

The Reader's Struggle: Intellectual War in *The Four Zoas*

MÁTYÁS GYÖRGY LAJOS
lajos.matyas93@gmail.com

After the Apocalypse at the end of *The Four Zoas*, the state of the redeemed world is surprisingly described as intellectual war. I argue that intellectual war is the struggle of an individual with his or her spectre, and specifically the post-apocalyptic intellectual war alluded to in the last lines of the epic is the creative struggle to form works of art that the reading of the poem will engender in an ideal reader.

Keywords: William Blake, *The Four Zoas*, Spectre, Creativity, Contraries

1. Introduction

From the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* to the *Illustrations to the Book of Job*, the struggle of contraries against one another is a key theme of Blake's art. As Lorraine Clark says, "[i]t is the tenacious pursuit of the *same* ideal of life [as the strife of contraries] which is responsible for our sense of Blake's consistency despite the confusions of his myth" (Clark 1999, 41).

This is closely related to Blake's absolute opposition to what he would come to call "corporeal war". As early as *The Poetic Sketches*, he writes the following: "Oh, for a voice like thunder, and a tongue // To drown the throat of war!" (Blake 2007, 39). Already here he wishes for a poetic voice that is louder in some way than the sounds of the war he wishes to oppose. This shows his belief that works of art can oppose war not only by revealing its horrors, but can also be stronger than it and defeat it. In a later poem he made this idea much more explicit, writing: "With works of Art their Armies meet // And War shall sink beneath thy feet" (Blake 2007, 633).

Thus, for Blake, there are two diametrically opposed forms of conflict: the first is the life-giving struggle of contraries described in the *Marriage*,¹ the second, the horrific historical wars of Blake's epoch. He named the latter "the war of swords", "corporeal war" or "the wars of Eternal Death" (Blake 2007, 475, 502, 312). For the former, he used an even greater variety of phrases, calling it "spiritual war", "mental war", "mental fight", "the wars of Eternity", "the wars of Life" and, finally "intellectual war" (Blake 1988, 247 and Blake 2007, 502, 503, 573, 729, 475). It is not entirely clear whether the phrases listed above refer to the same thing, and it is certain that Blake's ideas about this form of struggle changed significantly during his career. In this essay I will limit myself to an investigation

¹ "Without Contraries is no Progression" *MHH* pl. 3 (Blake 2007, 111).

of “intellectual war”, a phrase which appears only once in Blake’s entire oeuvre, but this appearance is at a critical point in the plot of *The Four Zoas*, which I will now examine.

*The Four Zoas*² ends with a vision of the Apocalypse, after which a state of perfect unity is restored. It is therefore very surprising that the epic ends with the following lines:

Urthona is arisen in his strength, no longer now
Divided from Enitharmon, no longer the spectre Los.
Where is the spectre of prophecy? Where the delusive phantom?
Departed; and Urthona rises from the ruinous walls
In all his ancient strength to form the golden armour of science
For intellectual war. The war of swords departed now,
The dark religions are departed, & sweet science reigns.
(Blake 2007, 475 FZ: ix.848–852)

The surprise is that instead of the peace and harmony we would expect, we are told that this state of perfect unity involves something called intellectual war. My goal in this essay is to understand what this is and why it appears in such a surprising context.

My main thesis is that in *The Four Zoas*, intellectual war in general means the struggle of an individual with his or her Spectre, and that specifically the intellectual war referred to in the last lines of the *Zoas* is the creative struggle to produce art that an ‘ideal reader’ of *The Four Zoas* will engage in after having read and understood the epic.

2. The Character of the Spectre

An understanding of the concept of the spectre is fundamental to my thesis, but the spectre as such is very difficult to define. A rough approximation would be to say that it is like someone’s ‘evil twin’: a being at once similar to its original, but deformed in some way, and which therefore uses their power in a ravenous and destructive way. From a more everyday perspective, one’s spectre can be seen to be the embodiment of those of our inner voices that we would rather not hear, i.e. those that give voice to one’s fears, doubts, insecurities, and mistrust towards others.³

The Emanations of individuals also play a crucial part in *The Zoas*. In Blake’s cosmos, individuals in their unfallen state are androgynous: they unite the masculine and feminine aspects of their soul in one Being. Here the Emanation is the feminine aspect, but it is not separate from the whole. In the Fall, these two aspects are divided into separate beings.

² Blake’s first epic, which recounts the whole of human history from the Fall to the Apocalypse. Its main characters are the Zoas—who represent the four principal human aspects i.e. body, reason, emotion, imagination (Damon 1988, 458)—and their female counterparts (i.e. emanations). It is divided into nine Nights.

³ This is shown most explicitly in the dialogue between Los and his Spectre in *Jerusalem* pl. 5.66–8.40 (Blake 2007, 667–674).

From then on, their quest to be reunited into one being is the main driving force in the epic. The spectre is, in a way, the embodiment of this division, since it is born at the moment of separation (this is made explicit in the case of Tharmas-Enion⁴), and when Unity is restored it will depart.

A lot can be learned about spectres through simply observing their behaviour in the Zoas: we witness the birth of the spectre of Tharmas and of Urthona, who later become major characters, and we also see the spectres of the dead who are given living forms in Enitharmon's looms. We learn that a spectre is present in every individual and that one can become no more than a spectre. Los' example shows that one can even form an alliance of sorts with one's spectre, while Urizen's shows us what happens when an individual identifies himself with his spectre and thus lets the spectre take over control completely. We also see that at the very end of the epic (after the apocalypse), the spectre of Urthona departs. In my interpretation this does not mean that he is destroyed, but that he remains there only as a perpetual possibility, who would reemerge if Albion were to fall once again.⁵ Significantly, however, the spectre is not an entirely negative being: creative and redemptive labour is only possible if an individual and their spectre work together.

Problems arise, however, when we try to define in abstract terms what a spectre is. Based on quotes from *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, S. Foster Damon defines it in the following way: "The SPECTRE is the rational power of divided man". He goes on to say that "although the Spectre is the Rational Power, he is anything but reasonable: rather, he is a machine which has lost its controls and is running wild" and that "[h]is craving is for the lost Emanation" (Damon 1988, 380–381) This is true of both Tharmas's and Urthona's spectres (at least until the reconciliation of Los and the spectre), but is more of a description of their behaviour than a definition of their essence. Based on Damon's definition we can identify a spectre once it has been divided from its counterpart and has acquired a separate body, but this is somewhat like a post-mortem diagnosis, since once the "insane and most deformed" (Blake 2007, 304 FZ.i.93–94) being that is a man's spectre has broken loose, it is very difficult to regain control over it. It would be better if we one were able to identify a spectre while it still takes the form of an inner voice. This is very difficult, because at that point it is difficult to find the dividing line between one's true self and one's spectre. Urizen, for example, fails utterly in this task, identifying himself completely with his spectre to the detriment of his true self and his emanation.

Los' lengthy dialogue with his spectre in *Jerusalem* (Blake 2007, 667–674 J:5.66–8.40) and Milton's rejection of his Selfhood in *Milton*⁶ (Blake 2007, 532 M:14.30–32) both

⁴ After Tharmas leaves Enion, his spectre issues forth from his feet FZ: i.68–71 (Blake 2007, 303).

⁵ "[T]he basic plot [of *The Four Zoas*] is the fall and resurrection of Albion, who symbolizes all mankind" (Damon 1988, 142).

⁶ Milton is the titular character of Blake's second epic: he is a mythological figure based on the historical John Milton. After hearing a Bard's prophetic song about Satan, Milton proclaims:

"I in my Selfhood am that Satan; I am that Evil One,

He is my Spectre! In my obedience to loose him from my hells

To claim the Hells my Furnaces, I go to Eternal Death." (Blake 2007, M 14.30–32)

serve as examples to the reader of how one can identify and reject one's spectre. There is, however, no general criterion for this identification. This is because every spectre bears a close resemblance to the individual to which it belongs. Thus, just as there is an infinite variety of individuals, so too is there an infinite variety of spectres. It would therefore be impossible to find one general law for all these different entities.⁷ Instead, one must rely on instructive examples in order to understand it.⁸

3. Los and Urizen

I will begin my investigations by discussing an encounter—early on in the epic—between two of its main characters: Los and Urizen. Importantly for this paper, later on in the epic, these two come to represent in their actions the two diametrically opposed forms of war. Los eventually comprehends the necessity of *intellectual* war and takes part in an ever-improving form of it. Thanks to this, he is able to (partially) reunite with his emanation Enitharmon, and together they can take the first step in their redemptive labours by giving living forms to the spectres of the dead. Urizen, on the other hand, is constrained and defined by his absolute opposition to intellectual war. This leads him to become the main instigator of corporeal war. I believe that the genesis of this opposition can be located in the scene I will now examine. My argument that “intellectual war” is the struggle with one's spectre will also be based on this scene.

The following are among the first words Urizen speaks in the epic. The young demon he is addressing is Los:

Urizen startled stood, but not long: soon he cried:
 ‘Obey my voice, young demon! I am God from eternity to eternity!’
 Thus Urizen spoke, collected in himself in awful pride:
 ‘Art thou a visionary of Jesus, the soft delusion of Eternity?’
 Lo, I am God the terrible destroyer, & not the saviour!
 Why should the Divine Vision compel the sons of Eden
 To forego each his own delight to war against his spectre?
 The spectre is the man. The rest is only delusion & fancy.’ (Blake 2007, 317 FZ:
 ii.78–82)

It would be a misunderstanding both of the work itself and of Blake's world-view to say that Urizen is the ‘villain’ of the *Four Zoas*.⁹ However, Urizen's explicit assumption

⁷ Blake was hostile towards general laws of any kind, as he writes in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: “One Law for the Lion and Ox is Oppression.” (Blake 2007, 127 MHH pl. 24)

⁸ The bard's prophetic song is itself another such example, and in context it does have the desired effect of causing Milton to cast off his spectre in order to redeem his emanation.

⁹ Everyone (i.e. all the Zoas) is implicated in the Fall, not only Urizen, and since Satan is a State and not a Character, Urizen himself is not Satanic, but only in a Satanic state.

of false godhead (“I am God the terrible destroyer, & not the saviour!”) shows that he is profoundly in Error, thus there is a good chance that his words should be read ironically, and that the absolute opposite of his statements is in fact the truth. His denouncement of the struggle with one’s spectre should therefore lead us to believe that there is much to gain from such a struggle.

As one of the “Proverbs of Hell” says: “Listen to the fool’s reproach: it is a kingly title.”¹⁰ (Blake 2007, 115 *MHH*: pl. 9) In other words, whatever the fool disapproves of may well be the best part of an individual, and the reproach itself may well also contain important information. Urizen definitely is foolish in the Blakean sense of the word.¹¹ Thus we should pay attention when he says that the Divine Vision (i.e. Jesus) compels the sons of Eden (i.e. everybody) to war against their spectre. I regard this as the valuable grain of truth hidden in his otherwise deluded world-view. It is an image of truth, but because of Urizen’s foolishness, it is only a partial image: he sees this struggle to be “forgoing one’s delight” whereas later events show the opposite to be true: Los must first struggle against his spectre before he can even begin to be reunited with his emanation Enitharmon. Since this reunion is the only real delight possible for him, Urizen is completely wrong in denouncing the preceding struggle.

It is also important to note that when Urizen says, “The spectre is the man, the rest is only delusion and fancy,” he reveals to the reader the depths of his Error: these lines show that he identifies himself completely with his spectre. I will later show that his casting out his emanation and his propagation of corporeal war are all consequences of this fatal Error.

I have so far attempted to show the central importance of the struggle with one’s spectre. I believe that it is the highest form of struggle that Blake presents in his works. I therefore argue that this struggle is in fact Intellectual War. My reason for this is that ‘Intellect’ is one of the most powerfully and clearly positive words in Blake’s vocabulary, thus it would make sense for him to have given this epithet to the highest form of struggle imaginable. Furthermore, this struggle is also ‘intellectual’ in a more everyday sense, in that it takes place within one’s own psyche, rather than in the physical universe.¹²

4. A Parallel

Before moving on I would like to further explore the complex irony of the previously quoted passage. The irony is that at this point in the narrative Los is nothing like the terrible danger Urizen supposes him to be, and that Urizen’s oration actually helps him

¹⁰ This definitely can be applied to one part of Urizen’s reproach: he calls Los a “visionary of Jesus”, which in Blake’s eyes would have been the ‘kingliest’ of titles.

¹¹ Blake wrote in his poem *To the Accuser, who is God of this World*: “Truly, my Satan, thou art but a dunce” (Blake 2007, 894). Urizen’s Satanic behaviour is a consequence of his being deluded.

¹² Though in Blake’s works the dividing line between these two is always hard to find and often non-existent.

toward becoming precisely what Urizen fears, i.e. Urizen's words to Los are a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus—despite all his efforts to the contrary—the grain of truth hidden in Urizen's delusion eventually comes to fruition. This is a good example of how life can spring from the struggle of contraries: Los gains this invaluable piece of information from his struggle with Urizen.

To elucidate this, I will examine a similar scene from one of Blake's earlier works. The previously quoted scene in its entirety, and especially the phrase "young demon" is reminiscent of a passage in *America: A Prophecy*. The Guardian Prince of Albion's furious and/or terrified speech to Orc is like an early version of Urizen's reaction to Los:

'Art thou not Orc, who serpent-formed
Stands at the gate of Enitharmon to devour her children?
Blasphemous demon, Antichrist, hater of dignities,
Lover of wild rebellion and transgressor of God's Law,
Why dost thou come to Angels' eyes in this terrific form?'
(Blake 2007, 202 *America* 7.54–58)

As Blake wrote in *The Everlasting Gospel*: "The vision of Christ that thou dost see / Is my vision's greatest enemy" (Blake 2007, 899 e.1–2). Similarly, the Guardian Prince's Antichrist may well be Blake's Christ. Thus Urizen and the Guardian Prince are perhaps terrified by the same vision of Christ, only Urizen is more honest since he at least calls it by its true name when he accuses Los of being a "Visionary of Jesus".

Orc's first oration in *America*¹³ is a joyful vision of liberation and resurrection which carries no explicit threat to the establishment.¹⁴ It is only after the quoted passage that Orc identifies Urizen and his stony law and religion as his enemy and threatens to "burst the stony roof". This is underlined by the fact that in the first image of Orc (which accompanies his first oration), he is sitting in a relaxed position and is surrounded by springing vegetation,¹⁵ while in the second picture of him (Figure 1) he is surrounded by flames with outstretched arms, mirroring Urizen's pose in an earlier image (Figure 2). In copy A this is further accentuated by the colouring of the plates: in the first image of Orc the dominant colour of the whole plate is green, while in the second it is red (in the plate depicting Urizen which is between them the background is a frosty blue). The Prince's oration is also ironically undermined by the fact that the plate which contains it¹⁶ depicts a pastoral idyll with slumbering children and a sheep. Thus we can surmise that the "terror" of Orc first exists only in the fear-ridden imagination of the Guardian Prince and it is only after the Prince's attempted repression that Orc becomes truly terrifying.

¹³ "The morning comes, the night decays, the watchmen leave their stations; The grave is burst, the spices shed, the linen wrapped up; [...]"(Blake 2007, 201 *America*, pl. 6)

¹⁴ Except perhaps the phrase: "Empire is no more".

¹⁵ The source of the image: <http://www.blakearchive.org/images/america.a.p8.300.jpg>

¹⁶ The source of the image: <http://www.blakearchive.org/images/america.a.p9.300.jpg>

Similarly, at this early point in the *Four Zoas*, Urizen has no reason to see in Los a “visionary of Jesus”. As yet Los is only a selfish child,¹⁷ nothing like the messianic artist that he will later become. The golden world¹⁸ that Urizen will build is brought down by his own rejection of his emanation Ahania and not by any effort on the part of Los. Similarly to the Guardian Prince with Orc, Urizen is projecting his own fears onto Los. Just as the Prince’s fear of liberation and resurrection was caused by fact that the rigid system he defends has no space for such things, so Urizen is fearful of Los because he perceives any independent spirit (however infantile) to be a threat to the system in which he is “God from eternity to eternity”. He is right to be afraid of a “visionary of Jesus”, but wrong to see Los as one. Later on, however, Los *does* make war on his spectre and this will prove to be a crucial step in bringing about the Apocalypse of Night IX. He is capable of this, perhaps, thanks to the knowledge he gains from this encounter, thus—just like the Guardian Prince of Albion in *America*—Urizen here is creating his own enemy.

5. Los, Enitharmon, and the Spectre

I will now examine in greater detail the evolution of Los’s relationship with his spectre, which can be seen as a paradigmatical example of the struggle between individual and spectre. Plate 6 of *Jerusalem* (Figure 3) shows a powerful visual representation of the later stages of this relationship. The fact that Los is looking directly at the spectre shows that he is in control of it, and the presence of metallurgical tools shows that thus—working together with his spectre—he is capable of creative work.

I have argued that by articulating his greatest fear Urizen gives Los (and the reader) an upside-down image of what the “Divine Vision” really means. But this image is not only upside-down, it is also only partial. Los *does* make war on his spectre, but this is not the whole story. After fighting and subduing his spectre, in Night VII Los finally embraces him “first as a brother, then as another self” (Blake 2007, 408 *FZ*: vii.633–634). This possible aspect of the relationship between individual and spectre is completely beyond the scope of Urizen’s vision. He cannot see the final higher union it leads to.

The ‘moral’ of this story is not simply that one should embrace one’s spectre. The fate of Urizen shows that this in itself can be devastating if the spectre gains the upper hand. As the daughters of Beulah say (and the Spectre of Urthona later admits), “The Spectre is in every man insane and most Deformed” (Blake 2007, 304 and 393 *FZ*: i.93–94, vii.300–

¹⁷ Enitharmon says the following to Los, with which he seems to agree:

“To make us happy let [our parents] weary their immortal powers,
While we draw in their sweet delights, while we return them scorn
On scorn to feed our discontent; for if we grateful prove
They will withhold sweet love, whose food is thorns and roots.” (Blake 2007, 313–314 *FZ*: ii. 7–10)

¹⁸ A world of mathematical perfection that Urizen builds in Night II is named ‘golden’ ironically since it is in fact built on repression.

301). It is only if an individual and their spectre can embrace as equal partners that this embrace can be productive and life-giving. Urizen identifies himself completely with his spectre, thus they form a union in which the spectre has the upper hand. His casting out of Ahania, his emanation, at the end of Night III is a direct consequence of this union. In contrast, the division between Los and his spectre remains even after they form their alliance, and after the Apocalypse, it is Enitharmon rather than the spectre with whom he unites, the spectre then departs.

Besides being a lifelike character in the epic, Los is also a symbolic figure representing “the Eternal Prophet” or even the Poetic Genius itself. His original, unfallen form is named Urthona, which is why his spectre is called “the Spectre of Urthona”. Thus Los’s struggle with his spectre is also the struggle between true poetic vision and a false substitute of it. Lorraine Clark further illuminates this point:

The Spectre [of Urthona] represents, in other words, the abstract unity of death that stands opposed to the concrete unity of life which Blake wants Los to embody. He must be united with Los in the “Divine Human” —but this unity must for Blake be in a way more human than divine, a unity instigated by Los. What is most divine *is* what is most human, for Blake. The Spectre threatens to usurp Los by uniting with Enitharmon to create the true unity, the true poetic vision of life, and this is why the struggle of Los and the Spectre over Enitharmon is central to the confrontation in *The Four Zoas* and *Jerusalem*. But the marriage of the Spectre separate from Los to Enitharmon would produce an abstract unity, a parody of the true poetic vision. The Spectre’s form of mediation would in fact ratify division, for although it would reintegrate the fallen Zoas, and reintegrate Los, Enitharmon, and himself, it would reintegrate them into an abstract unity removed from life. (Clark 1999, 40–41, emphasis in original)

According to Clark, one of Blake’s central poetic problems was to find some sort of bridge between contraries which was neither mediation (i.e. reconciliation, abstract unity), nor hierarchy (that is a division prioritising one over the other). Mediation would be a well-disguised negation of the contrary, while a hierarchical contrary would cease to be a true contrary. Thus the above quote claims the Spectre of Urthona represents the danger of writing bad poetry (i.e. poetry that negates by abstraction the contraries from which life springs), which to Blake would be not an aesthetic, but an eschatological failure: the gulf between the union of contraries that Los, and the one the Spectre would bring about, is the gulf between Truth and Error. Thus here Blake is fighting an enemy no less destructive and terrifying than when he was attacking Urizen in his prophetic books, but this new enemy is much closer to home than the old one.

This discussion of the struggle between Los and the Spectre, which, in Clark’s interpretation represents Blake’s struggle with the spirit of Negation (in all its disguises), leads us on to the question whether Los and the Spectre can be thought of as contraries. Since Blake axiomatically (though in mirror-writing) states that “A Negation is not a Contrary” (Blake 2007, 572 *M*: pl. 30), this seems to be a simple question at first: if a Negation is not a Contrary, then surely the ‘Spirit of Negation’ itself cannot be a Contrary

to anything. Yet Los and the Spectre are counterparts to each other,¹⁹ and this (eventually friendly) opposition is a positive and life-giving force, so in this they do resemble Contraries. In *Jerusalem* 8:39–40, Los and the Spectre labour together at the anvil which can also be seen as a representation of the “progression” which arises from “contraries”.²⁰ In the *Zoas*, an alliance of sorts is formed between them, but this is not a “reconciliation” of the type which, according to the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* “destroys existence” if it is created between “the prolific and the devouring”.²¹ Los and the Spectre remain counterparts and do not merge into one being the way zoas and their emanations can. Indeed, it is through this separateness that Urthona’s spectre can save Los from the poison of Urizen’s mysterious tree:

Then Los plucked the fruit & ate & sat down in despair,
And must have given himself to death Eternal, but
Urthona’s Spectre, in part mingling with him, comforted him,
Being a medium between him & Enitharmon. But this union
Was not to be effected without cares, & sorrows, & troubles
Of six thousand years of self-denial and of bitter contrition.

(Blake 2007, 410 *FZ*: vii.688–693)

Mediation between contraries is destructive, but between Zoas and Emanations it is quite the opposite. What is described here is not a union of Zoa and Spectre which excludes their Emanation (as Urizen’s was), but of Zoa and Emanation. While it is not a complete union and they are still separate, the Spectre is also there as a third separate individual, but when the union is perfected (after 6000 years, in the Apocalypse) the Spectre will ‘depart’ leaving only one individual whom both the zoa and the emanation are part of, and of whom they constitute the masculine and feminine aspect respectively.

As I have previously quoted, Clark writes that “[i]t is the tenacious pursuit of the *same* ideal of life [as the strife of contraries] which is responsible for our sense of Blake’s consistency despite the confusions of his myth”. I believe that in the formation of the Los-Enitharmon-Spectre triad Blake is not deviating from this ideal but rather developing it. Los and the Spectre, and Los and Enitharmon are both contraries, or rather counterparts to each other, but in different ways. Los and Enitharmon’s complex relationship, which is one of the main focuses of the epic, can be regarded, in part, as a struggle (especially *FZ* ii, 11–53). The Spectre and Los compete for Enitharmon’s love and Los wishes to dominate (feels “domineering lust”²² towards) the Spectre, but otherwise their struggle is not the

¹⁹ The spectre says to Los: “I have thee, my counterpart vegetating miraculous” (Blake 2007, 410 *FZ*: vii.700)

²⁰ “Without Contraries is no progression” (Blake 2007, 111 *MHH*: pl. 7).

²¹ “These two classes of men [the prolific and the devouring] are always upon earth, and they should be enemies; whoever tries to reconcile them seeks to destroy existence” (Blake 2007, 121 *MHH* pl. 16–17).

²² Los’ previous feelings towards the spectre are described as such when he finally gives them up and embraces the spectre “first as a brother, // Then as another self” (Blake 2007, 408 *FZ* vii.633–635).

central element in *The Four Zoas* that it will become in *Jerusalem*. Thus, though neither of these opposed pairs can be regarded as Contraries in the sense of the word used in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, they too embody Blake's lifelong belief that life springs from (and is) the opposition of (if not contraries, then, for lack of a better word) opposites. As another of the "Proverb of Hell" says, "Opposition is True Friendship" (Blake 2007, 125 *MHH*: pl. 20).

6. Urthona as role-model

In Night VII, this newly-formed triad of Los, Enitharmon, and the spectre goes on to create counterparts to the wandering spectres of the dead.²³ This shows not only that they have become a source of life, but also that this life-giving work is done not through 'creatio ex nihilo' but by turning monadic beings into dualities. Thus we can see once again, that in Blake's world, "Without Contraries is no progression": a monadic being on its own is static and dreadful. The relationships between the members of the triad are all shown in detail and their evolution is an archetypal path that the reviving spectres of the dead may also take. This parallel is underlined by the Spectre's words to Los:

But I have thee, my counterpart vegetating miraculous
 These spectres have no counterparts, therefore they raven
 Without the food of life. Let us create them counterparts,
 For without a Created body the Spectre is Eternal Death.
 (Blake 2007, 410–411 *FZ*: vii.700–703)

Thus the Spectre of Urthona, though he may be considered a being of a higher order than the spectres of the dead, recognises the spectres as beings similar to himself and proposes to heal them in a way similar to that by which he was healed. After the spectre and Los formed their alliance, but before their reuniting with Enitharmon, they had already begun to build Golgonooza (the city of Art). Thus after they receive a counterpart, the spectres of the dead too can begin to work towards their own 'Resurrection to Unity'. The spectres who already have counterparts are still separated from their Emanations, just as Los and the spectre were when Enitharmon fled and hid beneath Urizen's tree, but it is possible that they have started down the same route that Los-Spectre-Enitharmon is following.

²³ This process is described in *FZ*: vii.749–791 (Blake 2007, 413–414).

In the invocation Blake calls on the daughter of Beulah to sing of the “fall into division & [...] resurrection to unity” not of Albion, but of Urthona (Blake 2007, 300 *FZ*: i.14-15). (This can be compared to the *Iliad*’s stated subject being the wrath of Achilles and not the Trojan war.) Thus the works of Los, first to ally himself with his spectre, and then to seek reunion with his Emanation, is the declared subject of the epic, and the fourfold being Urthona-Spectre-Los-Enitharmon is its principal character. In this interpretation, the parts of the narrative dealing with the other Zoas are there because they are necessary for understanding the fate of Los and Enitharmon. This would explain, among other things, why Tharmas is introduced as the “parent power” (Blake 2007, 300 *FZ*: i.16), when at this point he has no children yet and during the course of the narrative all the major characters will become parents: he is the “parent power” because he will become the father of Los and of Enitharmon. If Urthona really is the principal character of the poem, then from this we may deduce that Los-Spectre-Enitharmon’s struggle for ‘perfect Unity’ (i.e. to reunite as Urthona again) is an example not only to the spectres of the dead, but also to the readers of the poem, who also, presumably, seek ‘perfect unity’. This is because if Urthona is the principal character, then we may assume that he/she is set up as an ideal for emulation by the readers (or listeners), just as Odysseus is in the *Odyssey*. This will be important later because the relationship between the poem and the ‘ideal reader’ will be a fundamental element in my interpretation of the meaning of the post-apocalyptic intellectual war.

This perceived focus on one of the four Zoas may seem to be at odds with the declaration at the very beginning of the poem that “a perfect Unity / Cannot exist, but from the Universal Brotherhood of Eden” (Blake 2007, 299 *FZ*: i.5). It is as if Los and Enitharmon could unite themselves into the fourfold Urthona without reference to any of the other Zoas, but this is not the case: their redemptive work in giving new life to the spectres of the dead is effectual precisely because through it the other Zoas can be (and are) reborn in new bodies, and in them they have a chance to restore the unity of Albion. Tharmas understands this, when he hopes to see his Enion reborn as one of their children.²⁴

The following principle from *All Religions are One* can help us understand why Urthona’s “fall into division & [...] resurrection to unity” can embody that of any individual:

As all men are alike in
outward form, So (and
with the same infinite
variety) all are alike in
the Poetic Genius.

(Blake 2007, 56)

²⁴ “But Tharmas most rejoiced in hope of Enion’s return” (Blake 2007, 474 *FZ*: vii.779).

This paradoxical different-but-the-sameness that we readily recognise in the outer forms of human beings is ever-present in Blake's thoughts about spiritual realities. We should think of his characters not only as cosmic allegories but also as real people inhabiting a rather strange world.²⁵ Thus if any other individual were to do what Los has done, and ally themselves with their spectre in order to reunite with their Emanation, then they would become capable of the same life-giving work Los and Enitharmon become capable of. For a different individual this alliance and reunion would take a very different form, it would be different-but-the-same just as "the outward forms of men" are also different-but-the-same. Of course if Urizen were able to distinguish himself from his spectre, he would not be Urizen, but the presence of multitudinous spectres of the dead show that there are many other individuals in Blake's universe beside the Zoas, so this is not an empty hypothetical. Indeed, since "Four mighty ones are in every man", there is a different(-but-the-same) Los and a different Enitharmon present in the mind of every single reader of *The Four Zoas*, and these "Losses" may ally themselves with their spectre in a different way than the Los described in *The Four Zoas* and the Enitharmons will bring forth different children.²⁶

7. The Reader's Struggle

Thus Urthona is set up for emulation both by other characters and by readers but this does not mean a mechanical copying of his behaviour, but rather an imitation "with infinite variety". A reader who takes this seriously will, like Los, engage in a struggle with his or her spectre, and will also, like Los and Enitharmon, take part in creative, life-giving work.

²⁵ Csikós's following two arguments can be applied to this question as well: "1. Blake's Zoas, besides being mental faculties, are highly distinct personalities. They are often associated with Gods (the unfallen Urizen as Apollo, Tharmas as Zeus, for example) and as such, they represent certain *types* with general characteristic traits, but – to avoid ready categorisations and to ensure a concentrated response – they are also individuals, who are allowed their full voice. [...] 2. Blake's characters are not static, they cannot be described with any previous known name without seriously narrowing down their scope. [...] Therefore idiosyncratic names were created to which we bring no memories whatsoever to allow the reader to be open to the changes in the figures. But even the characters under these peculiar names are not to be thought of as monolithic; in the course of the poem Luvah-Orc (traditionally identified with the Saviour) dialectically transforms into a character, significantly similar to his opposite, Urizen. So also, Enitharmon, once a sadistic child, gradually becomes one of the chief agents of Albion's redemption" (Csikós 2003, 30).

²⁶ Regarding such problems of identity in *The Zoas*, Prather writes the following: "Invoking [...] synecdochic logic and deliberately confounding the distinction between "parts" and "wholes" is part of an attack Blake sustains throughout his career against the ideal of unity itself. [...] Blake represents zoa(s) as simultaneously singular and multiple, prompting us to think of any one of them—Urthona, say—as both a discrete zoa and as a collection of smaller protozoa. And the same goes for "Albion", whose proper name not insignificantly contains the symbolic name *all* and refers to an "Ancient Man", a quadrumvirate of "zoa(s)" and the British nation all at the same time" (Prather 2007, 517–518).

These two things are inseparable: as we have seen, for Blake creative work cannot take place without some form of struggle. What one struggles against can be external (like Urizen to Orc in *America*), internal (the spectre) or a combination of the two (as in *Jerusalem*, where the spectre gives voice to Los' fears and mistrust towards other individuals).

The central statement of my essay is that the last lines of the epic allude to precisely this creative struggle which an ideal reader will take part in having read and understood the poem.²⁷ By 'reading' I mean something much less temporal and linear than our conventional 'start to finish' conception of reading a book and more like the way Blake may have read the Bible, Milton, and Shakespeare, more as a daily exercise than a one-off occasion, and with much more jumping from place to place in the text than is usual. I think Blake hopes that this, if done properly, will lead the reader to engage in creative, artistic work.

The Four Zoas is usually seen as a narrative focused on cosmic and world-historical events. In this reading Albion represents England, and, by extension, the whole human race, and the Apocalypse envisaged in Night IX is an enormous historical event, of which the French Revolution was only a minor (and perverted) shadow. But besides this, Albion is also an Everyman, and the whole action of the epic can be seen to take place within a single human individual. Los says the following to Enitharmon:

Though in the brain of Man we live, & in his circling nerves,
 Though this bright world of all our joy is in the Human brain,
 Where Urizen & all his hosts hang their immortal lamps,
 Thou ne'er shalt leave this cold expanse where watery Tharmas mourns.
 (Blake 2007, 315)

Though in context this is an usurpation of sorts, since the domain of Los and Enitharmon should rightly be the heart,²⁸ it does illustrate the point that the stage the action of the epic is played out upon is (also) the human body. Blake wrote in *A Vision of the Last Judgement*, that "whenever any Individual Rejects Error & Embraces Truth a Last Judgment passes upon that Individual" (Blake 1988, 532 *VLJ*: 84), thus one need not wait for 'the end of history' to experience the apocalypse described in Night IX, for it will take place inside oneself if one "Rejects Error & Embraces Truth".

Blake's goal in writing *The Four Zoas*, as with all his other works, is undeniably to lead his reader to "Reject Error & Embrace Truth". His poetry clearly has a "palpable design

²⁷ The following quote from David Punter shows how inseparable perception and creative work were for Blake:

"[I]f Blake had only believed that perception changes our *view* of things, he would have been merely orthodox; if he had believed that it changes our *conception* of the world, he would have been subscribing to a more general Romantic relativism; but he believed that imaginative activity must change the world itself, and this means that it must also be a practical activity" (Punter 1977, 553).

²⁸ See Stevenson's commentary, 315.

upon us”.²⁹ This is dramatised in the opening of *Milton*, where a “bard’s prophetic song” moves Milton to cast off his spectre and face Eternal Death to redeem his emanation (Blake 2007, 508 *M*: 2.21–22 and 532 *M*: 14.28–32). In this song, the bard repeatedly exclaims thus: “Mark well my words; they are of your eternal salvation” (Blake 2007, 509 *M*: 2.25). Though in the *Zoas* Blake spares his readers from such exhortations, it is reasonable to suppose that his intents are similar here as well.

In this context, the question “What will happen *after* the Last Judgement?” is less strange than it would be in a more orthodox context: an ideal reader of the *Zoas* may well “Reject Error & Embrace Truth” and thus experience an ‘internal Apocalypse’, but the ‘outside world’ will—at first—go on as usual regardless of this. Thus the question becomes “What will this reader do after his or her personal ‘Last Judgement’ has passed?”, which is a much more down-to-earth formulation of the question. For Blake, the answer is plainly that he or she must engage in creating Art, since for Blake “[a] Poet a Painter a Musician an Architect: the Man Or Woman who is not one of these is not a Christian” (Blake 1988, 274 *Laocoön*). As we have seen, all Art (and indeed, all creative and life-giving action) springs from the struggle between some form of contraries. Thus it is perhaps not far-fetched to state that the “Intellectual War” that will take place in an Individual after his or her personal “Last Judgement” will be the Artistic work that Blake repeatedly exhorts his readers to engage in. To be more precise: this “Intellectual War” will not be the artistic work in its entirety, but will rather be an integral and indivisible part of it.

8. A Corollary

This hypothesis would explain two otherwise enigmatic elements which appear at the very start of the manuscript. After the title page, the first thing that confronts the reader is a full-page illustration of a figure (perhaps) sleeping in a rather contorted pose, accompanied by only three words: “Rest before Labour”.³⁰ In my interpretation, this refers to the fact that the poem itself is the “Rest before Labour”, since after reading the poem, the ideal reader will arise to the ‘Intellectual War’ of his or her creative labour. The *Zoas* is, after all, a dream-vision poem,³¹ which the author shares with the readers so that they may partake in his vision and share in its benefits. One such benefit would be the “rest before labour” that even a night of troubled sleep represents.

²⁹ Though he can hardly be accused of “putting his hand in his breeches pocket” if we disagree. Following Keats’ remark: “We hate poetry that has a palpable design upon us—and if we do not agree, seems to put its hand in its breeches pocket. Poetry should be great and unobtrusive, a thing which enters into one’s soul, and does not startle or amaze with itself, but with its subject.” (<https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/k/keats/john/letters/letter34.html>)

³⁰ The source of the image: <http://www.blakearchive.org/images/bb209.1.2.ms.300.jpg>

³¹ The title page originally declared it to be “a DREAM of Nine Nights”, though this was later crossed out. (<http://www.blakearchive.org/images/bb209.1.1.ms.300.jpg>)

9. The Aged Mother

The second element my hypothesis would explain is the following quote which appears “as a subtitle of the lengthy eighteenth-century kind” (Stevenson’s commentary in Blake 2007, 299) at the very beginning of the epic:

The song of the aged mother which shook the heavens with wrath,
Hearing the march of long resounding strong heroic verse,
Marshalled in order for the day of intellectual battle.

(Blake 2007, 299 *FZ*: i.1–3)

When reading this passage it is easy to skim over the word “hearing”, and interpret the “song of the aged mother” to *be* the “march of long resounding strong heroic verse”, and to identify this with the actual text of the epic. But, because the word “hearing” is also there, this does not make sense grammatically. Instead, the passage can be explicated in the following way: “The song of the aged mother [...] [*which she sung*] hearing the march of [...] heroic verse [*which was*] marshalled in [*military*] order for the day of intellectual battle.” Thus there are actually two ‘songs’: one is the “song of the aged mother”, the other, the heroic epic written in “long resounding strong heroic verse”. The mother’s song is sung *in response to* the heroic epic. Going further, we may even say that the “intellectual battle” will be fought between these two songs: the mother hears the ‘strong heroic verse’ being marshalled *against her* and responds by singing her own song in response to it. The following passage makes plain that the idea of a song or speech being an array of words marshalled for battle was not alien to Blake’s thinking: “But first [those who disregard all Mortal things] said (& their words stood in chariots in array, / Curbing their tigers with golden bits & bridles of silver & ivory): [a speech, concluding with the words] Every one knows we are one Family: One Man blessed for ever!” (Blake 2007, 781 *J*: 55.34–46)

Before moving on to a closer examination of what ‘heroic verse’ represents here (and showing the second point my hypothesis about the nature of ‘Intellectual War’ illuminates), the character of the “aged mother” deserves closer scrutiny since it may shine light on the way Blake incorporates the horrors of the “corporeal wars” of his age into his poetry, and also on the way he hopes Art may be a remedy for it. In his article (originally a talk) entitled “William Blake and the Two Swords”, Michael Ferber ponders the difficulty and necessity for Blake’s generation of writing anti-war poetry:

[A]nti-war poetry is very difficult to write well, but [...], in an age when poetry was widely read and held in high esteem, it was very important to try to write it. [...] [H]ow do you write a fresh, effective poem about war, and especially against war? This problem might help us look at Wordsworth’s poems of 1793–1800. Take the stock character of anti-war poetry, the suffering widow, a descendant of Homer’s Andromache. There is no avoiding her in the pursuit of something new, for suffering widows were stock characters in real life; one of the main things war did was make widows. Pondering this fact, perhaps, Wordsworth wrote about one war widow after another, gradually learning to incorporate rounded details into their lives and circumstances and to find the poise between sentiment and detachment

until cliché evaporated and something new and (now we say) distinctively Wordsworthian emerged, as in *The Ruined Cottage*. (Ferber 1999, 155)

The other stock character—again both in poetry and in real life—was, of course, the bereaved mother or father.³² Only partly in jest, we may say that the *Four Zoas* is a titanic solution to the conundrum of the above quote, since it is a poem spoken by an “aged mother” describing the horrors of war³³ (among other things) and it is also definitely a fresh new take on the subject (if not necessarily an effective one in terms of raising anti-war sentiment).

Even if this cannot seriously be maintained about the whole of the poem, there *is* a “blind and age-bent” mother whose recurrent lamentations startle and dismay the other characters as the widows of Wordsworth’s poems are meant to dismay his readers: this character is Enion,³⁴ whose name, when pronounced, bears a very close resemblance to the word ‘anyone’. Indeed she is, in a way, the composite of many kinds of ‘stock characters’, since she laments the sufferings that multitudes of human beings (and animals) daily undergo in our own age as well as Blake’s. The second and third nights are closed by her lamentations (Blake 2007, 337–338 *FZ*: ii.597–628 and 347 *FZ*: iii.177–187),³⁵ and this pattern only ceases when she fades away completely, to be revived only in Night IX. Her lamentation at the end of Night II moves the plot of the epic along in an extremely significant way, since Ahania hears it “[a]nd never from that moment could she rest upon her pillow” (Blake 2007, 338 *FZ*: ii.634). We can see that this leads her to “embrace Truth” (at least partially), since she tries to convince Urizen not to “look upon futurity, darkening present joy” (Blake 2007, 340 *FZ*: iii.10) which, in the context of the poem, is sound advice. But Urizen, instead of listening to her, casts her down and thus inadvertently destroys his golden world.

At this point in the narrative it is not at all clear that the consequences of Enion’s lamentation are positive, but the structure of the poem as a whole shows that they are. The sufferings Enion laments cannot cease until “perfect Unity” is restored, and this can only happen if all Error is Rejected. Urizen is in Error, and since he did not listen to Ahania when she told him this, he has to ‘learn it the hard way’, by watching his (false) golden world crumble down.

³² See, for instance, Wordsworth’s “Old Man travelling”.

³³ Of the role of women’s lament in Blake’s works, Hopkins writes the following: “Blake’s lamenting women loudly question injustice of a fallen world; they are at once fierce, loving, tender, hateful, vengeful, and sad, despairing voices of dissent that confront the truth of loss, even if this means weeping songs of their own degradation. They are, to use Holst-Warhaft’s phrase, ‘dangerous voices’. They witness, over and over again, in their own bodies and actions, for the sake of others – their husbands, their male and female lovers – to the nadir of things, the ruins of experience, but also [...] they witness to the ‘apocalyptic reversal’” (Hopkins 2009, 76).

³⁴ Enion’s first lamentation is introduced with the following line: “Enion blind & age-bent wept upon the desolate wind” (Blake 2007, 321 *FZ* ii.186).

³⁵ Her first lamentation (Blake 2007, 321 *FZ*: i.187–202) would originally have been the end of the First Night (<http://www.blakearchive.org/images/bb209.1.18.ms.300.jpg>).

The following stanza from a poem that Blake worked on for a long time, rewriting it twice,³⁶ gives us valuable insight into what he imagines the weapons of “Intellectual War” to be:

For a tear is an Intellectual thing;
And a Sigh is the Sword of an Angel King,
And the bitter groan of a Martyr’s woe
Is an Arrow from the Almighty’s Bow!
(Blake 2007, 774 J: 52.88–91)

Stevenson dates its first appearance c.1804, at which time Blake was still working on the Zoas (Stevenson 494 and 293). If we consider the events discussed in the previous paragraph, we can perhaps gain a clearer understanding of the way in which the “Arrows from the Almighty’s Bow” operate: it was Enion’s lament that, through Ahania’s empathy for it, finally led to the destruction of Urizen’s false heaven. This appears to be cruel and unjust with regard to Ahania, since had she hardened her heart to Enion’s lament, she could have continued living in Urizen’s golden world, whereas her state after being thrown down is even worse than it was before. But for her (as for the other characters) the only true happiness would be complete reunion with her counterpart, and this is only made possible by the later events of the poem, which are, indirectly, the consequence of her empathy for Enion. It is also noteworthy that in Night VIII she laments in similar fashion to Enion’s lamentations in the second and third nights, and here it is Enion’s voice that consoles her (Blake 2007, 437–440 FZ: viii.480–519).³⁷

Having discussed in detail the various ‘aged mothers’ present in the *Four Zoas*, its second page (the page containing the quoted subtitle) deserves another look (Figure 4). It depicts a reclining young female nude figure. In my reading this figure is the same person as the one referred to by the text as “the aged mother”, just as the “Tyger” of *The Songs of Innocence and of Experience* is at once the terrifying beast described in the poem and the friendly, soft-toyish animal the accompanying image presents.³⁸ The contrast between the young woman of the image and the “blind and age-bent” mothers in the following text, is similar to the juxtaposition between the two Tygers. Here, as in the *Songs*, this juxtaposition represents the necessity of ‘double vision’: of being able to see the cruelties and sufferings of the world without forgetting its joys and beauties. This is why Blake presents his readers not only with a vision of horror, but also one of redemption. Michael Ferber writes that:

³⁶ This stanza also appears in “Notebook drafts” and the “Pickering manuscript” (Blake 2007, 497, 611).

³⁷ Unlike Enion’s lamentations, these are not the closing words of the Night, but they too are very close to its end.

³⁸ See <http://www.blakearchive.org/images/songsie.aa.p42.300.jpg>

Blake's ultimate spiritual weapon, I think, and the most difficult to wield effectively, is to hold up to our imaginations the vision of a transformed world. Pity for the world as it is must lacerate our heart, but a yearning for the world as it might be must fire our souls. Whether the astonishing pages at the conclusions of *The Four Zoas* and *Jerusalem* [which describe the Apocalypse] succeed in awakening our desire is doubtful, though I think one could make a defence of them. What is certain is that Blake believed we must acquire some picture of it and some feeling for it or we will remain submissive to the tyranny of the actual. (Ferber 1999, 168)

I think, it is precisely because he perceives this difficulty that Blake presents³⁹ not only as a textual image of regeneration at the end of the poem, but also a visual one at the beginning. We are shown the singer of the poem not only as a suffering aged mother, but also as a joyful young woman. In *America: A Prophecy* a vision of the “nerves of youth” renewing in “female spirits of the dead” represents the (unfulfilled) regenerative and apocalyptic potentials of the American Revolution (Blake 2007, 210 *America* pl. 15), and I think that the juxtaposition of the “aged mother” with the image of the young woman would have been a reworking of this.

10. Blake's War against War

Returning finally to the actual words of the subtitle, I will now try to illuminate why the “long resounding strong heroic verse” is the nemesis of the singer of the *Zoas*—the “aged mother” whose song it is. In the *Preface to Milton* (Blake 2007, 501–502), Blake identifies the “general malady & infection from the silly Greek & Latin slaves of the Sword”, i.e. the classical tradition and its glorification of corporeal war as the cause of the horror of the Napoleonic wars and the suppression of art in England. The following quote from Jacob Bronowski shows why heroic verse was an apt symbol not only of the classical glorification of war, but also of the ‘high culture’ of the recent past of Blake's England.

Homer in the Augustan manner was to be the monument of eighteenth-century England, as deliberately as the *Encyclopédie*, forty years later, was planned to be the monument of eighteenth-century France. What the eighteenth century called the Town took up the plan solemnly. The lords and the bishops, [...] the bigwigs and the philosophers, [...] friends and enemies, [...] dons and doctors, [...] the arts and sciences, [...] the wits, the belles, the politicians—all were subscribers. They were doing a serious social duty, for which Pope was the instrument; [...] A whole society spoke for its culture in Pope's *Iliad*. (Bronowski 1965, 8–9)⁴⁰

³⁹ Or he rather wanted to present, since he finally did not engrave and illuminate the poem.

⁴⁰ Pope's translation of *Iliad* was, of course, written in heroic verse.

It is this society against which, in the *Preface to Milton*, Blake tells “Painters, Sculptors and Architects” to “set their forehead”. For it is these “Hirelings in the Camp, the Court & the University, who would, if they could, for ever depress Mental & prolong Corporeal War.” According to my reading of the subtitle of *The Four Zoas*, the “aged mother”, i.e. the authorial persona, “sets her head” against the “long resounding strong heroic verse” that represents the classical tradition and its present-day English heirs. If we accept the hypothesis that the *Four Zoas* calls upon the reader to engage in “Intellectual War”, then it follows that the authorial persona does this in the hope that those who hear her song (i.e. read the poem) will join her in her struggle. Thus, as I see it, these opening lines carry a message similar to that of the *Preface to Milton*, only that which is only hinted at in the first is made glaringly explicit in the second.

The danger of the aggressive rhetoric of the *Preface* (calling people “hirelings” “whose only joy is destruction”) is that it may “rouse up” the “Young Men” to “Corporeal”, rather than “Mental” war. The desire to avoid such rhetoric may explain complexities of the *Four Zoas*’ ‘call to arms’. In this respect the *Zoas* can be seen as more pacifist than *Milton*.

As this too shows, opposing ‘corporeal war’ by ‘mental’ means is no mean feat. In one of his poems, (dated between 1807 and 1809), Blake wrote the following lines:

So spoke an Angel at my birth
Then said Descend thou upon Earth
Renew the Arts on Britain’s Shore
And France shall fall down & adore
With works of Art their Armies meet
And War shall sink beneath thy feet
(Blake 2007, 633)

What Blake would have regarded as faith others may call wishful thinking, but it was this faith in the ability of Art to “sink War” that, as Michael Ferber puts it, “kept him at his station through twenty-three years of dismal corporeal war” (Ferber 1999, 168). Moreover, it was the only option, the only way out of the horrors of his age: the failure of the French Revolution and its descent into the wars of Napoleon proved that corporeal war could never put a stop to corporeal war. Rather, the “energy” that is “enslaved” in “[Corporeal] war” (Blake 2007, 448 *FZ*: ix.150) is the only thing with the power to “sink” it. For this to happen, this energy must be given form by the artist’s intellectual struggle. I think that it was this struggle that Blake wished to prepare his readers for.

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Abbreviations

M: *Milton*

J: *Jerusalem*

FZ: *The Four Zoas*

MHH: *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

VLJ: *A Vision of the Last Judgement*

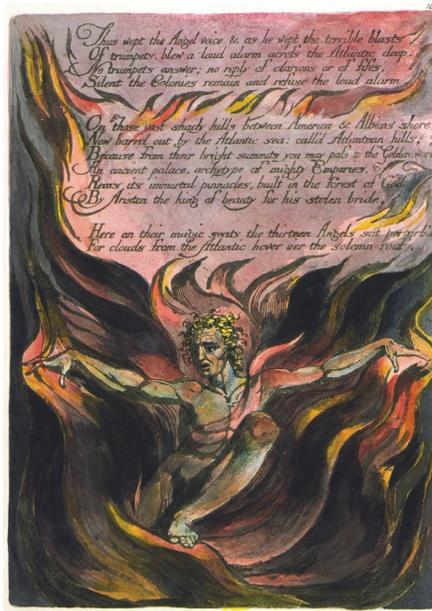


Figure 1. Orc in *America* (<http://www.blakearchive.org/images/america.a.p12.300.jpg>)

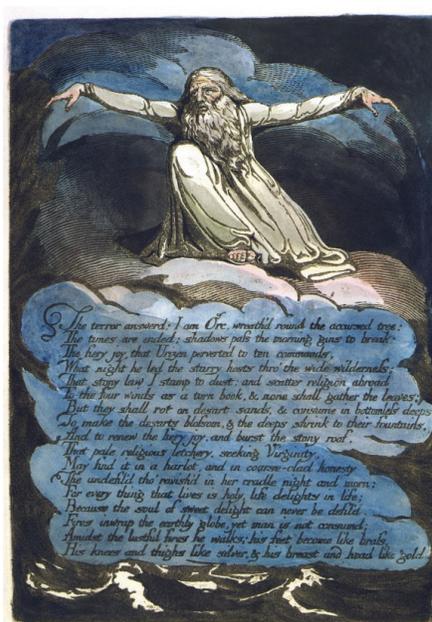


Figure 2. Urizen in *America* (<http://www.blakearchive.org/images/america.a.p10.300.jpg>)



Figure 3. Los and the spectre (<http://www.blakearchive.org/images/jerusalem.e.p6.300.jpg>)

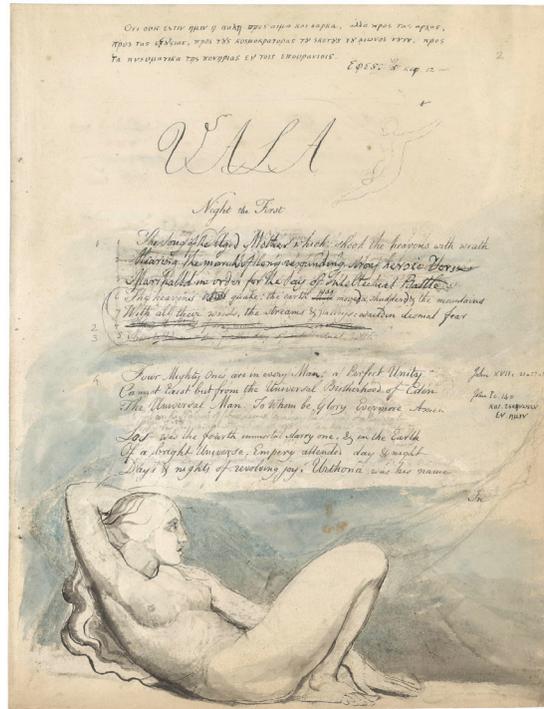


Figure 4. Zoas, the opening page (<http://www.blakearchive.org/images/america.a.p10.300.jpg>)