on the title page, "Sophia Baillie". Elizabeth Sophia Baillie was the subject of a portrait by William Beechey, now in the Frick Collection, New York. The portrait was executed in 1795 and was attributed to John Hoppner until recently.

Cumberland, *An Attempt to Describe Hafod*, 1796. FM, 13 Dec., #84, calf, illus. (£850).

Darwin. EB, Jan., *Poetical Works*, 1806, 3 vols., illus. (\$1750). FM, 30 Mar., #431, *The Botanic Garden*, 2 parts in 1 vol., 1st ed. of part 1, 3rd ed. of part 2, both 1791, illus. (£400). EB, 27 Apr., *The Botanic Garden*, part 1 only, 1st ed., 1791, quarto, leather spine and corners, marbled boards and endpapers, top edge gilt, restoration to front

joint and hinge, leather corners of front board replaced, several pls. with damp staining at lower margin, occasional light foxing, illus. (\$800 or best offer). Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #20, *The Botanic Garden*, 2 parts in 1 vol., 3rd ed. of part 1, 1795, 4th ed. of part 2, 1794, marbled boards, recorded by Essick as sold at FM, 6 Oct. 2022, #128 (see *Blake* 56.4 [spring 2023]), illus. (\$2950). EB, 22 May, *The Botanic Garden*, part 1 only, 3rd ed., 1795, illus. (\$1200). EB, 17 July, *The Botanic Garden*, 2 parts in 1 vol., 3rd ed. of part 1, 1795, 4th ed. of part 2, 1794, full tree calf, rebaced with original spine laid down, black morocco spine label, stamped in gilt, boards rubbed and scratched, illus. (£700). Freeman's, 27 Sept., #52, *The Botanic Garden*, 2 parts in 1 vol., 3rd ed. of part 1, 1795, 4th ed. of part 2, 1794, contemporary full tree calf, with the Paul Revere-designed armorial bookplate of John-Lyon Gardiner (1770–1816), illus. (\$900).

Flaxman, *Iliad* (and *Odyssey*), 1805. FM, 23 Feb., #264, 2 vols., original boards, covers detached, illus. (£55). KMAR, 28 Apr., illus. (£40). BMA, 31 May, #160, original boards, illus. (£85). Adam Partridge Auctioneers, 6 Sept., #715 (price not given).

Fuseli, *Lectures on Painting*, 1801. EB, 27 Apr., illus. (\$2800).

Gay, *Fables*, 1793. EB, Jan., 2 vols., contemporary calf worn, boards detached, illus. (£500). EB, Jan., vol. 2 only, illus.



4. "The Fall of Rosamond," after Thomas Stothard. 1st state (c. 1783), before engraved title and quotation from Thomas Hull's play. Collection of Robert N. Essick. Reproduced with permission.

This is the only recorded example of the engraving in any known state printed in this color. Other examples of the 1st state are in black ink (see SP #XXV). It is unusual for the 1st state to include an imprint but no title. The publisher of the print, Thomas Macklin, paid Blake £80 to engrave the pl., according to the anonymous author of "Monthly Retrospect of the Fine Arts," *Monthly Magazine* 11.3 (Apr. 1801): 246 (noted in BR[2] 758).

(£325). Lawrences, 16 Mar., #270, 2 vols., illus. (passed). Schilb Antiquarian Rare Books, 24 Sept., #14, 2 vols. in 1, illus. (\$140). Freeman's, 27 Sept., #53, 2 vols., illus. (\$600). PBA, 5 Oct., #144, illus. (sold; price not disclosed). CW, 29 Nov., #314 (sold; price not disclosed). FM, 30 Nov., #238, 2 vols. in 1 (£320).

Hayley, *Ballads*, 1805. Freeman's, 27 Sept., #54, original buff paper-covered boards, illus. (\$1400).

Hayley, *Life of Cowper*, 1803–04. JN, 24 Jan., probably vols. 1 and 2 only, #269, recent quarter calf, illus. (£65). DW, 14 June, #234, 1st ed., 3 vols., contemporary uniform sprinkled full calf (same lot as Ariosto and Lavater, *Aphorisms*; see entries above and below) (£360). Rooke Books online cat., 16 June, 3 vols., illus. (£1350).

Hayley, *Life of Romney*, 1809. Cheffins, 12 Oct., #207, contemporary calf (£180).

Hayley, *Triumphs of Temper*, 12th ed., 1803. MKA, 19 Jan., #1049, original boards, small-paper copy with defective title and upper cover almost disbound (same lot as 13th ed.; see below), illus. (£120). EB, Jan., contemporary Oxford binding, small-paper copy without the half-title, illus. (£500). FM, 13 Apr., #76, small-paper copy, water staining to some pls., contemporary calf, gilt (same lot as Ritson; see below), illus. (£320). FM, 21 Sept., #104, contemporary half calf, illus. (passed).

Hayley, *Triumphs of Temper*, 13th ed., 1807. MKA, 19 Jan., #1049, rare copy of this edition with Blake's worn engravings after Maria Flaxman's designs (same lot as 12th ed.; see above), contemporary quarter calf, small-paper copy with soiled leaves, torn margin, and disbound cover, illus. (£120).

Hogarth, *Works*, Blake's pl. only. CAG, 2 Aug., #886 (price not listed by auctioneer), probably 6th or 7th state. Sanders of Oxford online cat., 20 Sept. (£900).

Hunter, *Historical Journal*, 1793. Australian Book Auctions, 15 Mar., #50, modern calf, illus. (passed); the same copy was offered on 7 June, #26 (passed). PBA, 10 Aug., #343 and 344, two copies, illus. (#343, \$500; #344, \$800).

Lavater, *Aphorisms*, 1789. DW, 14 June, #234, modern full calf gilt (same lot as Ariosto and Hayley, *Life of Cowper*; see entries above), illus. (£360).

Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy*, 1810. BHNY, 23 June, #112 (online only), 3 vols., illus. (\$1920).

Malkin, *A Father's Memoirs*, 1806. FM, 25 May, #63, illus. (£850).

Maynard, *Josephus*, n.d., c. 1785–94. Freeman's, 27 Sept., #55, contemporary full brown calf, rebaked, illus. (\$225). The Book Merchant Jenkins, Brisbane, 7 Dec., #93, occasional foxing, first preliminary leaf (on different paper of uncertain date) with the letterpress ownership imprint of William and Margaret Mansel and the later armorial bookplate of [Sir] Ernest Salter Wills (1869–1958), verso of frontispiece with gift inscription of Thomas Westbrook for the Rev. Arden Davis, dated 1890, illus. (AUD 420).

Olivier, *Fencing Familiarized*, 1780. Peter Arnold, 9 July, #387, illus. (AUD 550). Aste Bolaffi, Italy, 13 July, #550, illus. (€475).

Ritson, *Select Collection of English Songs*, 1783. FM, 13 Apr., #76 (same lot as 12th ed. of Hayley, *Triumphs*; see above), illus. (£320).

Shakespeare, *Plays*, 1805. EB, 24 Sept., 10 vols., bound in contemporary calf and gilt, illus. (£675). Hotlotz, Singapore, 26 Oct., #129, illus. (SGD 400).

Stedman, *Narrative*, colored copy. Freeman's, 27 Sept., #150, large-paper 1st ed. with hand coloring (almost certainly not by Blake), 2 vols., illus. (\$8190).

Stedman, *Narrative*, uncolored copies. EB, Feb., 1813 ed., 2 vols., rebound in quarter leather over cloth boards, illus. (\$2875); relisted in Sept. (\$3000). FM, 28 Sept., #181, 1806 ed., 2 vols., ex-library copy with a few ink and embossed stamps, modern half calf over marbled boards, illus. (£1200).

Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities*, 1762–1816. LT, 21 Sept., #49, first 3 vols., vol. 1 without the list of subscribers, 230 (of 231) pls. and maps (lacking pl. 29 in section 1 of vol. 2), contemporary half calf, Blake's pls. present in vol. 3, illus. (£1500). Freeman's, 27 Sept., #151, 4 vols., including vol. 3 with Blake's pls., contemporary brown calf, decoratively stamped in blind and in gilt, illus. (\$3500). Dreweatts, 6 Oct., #756, 3 vols., including vol. 3 with Blake's engravings, vol. 2 lacking 1 pl., some foxing and soiling, vol. 3 badly water stained, mixed contemporary bindings, worn, covers detached, vol. 3 lacking upper cover, illus. (£1300). SL, 12 Nov., #206, 4 vols., including vol. 3 with Blake's pls., illus. (£12,500).

Virgil, *Pastorals*, 1821. Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #21, retrospective early nineteenth-century calf with red labels by Courtland Benson, illus. (\$47,500).

Wollstonecraft, *Original Stories*, 1791. FM, 25 May, #62, pls. very lightly offset, a few scattered light spots, contemporary paneled calf, illus. (£3000).

Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1797. An uncolored copy bound in leather and marbled boards was given to the University of British Columbia Library at the beginning of the year (Merivale .Y686 1797). EB, Jan., uncolored copy, contemporary rowan backed marbled paper covered boards, missing pp. 13/14 and 33/34, title page of Night II apparently a rare 1st state, illus. (£4250). Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #22, large quarto, half brown morocco, with "Explanation" leaf bound at the back, illus. (\$15,000). Freeman's, 27 Sept., #56, uncolored copy, modern crimson niger, black morocco spine labels, stamped in blind and in gilt, illus. (\$5000).

Interesting Blakeana

John Quincy, *Pharmacopœia Officinalis & Extemporanea; or, a Complete English Dispensatory*, London, 1733. Windle, Apr. cat. for the NYBF, #24, inscribed in brown ink on the title page "William Blake | his Book" (\$49,500). Recorded by Essick as being in Windle, Feb. 2022 cat. 70, #403; see *Blake* 56.4 (spring 2023). For discussion and illus., see the 2000 sales review, *Blake* 34.4 (spring 2001), illus. 2 and its caption.

Prospectus of a New and Elegant Edition of Blair's Grave, printed by T. Bensley, Nov. 1805. Pamphlet, letterpress, quarto, 3 pp., 23.9 x 13.5 cm. CO, 1-15 Dec., #2, with manuscript inscriptions identifying "L. Schiavonetti" as the engraver of Blake's designs, integral address panel to "Mr Tomkinson, Dean Street, Soho", remains of seal, on wove paper watermarked "J. Whatman 1804" (folded for delivery as a letter) (£23,940). Provenance: "Mr Tomkinson, Dean Street, Soho" (probably Thomas Tomkinson, c. 1764–1853, piano maker and art collector who operated from Dean Street between 1799 and 1851); possibly forwarded by him to John Towneley; sold as part of the Towneley Papers, Sotheby's, 22-23 July 1985, #550 (£5500, to a dealer?). See the 1985 sales review, *Blake* 20.1 (summer 1986).

Blake, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, London: W. Pickering and W. Newberry, 1839. DW, 14 June, #245, original chalk-glazed yellow endpapers, ownership signature of S. Judd, Jr. dated 1843, original blind-stamped cloth, lettered in gilt to center of upper cover "Blake's Poems" (£320).

Rossetti, William Michael, autograph letter to Swinburne, 29 Apr. 1867, containing a reference to Kirkup's story about Mrs. Blake and Princess Sophia. EB, 19 Sept. (£450). Recorded in *BR*(2) 463fn.

Century Guild Hobby Horse, 1884, 1886–94. LT, 21 June, #181, 3 vols. (1886–87), with the first containing Muir's facsimile of *Little Tom the Sailor* and the second containing the first printing in conventional typography of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* and Muir's facsimile of *On Homers Poetry [and] On Virgil*, from the library of the Glasgow Art Club, illus. (£400).

Blake, *Songs of Innocence*, Wells, Gardner, 1899. Miniature edition. EB, Jan. (£8).

Blake, *Songs of Innocence and of Experience and Jerusalem*, printed by Michael Phillips. Online cat., illus., at <<http://www.williamblakeprints.co.uk/songs-of-innocence-and-of-experience>> and <<http://www.williamblakeprints.co.uk/jerusalem>> (accessed 20 July) (price on request). For *Songs*, Phillips created a selection of 45 pls. that were printed on a replica of Blake's wooden star-wheel rolling press (see illus. 5) that he researched and had built for the Ashmolean Mu-



5. Wooden star-wheel rolling press. Michael Phillips had it built for the William Blake: Apprentice and Master exhibition at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (2014–15). The exhibition catalogue did not reproduce an image of the press. It remained in Oxford after the exhibition and was located in the library of Christ Church College. In February 2023, the press was relocated to Rice University and opened to the public in March.

seum Blake exhibition (2014–15). The *Songs* are limited to 20 sets. For *Jerusalem*, limited to 10 sets, he created and printed a selection of 28 pls. of “arguably Blake’s master-work in the techniques he developed in relief etching” (see *illus.* 6 and 7). “By re-creating Blake’s original relief-etched copper plates, lost in the nineteenth century, it is possible to print impressions from the Illuminated Books exactly as Blake did, and that compare with the excessively rare originals.” In other words, the sets printed by Phillips are not facsimiles of an existing original copy. Just like Blake’s originals, no two impressions are, or can be, exactly the same. Every impression is unique. The replica star-wheel rolling press was relocated to Rice University in Feb. and opened to the public in Mar.: <<https://news.rice.edu/news/2023/rice-acquires-rare-replica-william-blake-printing-press>>.

Blake’s Circle and Followers

Works are listed under artists’ names in the following order: paintings and drawings sold in groups, single paintings and drawings, letters and manuscripts, separate pls., book *illus.*

BASIRE, JAMES

Engravings between 1770 and 1780

“Le Champ de Drap d’Or,” 1774. Line engraving, 63.1 x 115.2 cm. WW, 5 Sept., #50 (£300).

“The Encampment of the English Forces near Portsmouth,” 1778. Line engraving, 48.4 x 177 cm. WW, 5 Sept., #49 (£1500). Another impression, RF Auctions, 17 Dec., #168, one section detached and water stained (\$50).

“Pylades and Orestes,” after Benjamin West, 1771. Line engraving, 45.4 x 56.2 cm. Jasper52, 28 Mar., #55 (\$300).

CALVERT, EDWARD

Paintings and original graphics

Vision of Youth, n.d. Oil on paper, 16 x 24 cm. JN, 12 June, #349 (£800).

“The Bride,” 1828. Engraving, 3rd state, sepia ink on cream paper, from the *Memoir*, 1893, leaf 11.4 x 16.5 cm. BHL, 20 Sept., #7 (£750).

“The Sheep of His Pasture,” n.d. Wood engraving, 1st state with some gray wash hand work, 5 x 8.5 cm. MO, #134, 17–18 May (£4400). The gray wash was used to add a small figure, possibly the shepherd watching the flock, leaning or sitting on a fold or stone wall. A note on the verso of

the frame indicates that this impression came from Samuel Palmer, which suggests that the gray wash may have been Palmer’s addition.

FLAXMAN, JOHN

Drawings and manuscripts

See also *Flaxman* under Letterpress Books with Engravings by and after Blake, above.

A Frieze Designed for Edward Knight, 1791. Pen and ink and wash on two pieces of conjoined paper, 23.5 x 76.7 cm., inscribed in Flaxman’s hand on the verso, “the horses for the chariot of the sun, the front of an Sarcophagus lately purchased by the Pope / figures about 22 inches high of a grand character of sculpture best in correct, the heads of Apollo, Diana, Autumn, & Summer as well as some of the most projecting limbs being broken are restored by me in the drawing”. LLY, Jan. *Recent Acquisitions 2023*, pp. 38–41 (price on request). This is one of ten drawings after bas-reliefs that Flaxman created for his patron Edward Knight during his time in Rome. According to the LLY cat., “This is the most significant Roman drawing by Flaxman to appear on the market in a generation” (41).

Hannah Presenting Samuel to Eli, 1783. Pen and ink and wash on paper, 34 x 47 cm. LLY, *July Night Thoughts* cat., pp. 28–31 (price on request): “Previously unknown and unpublished, the sheet belongs to a group of large, finished drawings made before Flaxman travelled to Italy.”

Lady in Contemplation, n.d. Pen and gray wash on paper, 22 x 16.5 cm. Semley Auctioneers, 16 Sept., #113 (price not published).

Original Design for the Interior of Buckingham Palace, 1824. Pencil with brush and ink on Whatman wove paper, 21.5 x 34 cm., inscribed with scale in ink and titled “Love and Harmony” with date “1824”. FM, 23 Mar., #334 (£340).

Rienzi, c. 1825. Pencil, ink, and wash, 22.8 x 13.8 cm., inscribed below the drawing: “’Tis rumoured yet his spell had pow’r / To summon to that ruin’d tower / Spirits, that to his eye of flame / Rome’s arm’d avengers—nightly came: / Metellus—either Scipio—there— / And either Brutus wav’d in air / His blade—’mid these, Rienzi stood, / And grasp’d each dagger dark with blood.” LLY, *July Night Thoughts* cat., pp. 46–47 (price on request). The drawing illustrates eight lines of William Sotheby’s Gothic poem “On the Ruined Palace of Rienzi,” 1825.

Thetis Entreating Jupiter to Honor Achilles, c. 1805. Pencil on pale-cream wove paper, sheet 20 x 25 cm., contemporary (or near-contemporary) pencil inscription to upper



6. Michael Phillips, a proof state of the frontispiece to William Blake's *Jerusalem*. Printed in burnt sienna, image 22.3 x 16.2 cm. on paper 38.7 x 28.3 cm. Reproduced with permission.

Printed on paper handmade by Gangolf Ulbricht, Werkstatt für Papier, to match the off-white wove papers that Blake used, each leaf with the watermark "WB".



7. Michael Phillips, frontispiece to William Blake's *Jerusalem*. Printed in charcoal black, image 22.3 x 16.2 cm. on paper 38.7 x 28.3 cm. Reproduced with permission.

Printed on paper handmade by Gangolf Ulbricht, Werkstatt für Papier.

margin verso: “*Iliad* pl. 5 part of, “Thetis entreating Jupiter to honor Achilles”. DW, 8 Mar., #95 (£1200). The original drawing for pl. 5 of *The Iliad of Homer*, 1805 (see above). According to the cat. entry, “The line engraving is one of three compositions engraved by William Blake from Flaxman’s design. Flaxman’s first series of original drawings for the *Iliad* was commissioned by Georgiana Hare-Maylor, a painter and scholar who was living in Rome at the same time as Flaxman, and were published in Rome in 1793, and in London in 1795. A second set of drawings on the same subject were made by Flaxman for Robert Fullaton-Udney” Provenance: James Stewart Hodgson (1827–99); the Hodgson Bequest, sold CL, June 1893; Lady Brabourne (1896–1979); Sir Ronald Ian Campbell (1890–1983); Robin Campbell, director, Arts Council of Great Britain (1912–85); Lawrence Gowing (1918–91) by 1964.

Two Seated Figures Reading, n.d. Wash drawing mounted on card, 24.8 x 34.4 cm. Semley Auctioneers, 8 July, #84 (price not published).

Autograph receipt, 13 Mar. 1784. 1 p., slim oblong octavo, “Received of Sir John Sebright five Guineas the remainder of Miss. Sebright’s statue a bust of Mercury &c in full”. International Autograph Auctions, 14 Sept., #494 (€170).

Autograph letter, 22 Jan. 1818. 2 pp. Swann Auction Galleries, 26 Oct., #114 (passed). A description of Flaxman’s proposed monument for Lord Nelson.

Autograph manuscript, n.d. Pen on paper, unsigned, 2 pp., quarto. International Autograph Auctions, 10 May, #271 (€180). The manuscript offers a summary of a lecture on sculpture—“the Treasures of Ancient Art & Literature possessed by the Moderns notwithstanding the destruction of time & war”—and states, in part, that it “shewed those remains were in general sufficient for our information concerning the state of knowledge in different periods of Antiquity ... the Argonautic expedition, the Theban & Trojan wars produced no great alteration in the manners or polity of the Greeks—but the contest with Xerxes which struck the first fatal blow to the Persian power & made way for the 3d. great Monarchy of the world (the Grecian) stimulated the spirit of Greece to the greatest efforts—then in the constellation of illustrious characters, Socrates, Plato ... Euripides & Sophocles, Phidias appeared & superint[en]d[ed] the buildings of Pericles, Temple of Minerva, described, her statue of ivory & gold 30 feet high ... the Venus, Cupid ... by Praxiteles were particularly noticed The schools of sculpture were Athenian, Sicyonian, & Rhodian. The Lecture was illustrated by a number of drawings & casts.”

FUSELI, HENRY

Drawings and paintings

Design for Erasmus Darwin’s “The Temple of Nature”: In *Dreams* (recto), with a study of embracing lovers (verso), n.d. Pencil, pen and gray ink, gray, blue, and pink wash, heightened with white pencil, 37.8 x 26.7 cm. CL, 4 July, #105 (£44,100).

A Kneeling Figure with a Spirit Leaving His Body, n.d. Pencil, pen and ink, gray and yellow washes over black chalk, 9.7 x 18.2 cm. SNY, 25 Jan., #248 (passed). Inscribed lower left “Q.E. Sept 3 11.” There is a Latin inscription on the recto and “a subsidiary figure study in chalk” on the verso. This drawing came up for auction at CL on 5 July 2016, #74 (£6250), as recorded in the 2016 sales review, *Blake* 50.4 (spring 2017).

An Old Prophet Preaching, n.d. Pencil, gray and pale-green wash, 16 x 13 cm. CNY, 25 Jan., #62, with seven other drawings by J. R. Schellenberg, S. Granicher, and others, from the collection of J. C. Lavater, illus. (estimate \$8000–12,000; passed). These same drawings came up for auction on 9 July 1991, with a winning bid of £3300 on an estimate of £3000–5000. In his entry, Essick cautions that “the attribution to Fuseli is very doubtful. This is probably a work by one of the other artists represented in this group of 8 works related to Lavater’s physiognomic studies” (see *Blake* 25.4 [spring 1992]).

Satan Summoning His Legions, n.d. Black chalk on paper, 29.8 x 18.4 cm. LLY, *July Night Thoughts* cat., pp. 36–38 (price on request). According to the cat. entry, this is a late drawing.

Woman Sitting by Candlelight, n.d. Black chalk, pen and gray ink, gray and pink watercolor wash, 16.8 x 9.1 cm. Koller Auctions, 22 Sept., #3440 (CHF 19,000).

LINNELL, JOHN

Drawings and paintings

Effie Deans and Madge Wildfire in the Churchyard, 1835. Oil on canvas, 39.4 x 48.9 cm., signed lower right. BHL, 4 July, #58 (passed); relisted BHE, 14 Sept., #221 (£850). The painting illustrates a scene from Walter Scott’s *Heart of Midlothian* (first published 1818).

Gateshead Windmill, 1843. Oil on canvas, 31.5 x 43.5 cm., signed and dated lower right. Ripley Auctions, 3 Aug., #55 (\$1700).

Hampstead, c. 1825–27. Pencil on paper, 25 x 30 cm., signed and dated “1825 — 7”. RW, 10 July, #339 (£280). Landscape sketch with figures.

Kensington Gravel Pits (recto), *Study of a Cow* (verso), 1811. Pencil and watercolor on oatmeal paper, 10.8 x 14.6 cm., signed, inscribed, and dated “1811 Paddington J.L.” CL, 4 July, #132 (£6930). The recto sketch relates to Linnell’s oil painting *Kensington Gravel Pits* (1811–12), now at Tate Britain.

Landscape with Farmer and Cattle, n.d. Oil on canvas, 72.4 x 90.1 cm., initialed “JL”. Helmuth Stone, 24 Sept., #87 (\$1400).

Miss Fanny Sheppard Playing a Guitar, 1825. Pencil on gray paper heightened with red and white chalk, 27.3 x 38.1 cm., signed. Parker, 8 June, #7 (£180). This sketch was in the centennial Linnell exhibition at Martyn Gregory in 1982. See illus. 8.

Portrait of a Gentleman Seated by a Table, 1837. Oil on canvas, 46.5 x 39 cm., signed and dated. JN, 22 Mar., #335 (£800).

Portrait of His Daughter, 1820. Pencil on paper, 14.5 x 9.5 cm., initialed, titled, and dated. RW, 24 Apr., #306 (£120). A sketch of Elizabeth Linnell as a young child.



8. John Linnell, *Miss Fanny Sheppard Playing a Guitar*, 1825. Pencil on gray paper heightened with red and white chalk, 27.3 x 38.1 cm. Collection of Dr. Nicholas Shrimpton, Charlbury, Oxfordshire. Reproduced with permission.

In 1825 Linnell made three trips to Gloucestershire to paint portraits of the Sheppard and Kingscote families. Between the first and second, he and Blake took trial proof impressions of the Job pls. (BR[2] 410); between the second and third, they went to the Royal Academy exhibition together (BR[2] 411). Linnell gave this portrait to Fanny.

Portrait of the Reverend Charles Gower Boyles, n.d. Oil on panel, 32.3 x 24.5 cm., signed “J Linnell. f” upper left. Rosebrys, London, 22 Nov., #138 (£1000).

Shepherds, c. 1830–35. Oil on paper laid down on panel, 16.5 x 22.2 cm., inscribed on a label on the verso “Shepherds by John Linnel fecit / Lent by James Orrock / 8 links up right of fireplace”. LLY, Jan. *Recent Acquisitions 2023*, pp. 68–69 (price on request). This is probably the same painting listed in LLY, Mar. 2022 online cat., and dated as “c. 1820s” (*Blake 56.4* [spring 2023]).

Studies of a Shepherd, 1820. Chalk on paper, 26.9 x 35 cm., and in the same lot, *Portrait of the Reverend Thomas Thomas*, chalk on paper, 18.4 x 13.7 cm. Galerie Bassenge, Berlin, 9 June, #6798 (price not given). Both drawings were previously sold SNY, 25 Jan. 2011, #71, from the collection of Charles Ryskamp (\$12,500).

Two Pencil Sketches of Trees, 1813 and 1814. Pencil on blue paper, 15 x 17.5 cm., signed and dated 1814, and pencil on cream paper, 12 x 30 cm., signed and dated 1813. RW, 18 Sept., #332 (£100). The 1814 sketch depicts Bentley Brook in Derbyshire; the 1813 sketch is a view of Llanberis in Wales. This lot also included an unsigned sketch of a tree and an unsigned sheet of paper with rough sketches.

The Wold of Kent, 1853. Oil on canvas, 66 x 94 cm., signed and dated “J Linnell 1853”. CL, 13 July, #67 (£5040).

PALMER, SAMUEL

Drawings, paintings, manuscripts, and original graphics

Bright Cloud, Shepherd, and Windmill, c. 1831–32. Black, gray, and brown wash, 8.8 x 11.1 cm. Swan Fine Art, 13 July, #493 (£27,000). There are inscriptions on a separate sheet of paper pasted to the backing mat, possibly by A. H. Palmer. This work, entitled *A Heath with a Shepherd and His Flock*, was exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1926, no. 78 in the cat.

In Vintage Time, 1861. Watercolor over pencil, 19.6 x 42.9 cm., signed “S. Palmer 1861” lower left. Guy Peppiatt, *British Drawings and Watercolours*, #53 (£35,000).

The Lane Side, c. 1834–35. Oil and tempera on canvas, 29.8 x 45.7 cm. SL, 6 July, #144 (estimate £100,000–150,000; passed). Previously offered by SL on 5 Dec. 2018 with an estimate of £300,000–500,000. Sold as a work by John Linnell, SL, 11 Mar. 1987, #82, titled *Passing the Orchard* (£4400), and SL, 30 Nov. 2000, #151, titled *The Orchard* (£8400), then sold as attributed to “Circle of John Linnell,” CL, 10 July 2012, #150, titled *Figures on a Wooded Track* (£2500). The

confusing attribution history of this painting suggests that the attribution to Palmer is not yet settled.

Portrait of George Richmond, 1831. Graphite on wove paper, 21.8 x 17.3 cm., stamped with the blind stamp of Dobbs, London, and signed and dated “S. Palmer 1831” on the lower left of the sheet. BHL, 6 Dec., #44 (£28,000).

The Potato Shed, n.d. Pencil on laid paper, 11.2 x 18.2 cm., inscribed on the verso “Potatoe [*sic*] Shed, Tottenham Marches — S. Palmer.” SL, 27 Oct., #315 (£3180).

La Vocatella: A Chapel Built by a Hermit near Corpo de Cava, in the Neighbourhood of Salerno and Naples, 1844. Pencil and watercolor heightened with gum Arabic, with some scratching out, 38.7 x 50.5 cm., signed, inscribed, and dated “Samuel Palmer 1844 / 4 Grove St. Lisson Gro[ve]”. CL, 5 July, #133 (price not given). It appears to be related to a drawing from 1838 now in the Graves Gallery, Sheffield.

Letter to Henry Mogford, n.d. Lion Heart Autographs, New York, 10 May, #123 (passed). It reads: “If Mr. Gambard [*sic*: Gambart] comes to the gallery, will you have the goodness to give him the accompanying drawing and the note directed to him. I had nothing to send but the above drawing which belongs to Mr. Gambard & I should not like it to be exhibited unless Mr. Gambard wishes it”.

Four etchings, mounted and framed: “The Skylark,” 9.5 x 7.5 cm.; “The Morning of Life,” 13 x 20.5 cm.; “The Early Ploughman,” 13 x 19.5 cm.; and “The Lonely Tower,” 16.5 x 23.5 cm. EW, 23 Mar., #1235 (estimate £200–300; passed).

Four etchings: “The Herdsman’s Cottage,” 1850, 2nd and final state; “The Willow,” 1850, 2nd state (of 3), as published in the large-paper edition of A. H. Palmer’s *The Life and Letters of Samuel Palmer* (1892); and two impressions of “The Early Ploughman,” 1861, possibly 5th and 8th states. BHL, 6 Dec., #13 (£600).

“The Morning of Life,” n.d. Etching on paper, 14.5 x 21.2 cm., titled and signed on the pl. CW, 12 Sept., #154 (£525).

“Opening the Fold,” 1880. Etching on laid paper, 8th state (of 10), 15.3 x 21.5 cm. Swann Auction Galleries, 11 May, #233 (\$800). This was Palmer’s last finished etching, completed just a year before his death. He had planned a series of ten to accompany the publication of his translation of the *Eclogues* of Virgil as his last major career project (see below).

An English Version of the Eclogues of Virgil, London: Seeley & Company, 1883. PPA, 1 June, #465 (passed). Fourteen pls. by Palmer, including five original etchings, original full

parchment vellum stamped and lettered in gilt. Another copy, bound in publisher's green cloth, gilt spine lettering, MO, 28 June, #30 (£500).

RICHMOND, GEORGE

Drawings and paintings

A Copse Seen across a Meadow, n.d. Pen and ink and brown wash, 7.2 x 20.7 cm. Guy Peppiatt, *British Drawings and Watercolours*, #35 (£2800).

Hagar Lamenting and *Hagar and Ishmael in the Wilderness*, 1829. Pen and brown ink with graphite border lines, 33.5 x 21.3 cm. BHL, 6 Dec., #45 (£14,000). Two drawings on one sheet, each signed in graphite with the initials "GR" and each dated 1829 on the lower left. The sheet is also dated on the lower right: "Jany 30th 1829".

Landscape near Walton, 1864. Watercolor, 13.5 x 21.3 cm., signed with initials on the lower right. Guy Peppiatt, *British Drawings and Watercolours*, #37 (£3500).

Portrait of a Man, n.d. Pencil, gray ink, and wash on paper, 19.8 x 14.3 cm., signed "G. Richmond" lower left of the sheet. Roseberys, London, 22 Nov., #241 (£341).

Portrait of the Artist's Son, 1846. Pencil and white chalk, 20 x 17.5 cm., inscribed and dated lower center "Willie . Oct.r

13. 1846". Cheffins, 20 Sept., #104 (£600). A portrait of Sir William Blake Richmond (1842–1921), aged four.

Portrait Study of a Gentleman, n.d. Pencil, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 20 x 18 cm. Cheffins, 20 Sept., #105 (£440).

Study of an Archbishop, n.d. Pen and ink and pencil on paper, 23 x 17 cm., initialed. RW, 24 Apr., #319 (£300). The drawing depicts a seated male figure reading from a book.

A Verdant Valley, n.d. Pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 29.8 x 21.8 cm. Guy Peppiatt, *British Drawings and Watercolours*, #36 (£2200). This sketch relates to a view at Shoreham drawn by Samuel Palmer (c. 1827) now in the Yale Center for British Art (B1977.14.4666). Richmond visited Palmer at Shoreham in 1827.

Appendix: New Information on Blake's Engravings

Listed below are substantive additions or corrections to Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake: A Catalogue* (1983).

#XXV: "The Fall of Rosamond," 1st state. For the first known impression to be printed in reddish ink on laid paper, see under *Separate Plates* and *Plates in Series*, above.

Seen through the Visions
of Young and Old Germans

William Blake's *The Ancient Britons*: A Book
and a Website (Now Vanished) Reviewed

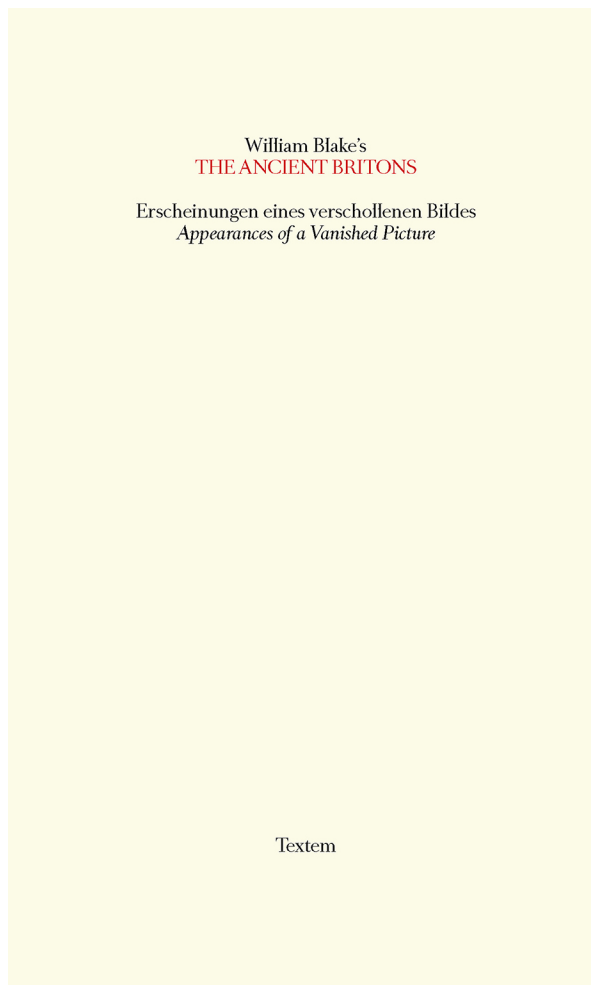
Arbeitsgruppe Ancient Britons/Ancient Britons
Team: Clemens Baiker, Hendrik Fleck, Dimitra
Gatsiou, Dana Kast, Mizi Lee, Janosch Mueller,
Theresa Mueller, Julius Naegele, Alexander
Roob, and Ansgar Schwarzer. *William Blake's
"The Ancient Britons": Erscheinungen eines ver-
schollenen Bildes/Appearances of a Vanished
Picture*. Hamburg: Textem-Verlag, 2022. 120
pp. €20, hard copy; PDF (open access) at
<<https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00007875>>.

Reviewed by Sibylle Erle

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ence, Technology and the Senses" (2008), *Panoramas,
1787–1900: Texts and Contexts* (2012), and "Monsters:
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sters and death in literature written for young readers.

1 WHILE Robert Southey thought that *The Ancient
Britons* was a massive disappointment ("one of his
worst pictures"),¹ for Seymour Stocker Kirkup, Blake's fame

1. G. E. Bentley, Jr., *Blake Records*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale Universi-
ty Press, 2004) [hereafter *BR(2)*] 300.



rested entirely on this painting (14 x 10 feet). Reported as
lost not long after the exhibition of 1809, it may have been
accidentally destroyed. For Kirkup, however, the picture
persisted through memory: "It made so great an impres-
sion on me that I made a drawing of it fifty years after-
wards" (*BR*[2] 294). The sketch demonstrated the "idea of
the composition of the Heroes of Camlan" (*BR*[2] 289)—
that is, the three survivors of Arthur's last battle, famous
for its bloodshed. These heroes were Welsh warriors, de-
scribed by Blake as the "most Beautiful," "most Strong,"
and "most Ugly" in *A Descriptive Catalogue* (E 542). They
fought alongside Arthur until the bitter end. The battle,
which is legendary, as relevant historical facts have been
difficult to ascertain, played an important role in the for-
mation of the British nation. Kirkup passed his sketch on
to Algernon Charles Swinburne, who was working on *Wil-
liam Blake: A Critical Essay* (1868).² Utterly convinced of

2. In 1866, when writing to Swinburne, Kirkup said: "I thought it his
master-piece as an Academic work—I was then a student ... I now
think it too Greek—I would have avoided the Hercules & Apollo at

the accuracy of his reconstruction, he told William Michael Rossetti: “I can answer for the truth of my sketch, as will be proved if the picture is ever found” (BR[2] 292). Unfortunately, the sketch has not survived either.

- 2 G. E. Bentley, Jr., who gathered accounts of the lost painting, tells us that Blake was worried about the reception of his exhibition. In the advertisement, for example, he implores viewers to keep an open mind. They will not see “a Madman’s Scrawls”: “I demand of them to do me the justice to examine before they decide” (E 528). Nonetheless, Robert Hunt wrote a damning review for the *Examiner*, singling out *The Ancient Britons* because of its unusual coloration:

This picture is a complete caricature: one of the bards is singing to his harp in the pangs of death; and though the colouring of the flesh is exactly like hung beef, the artist modestly observes—“The flush of health in flesh ... cannot be like the sickly daubs of Titian or Rubens.” (BR[2] 284-85)

Hunt quotes from Blake’s catalogue, and the sarcasm is unmistakable. Bentley argues that Hunt took issue with the description rather than the painting (285fn). Kirkup, by comparison, seems to have been unaware of Blake’s description (289fn). Put simply, he was awed by what he saw. There is no evidence that he visited the exhibition; he claimed that the painting etched itself into his mind and left an indelible trace.

- 3 The trail of *The Ancient Britons* goes cold in Wales. Little is known about the painting’s provenance; the assumption is that William Owen Pughe commissioned it, and took it sometime after the exhibition was dismantled.³ It can be imagined only through the description in *A Descriptive Catalogue*, written to accompany the exhibition. *The Ancient Britons* is a painting that has a special relationship with the narratives about Blake’s artistic achievements. That it is inaccessible is intriguing; it is as if this painting were hiding indefinitely, avoiding scrutinizing eyes. It is everything and nothing. If we were to measure Blake against his collected works, we could never establish with certainty how great an artist he really was. Kirkup, perhaps responding to Southey or Hunt, felt compelled not only to talk about the painting but also to re-create it on paper. Would our notions of Blake change, if we were able to view it? Giv-

least in the heads—He did so in the action of the figures as you will see” (BR[2] 289). Kirkup may have been thinking of *Sir Jeffery Chaucer and the Nine and Twenty Pilgrims on Their Journey to Canterbury*, another prominent picture from the 1809 exhibition, in which Blake definitely used the heads but not the figures of Hercules and Apollo, mentioned in the description of *The Ancient Britons* (see E 544).

3. G. E. Bentley, Jr., *The Stranger from Paradise: A Biography of William Blake* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001) 329.

en Blake’s color experiments, what condition would it be in, had it survived, rolled up, in a dark corner of a Welsh attic or cellar? Most likely, what would be left of this massive painting would no longer resemble Kirkup’s sketch, should it ever be rediscovered. Yet Kirkup’s singling out of *The Ancient Britons* resonates with the goals of the Ancient Britons team, as well as Morris Eaves’s views on editing. Eaves uses this painting as a test case and speculates about its representation in the *Blake Archive*: “Is it helpful to provide a proportional space for the missing object and embed it in the verbal-visual web of scholarly apparatus that supports other works in the *Archive*”?⁴ This review explores the most recent artistic and scholarly responses to Blake’s lost painting in order to argue that such preoccupations, in Eaves’s sense, enable us to understand Blake, as well as ourselves, better: “We human beings are, utterly, editorial beings. Our inclinations for sorting the more from the less relevant, for obsessive pattern recognition, and for the decision-making processes fed by such inclinations, are the constituents of core editorial acts” (Eaves 531). Why does *The Ancient Britons* appeal? Perhaps the attraction is the fundamental disagreement about the artistic merit of the largest picture that Blake ever painted.

- 4 The artworks created by the Ancient Britons team are the result of critically informed readings and imaginings of the painting as it is described by Blake in *A Descriptive Catalogue*. These works were first exhibited in Stuttgart from 29 October 2020, with the exhibition temporarily closed in November and extended to 4 December. Its centerpiece, *The Ancient Britons*, is heralded a success: the team “has succeeded to re-imagine this largest of Blake’s works, using old and new artistic techniques.”⁵ The announcement acknowledges the challenges of lockdown, but only to align the situation with Blake’s: “With Covid-19, the exhibition will now take place under similarly poor conditions as the original presentation. Everyone who will not see it will contribute to its success.” The project of the Ancient Britons team was in three parts. After the exhibition, presented as an ironic inversion of Blake’s failure to connect with his audiences in 1809, came the website, launched in July 2021, with images, clips, and texts that were hard to read on account of dark color combinations.⁶ The exercise culminated in a book, which synthesizes the materials and experiences shared via the website and also frames them with a scholarly essay. With this combination, or rather succession, of materials,

4. Morris Eaves, “The Editorial Void: Notes toward a Study of Oblivion,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 80.3 (autumn 2017): 517-38 (on 535).

5. See <<https://www.abk-stuttgart.de/aktuell/veranstaltung/the-ancient-britons-die-erscheinung-eines-verschollenen-bilds-the-ancient-britons-the-appearance-of-a-vanished-picture.html>>.

6. <<https://ancientbritons.org>> (no longer active when checked in January 2024).

the team offers what Eaves has termed “authentic *editorial* responses that might at least create useful opportunities to ponder once again what it takes to transmit information from generation to generation” (522). However, if the painting is truly lost, what can the *Ancient Britons* team transmit? This review, moving between all aspects of the project, will discuss the aspirations of the exhibition and its afterlife online and in book form.

- 5 This undertaking points to the value of *The Ancient Britons*; the readings and imaginings grounded in Blake’s verbal description set in motion a creative process, one that connects to popular themes in the wider context of Blake studies. The lost painting works as a catalyst; its qualities have inspired new art. What the team offers exists in a different medium; the members do not restore the painting or even evoke its presence, but transform and translate it into something that will not be easily forgotten, while adding to the achievements of Blake’s German reception. There is a tradition in the German reception—following in the footsteps of Yeats—that has always engaged with the effect of Blake’s visions. This project is a response to the occult leanings that have long been seen in Blake’s art. So, if we think of this strand as the esoteric tradition, then once again Blake has found his place in the academic and popular spheres of Germany.
- 6 The book starts with an extract from Henry Crabb Robinson’s article on Blake, published anonymously in German in Friedrich Perthes’s short-lived *Vaterländisches Museum* (1811). Robinson introduces *The Ancient Britons* as “Blakes grösstes und vollendetstes Werk” (“Blake’s biggest and most accomplished work”) and identifies the qualities of the three Ancient Britons (strong, beautiful, ugly) with Blake’s descriptions translated into German (7). The *Ancient Britons* team accept the painting as lost and anticipate the expectations we might have by proposing that their work is not an act of restoration but a cure for the painful absence of Blake’s masterpiece. The book’s subtitle announces the team’s creative task and artistic conceit: *Erscheinungen eines verschollenen Bildes/Apearances of a Vanished Picture*. The words are carefully chosen—it is impossible for the lost painting to “manifest”; “appear” suggests that what “vanished” still exists but is not visible (“verschollen”); it can be returned to sight. Among the team, who are listed in alphabetical order, is Alexander Roob, professor of graphic design and painting at the State Academy of Fine Arts, Stuttgart. Roob has various Blake-related works and performances to his name, Blake’s poetry being one of his main interests.⁷ This most recent project was with his students.

7. For details, see my chapter “The Reception of Blake’s Art in Germany and in Austria: After 1900,” *The Reception of William Blake in*

The Ancient Britons started in the autumn of 2019; in the book, there is no assembling of missing pieces—only hints, in footnotes, at the sources and contexts.⁸

- 7 In the introduction (“Imagine”) we are invited to consider Blake’s “remarkable, sculptural power of imagination” and “quasi holographic visions” (15).⁹ Here, the team delineate how they “succeeded ... in letting this ... largest work by Blake reappear using old and new techniques.” They write, “We attempted to gain access to the lost painting via inner visualizations, facilitated during a seminar week at the Bodensee by a group trance guided by the hypnosis researcher and Mesmer specialist Walter Bongartz” (14-15).¹⁰ The group trance was complemented by a “phase of joint reconstruction,” where “individual ideas were compared with the details of Blake’s description of the picture.” They explain the notion of shared vision in terms of “archetypes available in limited numbers in an eternal storage” or “Platonic ‘cloud’” (15). Borrowing Charles Lamb’s term “retro-visions,” the team propose that Blake’s painting “must still exist and can be ‘loaded’ using techniques similar to those that Blake employed for his visualization” (16). Thinking about these visions in terms of self-hypnosis, “trance literature,” and inspiration from Paracelsus and Böhme, if not Mesmer himself, they offer new interpretations of Blake’s working practice. In “Reimagination/Reimagination” and “Rekonstruktion/Reconstruction” they share photographs to document their creative trance process. This section dates the various experiments to 28 October to 2 November 2019; these were developed “via video teleconference” (20) and the lockdowns of 2020. The goal was to feel and to embody Blake’s strong, beautiful, and ugly men (27). The results of the experiments were figures in clay and 3D, as seen on screenshares in the book. The book then turns to address the failure of the exhibition in 2020: “Hardly anyone saw it. After two days the exhibition had to close again” (38). The circumstances of an unseen exhibition—a space deserted on account of COVID-19 precautions—and the situation of

Europe, ed. Sibylle Erle and Morton D. Paley, 2 vols. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019) 1: 294-96.

8. The book includes the relevant part of Blake’s *Descriptive Catalogue* (German version first), with punctuation and paragraphs adjusted to make the text more readerly, as well as long explanatory or interpretative footnotes.

9. In the book each chapter is presented first in German and second in English. For this review I have used their English text.

10. This process was captured on the website, where viewers were invited to look at slowly turning clay models while entering a 12:20 min. trance-meditation: “And what happens when the observer allows it [the trance-meditation] to have an effect on him?” The goal, it seems, was to become like the strong, the ugly, and the beautiful. There were also works included on the website that were ongoing, though I could not detect any activity or changes when I examined them.

the artists resonate strongly with the disappointment that Blake must have felt at the response to his own show.

- 8 The exhibition included Dana Kast and Julius Naegele's *Bard*. Photographs in the book show a figure who is narrowly missed by an arrow (40-41); a caption describes this construction as a "mechanical box." Dimitra Gatsiou's the-remin performance of "Jerusalem," Parry's tune of Blake's rallying lyrics, would have made an eerie accompaniment for the centerpiece of the exhibition: the projections of an "appeared" and "vanished" painting. Two photographs reveal a canvas with and without the reconstruction of *The Ancient Britons*, which is a digital montage of drawing, painting, and sculpture, also displayed as a fold-out (60-61). This montage shows three figures, with the young and beautiful man leading the way, flanked by the ugly (to his right) and the strong (to his left). The figures, walking through—no, over—heaps of corpses, are against a red sun setting in a red landscape. In the right-hand corner (from the viewer's position), we see the bard underneath his harp, pierced with a long spear; the figure is inspiration for the body in Kast and Naegele's mechanical box. Another work of art is Hendrik Fleck's etching "The Ancient Britons" (94-95). Its subtitle, "Einzelvision/Single Vision," indicates that it is one of a series in the exhibition.¹¹
- 9 There is much to say about Roob's essay, "When Klopstock Defied Blake and Ancient Britons Were Suddenly Germans. A Revision of the Large Blake Exhibition in Hamburg in 1975." Roob, like the book as a whole, starts with Robinson's contribution to Perthes's patriotic periodical *Vaterländisches Museum*. He zooms in on a comment about Blake's work containing phrases "which one would have expected from a German rather than an Englishman" to ask, "How German was this Blake really?" (97). What he proposes is a playful approach to identity and themes that can be harnessed in national crises to articulate a message. Blake, in other words, is still speaking to his German audiences. Roob alludes to the "mass appeal" (97) that Robinson was predicting, and looks toward Werner Hofmann's triumph of 1975, but only to claim that the first major Blake exhibition abroad was a failure. Hofmann (and David Bindman) did not sufficiently explore Blake's thwarted relations with Klopstock: "The second bridge that Werner Hofmann had expected from the Hamburg exhibition could only end in a construction site without the knowledge of this radical pietistic interconnection [Blake's Moravian upbringing through his mother] and without an interpreta-

11. The website included a video (1:04:30) that offered a viewing experience of an evolving plate: three figures emerged against the shape of a cloaked, faceless figure. Lines and textures appeared, accompanied by a heavily distorted bass line washed with delay and reverb, built of random notes.

tion of the Klopstock context" (113-14). Roob seems to imply that this context, and especially "the bardic competition" (102) between Klopstock and Milton, explain Blake's ambitions for the epic forms of the late illuminated books *Milton* and *Jerusalem*. Consequently, he picks up the trail of research on the significance of the popular German poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, reminding us that Perthes dedicated *Vaterländisches Museum* to Klopstock, whose *Messiah* Blake ridiculed in his Notebook. Blake, for Roob, is an unacknowledged forerunner of both the German and the English national movements:

During Blake's period of education, the national-mythical "bard roaring" of the Klopstockians had become so loud that it could be clearly heard in England as well. Many years before people started staging themselves on the island as new druids, members of the German Hainbund came together, crowned with oak leaves, as Celtic-Germanic poet-singers, fantasizing under power-bestowing trees about being in a pseudohistorical counterworld whose emotional depth stood in programmatic opposition to the rationality of Enlightenment. (100-01)

The short run of *Vaterländisches Museum* included not only Robinson's essay on Blake but also "excerpts of Klopstock's unpublished writings" (101). Anglo-German relations, then and now, are important for understanding Blake as an artist and thinker.

- 10 Roob follows Alexander Regier's *Exorbitant Enlightenment* (2018),¹² which argues that Blake "does not fit into our normal account of the Enlightenment or British Romanticism" (Regier 9). For Roob's reading of Anglo-German relations, the business and activities of the German printseller and publisher Rudolph Ackermann are crucial, because Ackermann completely ignored Blake's contribution when he reprinted Cromek's edition of Blair's *Grave*; the lack of recognition "must have hurt Blake tremendously" (Roob 105). This strand of the argument also engages with the patriotic struggle of the German states and their emerging cultural consciousness: "The propagandistic potentials of works such as ... *The Ancient Britons* ... must have evoked, even in the face of reservations regarding the artist's idiosyncrasies, the idea of a robust national art, as it began to emerge in Germany only decades later with the new foundation of the Reich" (108).
- 11 Roob contends that Blake came across Klopstock in his younger days.¹³ He writes that "there were no translations of

12. Alexander Regier, *Exorbitant Enlightenment: Blake, Hamann, and Anglo-German Constellations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

13. This circumstance (Blake's early awareness of Klopstock) would explain the sharp satirical tone of the Klopstock verses in the Notebook; they sound like lines from *An Island in the Moon* (1784?).

[Klopstock's] popular odes Yet it can be assumed that [Blake] was also sufficiently informed of this part of Klopstock's production, at least well enough to gauge how massive the challenge posed by the Germanic Milton was" (100). On the whole, Roob's often fierce argument is a little hostile toward "Anglo-centric Blake research," excepting the work of Keri Davies, Colin Podmore, and Marsha Keith Schuchard on the Moravians (112-14). In considering the influence of the Moravians, he notes, "Zinzendorf was the rousing theological advocate of bodily energies, whose presence Blake had missed in Klopstock's *Messiah*" (114). At the same time, Roob is sometimes vague on the parameters of Blake's reception: is what he describes as a "loose connection" between Blake and Runge, cemented by Hofmann's exhibition cycle *Kunst um 1800*, a matter of influence or of similarity and confluence perceived by those undertaking "Blake research"? The latter, of course, chimes with what the Ancient Britons team set out to do. Roob, I think, wills this connection into existence. He makes it appear; there is no concrete evidence for it. Conversely, the confluence of Klopstock and Blake invites us to think about process and collaboration more broadly. Roob determines that Blake knew about Klopstock through his friends, such as Henry Fuseli ("who, like most of the Sturm und Drang adherents from the circle of the Zurich Milton translator Jakob Bodmer, was a great admirer of Klopstock"),¹⁴ or even Thomas Holcroft, "a befriended republican poet, publisher and translator, who had visited Klopstock in Hamburg in 1799" (100). Ultimately, Roob—much like Regier, who argues fervently for how Blake can be "unlocked through multilingualism" and "polyglot criticism" that "allows us to see different relations" (Regier 27)—simplifies some of Blake's working contexts. Blake was a commercial engraver who developed his own graphic technique and printed his own works while pursuing his dream of finding recognition as a painter. In line with the esoteric tradition, Roob appears to think, perhaps unfortunately, that Anglo-German relations reinforced Blake's artistic process through some kind of channeling.¹⁵ He is almost too eager

14. See Regier 100-18.

15. Roob traces Blake's knowledge of Klopstock through Fuseli back to Lavater (100), claiming that Blake "admired" Lavater (114). This assumption originates in Regier, who, writing about Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man*, not only discards the possibility that Fuseli authored the final aphorism, which has no precursor in either of the German source texts and could only ever be verified if the specially prepared manuscript were found, but also states: "Blake's annotations to the volume show us that he understood Lavater's book as a hermeneutics and as a study in friendship" (Regier 120). Lavater did believe that good friends looked alike. In physiognomical terms, physical resemblance suggested shared interests or moral disposition. However, communicating those "views on the immanence of language" (Regier 119) was not devoid of challenges. Mary Lynn Johnson's important scholarship on Blake and Lavater delineates the milestones in the financial ne-

to provide proof for his idea. This may be a result of wanting—like Robinson—to see Blake as symptomatically "German."

- 12 What is missing from Roob's account is Blake's life and collaboration with William Hayley, the well-connected gentleman poet then famous for his mock epic *The Triumphs of Temper* (1781) and biography of Milton (1794). We know that Blake did not like Klopstock, an opinion that was diametrically opposite to that of Hayley, his patron, who thought that Klopstock was Milton's equal. The men sat together and discussed Klopstock's *Messiah*,¹⁶ and it was Hayley who commissioned Blake to paint a portrait of Klopstock as part of a series of eighteen poets for his new library in Felpham (Butlin #343.16). Instead, Roob traces Blake's resentment of Klopstock through the Notebook, back to the versions of "London" where he "writes about *german forged links* in whose power the desperate residents of the English capital find themselves" (102). Narrow though this interpretation is, it is fascinating, as it ties artistic and aesthetic explorations to political domination. The idea is substantiated with an insightful delineation of the German resistance against Napoleon's advancing army (106-12). Roob does much to make Blake relevant: Robinson discerned in Blake the "potential of resistance" (109) for German politics, much needed also in Britain, whose response to Napoleon is likened to Cold War tactics—"a cultural political move comparable with the CIA's launching of 'liberal'-abstract trends" (110). It comes as no surprise that Roob then aligns the efforts of Robinson and Ackermann in rescuing Blake from obscurity for "the anti-Napoleonic cause": "It is not improbable that the former *Times* correspondent [Robinson] was involved in Ackermann's covert activities due to his strategic knowledge, and also that Ackermann was aware of the planned contribution to the *Vaterländisches Museum*" (111). More generally,

gotiations between and practical challenges for Lavater and his English publishers, translators, and engravers. See "Blake's Engravings for Lavater's *Physiognomy*: Overdue Credit to Chodowiecki, Schellenberg, and Lips," *Blake* 38.2 (fall 2004): 52-74.

16. Hayley owned several editions of *Der Messias* (1748-73). He may have read to Blake in German and certainly translated the verse into English on 26 and 27 March 1803 to mark Klopstock's death. Mark Crosby and Robert N. Essick write about this, as well as a rediscovered letter from Blake to Hayley that may allude to Klopstock's first wife, Margaret. They hint at the possibility that the conversations between Hayley and Blake about Klopstock were extensive, and suggest that Hayley had paid Catherine Blake a compliment for being, like Mrs. Klopstock, a devoted wife, muse, and critic in one. This engagement with Klopstock is why Crosby and Essick date the satirical verse in the Notebook to the years in Felpham. If this is the case, Blake's attack on Klopstock is more complex than Roob makes it out to be. See Mark Crosby and Robert N. Essick, "'the fiends of Commerce': Blake's Letter to William Hayley, 7 August 1804," *Blake* 44.2 (fall 2010): 52-72 (on 71).

in connection with the destruction of the cities and landscapes of Ukraine, for example, the post-battle scene of *The Ancient Britons* no doubt resonates with modern audiences.

- 13 Another unexpected but noteworthy move is Roob's association of John Varley with the circle around Ackermann (115-16). When it comes to the Visionary Heads, Roob talks about Blake's "dialogue with the dead" ("Totengespräche") and Blake and Varley's "spiritistic séances" (116), thus once again oversimplifying the complexity of collaboration and, in this case, opinions about the spiritual world. This world, for Blake at least, was inhabited with creatures that had never lived in a conventional sense, such as the ghost of a flea, or were characters in the Bible and in legends, such as Job and Robin Hood. We don't know if any of Blake's choices and portraits thereof baffled Varley, who accepted the flea as the perfect embodiment of Gemini. Varley took an interest in astrology, hence the title of the work that the Visionary Heads were for (*Zodiacal Physiognomy*), and Blake in his drawings was also responding to the popular practice of phrenology. Roob seems to draw and rely on Robinson, who wrote: "Our author lives, like Swedenborg, in communication with the angels" (BR[2] 599). While Swedenborg, for Robinson, is part of the history of Blake's varied religious background, Roob must have decided to ignore Swedenborg, which, given the group's focus on vision, is an astonishing omission. Perhaps Roob and the team wanted to believe that Blake did not just have visions but had a trance practice that followed Mesmer's.
- 14 Robinson struggled to comprehend the nature of Blake's visions. He was also not impressed with *A Descriptive Catalogue*: "The original consists of a complete mish-mash of fragmentary utterances on art and religion, without plan or arrangement, and the artist's idiosyncrasies will in this way be most clearly shown" (BR[2] 596). Still, as Roob emphasizes, he put his finger on why Blake appeals and matters today. Blake's singular originality, which once pushed him into isolation in his homeland, spoke and speaks to his German audiences. Maybe, to export Blake, Robinson had to overstate that Blake was an outsider: "Although he afterwards studied at the Royal Academy, he had already shown his bent to an art so original that, isolated from his fellow-students, he was far removed from all usual, ordinary employment" (BR[2] 595). Robinson's article for Perthes is no doubt a key text of Blake's early reception, but Roob's essay ends teasingly and with a gesture toward patriotic struggles:

In the end, Blake's legend was not perpetuated where Crabb Robinson saw it, in the continental culture of the Old Empire, but was instead oriented to where Blake had dreamed of his transatlantic giant, Albion, in a globally re-

publican way, in the direction in which the red-skinned *Ancient Britons* had also pointed, of whom Crabb Robinson in his *Reminiscences* had assumed that they were actually not Britons but American natives. (117)

We cannot ever establish what Blake's *Ancient Britons* looked like. Roob here offers an interesting twist on Robinson's interpretation of Blake's coloring, while ignoring comments on color experiments in the *Descriptive Catalogue* itself. Blake's purpose was to do a retrospective but also to show off his rediscovery of "the lost art of fresco" (BR[2] 596). In this passage, Roob is not only incorporating Robinson's declaration of Blake's difference, the aesthetic boldness of his color experiments, but also gesturing toward Blake's subsequent thriving American reception.

- 15 In the end, this exercise says and shows much about the ingenuity of Blake's ongoing German reception. Like Blake's exhibition of 1809, the exhibition curated by the Ancient Britons team presented the absence of visitors as a test case for greatness. Even though COVID regulations rather than lack of interest prevented audiences from attending, non-attendance and ignorance were counted as contributions to this show's success. The tone of defiance in the announcement is all too familiar; Blake, too, despite everything, would not be deterred. The exhibition of 2020 has vanished; it reappeared on the website and endures in the book. The creation of the website and publication of the book perpetuated and propelled the project's momentum, but one fact remains: hardly anyone saw the exhibition and, since the website has vanished, hardly anyone will be able to imagine it, unless another Kirkup comes along. Nevertheless, the Ancient Britons team has left us, in my opinion, with a "surrogate" for Blake's lost painting (Eaves 533). Granted, the digital montage can never replace *The Ancient Britons*, but the space that has been left deliberately empty in the past has been temporarily filled. Will other "surrogate" paintings follow? This undertaking highlights, beyond any doubt, something fundamental about Blake: how productive "mis-readings" of his art and poetry can be, especially in a wider European, if not global as well as trans-historical, conversation about Blake.

Construing “Har”: Blake’s Polyglot Roots

By Alexander S. Gourlay

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1 **O**F those commentators who try to explain the name of the senescent patriarch Har in Blake’s early (unpublished) illustrated poem *Tiri-el* (late 1780s), most offer that “har” is the Hebrew word for “mountain,” as Blake could have learned from any number of etymological discussions of such familiar biblical names as “Ararat” or “Armageddon.”¹ Some scholars note that Har is also the name of an ambiguously identified frame character in Snorri Sturluson’s prose *Edda*, which Blake knew through Paul Henri Mallet’s *Northern Antiquities*, but even these emphasize “mountain” in construing the name, perhaps because there does not seem to be much connection between Blake’s

1. See Harold Bloom, E 946, or G. E. Bentley, Jr., ed., *William Blake’s Writings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978) 2: 904, or, more recently, Sheila A. Spector, “Wonders Divine”: *The Development of Blake’s Kabbalistic Myth* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2001) 49-53.

character and his Scandinavian namesake.² In *Tiri-el* Har presides feebly (an aged Adam with his equally feeble consort Heva) over a paradise that resembles a pickled Garden of Eden, and his territory is bordered by the “mountains of Har” (E 284), but he is much more closely associated with the garden than the mountains. Indeed, Harold Bloom (E 946) has noted that it is ironic that although Har’s name seems to mean “mountain,” it is regularly linked with valleys in the phrase “the vales of Har,” which occurs once in *Tiri-el* and four more times in *The Book of Thel* (1789). In the latter poem, which Blake did publish, there is no indication at all of who or what Har might be, but because the heroine is repeatedly described by epithets like “mistress” or “beauty” or “queen” “of the vales of Har,” the name seems potentially important. The character Har (linked again with Heva) also comes up in *The Song of Los* (1795; E 67-70) as the name of a being something like the character in *Tiri-el*, and is mentioned in *The Four Zoas* (c. 1796–1807; E 380).

2 If Blake ever expected readers of any of his works to associate the name Har with “mountain,” he did little or nothing to confirm or exploit that connection. The character in *Tiri-el* doesn’t dwell in the mountains (even if his garden realm is isolated by them) and doesn’t talk about them, and he isn’t notably mountainous himself. In *The Book of Thel* Har is just a name associated with a place, “the vales of Har,” perhaps comparable to “dales of Arcady,” in which case Har is not necessarily a sentient being. We don’t get much even if we push hard on the stray phrases delineating the geography inhabited by Thel and her sheep-herding sisters: Thel, “the youngest” (E 3), leaves the others and mopes “Down by

2. For example, G. E. Bentley, Jr., ed., *William Blake: Tiri-el* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) 3-4.



The Blind Tiri-el Departing from Har and Heva (c. 1789). 18.2 x 27.0 cm. Collection of Robert N. Essick. Image courtesy of the William Blake Archive.

the river of Adona,” which indirectly suggests that the elders are happily battenning their flocks on the high lawns of a mountain while she is down in the vales, sheeplessly wondering what to do with her life. That might mean that her older, higher sisters have learned something that she doesn’t know yet, and thus that there is something high up that Thel is missing, but it isn’t clear what distinguishes the valleys and mountains of Har from those of other regions. *The Song of Los* is similarly tantalizing: many of the prophetic figures in the poem are explicitly assigned a lofty mountain perch (Noah, Mount Ararat; Moses, Mount Sinai; Orc, Mount Atlas; Rousseau and Voltaire, the Alps), but Har has none: he is simply said to flee from somewhere to somewhere else without any mention of altitude.

3 We should thus consider what else, if anything, Blake might have hoped careful readers of *Tiriel* and later *Thel* and *The Song of Los* would associate with the name Har. In the *Edda* as presented by Mallet, a king goes in disguise to Asgard, the seat of newly arrived “Asiatic” deities/rulers whose popular appeal, the king suspects, threatens his kingdom. The disguised king catechizes the one called Har, who sits on the lowest of three thrones, although he is the most exalted of three king-like beings; collectively these may or may not be a manifestation of Odin, who, according to Mallet’s notes, is a magician/king, not really a god.³ The *Edda* suggests that Har’s name means “the lofty one” (3), which might seem to line up with reading “har” as “mountain,” but in context his loftiness is a matter of prestige, intellect, and/or divine pretension rather than altitude, much less mountainousness. Snorri’s wily King Har is definitely not senile, and not at all like simple-hearted unpretentious Adam, innocent or fallen, even if we imagine him grown old and querulous: if Blake remembered the god/king Har when he named the character in *Tiriel*, he must have forgotten what Har was like in the *Edda*.

4 It is certainly possible that in imagining Har Blake dredged up an exotic name from somewhere in his consciousness and intended no literary or linguistic allusion at all. But the name might have meant something other than “mountain” to him, and he could have supposed that more perspicacious readers could figure it out as well. Har’s most notable characteristics in *Tiriel* are his ancientness and fadedness, so Blake might have sought a name that could evoke these qualities. “Hoar” and “hoary,” words that come up often in Blake’s descriptions of ancient persons, are more obviously denotative than his meaningful names tend to be, but if he consulted an etymological dictionary⁴ in search of alternative forms of

“hoar,” he would have been led immediately to the Anglo-Saxon word “har,” which means gray, old and gray, and pale. In every image of Har in the illustrations to *Tiriel* the character is white haired, white skinned, and white clad. Thel’s clothing is variously colored and her complexion varies, but she is also associated with “paleness” (E 3).

5 Speculative etymology contributes little to elucidating the word beyond confirming what is established in the pictures and texts associated with it. But even this largely negative result can help us by eliminating a source of obfuscation, one of many stubborn canards in the literature on *The Book of Thel*. Because *Tiriel* and *Thel* represent successive early stages in the development of Blake’s composite art, it may be that by the time he moved from *Tiriel*, which appears to have been conceived as a letterpress text conventionally illustrated with engravings, to *Thel*, a picto-textual illuminated book, he thought of “Har” as just one of many defamiliarized English words in his alternative mythos, rather than a symbolic name that could be traced through conventional references.

The Ancient Britons

Artwork by John Riordan

Introduction by Sarah Jones

THE *Ancient Britons* is not hiding in my attic—I’ve checked—and it may not be in anyone else’s attic either, which leaves us with Blake’s descriptions, contemporary reactions, and the canvas of our imaginations. As Sibylle discusses in her review essay in this issue, Morris wrote about how the *Blake Archive* might handle this lost work in the editorial sense. Some time ago I wondered how Blake would have handled the painting in the literal sense, as it was very large and must have been unwieldy.

From my speculation came the idea for a cartoon that John Riordan has brilliantly brought to life. It was originally destined for the cover, but Morris passed away and another image seemed more appropriate there. I can’t remember if I told him that I was planning a cartoon for the issue, but in a way that’s the point: if you worked with him, he let you run with your ideas and trusted you not to burn the house down. I know I was looking forward to his reaction; he would undoubtedly have had something pithy to say. Now, I can only let my imagination fill in the blanks.

3. Paul Henri Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, 2 vols. (London, 1770) 2: 1-12.

4. Such as John Ash, *The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language*, 2 vols. (London, 1775) 1: s.v. “Hoar.”



Right a bit..
left a bit...
no, too far!

It turns out the review wasn't the worst thing about Blake's 1809 exhibition...

JR

