“EVERY THING IS HUMAN, MIGHTY! SUBLIME!”:

NEW LITERARY HUMANISM AND THE TROPE OF THE DAIMON

IN WILLIAM BLAKE’S *JERUSALEM*

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Presented to the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences of Flinders University

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

FLINDERS UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

6 July 2020

Declaration

I, Todd Dearing, certify that this thesis:

1. Does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and

2. To the best of my knowledge and belief, does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

______TWD_______ __29 January 2020__

(signed) (date)

To all for whom learning is a life-long quest.

Abstract

William Blake's (1757-1827) poetic statement, "every thing is Human, mighty! sublime!" suggests an extraordinarily strange idea of the human (*J*34:48, E180). Yet it is upon such daimonic conceptions that Blake's sublime allegory of poetic genius, *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion* (1804-c. 1820), rests. This thesis examines the trope of the daimon in Blake's *Jerusalem*. I argue that the human, and humanity, in Blake's mythos are ontologically daimonic, a dynamic mediator between polarities such as divine and mundane, infinite and finite, eternal and temporal, spirit and matter, subject and object, conscious and unconscious. However, in doing so, I do not read Blake's daimon literally, but literarily and humanistically. Literarily, I read Blake's daimon as a key trope for understanding *Jerusalem* as humanistic mythopoetry wherein literary language plays an important, transformative role. Humanistically, the daimon in *Jerusalem* serves as a metaphorical focus for questions of human nature, understanding, and potential. Combining these two aspects, I read *Jerusalem* as an allegory of Blake's humanism.

The methodology of this thesis is informed and inspired by the recently re-invigorated theories, critical practice, and defences of literary humanism produced by Andy Mousley and Bernard Harrison. In applying such an approach, this thesis both draws from and contributes to the current shift towards new, twenty-first-century humanist approaches to literature. Following a historical contextualisation of the daimon, I examine the daimon in Blake's *Jerusalem* from four distinct angles: poetic/aesthetic, psychological/individual, mythological/collective, and artistic/philosophical. From this study of *Jerusalem*, I synthesise Blake's allegorical ideas of literary humanism. A consonance between Blake and recent

scholarship on literary humanism is then established and critiqued. My original contribution to knowledge is to show that Blake prefigures, in his own way, ideas of new literary humanism. These ideas are then shown to be significant for literary studies within a twenty-first-century global context.

Key words: William Blake, literary humanism, daimon, Jerusalem*, literature, human.*

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Acknowledgements

Commonly, acknowledgements are reluctantly truncated lists. This one is no exception. As solitary as the PhD journey is, it is simultaneously set within an indispensable community, one which I will do my best to acknowledge.

Foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Eric Parisot and Professor Robert Phiddian. Their superb guidance, adamantine critique, and collegial encouragement has been a blessing throughout the three years needed to complete this doctoral research. The shortcomings found in this thesis reflect not their guidance but my own stubborn persistence to write Blake the way I have come to understand him. I would also like to thank the academic staff, administrative staff, and my postgraduate colleagues in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at Flinders University. Other people at Flinders deserve a thank you, including the library staff, and especially the Office of Graduate Research for their contribution to a smooth academic environment and warm community. Furthermore, I thank my loving fiancée (soon to be wife) for her unwavering support and encouragement, as well as my family and friends for their continual support.

Beyond these acknowledgements, there are several specific individuals that deserve my gratitude: Professor Peter Otto for some initial pointers on how to approach Blake prior to my doctoral enrolment; Emeritus Professor Andy Mousley for our conversations about literary humanism; Professor Will Christie for discussion on Blake and the Romantics; Professor Michael Tsianikas for sharing his insightful purview of Greek thought, language, and its associated history; Associate Professor Craig Taylor for reading some of my work and recommending further leads to pursue; Professor Tara Brabazon, Dean of Graduate Research

at Flinders, for steering the Higher Degree by Research ship so brilliantly for us all through all manner of seas; Dr Christine Winter for her encouragement, which came at the perfect time; and Dr Samuel Bowker, my honours supervisor at Charles Sturt University, for igniting my pursuit of higher research. And most importantly, I thank my examiners for taking the time to read and examine this thesis. This list remains far from exhaustive, and to all others who have enriched my doctoral journey, thank you.

I am also grateful for the many institutions that have assisted me in my work in various ways, including the University of Adelaide Barr Smith Library, The British Library, British Museum, Tate Britain, the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, the National Gallery of Victoria, the Enlightenment Romanticism Contemporary Culture (ERCC) Research Unit at the University of Melbourne, Griffith University, *Université de Lille*, and *Université de Lorraine*. Further, I would like to thank the Australian and New-Zealand Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ANZSECS), the Romantic Studies Association of Australasia (RSAA), the Paul Mellon Centre (again), and the *Société d'Études du Romantisme Anglais* (SERA) for organising conferences at which I have been able to present my work, and which have led to valuable connections with other scholars. I would like to specifically thank the Yale Center for British Art for making Blake's artwork available in the public domain, some of which I include within this thesis, as well as Tate Britain and the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty for permission to reproduce some of Blake's artwork. I must also thank *The William Blake Archive*, whose editors perform meticulous work that grants Blake scholars free access to the painter-poet's oeuvre online—may this privilege long be available for all. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship (AGRTPS) for funding this research.

Previously published work within this thesis

An earlier version of chapter one, footnote 1, has been paraphrased within Dearing, 'Finding Infinite Imagination within the Clay Man: Merlin and Reuben in Blake's *Jerusalem*.' This article is presently due to be published within *English Studies*.

An earlier version of parts of chapters two and seven has been adapted to Dearing, 'Daimonic Art: Meditating Text and Imagery in Blake's *Jerusalem*.' This article is presently due to be published within *Journal of Romanticism*.

Abbreviations and General Notes

Abbreviations of Blake's Works

References to Blake's works are abbreviated as shown below and include plate, page, and line numbers as appropriate. Composition dates where known are provided.

A	*America: A Prophecy* (1793)
ARO	*All Religions are One* (c. 1788)
AtBS	Annotations to Berkeley's *Siris*
AtJR	Annotations to *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*
AtL	Annotations to Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man*
BU	*The Book of Urizen* (1794)
CCP	*Chaucers Canterbury Pilgrims: Being a Complete Index of Human Characters as they appear Age after Age* (c. 1809-10)
DC	*A Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures* (1809)
FR	*The French Revolution: A Poem, in Seven Books* (1791; incomplete)
FS	Further Sketches (In a Manuscript Fragment) (c. early 1780s)
FZ	*The Four Zoas: The torments of Love & Jealousy in the Death and Judgement of Albion the Ancient Man* (c. 1796-1807; incomplete)
J	*Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion* (1804-c. 1820)
L	*The Laocoön* (c. 1815; text added c. 1826-7)
LE	The Letters (1791-1827)
M	*Milton: A Poem in 2 Books* (c. 1804-11)
MHH	*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (first composed 1790; completed 1794)

NNR	*There is No Natural Religion* (c. 1788)
OV	*On Virgil* (c. 1822)
PM	The Pickering Manuscript (c. 1800-1804)
SB	Songs and Ballads
SoE	*Songs of Experience* (1794)
SoI	*Songs of Innocence* (1789)
VLJ	*A Vision of The Last Judgment* (c. 1810)[1]

Blake's writing from Erdman's *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake* (1988) is referenced as (E[page number]) alongside the abbreviation for Blake's work (as listed above)—for example, (*J*4:2, E146) refers to line 2 of plate 4 of *Jerusalem*, found on page 146 of Erdman's *The Complete Poetry and Prose*. Blake's unusual punctuation, spelling, and capitalisation has been kept as per Erdman's work. Due to the persistence of Blake's idiosyncratic style, I ask the reader to forgive me for not including [*sic*] where this would usually be required in Blake's quotes.

[1] This abbreviation refers to Blake's commentary on his now lost artwork, *The Last Judgment* (1808), titled in his notebook as 'For the Year 1810: Additions to Blakes Catalogue of Pictures & c.' (E554-66). This lost painting is sometimes also titled *A Vision of The Last Judgment*, so there is some confusion between the title of the painting and its commentary. To resolve this confusion, I title the commentary *A Vision of The Last Judgment* and the lost painting *The Last Judgment*. In this thesis, an earlier version of the lost painting housed at Petworth House, *The Last Judgement* (1808) (fig. 7), is also included and discussed in section 7.1. These two paintings are differentiated by their spelling difference, following the National Trust Petworth House title for the work in their collection (*The Last Judgement*), but Blake's original spelling for the lost work (*The Last Judgment*). Blake also created other versions of *The Last Judgement*, but these are not referred to in this thesis. See W. J. T. Mitchell, 'Blake's Visions of the Last Judgment: Some Problems in Interpretation' for further discussion of these works.

Erdman includes Blake's own editing in *The Complete Poetry and Prose*: <angle brackets> mark Blake's additions and *[italic square brackets]* his erasures. Quotes by Blake are typically given in their original form, or as Blake corrected them where corrections exist. [Square brackets] within quotes from Erdman's edited text are Erdman's own additions. Yet there are some instances where I have added to quotes using the standard practice of [square brackets] for explanatory additions, adjustments, or grammatical correctness, in which case this alteration is marked in the citation with 'my addition' or 'my adjustment' as appropriate. Additionally, in some cases, I have adjusted Blake's writing to the final edited version of the text (including Erdman's edits) for clarity and ease of reading.

Finally, there is some discrepancy in plate ordering for chapter two of *Jerusalem* between the Erdman and Bentley/Keynes versions. Here I follow Erdman's numbering of plates, as found in his *The Complete Poetry and Prose*. For *Jerusalem*, where any further discrepancy is encountered (apart from plate order), copy E, which is reproduced in Blake and Bindman, *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books* (2001) and available at *The William Blake Archive* (2020), is used as the primary source (see Blake, *The William Blake Archive*).

Editing

In writing this thesis, all editing is my own. I have not utilised the services of any third-party professional editor.

Note: On the use of 'Man'

In Blake's writing, as in many older works, the term *man* is often used in its primary sense, in reference to the human species as a whole or an individual member representative of the species (*OED Online*, 'man, n.1,' 'man, n.2'). While I do not intend to change Blake's usage of the term in quotation or paraphrase, I will avoid it in my own voice, due to it being insufficiently inclusive.

Stylistic notes

This thesis uses MLA 8th Edition style conventions. To this end, I have applied the Oxford (or serial) comma to clarify expression in lists, and have also used the rule for indefinite articles of placing ‘an’ before vowel sounds (so, for example, ‘history’ is without a silent ‘h’ so is preceded by ‘a’ not ‘an’; likewise, ‘an honour,’ ‘a unified,’ ‘an MLA’).

Translations

All translations within this thesis are my own, unless otherwise indicated. I am most grateful to Emeritus Professor Michael Tsianikas for assistance with the Greek translations.

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PART I

1. Introduction

> Silence remaind & every one resumd his Human Majesty
>
> And many conversed on these things as they labourd at the furrow.
>
> – William Blake, *Jerusalem* (*J*55:47-48, E205)

1.1 BLAKE'S EXTRAORDINARY CLAIM

William Blake (1757-1827) composed *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion* between about 1804 and 1820, although the poem builds upon earlier ideas in his work, and he continued to make changes to it after 1820. *Jerusalem* is Blake's longest completed work, consisting of one hundred plates containing dense lines of text, often bordered by decorative line work, natural scenery, plants, humans, and other beings. Many of the plates include illustrations, some occupying a quarter to a third of the plate, others taking up three-quarters or the entire plate. Almost every illustration contains human or human-like figures. *Jerusalem* is arranged in four chapters of around twenty-five plates each. Each chapter begins with a full-plate illustration, then a plate of introductory prose, with the poem commencing on the following plate. There are seven complete copies of *Jerusalem*, yet only one, copy E (now located at the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven) was fully coloured by Blake (Blake and Bindman 297). Blake's final expectations for an audience for *Jerusalem* were low; he wrote to George Cumberland in 1827, four months before his own death, that only one copy of *Jerusalem* was completed (copy E) and he doubted there would be a customer for it (*LE*, E784). Today this copy is likely to be Blake's most valuable work.

This illuminated epic poem was conceived during Blake's three years away from London, at Felpham on the southern coast of England.[1] Blake writes to Thomas Butts (25 April 1803), "none can know the Spiritual Acts of my three years Slumber on the banks of the Ocean unless he has seen them in the Spirit or unless he should read My long Poem descriptive of those Acts" (*LE*, E728). He continues, comparing the poem as similar in scope to the *Iliad* (c. 8th cent. BC) or *Paradise Lost* (1667).[2] He then describes his method of writing:

> I have written this Poem from immediate Dictation twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time without Premeditation & even against my Will. the Time it has taken in writing was thus renderd Non Existent. & an immense Poem Exists which seems to be the Labour of a long Life all producd without Labour or Study. (*LE*, E728-9)

---

[1] Morton Paley, in *The Continuing City: William Blake's Jerusalem* (1983), has suggested Blake's statements regarding his time at Felpham and the poem he composed there appear to refer to *Milton: A Poem in Two Books* (c. 1804-11) yet also offers evidence that the poem may have been *Jerusalem* (3-4). Curran and Wittreich associate both *Milton* and *Jerusalem* with Blake's time at Felpham (xiii). Here, I adopt the view that *Jerusalem* is the text referred to by Blake in his letter (25 April 1803) to Thomas Butts (*LE*, E728-9). This is evident because Blake's opening sentence to chapter one of *Jerusalem* mentions his time at Felpham: "After my three years slumber on the banks of the Ocean, I again display my Giant forms to the public" (Paley 3-4; *J*3, E145). (An earlier version of this footnote has been paraphrased within Dearing, 'Finding Infinite Imagination within the Clay Man: Merlin and Reuben in Blake's *Jerusalem*.')

[2] A comparison of Blake's poem to the *Iliad* or *Paradise Lost* further supports the position that Blake refers to *Jerusalem* rather than *Milton*, since the aforementioned works of Homer and Milton are, like *Jerusalem*, epic narratives involving grand, *collective* themes. Blake's *Milton*, on the other hand, focuses on the *individual* journey of Milton, just as the *Odyssey* (c. late 8th cent. BC) focuses on Odysseus.

This extraordinary claim suggests a spontaneity akin to automatic writing or *furor poeticus*. In a later letter to Thomas Butts (6 July 1803), Blake declares he is not *Jerusalem*'s author, writing that he "dare not pretend to be any other than the Secretary the Authors are in Eternity" (*LE*, E730). Such ideas suggest a daimonic approach to poetry, with Blake acting as mediator between the eternal and temporal worlds, to use Blake's terminology—a daimonic poet etching divine vision into material form.

Blake also mentions plans for *Jerusalem*'s production and distribution, writing that "This Poem shall by Divine Assistance, be progressively Printed & Ornamented with Prints & given to the Public" (*LE*, E730). Furthermore, according to him, *Jerusalem*'s defence was intended, presumably by the same eternal authors. He writes, "if all the World should set their faces against This. I have Orders to set my face like a flint. Ezekiel iii C 9 v. against their faces & my forehead against their foreheads" (*LE*, E730).[3] He was resolved to place his work before the public and fiercely defend it, which is consistent with what he describes in *The Four Zoas* (c. 1796-1807) as "intellectual War" and in *Milton* as "Mental Fight" (*FZ*9.139:9, E407; *M*1:13, E95). In the same letter to Butts, he describes this "Grand Poem" as a "Sublime Allegory" which is "addressd to the Intellectual powers while it is altogether hidden from the Corporeal Understanding" (*LE*, E730). Blake was determined to influence widely because he believed *Jerusalem* to have divine origin and purpose.

These statements present *Jerusalem* as an imaginative, inspired, allegorical poem of considerable depth, not a philosophical system codified to have implications only to the surface events of contemporary politics, society, or history, as some critics may read it. This is not to say that Blake's work is apolitical, asocial, or ahistorical, but that it can offer a deeper

---

[3] The biblical reference here is to Ezekiel 3:9: "As an adamant harder than flint have I made thy forehead: fear them not, neither be dismayed at their looks, though they be a rebellious house" (*The Holy Bible, King James Version*, Ezek. 3.9).

psychological reading on these collective domains of human life, one which involves the primordial as much as the contemporary.

Blake's understanding of human life is, in part, reflected in his earlier poems, such as the pair 'The Divine Image' (1789) and 'The Human Abstract' (1794). Here, Blake shows an early interest in human virtues and vices as composing elements of the divine and material human forms respectively, suggesting a duality-within-unity conception of humanity (*SoI*18, E12; *SoE*47, E27). A similar idea of human nature is seen in Blake's pair of introductions to *Songs of Innocence* (1789) and *Songs of Experience* (1794), where the innocent child becomes the experienced Bard, a daimonic poet:

> Hear the voice of the Bard!
>
> Who Present, Past, & Future sees
>
> Whose ears have heard,
>
> The Holy Word,
>
> That walk'd among the ancient trees. (*SoE*30, E18)

Through the poetic imagination, the divine word walks in the world, the transcendent is made immanent. Yet Blake's early ideas of divine poetry and human nature are developed to a much fuller extent through *Jerusalem*'s rich depth and complex multivalence, enabling it to read deeply into multiple facets of human existence, creativity, and imagination. As this thesis will show, this richness recurs throughout *Jerusalem* because of its distilled, evocative rendering of humanity.

In part, Blake's concept of the human is expressed through various archetypal characters, who represent individual characters as much as collective human qualities. Furthermore, these characters are contextualised within a universe that is ultimately human,

whom Blake calls Jesus (*J*34:17-20, E180). Northrop Frye describes Blake's Jesus in *Fearful Symmetry* (1969; first published 1947) as the "Logos or Word of God, the totality of creative power, the universal visionary in whose mind we perceive the particular" (108). Frye continues, "The archetypal Word of God, so to speak, sees this world of time and space as a single creature in eternity and infinity, fallen and redeemed" (108). In *Jerusalem*, this creature is Albion. *Jerusalem* narrates Albion's fall into inhumanity and restoration to true humanity as Poetic Genius, which Blake perceives as the source of all things and Frye describes as the "totality of creative power," (*ARO*, E2; Frye 108).

Albion's name derives from an ancient name for Britain, after a giant who conquered the island, according to Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1587) (Holinshed 2: 3). Critics such as Kathleen Raine may at times present Albion as a national figure, and readers may suppose *Jerusalem* is a national myth ('The Sleep of Albion' 689). But this is merely one possible meaning attributed to Albion, who encompasses multiple scales of being. In *A Vision of The Last Judgment* (c. 1810), Blake's description of Albion slips from the national to the cosmogenic, "He is Albion our Ancestor patriarch of the Atlantic Continent whose History Preceded that of the Hebrews & in whose Sleep or Chaos Creation began" (*VLJ*80, E558). If Creation is Albion's sleeping or chaotic state, where "Albion is himself shrunk to a narrow rock in the midst of the sea! [Britain]," then what of his awakened, organised existence? (*J*79:17, E234; my addition). Upon awakening, Albion expands beyond all limited and divisive thought that stands against the unity of human nature, even while encompassing such limitation and division, thereby embodying an integrated state resembling Samuel Taylor Coleridge's (1772-1834) aesthetic ideal of "Multëity in Unity," where "each part is … as perfect a melody, as the whole is a compleat harmony" (*Shorter Works and Fragments* 1: 372). Yet, even though Albion is restored to wholeness in Eternity, living beings within him (for Albion is humanity) continue to experience fallen, mortal lives until their

eventual awakening (*J*99:1-5, E258-9). Thus, we return to Frye's pluripotent "single creature in eternity and infinity, fallen and redeemed" (*Fearful Symmetry* 108). Blake's Albion is a symbol for a humanity whose fundamental nature is the oscillation between fallen and redeemed states. Recognising Blake's human as this liminal, dynamic being—a daimon—is a central argument within this thesis.[4]

The reader who is lured into singular interpretations of Albion, what Blake calls "single vision," is bound to become perplexed, for soon enough with further reading, *Jerusalem* provides evidence to the contrary (*J*53:11, E202). This is because *Jerusalem*, both in style and as myth, eschews the modern tendency to monosemic thought. *Jerusalem*'s myth proceeds not to a given image of truth but loosens truth into a continual revelatory process of intersubjective creative imagination, as this thesis will show. For Blake, art—literature included—is central to this process of human transfiguration. Yet Blake's human is unavoidably strange, even while at times surprisingly familiar. His poetry of the human teems with metaphor:

> For a Tear is an Intellectual thing;
> And a Sigh is the Sword of an Angel King
> And the bitter groan of a Martyrs woe
> Is an Arrow from the Almighties Bow! (*J*52:25-28, E202)

Sustained metaphor becomes allegory according to Murfin and Ray (10). But in reading *Jerusalem* as allegory, the distinction between figurative and literal language is not always clear. As with interpreting Albion singularly, reading *Jerusalem* with "single vision"—seeking

[4] A detailed study of the daimon will begin with a linguistic analysis in chapter two and a historical contextualisation in chapter three.

a singular, exclusive meaning—is likely to also lead readers astray, or at best, into curious but one-sided interpretations (*J*53:11, E202).

For example, we could assume that when Blake writes "O Albion let Jerusalem overspread all Nations" that he is a nineteenth-century colonialist or missionary of sorts, that is, until we read the next line, "As in the times of old!" at which we must either attempt to fit this information into our interpretive schema or otherwise revise our schematic assumptions (*J*72:35-36, E227). It would seem Blake borrows established symbols only to reshape them to his own inventions. Regular semiotic transposition is a foundational method in his development of mythopoeia. We therefore need to trace more closely his own internal mythology (the logic of his *mythos*) to ascertain how he applies its signs. He tells us "Jerusalem is called Liberty," at which we are met with a strange mixture of ancient symbol and contemporary revolutionary aspiration. He also writes, "If Humility is Christianity; you O Jews are the true Christians" (*J*27, E174). When we seek what he means by Christianity, we are led to his statements, "Christianity is Art & not Money" and "I know of *no other Christianity* and of *no other Gospel* than the liberty both of body & mind to exercise the Divine Arts of Imagination" (*L*, E274; *J*77, E231; my emphasis). These statements present Blake's religion plainly as the practice of visionary art. Such art is both practised and circulated through liberty according to him, and this artistic liberty is symbolised by Jerusalem.

In this revised allegorical context, of visionary art and imaginative freedom, what then does "O Albion let Jerusalem overspread all Nations / As in the times of old!" suggest? (*J*72:35-36, E227). We can abandon the notion of Blake the colonial missionary, for he opposed both Church and Empire (*L*, E274-5; Damon 82-3). We might better recognise in the above lines something primal in relation to art and human freedom, a golden-age civilisation prior to the need for rules and laws, mythopoetically set within Britain (Albion) yet also expanding across the ancient world. Blake declares his purpose as such: "The Nature of my Work is Visionary

or Imaginative it is an Endeavour to Restore what the Ancients calld the Golden Age" (*VLJ*72, E555).

Yet, upon reading more of Blake this interpretation appears insufficient. Blake's statement that Jerusalem is the emanation of "All Human Forms identified even Tree Metal Earth & Stone" challenges an externally orientated interpretation (*J*99:1, 5, E258-9). And the idea that "every Colour, Lion, Tyger, Horse, Elephant, Eagle Dove, Fly, Worm, / And the all wondrous Serpent clothed in gems & rich array Humanize / In the Forgiveness of Sins" forces us to stretch any externally-based allegory to strange extremes, and perhaps discard altogether any hope for finding a substantial worldly reflection in Blake's myth (*J*98:43-45, E258). Blake's work is, after all, described as a "Visionary or Imaginative … Endeavour," not as mimesis (*VLJ*72, E555). There is too much symbolism in Blake for a predominately external reading, and he is simply not interested in confining himself to the real. Imagination is Blake's God (*L*, E273). We should not, therefore, suppose he is merely being fantastical as a way of disguising worldly topics through allegory. One will not arrive at a comprehensive reading of Blake in this way.[5] In such terrain, other kinds of allegory are required. *Jerusalem* is an allegory "altogether hidden from the Corporeal Understanding" (*LE*, E730).

Does this therefore mean that *Jerusalem* fails to provide much of direct consequence to our ordinary human lives? Arguably not. Blake simply expects his readers to do the work of understanding *Jerusalem* themselves:

I give you the end of a golden string,

Only wind it into a ball:

---

[5] Indeed, it seems unlikely a thoroughly encompassing reading of Blake is possible, or even desirable, in any sense. It is best, as Morris Eaves writes in *The Cambridge Companion to William Blake* (2003), to recognise Blake's "decision to live in incommensurable neighbourhoods of meaning" (8).

> It will lead you in at Heavens gate,
>
> Built in Jerusalems wall. (*J*77, E231)

This thesis will attempt to show the human relevance of *Jerusalem*. I begin with the hypothesis that *Jerusalem* is a mythopoetic allegory of the human psyche, an "Allegory addressd to the Intellectual powers" (*LE*, E730). This is not to say that *Jerusalem* has no implications beyond the internal human world, for human internality is in continual exchange with the external world. It is, rather, to read *Jerusalem* for its internal human significance. This hypothesis satisfies *Jerusalem*'s strange claim that "every thing is Human, mighty! sublime!" (*J*34:48, E180).

Additional evidence for this hypothesis occurs at the very beginning of the work, in the opening poem for chapter one of *Jerusalem*, where two ideas are given that will be shown as metaphors with an internalised meaning. Firstly, Blake addresses his "Reader! lover of books! lover of heaven" and describes God as the giver of books and "the wond'rous art of writing," implying that *Jerusalem* is inspired by divinity (*J*3:1-4, E145). Secondly, Blake predicts that his "types" (typographic prints) will not be produced in "vain," because "Heaven, Earth & Hell, henceforth shall live in harmony" (*J*3:9-10, E145). This prediction encapsulates Blake's grandiose aim for *Jerusalem*: to harmonise the entire universe—Heaven, Earth, and Hell—through inspired literature and art. However, Blake writes in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1794), "All deities reside in the human breast," which places God, Blake's giver of books and wonderous writing, entirely within the human psyche (*MHH*11, E38). God thus becomes—as *The Laocoön* (c. 1815) explicitly states—the human imagination, the power capable of inspiring works of literature and art (*L*, E273). By internalising these ideas within the human psyche, Blake invites a more humanised understanding of God and inspired writing. Similarly,

the harmonisation of the universe, which is entirely human to Blake, is also internalised within the human imagination:

> For all are Men in Eternity. Rivers Mountains Cities Villages,
> All are Human & when you enter into their Bosoms you walk
> In Heavens & Earths; as in your own Bosom you bear your Heaven
> And Earth, & all you behold, tho it appears Without it is Within
> In your Imagination of which this World of Mortality is but a Shadow. (*J*71:15-20, E225)

The harmonisation of worlds, internalised, becomes the harmonisation of the human psyche. These ideas—that all is human, and that the apparently-external world, deities, and literary inspiration all arise from within the human imagination—suggest *Jerusalem*'s narrative has both literary and human relevance.

This thesis maintains that *Jerusalem* is a profoundly humanistic artwork,[6] and reads Blake's *magnum opus* as an innovative myth focused on the understanding and development of humanity, in both the ontological and ethical sense of the word. I will argue that *Jerusalem* describes a daimonic transfiguration of the human psyche, which can be read as an allegory of humanistic awakening, one in which literary language plays a key role. As I will show in the next chapter, there are only a few scholarly writings on Blake's humanism or on the daimon in Blake, and nothing on their combination. This research addresses this unexamined gap in Blake studies.

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[6] Blake's humanism differs radically from more common (and often stereotyped) ideas of Renaissance, Enlightenment, or Victorian humanism. The nature of Blake's humanistic approach will be outlined in chapter two and further detailed and critiqued as this thesis proceeds.

Furthermore, it is important at this early point to state what this thesis is not aiming to achieve, to clear any confusion. This thesis is not aiming to repeat narrow and partial notions of humanism, whether from zealous humanists or from straw-manning anti-humanists; it is neither triumphalist nor deconstructivist in its aims, but develops a broad yet nuanced understanding of humanity as inclusive of all variety of human beings across times, cultures, and points of view. This approach reflects a new-literary-humanistic perspective, which may differ from many assumptions of what humanism is or can be.[7] This thesis is also not suggesting the uncritical acceptance of Blake's humanism, nor of new literary humanism. Instead, I argue that critique and creativity are effective tools for understanding the vast array of reflections of our humanness within literature. Such literature is not limited to any particular canon but includes the entire sweep of written and oral works of all times, places, cultures, and points of view. Neither is Blake nor literature considered a surrogate for theology, offering unconditional insights. An experience of literature, like any other experience in life, has the potential to offer specific insights, but these are contingent upon and conditioned by a number of factors, including author, work, reader, circumstances, and methodology of reading. All of these points will be elaborated upon as we proceed, particularly in the next chapter.

My thesis statement, therefore, is that William Blake's *Jerusalem* can be read as an allegory of Blake's humanism by focusing on the trope of the daimon therein. The proof of this statement comes from answering the *primary question* of this thesis: *Can* Jerusalem *be read as an allegory of Blake's humanism?* This answer is developed through part II and given in part III, where I will demonstrate that Blake's daimon is a key to reading *Jerusalem* as humanistic allegory. Yet to read *Jerusalem* in this way first requires an understanding of Blake's daimon, thus this thesis' *secondary question* must be addressed: *How is the daimon present in William*

[7] Literary humanism is discussed at length in the next chapter.

Blake's Jerusalem*?* Part II of this thesis will answer this question by elucidating and critiquing the trope of the daimon within *Jerusalem*.

The humanistic focus to this approach aligns this thesis with recent work on literary humanism by Andy Mousley and Bernard Harrison. Accordingly, this thesis' methodology is informed and inspired by Mousley's and Harrison's work. In order to clarify the relationship between this thesis and literary humanism, I ask two further questions that I will answer in part III. This thesis' *tertiary question* is: *In what ways does my study of the daimon in Blake's* Jerusalem *contribute to literary humanism?* And this thesis' *quaternary question* is: *What does new literary humanism contribute to Blake's* Jerusalem *and Blake studies?* Through these questions, the implications for a literary-humanistic reading of the trope of the daimon in Blake's *Jerusalem* will be made clear. My original contribution to knowledge, consequently, is to show that Blake prefigures, in his own way, ideas of new literary humanism.

1.2 Chapter Overview

This thesis is divided into three parts. This first part (chapters 1-3) provides introductory, scholarly, and historical context for Blake's conceptualisation of the daimon. Following this present chapter, chapter two establishes the methodological foundations for this research. Here, a review of relevant Blake criticism and work on literary humanism is provided, important terms used in this thesis are defined, and a methodological approach is delineated. These sections are provided to orientate the reader in the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of this thesis. Chapter three then explores the broad historical context for the daimon as a foundation within which to situate Blake's conception of this trope. First, I present a genealogy of the idea of the daimon, outlining its development from antiquity, through Neoplatonic concepts, to Christianity, the Renaissance, and the eighteenth-century, culminating among the Romantics. Following this, Blake's apparent exposure to the doctrines

and practices of the Moravian Church during his childhood is examined and shown to provide a foundation for supporting daimonic motifs in his work. I then discuss how this intellectual history informs his conception of the daimon.

Having provided a foundation, part II (chapters 4-7) forms a deep and specific study of Blake's *Jerusalem*, reading the daimon as a literary, artistic, and mythopoetic trope. Chapter four maps the main facets of his daimonic mythos, of which the fullest realisation is presented within *Jerusalem*. I first delineate his image of the daimon within his work generally and show how his concept of the human is ontologically daimonic. Linking *Jerusalem*'s mythic narrative with a range of ideas from his other works and discussing these in relation to Blake critics, I articulate what I term *Blake's daimonic process*, a process of daimonic awakening within his mythos. I show that within *Jerusalem* the awakening of humanity (in the individual and the collective) proceeds through a narrative centred upon the trope of the daimon. Blake's ideas of humanism, literature, and the daimon are then elaborated upon to establish the central argument for part II of this thesis, namely: Blake's trope of the daimon provides a source for literary-humanistic understanding. Having mapped these dimensions of Blake's daimon as a foundation for a literary-humanistic reading of *Jerusalem*, I extend this mapping through an exploration of *Jerusalem*'s poetics and aesthetics.

In chapter five, I deal with the interplay between the daimon and the individual persona. *Jerusalem* examines in several ways the individual in *agon* with foreign, unintegrated aspects of themselves, as a stage in the process of awakening. Examples are Los struggling with his Spectre and Albion suffering through his inflated-turned-deflated individual ego, after having awoken prematurely within a fragmented psyche. These struggles are important aspects of Blake's daimonic process and align with traditional themes of the poet as cultural figure. They highlight stages of growth found through facing challenges that lead to the resolution of inner conflict. The daimon is recognised here as a precipitant of this psychological process, leading

the individual to either further articulate the creative work of genius through increased psychic integration or, failing such, face fragmentation, madness, and even destruction. Across chapter five, aspects of this psychological process are read in *Jerusalem* in terms of literary humanism and the individual reader, revealing rich material for literary-humanistic insight.

Following an outline in chapter five of the two paths the individual may take in relation to the daimon, chapter six considers the outcome of one of these: Blake's fallen world, as a terrain of fragmented, disrupted, and imprisoned consciousness, a mythos for the unconscious (the other outcome being ascent to the state of Eden, which is discussed in chapter seven). Here, I apply methods of cognitive criticism outlined by Terence Cave in *Thinking with Literature: Towards a Cognitive Criticism* (2018) to articulate a literary-humanistic critique of *Jerusalem*, providing examples of how literary humanism may address the darker, unconscious aspects of the human psyche through literature. Through a close examination of some of *Jerusalem*'s darker poetry, I outline ways in which the daimon in *Jerusalem*, as mediator between states, engages with the fallen state in order to reconcile it to the awakened state. I suggest how this mythical process may be reflected in the reader, and by doing so, uphold the idea that literature has the power to transform aspects of the collective human psyche. In this light, I conclude by considering *Jerusalem* broadly, as a mythic nexus that collides significant aspects of Western thought before the reader, thereby codifying new possibilities for collective integration within the minds of readers.

Chapter seven concludes the literary-humanistic reading of Blake that I have developed in the previous chapters through a focus upon the conclusion of *Jerusalem*, in which Albion is restored to his eternality as Poetic Genius. This apocalyptic event is the climax of Blake's daimonic process, which I show is also a process of humanistic awakening, mythologised and narrated within *Jerusalem*. I further formulate Blake's daimon as a key to humanistic awakening by discussing Blake's concept of Christ as a divine artist and exemplary daimonic

human. Chapter seven culminates in the presentation of Blake's vision as an allegory of humanistic awakening through literary practice, demonstrating that his daimonic process contributes significantly to literary thought, in preparation for more wide-ranging comparisons of Blake's thought with literary humanism in part III.

Part III (chapters 8-9) critically examines my reading of Blake from part II in relation to recent approaches to literary humanism and discusses the implications and significance of reading him in this way. Chapter eight compares the preceding discussion of Blake's daimon in *Jerusalem* with the literary humanism of Mousley and Harrison. The correspondences between these two are mapped and critically examined. By this, Blake is shown to prefigure ideas of new literary humanism, providing my original contribution to knowledge. I discuss the implications of reading him in this way, which includes addressing the problem of Blake's literature being read as a surrogate for theology. I also suggest how my reading of Blake through new literary humanism might be applied more broadly in reading the Romantics and reading literature in general.

Finally, chapter nine concludes this thesis by discussing the significance of my work within three contexts: Western thought, new literary humanism, and contemporary literary studies. I emphasise the alignment between literary humanism and the German Romantic concept of *Bildung* and suggest that Blake's literary humanism contributes an element of *Bildung* to new literary humanism.[8] Then, to ground my work in its present-day relevance with consideration towards future possibilities, I position this research in relation to current global developments encapsulated by the Fourth Industrial Revolution. This heralded hyper-modern

[8] Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), whose ideas remain foundational to the modern university, describes *Bildung* as a lifelong process of human development, proceeding through the fusion of cultural and personal learning so as to produce a uniquely cultivated existence, a refined, conscious relationship between the individual, culture, and nature (Westbury et al. 59).

world of unprecedented technological advances will require addressing some serious issues, including the possibility of an increasingly dehumanised society. At this threshold of human discovery or demise, I provide an epilogue on the importance of new humanistic ways of reading literature, particularly as yielded by Blake, in response to this emerging global culture.

2. Methodological Approach

> Wittgenstein argued that the meaning of words and sentences originates in the roles to which we assign them in the conduct of social practices: "language games."
> … both culture and individual character are, at a deep level, functions of the vast web of social practices, from measurement to marriage customs, from economic structures to the law, that define the content of what F. R Leavis liked to call "the human world."
>
> – Bernard Harrison, *What is Fiction For?* (2)

> Paradigms or models of reality can be more or less elegant. The more elegant, the more power they have to capture and hold the imagination, to fascinate, and to convey vital meaning.
>
> – Stephen A. Diamond, *Anger, Madness, and the Daimonic* (88)

2.1 The Daimon

What is the daimon and how has it been studied among the Romantics, especially Blake, within recent scholarship?[1] Kent Ljungquist, in *Dictionary of Literary Themes and Motifs* (1988), writes that "the Romantics were fascinated by the concept of genius as a kind of daemonic urge" and that such a view has implications for understanding human nature (303). He later adds that "William Blake's sense of the inadequacy of a 'god without thunder' led him to explore the mixture of dread and fascination in religious experience, often making it difficult

[1] An earlier version of parts of this section has been adapted to Dearing, 'Daimonic Art: Meditating Imagery in Blake's *Jerusalem*.'

to discern the divine from the daemonic" (304). However, Ljungquist's difficulty in discerning between daemonic and divine must be re-examined, because it arises from the assumption that the divine and daemonic are fundamentally distinct, that there is no single concept that combines the two. This difficulty can be resolved through a more precise definition of terms. Here, I use *daemonic* as Ljungquist might, as thunder without the God; a sublime, transgressive, awful power, and an aesthetic or a being possessing these qualities. Likewise, *divine* is that which pertains to God, a god, or a goddess, or is sacred (*OED Online*, 'divine, adj. and n.1'). But the distinctions between these terms, *divine* and *daemonic*, are complicated when *demon* and *daimon* are added. The daemon is not necessarily evil (like the demon) but neither is it connected to the divine (like the daimon). Essentially, these four terms are distinct, although historically they are used somewhat interchangeably. Consequently, there remains some blurring between them.

Each of these terms can be understood as either personal or impersonal, internal or external. For example, Richard Berkeley maps these distinctions in the daemon through Coleridge criticism. He describes John Livingston Lowes' personal, externalised conception of daemons in *The Road to Xanadu* (1959) as an "unsatisfyingly prosaic account of daemons as supernatural persona" (50). In comparison, Berkeley notes Chris Murray's impersonal, externalised conception of daemons in *Tragic Coleridge* (2013) as "mysterious external forces that threaten to overwhelm individuality" (50). Finally, Berkeley describes Gregory Leadbetter's impersonal, internalised account of the daemon in *Coleridge and the Daemonic Imagination* (2011) as "an integral conflict within spiritual self-realisation, or the imagination itself," which "remains an open-ended clash of contending forces problematising human agency" (51).

Blake fits the only combination not mentioned above: the personal, internal daemon. However, I use the term *daimon*, rather than *daemon*, for Blake, for reasons that will be given.

This thesis aims to discern the daimon as a literary trope within Blake's oeuvre. In reading the daimon in Blake, it is first necessary to clearly define the term, and then to discern the nuanced associations given to the range of related terms.

The daimon in the original Ancient Greek, δαίμων, carries several main senses: impersonal divine power; an individual god or goddesses; a semi-divine or demonic spirit; a meditating power between divine and earthly realms; one's lot or fortune; a tutelary deity; a personal spirit as co-determiner, guide, and protector of individual fate; or an individual human who is extraordinarily knowing, skilful, or powerful (Liddell and Scott, 'δαίμων'). The various definitions of δαίμων may be categorised as either an externalised power or being or an internalised human potential. From these two senses come most subsequent understandings of the daimon. These two senses provide an initial working definition of the daimon, which will become clearer and more precise as this thesis proceeds.[2]

It is necessary, however, to recognise the slipperiness of the daimon as a concept. While its origin may be traced to ancient Greece, it has since been adopted by later cultures while also exchanging or merging with parallel concepts from other cultures. Further, it has adjusted through shifts in language, spelling, and modifications in meaning according to specific contexts. There is no clear, single meaning for the term. Its slipperiness has been somewhat resolved by standardisation and codification of the English language over recent centuries, which, in the case of the daimon, did not really occur until the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1897) (Murray and Bradley 9).[3] Due to all these factors, the daimon has come to indicate a wide spectrum of ideas that have been carried through the centuries into

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[2] A genealogy of the concept of the daimon is provided in chapter three, and extended discussion from this follows in subsequent chapters.

[3] The official title for the first edition is *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*.

contemporary times, primarily through its spelling variants: daimon, daemon, and demon.[4] To further complicate this cluster of ideas, related terms such as *genius*, *spirit*, and *angel* can be added. These terms' similarity with the daimon is also slippery; while each may be interpreted as synonymous with the daimon in a specific sense, they can also be interpreted differently in other contexts. And like the daimon, each of these related terms has both internalised and externalised senses relative to the human being.

Demon, daemon, and daimon all describe sublime beings (or a power or aesthetic in their adjectival form), yet their relationship to the divine differs in each case. Typically, a demon is anti-theistic; the daemon, atheistic; and the daimon, theistic—in the sense of being associated with *theos*. Throughout this thesis, I utilise *daemon* (the Latinisation of δαίμων) to distinguish the class of daimons not connected with *theos*, otherwise known as spirits or the monstrous, who are typically amoral. A further distinction is to use *demon* (the Middle English spelling of δαίμων/*daemon*) to describe similar beings who are typically anti-theistic and evil. Although these two terms (*daemon* and *demon*) are etymologically derived from *daimon* and may be used by some authors as synonymous with the daimon, they are here differentiated from such for two main reasons. Firstly, daemon and demon are historically established with a non-divine or demonic connotation, since Latin or Middle English are largely languages entwined in Christian history. This connection arises from the religious distinction that

[4] However, while writers since antiquity have used the word *daimon* (in Greek, or its variants in Latin, English, or other European languages in later centuries), in Blake's time, the term was neglected in the English language. Samuel Johnson's (1709-1784) *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) has only a brief entry for *demon*, "A spirit; generally an evil spirit; a devil" (571). In contrast, the current-day *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (2020) has its own entry for *daimon*, plus ten distinct definitions for *demon*, which include *daimon* and *daemon* in their origin sense (*OED Online*, 'demon, n. (and adj.)'). Interestingly, the newly revised third edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2005) gives only one sense to *daemon*: as a background computer program (*OED Online*, 'daemon, n.').

contrasts the moral *angelus* (angel) with the amoral daemon and immoral demon. Secondly, in recent popular fiction, as well as esoteric culture, it appears that the term *daemon* is more readily used in the sense of an amoral supernatural, non-theistic being, mode, or force. *Demon* seems to carry a similar sense in popular and esoteric culture, although appears more often associated with evil. *Daimon* is the least common term in popular culture and remains historically anchored in ancient Greek thought, therefore maintains its theistic and cosmological associations. Yet the daimon also has contemporary associations by denoting an individual's personal genius (*OED Online,* 'daimon, n.'). My distinction between these spelling variants (daimon, daemon, demon) is therefore in keeping with historical and contemporary changes.[5]

The original Latin *genius* seems most obviously synonymous with the daimon through their shared sense as an attendant or tutelary spirit. This meaning carries through the French *genie*, German *Genius*, and English genius (*OED Online*, 'genius, n. and adj.,' Etymology, I). Like the daimon, all these terms may be given association with a place, time, language, things, peoples, or countries (*OED Online*, 'genius, n. and adj.,' Etymology, I). Additionally, genius, whether in Latin, French, German, or English, matches other senses found in the daimon, including talent or inspiration, or a person endowed with such, as well as a demon or a spiritual being ('genius, n. and adj.,' Etymology, I, II). The meaning of genius shifts in the eighteenth century from an external spirit to an internalised gift, marking a person of exceptional talent, with specific emphasis given to the artist in the Romantic movement, although genius' older senses remain in use ('genius, n. and adj.,' Etymology, I, II). Taken in their full range of meanings, genius and daimon are therefore almost wholly synonymous, with the difference being one of emphasis according to usage in time and context. The *Oxford English Dictionary*

[5] Having just defined how I will use the term *daimon*, I must at times overlook the spelling variants used by other authors, who are often less precise in differentiating nuances of meaning.

confirms this synonymity in its definition of daimon: "One's genius" (*OED Online*, 'daimon, n.').[6] While both terms' etymological roots are distinct, genius from *gignere* (to beget) and daimon from *δαίεσθαι* (to allot), they are conceptually similar in the sense of apportioning something from oneself ('genius, n. and adj.'; 'geodetic, n. and adj.'). Their contemporary colloquial usage, however, while hinting at parallels, seems often more distinct, given the daimon's ineluctable association with the supernatural, in comparison to a more common, secular usage of genius.

Other related terms, such as spirit, angel, muse, and *fylgjur*,[7] either overlap with or are distinguished from the daimon through their usage in different contexts, through conceptual (dis)associations, or through select emphasis of convergent or divergent facets of meaning. The complex multivalence of the daimon means that these facets are never entirely distinct and often blend into one another. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) considers the daimon "something which reveals itself only in contradictions, and which, therefore, could not be encompassed under any concept, still less under a word" (Goethe qtd. in Patterson, 'The Daemonic in *Kubla Khan*' 1037). This statement is part of a larger passage in Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (1926; first published 1833),[8] wherein his prose seems aimed at rhetorical effect while he names and conceptualises the daimon quite well. The problem of describing the indescribable daimon, if it can be put that way, appears more easily resolved in the language of poetry and art than in the kind of rational, systematic thought to which Goethe

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[6] Elaborations upon this definition are given through a link to 'demon, n. 7,' which parallels the meanings given to 'genius' (*OED Online*, 'daimon, n.').

[7] *Fylgjur* (Old Norse) are described by Wil Friesen as "fate-beings" that are "neither wholly earthly nor entirely divine, operating as interstitial beings between the spiritual and mundane world," indicating their similarity with the daimon as a liminal being and mediating spirit (Friesen 257).

[8] See Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* IV.20, 317-9.

attempts to pin the daimon. Still, this thesis does not admit Goethe's claim to indescribability, and seeks a clear elucidation of Blake's daimon. However, as this is a literary study, rather than reducing the daimon to a rigid philosophical concept, I hope to show that it is far more enriching to expand upon the daimon as a multifarious literary trope.

The main reason for focusing on the term *daimon* within Blake's work is that it is the best fitting from the above-mentioned cluster of related terms, particularly for *Jerusalem*, where the daimon appears most strikingly—as coming chapters will demonstrate. In Blake, the mixture of daemonic and divine—which Ljungquist suggests are difficult to discern between—is reconciled in Blake's singular expression of the daimonic (304). Certainly, *Jerusalem* contains daemonic and demonic scenes, characters, and aesthetics at times, as well as appearances and interjections by purely divine figures. Yet the bulk of its narrative involves attempts at reconciliation between divine and non-divine states, through daimonic characters such as Los, his sons and daughters, Jesus, Erin, and the daughters and Beulah. Furthermore, *Jerusalem* concludes with Albion's restoration to a daimonic state of creative imagination between infinite potential and the beings of the world. *Jerusalem*, and a good portion of Blake's other work, would seem primarily daimonic, rather than merely a mixture of daemonic, demonic and divine.

Another reason for using the term *daimon* in this thesis is that it remains true to its original meaning in current times, which is important when communicating this research to a contemporary audience. The meanings of related terms, such as demon, angel, or genius, have shifted markedly over time and have significantly different contemporary connotations. The daemon or demon has gained more monstrous or evil connotations, as a non-divine being, and genius in its contemporary sense is an almost entirely secular phenomenon. Yet the daimon largely contains these shifts. It can display monstrousness as an awesome divine power or giftedness akin to contemporary ideas of genius. The daimon therefore encompasses a more

complete idea while remaining anchored in its original Greek meaning as a divine being. It is simultaneously appropriate historically and contemporarily, and fitting for a study of Blake. This understanding of the daimon provides an initial working concept from which to fully articulate the trope of the daimon in Blake's *Jerusalem*.

A review of relevant literature on the daimon

The daimon or daemon is an overt object of interest among leading writers of the Romantic period (c. 1780-1837), including Coleridge, Goethe, John Keats (1795-1821), and Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822). Other writers also wrote with daemonic themes, aesthetics, and ideas, such as Mary Shelley (1797-1851) and Lord Byron (1788-1824). Blake has been typically classed as a Romantic or proto-Romantic, hardly in contact with the above writers, yet sharing much of the Romantic *Zeitgeist* and an engagement with the trope of the daimon. The Romantic *Zeitgeist* reveals the daimon as a strangely popular theme. To provide a quantifiable sense of the importance of the daimon during the Romantic period, the term *daemon* in the *Google Books Ngram Viewer* appears among English publications between 1797 and 1836 significantly more than at any other time between 1500 and 1980 (*Google Books Ngram Viewer,* 'Daemon').[9] There is, in fact, a broad peak arising over most of the Romantic period (1789-1832), with the two highest peaks for Romantic-period writing on the daemon at 1803 and 1816 (*Google Books Ngram Viewer,* 'Daemon'). Blake wrote *Jerusalem* between 1804 and 1820, when the daemon was most prevalent in English literature. Furthermore, according to *Ngram*, it is also during the Romantic period that the term *daimon* first appears in English literature, gaining increasing usage up to the present day (*Google Books Ngram*

[9] The Romantic-period peak in instances of the term *daemon* dominates the modern period (c. late-fifteenth to late-twentieth century), excluding the recent increase in usage beginning from around 1978 and also several isolated, unenduring peaks during the seventeenth century (*Google Books Ngram Viewer*, 'Daemon').

Viewer, 'Daimon'). The data on these two terms clearly show Romantic-period English literature as a significant source for the trope of the daimon.

Several major studies on the Romantic daimon have appeared since 1970 and the topic has gained broader attention in the past decade. Notable works include Charles I. Patterson's *The Daemonic in the Poetry of John Keats* (1970), Angus Nicholls's *Goethe's Concept of the Daemonic* (2006), and Gregory Leadbetter's *Coleridge and the Daemonic Imagination*.[10] These works reveal the daimon as an important theme for Romantic studies. The typically spontaneous creative imagination of Romanticism invites the daimonic, which may be seen as a reaction to the preceding, more regulated, neoclassical Augustan Age, and contributor to literary movements such as Gothic fiction, Transcendentalism, Symbolism, and their descendants. A conscious engagement with liminal junctures defines the daimon and is a central theme of Romanticism, which often explores the relationships between subject and object, imagination and reason, mind and body, time and the timeless, individual and collective, science and art, and so on. Furthermore, critical and creative articulations of these liminal junctures continue within contemporary culture, indicating a persistent metaphorical presence of the Romantic daimon.

Although the daimon has been studied in other Romantics, only a few writers touch upon it in Blake. Robert Stock's *The Holy and the Daemonic from Sir Thomas Browne to William Blake* (2014; first published 1982) provides the most extensive account to date, devoting a quarter of a chapter to Blake's daimon. But Stock's coverage is more a curtailed

[10] Although the term *daemon* is used in these titles, being the more common contemporary spelling, the Romantic conceptions by Keats, Goethe, and Coleridge each draw from traditional ideas of the Greek δαίμων and could be seen to have both daemonic and daimonic aspects. Hence, without going into extensive studies of these Romantics, here I link the use of *daemon* to its roots in the Greek δαίμων and subsequently refer to the term *daimon* when discussing these Romantics generally. See n5 above.

tour than a thorough examination. Stock briefly discusses Blake's daimonic Jesus, a being of spontaneous, divinised desire who is free from the law, which is fitting but lacks depth (353-5). The rest of the section discusses the "sinister" daimonic nature of Blake's Tyger and then Urizen, mainly from *The Four Zoas* (355). But Stock's dismissal of *Milton* and *Jerusalem* as "supplementary" to *The Four Zoas* seems an oversight of the numerous daimonic elements in these two major works (370). Stock's overview of the daimon in Blake is limited, though it provides a few points of entry into the topic.

Another source is Hazard Adams's *Blake and Yeats: The Contrary Vision* (1968), which draws a series of connections between Blake and W. B. Yeats (1865-1939), who studied and published Blake.[11] Adams makes some of these connections through the daimon and its associated concept (for Yeats), the mask. Adams's concept of the daimon is conspicuously Yeatsian, although he equates Yeats's daimon with Blake's Poetic Genius, as "a common ground for the 'sleeping and waking minds'" (Adams 198).[12] Adams also likens the daimon to the unifying image that is most difficult for a nation, a race, or an individual—most difficult because it facilitates a thoroughly complete unification involving integration of all that is opposite to a given body; equivalent to the shadow in Jungian terms (205). Blake's goal of human unification is recognisable in this idea of the daimon as a facilitator of wholeness, an idea that will be explored in part II of this thesis. Adams discusses many other points of resonance between Blake and Yeats, which is to be expected due to Yeats's interest in Blake. However, Adams's conclusion is that Blake and Yeats are contraries to one another, and

[11] W. B. Yeats and Edwin John Ellis (1848-1916) produced an edited collection of Blake's work. See Blake, *The Works of William Blake: Poetic, Symbolic, Critical* (1893).

[12] It is unclear whether 'sleeping and waking minds' is placed in scare-quotes by Adams or is a quote drawn from elsewhere, as no citation is provided, and this quote cannot be traced to a specific source.

"[w]ithin their conflict they join to perpetuate the great myth of the Poetic Genius" (296).[13] This conclusion indicates that the daimon is a broad topic, and that a writer, even when influenced by an earlier writer, may still produce a very different concept of the daimon from their predecessor. Overall, Adams's work provides some openings to the daimon in Blake yet does not cover the topic in detail.

A hint of Blake's daimon is found in Kathleen Raine's *Blake and Tradition* (1969). Raine writes briefly on Plotinus' daemon in relation to Blake's ideas of higher and lower aspects of the self, giving Blake a Neoplatonic association (1: 256). Raine describes these two aspects of the self as the "unconscious" and "ego" respectively, linking this idea with the work of Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961) (1: 256). She also draws connections between Plato's (c. 428-c. 348 BC) idea of daemons as guardians of the lower state (the mortal life) and Blake's "mourning 'watchers'" described in *Jerusalem*, then finds similar ideas in *Milton* (1: 257-8).[14] Raine is correct, in my view, in tracing the Neoplatonic idea of the daimon in Blake's mythical higher and lower states and in describing the interactions between these states as occurring

[13] The idea of contraries and negations is fundamental to Blake's cosmology. Since these terms are utilised many times throughout this thesis, they deserve a brief explanation. "Contraries mutually Exist," writes Blake (*J*17:33, E162). Blakean contraries are things or processes existing in creative relationship to one another, where each is recognised and valued for what it is as part of a greater whole, or as processes working towards greater wholeness; they are therefore inclusive and mutually supportive. Blakean negations, in contrast, are an abstraction from the thing or process itself, resulting in not only the loss of the thing or process to be experienced—which is replaced by an experience of its abstraction as a mere symbol for the reality of the thing or process—but also the loss of any recognition of the actual relationship between the thing/process and other things/processes, because of this abstraction (*J*10:10-13, E153). In short, Blakean negations reduce the perception of reality to an abstract void, whereas Blakean contraries expand the perception of reality to the overflowing richness of infinite relationships.

[14] The passage Raine refers to is *J*42:66-75, E190.

through descending poetic inspiration and an ascending transformation of consciousness (1: 259-60). She also rightly describes Blake's Christianisation of his mythology, seen from *Jerusalem* and *Milton* onward, and shows that the Neoplatonic elements of his work subsist within this (1: 73-74, 260). However, Raine seems to muddy the bigger picture of how Blake meets with Neoplatonists, Plato, or Jung when she attempts to map these views within a fixed cosmological structure, giving the impression that there is a single formalistic world that all such thinkers are describing. Blake is an idiosyncratic and eclectic artist, however, and there are limits to mirroring his worldview in Plato, the Neoplatonists, or Jung—even while there are insightful and useful correlations to be drawn. My approach differs in that I do not seek coherence within a wider system for Blake but seek to show his work as an artistic and poetic response to *some* of the ideas of antiquity. He is too creative to replicate past traditions. While he draws from tradition, he communicates it in new ways.

Roderick Tweedy touches upon Blake's daemon in *The God of the Left Hemisphere: Blake, Bolte Taylor and the Myth of Creation* (2013). Tweedy writes that Blake preferred the term *zoas* rather than *daemon* for the "fundamental aspects of the human psyche," while also linking Blake's model to Jung (308). In a subsequent note, Tweedy again mentions the daemon and links it with genius (310). Tweedy's work is deeply insightful, but disappointingly reduces Blake's notion of genius to "a style, a particular way of being, for each being," as though, for Blake, genius is little more than personal idiosyncrasy (310). While it is true that the Zoas represent human faculties in Blake's mythos, and therefore act as intermediary powers for the individual human, the Zoas do not simply substitute for the daemon (or daimon) in Blake's work. As part II of this thesis will show, the daimon exists as a rich and elaborate motif extending across many aspects of Blake's oeuvre. To reduce the daimon to human faculties and genius to individual style seems an exclusively modern, limiting, secular interpretation of these psycho-cosmological powers.

Harold Bloom and Stephen Diamond also suggest Blake's work is daimonic, yet do not delve into the topic in detail.[15] Ljungquist, already mentioned, similarly recognises the daimonic in Blake but scarcely goes further (304). The abovementioned sources—Stock, Adams, Raine, Tweedy, Bloom, Diamond, and Ljungquist—appear to mark the limit of explicit references to the daimon in Blake. The daimonic associations given to his work are fitting but few, and they tend to stop at general intimations to the daimonic aesthetic of his poetry and art. A lack of detailed and deep inquiry into the daimonic in Blake's work is a gap in Blake scholarship.

The daimon is an unusual, slippery topic, historically the scholarly and artistic focus of the few rather than the many. Nonetheless, the daimon is a primeval trope with many literary implications, particularly in relation to human understanding and development through imagination, creativity, genius, and the nature of reality itself. Since the earliest writings of Greek antiquity (though probably much earlier), the daimon has persevered as a deeply considered cultural motif, examined philosophically, theologically, psychologically, and artistically by some of the greatest thinkers of human history, including many Romantics.[16] In Blake, the daimon provides an important yet unexplored focus through an aesthetic that is at once uncanny, sublime, divine, and daemonic, and yet persistently coupled with the human. The daimon is therefore a significant intellectual and artistic trope that deserves study in Blake. This thesis will elaborate upon a large variety of instances of the daimon in Blake, addressing this gap in Blake studies by revealing in detail Blake's daimon as a literary trope. I distinctly argue that the daimon is central to the psycho-cosmological structure of Blake's mythos, and is well instantiated through his daimonic characters, imagery, themes, and language in

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[15] See Bloom, *The Daemon Knows* (2015) 80, 453; Diamond, *Anger, Madness, and the Daimonic* (1996) 257, 261-5, 274.

[16] A history of influential thinkers who had an interest in the daimon is provided in section 3.1.

Jerusalem, all of which form the basis for an allegorical reading of Blake's humanism. By this, I aim to demonstrate an original, insightful study of Blake that has significant implications for contemporary literary studies.

2.2 Literary Humanism

A review of literary humanism

My study of Blake examines the trope of the daimon within his work and critiques this alongside the recent theories and defences of literary humanism provided by Andy Mousley and Bernard Harrison. Following from Mousley, we might call this new literary humanism;[17] an attempt to adapt, revise, and revivify the essential practice of literary humanism for our contemporary world ('The New Literary Humanism' 820). While Harrison does not refer to his own work as *new* literary humanism—seemingly because it is a defence of literary humanism as a timeless, yet historically diverse, approach to literature—his literary humanism is nonetheless new insofar as it is timely within the present context of literary theory.

Recent decades have seen traditional ideas of literary humanism challenged, and in some areas of literary studies, radically deconstructed by what is broadly categorised as postmodern Critical Theory, chiefly following from Foucault and Derrida. Harrison's work comes in response to these changes, to provide a "systematic philosophical defence of

[17] New literary humanism is a term coined by Andy Mousley ('The New Literary Humanism' 820). The newness, of course, will inevitably become old unless the contemporising of this methodology is continual. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge the timelessness in the human relationship to literature—to the degree that humans and literature (broadly defined) maintain a connection across their various contextual and contentual changes. Within this thesis, the terms *new literary humanism* and *literary humanism* are generally commensurate, and where not, this will be specified by the addition of an adjective such as *traditional*, or some other qualifying term.

humanism in literary studies" (*What Is Fiction For?* 1). Mousley, on the other hand, takes a more adaptive approach towards a similar end, by developing a theory of new literary humanism not opposed to but among other literary theories—including postcolonialism, feminism, Marxism, and poststructuralism (819). Mousley takes a less defensive approach as to how human relevance may be read from literature, which is no less timely in addressing the decline of humanistic reading within the academy. Mousley and Harrison have reignited literary humanism's contemporary relevance into the twenty-first century by advancing literary humanism as a positive approach for understanding ourselves as humans in a variety of ways through literature.[18] It is with these scholars that I align this thesis and seek to further advance literary humanism in this positive direction.

Drawing upon the ideas of Ludwig Wittgenstein and F.R. Leavis, Harrison has produced a near six-hundred-page defence of literary humanism, *What Is Fiction For? Literary Humanism Restored* (2014).[19] Harrison begins this work with a "Criterion of Independent Contribution" (11):

> If the humanities, including the study of literature, are to be defended as an important part of university studies, then it needs to be shown that they contribute kinds of

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[18] There are several other recent writers with works on literary humanism that are not a focus of this thesis simply because it was necessary to limit the scope of this project. These include Richard Gaskin in *Language, Truth, and Literature* (2016), Walter Beale in *Learning from Language: Symmetry, Asymmetry, and Literary Humanism* (2009), Edward Said in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (1983), and Hamid Dabashi in *The World of Persian Literary Humanism* (2012). Each of these scholars adopts a different approach toward literary humanism, creating variety on the topic.

[19] Although Harrison focusses on fiction as a literary genre, his Criterion and claims are broad enough to include the major literary genres: poetry, prose, and drama.

> understanding of the human condition that are different from, and independent of, those contributed by the social sciences. (11)

Literary studies is traditionally positioned within the humanities, which largely originated out of nineteenth-century humanism as a field of human enquiry and development, drawing from earlier Renaissance thought, the liberal arts (*artes liberales*), and classical learning. More recently, the humanities have been diversified through postmodernism to embrace a much more egalitarian approach to understanding ourselves as humans. Following this transformation, it is important to ask: What exclusive value does literary studies contribute to knowledge that other disciplines do not? To answer this, Harrison distinguishes literary knowledge from the social sciences—"economics, psychology, social psychology, sociology, and the rest"—since these disciplines claim "the human world" as their field of study (11). He also states that the epistemological basis to literary knowledge differs from that arising out of the natural sciences (xi). Quoting Richard Eldridge, Harrison writes that those drawing from the epistemological assumptions of natural science, which tends to also include philosophers, too readily dismiss literature as "secondary, derivative, decorative, or deficient" (qtd. in Harrison xi).[20] Literature, especially since the coming of Critical Theory, has been funnelled through many disciplines other than its own, including history, psychology, sociology, philosophy, and politics, resulting in a dislocated practice of literary studies that treats literary works less as objects of literary relevance and more as quasi-scientific objects with value and relevance primarily in terms of some other discipline or theory. In *What Is Fiction For?* Harrison describes an argument made in his earlier work, *Inconvenient Fictions* (1991), that recent theoretical academic approaches to literature "enshrine the association of objectivity with personal detachment, they encourage

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[20] In contrast, Harrison, himself a philosopher, explores the value of literature through philosophical arguments.

kinds of uninvolved scrutiny that are capable of yielding every kind of cognitive gain except the one kind that literature exists to provide" (xii). The result is that disinterested, disengaged, disenchanted methods of reading literature, such as are found in postmodern theory and New Historicism, are unable to access the experiential, aesthetic, intersubjective human knowledge found in literature.

When read in an engaged and immersive manner, literature has a power, according to Harrison, to remain "one step ahead of philosophers and 'theorists'" and even to "cast doubt on some of our most cherished and persuasively theoretically buttressed certainties" (*What is Fiction For?* xi). This power proceeds through the distinct epistemology inherent in literature, which blends the objective with the subjective within the human imagination, in sharp contrast to the natural sciences that are based on knowledge of real-world objects, which Harrison notes is derived through "*disinterested* observation" (xi; his emphasis). Literature provides an immersive experience involving, to quote Mousley, both "emotion and intellect, concrete and abstract," which brings emotional and sensual engagement within the imagination through a highly refined use of language ('The New Literary Humanism' 821). This immersion confers what Harrison describes as the distinct kind of cognitive gain literature offers the engaged reader (*What is Fiction For?* xii). When we involve ourselves in reading literature in this experiential manner, we as humans are changed by the knowledge it contains. Harrison's literary humanism attempts to restore an engaged reading of literature as a humanistic practice within the academy. He does this by advancing, and thoroughly defending, six claims about literature to support his Criterion of Independent Contribution (12-13).[21] These claims are to literature's value as a source of truths, as active in the creation of culture or civilisation, as

[21] See Harrison, *What Is Fiction For?* 11-14. There is insufficient space to include Harrison's six claims in full here. They are discussed more substantially in chapter eight.

capable of refining language, as intellectually serious, as having universal human address, and as important because of its literary language (13-14).

Harrison's six claims pair well with Mousley's principles of literary humanism. Mousley has worked to re-humanise literary studies over the past two decades, with specific interest in and humanistic focus towards Shakespeare and Renaissance studies, autobiography, and literary theory. In his earlier work, *Re-Humanising Shakespeare: Literary Humanism, Wisdom and Modernity* (2007), Mousley asks how Shakespeare might offer wisdom on how to live as a human being. Mousley further theorises literary humanism in his article 'The New Literary Humanism: Towards a Critical Vocabulary' (2010) by outlining "six fundamental principles, accompanied by some semi-technical terms, in italics, of the new literary humanism" (820).[22] Furthermore, contributions by a dozen writers to his edited collection *Towards a New Literary Humanism* (2011) provide case studies of particular works as examples of literary-humanistic practice. Mousley's attentive, reflexive approach to literary humanism serves as inspiration for my own approach, and his edited collection of chapters provides comparable examples to my own literary-humanistic study of Blake's *Jerusalem*. Mousley's most recent book, *Literature and the Human: Criticism, Theory, Practice* (2013), advances a theoretical framework and critical practice for literary humanism. Here, he expands upon his earlier ideas by exploring literature's relationship to emotion, its ability to humanise history, its position with regard to particulars and universals, its dealing with depth, and its specific contribution to seeing and framing the world. These are major works in the study of literary humanism, making Mousley a leading literary scholar in the field. While touching upon Harrison's claims and Mousley's principles within this thesis, I will return to them more fully in chapter eight.

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[22] See Mousley, 'The New Literary Humanism' 820-35, for an outline of these six principles.

Defining terms

My approach to literary humanism in this thesis rests upon a central, broader question: *How can literature be practised as a way of understanding and developing ourselves as human beings?* To clarify this question requires defining some key terms—*literature*, *literary humanism*, and *human*—that are applied within this thesis.

The *Oxford English Dictionary*'s third definition of literature seems the most common understanding for this thesis' context, but this definition is self-referential in the adjectival form: literature is "[t]he result or product of *literary* activity; written works considered collectively; a body of *literary* works produced in a particular country or period, or of a particular genre" (*OED Online*, 'literature, n.3a'; my emphasis). Examining the definition of *literary*, one is referred again back to literature. The *Oxford English Dictionary*'s primary meaning of literature as "knowledge acquired from reading or studying books, esp. the principal classical texts associated with humane learning" is marked as "*historical*," implying datedness, which some may prefer to avoid (*OED Online*, 'literature, n.1'). Nonetheless, this definition directly evokes the aims of this thesis, yet necessitates tweaking its historical sense to arrive at a working definition for contemporary literature. The aim of new literary humanism, as applied within this thesis, is to reinvigorate the use of literature for humane purposes in the context of our current and future times, without anachronism or nostalgia. The term *humane* here also needs qualification, and the *Oxford English Dictionary* refers its enquirer to "humane, adj. 2," which is defined as: "Designating those texts or branches of study which concern humanity, or which (historically) have been regarded as exercising a civilizing influence on the student or reader; esp. designating classical grammar, rhetoric, or literature" (*OED Online*). The historical element here is somewhat contentious in contemporary literary studies, but the civilising effects of the classical trivium are not the focus of this thesis. The distinction between a narrow definition of humane (as classical European learning across the centuries) and a

humanity-encompassing humaneness is most important for this thesis, because an anti-humanist critic might too-quickly conflate the two and dismiss both.

Ultimately, my aim here is not to defend a narrow idea of civilisation, such as only Blake's view, but to consider literature, which includes works of all kinds, periods, and cultures, as an important part of our collective human inheritance. I aim to show how this pluralistic body is addressed through Blake's ideas of literary humanism. From our manifold inheritance of literary works, we as a species may learn about ourselves and one another and, should that learning be honest, discerning, and compassionate, grow richer in understanding as a result. Blake adopts one approach to understanding ourselves as humans; other writers adopt different approaches. It is in this pluralistic light that *humane*—"those texts or branches of study which concern humanity"—is used (*OED Online*, 'humane, adj.2'). As a result, the scope of such study is broadened beyond classical humanism by the methodology of new literary humanism, so that human concerns, relevance, and meaning are sought in *all* works of literature.

To establish this broad definition of literature requires then that literature is defined as *the artform whose primary medium is words, written or spoken*. This definition includes established genres of prose, poetry, drama, and so on, but equally other artistic uses of words through oral tradition, experimental forms, the literary aspect of hybrid works, and the like. Without running extensively into definitions of art in a multi-cultural context, or a deeper study of historical genres, I will settle on the above as a working definition of literature for the purposes of this thesis. Literary humanism, then, becomes *the practices, theories, methodologies, and experiences of reading, writing, and critique around such works that yield understanding and development of ourselves as humans*. Applying this definition, this thesis aims to show that Blake's oeuvre, and *Jerusalem* especially, presents an allegory of literary humanism, which I will delineate in the coming chapters.

The term *human* is used throughout this thesis in two main senses. The first is phenomenological, and therefore concrete, broad, and heterogeneous: the actual psychophysiological being(s) of the *Homo sapiens* species that experiences and is experienced. We might like to think of this as the human experience, which is not a concept of the human, but a proxy-indicator for human beings and humanity as a species. A concept is something we as human beings experience in our minds, thus concepts can never contain the reality of what it is to be human. The experience of being human transcends our understanding of ourselves as humans because that understanding is continually in flux, meaning no conception of the human is final or complete. The human experience is recognised as containing both commonalities and varieties. Without commonality, human tongues, ears, and brains would not exist, let alone language, and communication would be impossible. Literature would be useless to all but the author, which is not the case because literature is indeed read and understood by other readers. And without variety, every person would experience the same reality, which is physically if not psychologically impossible. If such were possible psychologically, all would experience a work of literature in precisely the same way, indicating a failure of literature and literary studies to move readers beyond the most extreme fixation of uniform ideological interpretation. This failure is a failure of literature to be literature and humans to be human, at which the very notion of human experience disintegrates into the worst extremes of inhumane monosemic thought—something Blake's mythos critiques.

The second usage of *human* is as a concept, primarily Blake's concept of the human in this thesis, but also other specific understandings of humanness. Mousley states the importance of finding a balance between under-defining and over-defining the human as a concept (*Literature and the Human* 77). Under-defined, writes Mousley, "the human can be co-opted on behalf of anything and everything, from totalitarianism to raking gravel eighteen hours a

day" (77). Over-defined, "'the human' becomes prescriptive, reified, and deterministic" (77).[23] This thesis moves between conceptions of the human and the human experience (as outlined above) as it attempts to link present readers with human meaning as conceived within literary works—Blake's *Jerusalem* primarily. Blake, paradoxically, defines the human largely in relief through narratives of the fallen human and then contrasts this fallen human with a conception of human potential as boundless creative imagination. One may argue the latter is a definition of the human, but it is more exactly the undoing of fixed ideas of the human—as will be shown.[24]

This thesis focuses on Blake's concept of the human in relation to literary practice in order to develop a study of Blake's humanism. On the surface, humanism during Blake's time seems to disappear between the more formal categories of neighbouring centuries; Renaissance humanism and its more modern descendent, Victorian humanism. But, dig a little deeper and one can find references to some of Blake's contemporaries, such as William Godwin (1756-1836) and Goethe, as humanists (Marshall 5; Payne 23). One may also find intimations towards Romantic humanists, such as Wordsworth, Keats, or George Eliot (Radcliffe 97; O'Halloran 187; Newton 11-12). Blake, however, was not well known during his own time, and his posthumous reception saw him too conflicted with the secular, sceptical humanistic enquiry of

[23] Mousley continues, writing on the complexity of human nature and the difficulty in both denying it and pinning it to a single concept: "Human nature has been a longstanding subject of debate and controversy. The contextualist veto on human nature is from this perspective an anomaly. Neuroscience, evolutionary biology, neo-Darwinism, cognitive poetics, meme theory and epigenetics are among the sciences of human nature—or sciences that depend upon a theory of human nature—that have emerged or re-emerged in recent years" (*Literature and the Human* 77). This thesis recognises a plurality of perspectives on the human as valuable and desirable, where different theories of human nature are applied to different ends.

[24] Chapter four discusses Blake's human in more detail.

the nineteenth or twentieth centuries to be considered among such humanists. As a humanist, he therefore tends to disappear between more recognised humanists and humanisms.

Born at a time where ideas of civilisation were defined by neoclassical writers such as John Dryden (1631-1700), Alexander Pope (1688-1744), and Samuel Johnson, Blake came to oppose much of the perceived inertia of classical learning through a Romantic humanism. His humanism is broadly inclusive of "All Human Forms identified," and in a letter to John Flaxman (19 October 1801) he praises those who are "studious of Literature & Humane & polite accomplishments" (*J*99:1, E258; *LE*, E717-8). These words suggest Blake's literary ideal and align with *Jerusalem* as his vision of an ideal human civilisation. Blake was deeply interested in human nature and culture, and his re-envisioning of Christianity as visionary art shows that his humanism is far less sectarian proselytising or doctrinal adherence than the recognition of a higher creative potential among all humanity.

Yet while Blake's concept of humanity is inclusive of all our species, it is nonetheless shaped by his particular purpose. This is unavoidable for any theory of humankind, which can never encompass all facets or purposes of our species. Blake provides but one instance among a multitude of other literary perspectives on the human. Yet because of his emphasis on literature and humanity, his representations of humanness serve as apt literary-humanistic material from which to understand our humanity through a literary perspective. A literary-humanistic approach should critique Blake's particular vantage to articulate its relevance to humanity. Such a vantage is not to be considered a final understanding of human nature, but a literary lens through which to study ourselves, both as self-reflective critical readers and as one member of the species. Thus, literary humanism (at least the kind I am applying here) is self-reflective; the reader is consciously, creatively, and critically part of the reading process. Such a process proceeds alongside a particular concept of the human within literature—Blake's human in this case. Mousley mentions that without subscribing to a view of human existence,

an in-depth exploration of aspects of human nature is difficult to achieve (*Literature and the Human* 77). In keeping with Mousley's measured view of literary humanism, where the human has neither essence nor absence of essence, Blake's view can be recognised and explored while remembering that there are many other ways to view humanity, views that will highlight other facets of our humanness (76-84). Consequently, in reading widely, the literary humanist grows and refines their understanding of human nature, both in themselves and towards others. Their material for study is the vast assortment of intersubjective perspectives on the human found within literature.

Literary humanism as a methodology for reading Blake

By applying literary humanism as a methodology for reading Blake, this thesis will show that Blake's mythic universe centres around the daimonic human, through his literary ideal of the truly human. Blake's visual art contributes to his humanistic vision, so will also be analysed to support my literary-humanistic reading. Before commencing such a reading, it is necessary to clarify how Blake is and is not being read in this thesis.

In reading Blake within a literary-humanistic framework, I prioritise the human over the historical. This approach follows Mousley's literary-humanistic theory that if literature from the past is to "speak to us" as human beings today, then a work must be related to not from a historical distance but as having present human relevance (*Literature and the Human* 20-23). Rita Felski writes, evocatively, of the burgeoning issues around an overly historicised reading of literature:

> Frozen in time and in space, the literary work is deprived of the very mobility that forms the precondition of our own experience of it. Impaled on the pin of our historical categories and coordinates, it exists only as an object-to-be-explained rather than a

> fellow actor and cocreator of relations, attitudes, and attachments. (Felski, '"Context Stinks!"' 590)

Such frozen historical relics ignore the reality that reading literature is often a meaningful experience for the reader, with present-day consequences. If human meaningfulness is to be read from Blake, then intersubjective readerly engagement with his work needs acknowledgement.

If we suppose that humans—*Homo sapiens*—are a consistent factor across all human history and all human cultures, which indeed seems the case, then the details of history and culture cannot exclusively define the human because humanness extends beyond any one culture and any one history. This does not mean, as anti-humanists may object, that I am adopting an essentialist idea of the human. As I discussed earlier in this section, the human as phenomenon can only be indicated, not contained, by concepts. The recognition of transhistorical, transcultural humanness serves as the basis for accessing an immense variety of specific conceptions of the human within literature. This is because the foundations of being human are sufficiently consistent over time and place to enable readerly engagement with a range of conceptions of the human in literary and artistic works despite historical and cultural differences. The nuanced differences of specific times, cultures, and individual perspectives add interest and variety in reading for human meaning, rather than impenetrable barriers that isolate humanness from the reader. Historical, cultural, and individual differences written into literary works are therefore better recognised as inflections of our common humanness within specific contexts and from specific perspectives. Indeed, it is largely because of the common human link that we can even begin to understand different times or cultures in literature.

In *The Limits of Critique* (2015), Rita Felski writes further of the need to rethink how we have packaged history, "History is not a box—that is to say, standard ways of thinking

about historical context are unable to explain how works of art move across time. We need models of textual mobility and transhistorical attachment that refuse to be browbeaten by the sacrosanct status of period boundaries" (154). Mousley caveats Felski's statement by adding that the "resonance of particular texts" varies according to particular readers, so that not every work may have transtemporal affect upon every reader, yet nonetheless the affective resonance of works does transcend their historical period "in such a way as to make a mess of the conception of such 'isms' as Romanticism as exclusively *historical* categories" (*Literature and the Human* 12; his emphasis). Applying these ideas, literary humanism recognises the enriching power of cultural, historical, and individual differences in literature without needing to confine these differences within boxes that render unrecognisable our common humanity.[25] By reflecting upon the cultural, historical, and individual differences among human beings in literature, we can better understand ourselves as individuals and as a species specifically in the present.

One limit, however, to such reading is a loss of emphasis upon contextual distinctions. In practical terms, this is a shift of the site of meaning creation from an exclusive past (Blake's

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[25] Harrison's fifth claim of literary humanism also addresses this point:

> Imaginative literature of the highest order offers the reader a direct contact—unmediated by the discursive, constative procedures of history, biography, anthropology, sociology, or any study founded upon the painstaking collection of facts—with other, alien cultures; other ages; and other minds. … [T]he potential audience for the great literature of any age of any culture is not limited to the people of that culture or age, but extends, problems of translation apart, to all mankind (Harrison, *What Is Fiction For?* 13).

Further discussion on how a literary-humanistic approach can bridge cultural differences specifically in relation to Blake is provided in section 6.2.

historical context) towards the literary work as source of human understanding for the present reader, joined to the past by the common link of being human. There are many excellent historicist studies of Blake's work, such as David V. Erdman's *Blake: Prophet against Empire* (1954), historian E. P. Thompson's *Witness against the Beast: William Blake and the Moral Law* (1993) and the various essays in Clark and Worrall's edited collection *Historicizing Blake* (1994). More recent works apply a historicist method to Blake's politics, including Jon Mee's *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s* (1994), G. A. Rosso's *The Religion of Empire: Political Theology in Blake's Prophetic Symbolism* (2016), and David Fallon's *Blake, Myth, and Enlightenment: The Politics of Apotheosis* (2017). These and many other historicist readings of Blake provide rich insights into a period (arguably) different to our own yet do less to relate this period to its contemporary reader. Even so, from a literary-humanistic vantage, history need not clash with the human. Indeed, broad, deep, and detailed studies of history can help illuminate a literary understanding of human nature.[26] Literary humanism can approach the study of history as a self-reflective human practice. This thesis, therefore, includes historical contexts that are relevant to a study of the daimon in Blake, while focusing on the transhistorical human significance of his work.

Another approach to Blake is reading him as a perennialist, which Kathleen Raine in *Blake and Tradition* best exemplifies. Both historicist and perennialist approaches can bring insight to Blake's oeuvre, yet both are centrifugal to Blake as visionary; a perennialist approach maps Blake to traditional dogma and a historicist approach maps Blake to material fact. In contrast, readings of Blake as visionary tend to critique his literature hermeneutically. According to Crosby et al., in *Re-envisioning Blake* (2012), the hermeneutic tradition is one of the three main approaches in Blake studies, along with the historical and bibliographic

[26] Mousley discusses the importance of history in literature at length. See Mousley, *Literature and the Human* 40-71.

traditions (Crosby et al. 2-5). Early hermeneutic examples are Harold Bloom's *Blake's Apocalypse: A Study in Poetic Argument* (1963) and Northrop Frye's *Fearful Symmetry*. Frye set a new standard for studying Blake as visionary poet, author, and artist, reading Blake's work as literature and art with an emphasis on myth and the present timelessness inherent in the relationship between reader and text. Frye's approach taps into the mythological and literary dimensions of Blake, with less concern for confining him within tradition or history.[27]

Works that followed in Frye's wake bring us closer to the Blake examined within this thesis. Two examples are Thomas Frosch's expository *The Awakening of Albion* (1974) and M. H. Abrams's paradigmatic *Natural Supernaturalism* (1971). Another is Paul A. Cantor's *Creature and Creator: Myth-making and English Romanticism* (1984), which discusses Blake and other Romantics as re-workers of the stagnant, predominately Christian, mythology of the late eighteenth century for new, secular times. Cantor explores the Romantic inversion of the Christian mythos—originating in John Milton (1608-1674)—that views Satan as a Romantic hero. Fred Parker also addresses this myth of the Romanticised devil in *The Devil as Muse: Blake, Byron, and the Adversary* (2011), alluding to the idea of Romanticism as a form of daimonic creativity. Another insightful and relevant work is Engell's *The Creative Imagination* (1981), which states that "natural genius transforms things in the natural world into myths and symbols of the divine" and places Blake at the "heart of this long and complex tradition" (110). Peter Otto, in *Constructive Vision and Visionary Deconstruction: Los, Eternity, and the Productions of Time in the Later Poetry of William Blake* (1991) combines deconstruction and construction in an interpretation of Blake that emphasises vision as the opening to relationship, as opposed to an emphasis on the non-relational individual or collective, which he shows to be present in many other interpretations of Blake. Otto centres on Los and the processes of

[27] It is worth noting that Frye's work on literature and mythology, found in *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (1966), developed out his study of Blake, rather than being something he imposed upon Blake.

deconstructing and constructing time within Blake's mythopoeia of eternity. *Constructive Vision and Visionary Deconstruction*, while not directly mentioning the daimon, prepares foundational ideas that lend themselves to a daimonic reading of Blake.

Some other works have guided this research through points of metaphysical difference. Kathleen Lundeen's *Knight of the Living Dead: William Blake and the Problem of Ontology* (2000) for example, borders on the daimon through its study of spiritualism and Blakean ontology. Yet Lundeen's argument that "Blake is a monist trapped in a language that is predicated on binary thinking" remains unsatisfactory as it itself relies upon an either/or logic (22). Lundeen contrasts her argument with Leo Damrosch's statement in *Symbol and Truth in Blake's Myth* (2014; first published 1981), "Blake is a dualist who wishes he were a monist" (Lundeen 22; Damrosch 166). Damrosch, in turn, agrees with Morton D. Paley's view, "Blake was a monist who found his mythology entrapping him in a dualistic position," which is subtly different from Lundeen's argument, in an important way (Damrosch 166; Paley, 'The Figure of the Garment' 123). In all three cases, Blake is trapped. But Paley's is a curious statement that either implicates Blake as a victim of his own unbridled views, perhaps entrenching him over the course of his career, or alludes to a less clear-cut idea of Blake. The latter will be shown to be the case in the coming chapters, although I do not follow specifically from Paley. This thesis will show that Blake's ontology necessitates both monism and dualism, which is best fulfilled by a dynamic, daimonic ontology of the human that is between and inclusive of both fallen and eternal humanity.

To further support a humanistic reading of Blake, I utilise psychological concepts and terminology from cognitive science and depth psychology. Cognitive science topics include brain function, human cognitive evolution, physiological imagination, and mind-reading, among others, discussed through the ripening field of cognitive literary studies. While scientific studies of literature may serve as a useful adjunct to literary studies, they can never replace the

human *experience* of reading as innately valuable. My approach to literary humanism seeks to address the human experience of literature more directly. In other words, the end of literature is not science, though science can confirm the intersubjective value of literary experience.[28] To this end, Terence Cave's *Thinking with Literature* is applied to support my literary-humanistic reading of Blake.[29] I also refer to other recent writers in this field, such as Richard C. Sha and Alan Richardson, who work specifically with Romanticism and science.

Depth psychology topics such as consciousness, self, psyche, the unconscious, the shadow, and ego also inform this literary research. Some psychologists I draw from include Carl Gustav Jung, Rollo May (1909-1994), and Stephen A. Diamond (1951-). Although this thesis is not intended as a psychological reading of Blake, I do apply psychological terminology where this seems beneficial for probing into Blake's deeper, antiquated thought, to render this more recognisable to a modern audience. Still, psychology is not an unexplored area of Blake studies. There have been many studies on such, including Diana Hume George's *Blake and Freud* (1980), Martin Bidney's *Blake and Goethe: Psychology, Ontology, Imagination* (1988), Laura Quinney's *William Blake on Self and Soul* (2009), Paul Youngquist's *Madness and Blake's Myth* (2010), and Roderick Tweedy's *The God of the Left Hemisphere*. Ross Woodman's *Sanity, Madness, Transformation: The Psyche in Romanticism* (2005) looks more broadly at psychology and Romanticism, as does James Whitehead's *Madness and the Romantic Poet: A Critical History* (2017).

Stock states in *The Holy and the Daemonic from Sir Thomas Browne to William Blake*, "In Blake, of course, everything is psychological and inward; modern in one way, he has perhaps more ably captured the primitive daemonic than anyone else mentioned here" (384).

[28] For a study of literature from a cognitive-scientific, neuroscientific, linguistic, and psychological perspective, see Mark Turner, *The Literary Mind: The Origins of Thought and Language* (1996).

[29] See chapter six.

While the first proposition should not be taken exclusively, because studies of Blake's outward and non-psychological import are numerous, we should not overlook what Blake has to offer on the inward, psychological dimension of human existence. Lionel Trilling notes Sigmund Freud's (1856-1939) remark at his seventieth birthday, "The poets and philosophers before me discovered the unconscious … What I discovered was the scientific method by which the unconscious can be studied" (Freud qtd. in Trilling 34). Jung, formerly Freud's protégé, also observes this discovery in Blake but indicates that Blake's knowledge needs further explication, remarking in a letter to Piloo Nanavutty, a research student at Girton College, Cambridge (11 November 1948), "I find Blake a tantalizing study, since he has compiled a lot of half- or undigested knowledge in his fantasies. According to my idea, they are an artistic production rather than an authentic representation of unconscious processes" (Jung 513). Jung's observation of half-digested knowledge seems accurate for one who sought to substantiate depth psychology as a science rather than an art. Literary theorists Curran and Wittreich, on the other hand, are more persuaded by Blake's psychological profundity, writing that his "major prophecies are themselves profound excursions into depth analysis, with the mythic structure revealing progressively internal layers of consciousness" (xiv). As few psychologists accept Freud or Jung scientifically today, we should be cautious in extracting *scientific* psychological conclusions from Blake's oeuvre through such approaches. Yet depth psychology can nevertheless aid in a literary interpretation of Blake. As this thesis will show, the trope of the daimon in Blake's art and writing provides a key to the human depths in Blake. Psychology assists in revealing this trope, in part, and aids the navigation of Blake's deep mythical terrain.

I discuss human perception, emotion, imagination, reason, creativity and transformation throughout this thesis, all of which are central foci for many Romantics, and to

which psychological terminology provides a useful grammar.[30] Such terminology is useful in communicating Blake's ideas with contemporary relevance. For instance, the term *unconscious* is often associated with twentieth-century psychoanalytical theory arising from either Freud or Jung, yet its origins as a noun are Romantic, first used by Friedrich Schelling (1775-1854) and later introduced into English by Samuel Taylor Coleridge in 1818 (Schelling 204; Coleridge, *The Notebooks* vol. 3, 4397). From Coleridge's lecture notes, dated 10 March 1818, he writes "As in every work of Art the Conscious—is so impressed on the Unconscious, as to appear in it … so is the Man of Genius the Link that combines the two" (*The Notebooks*, vol. 3, 4397:*f51*^{v}).[31] These Romantic conceptions of the conscious and unconscious were presented in London through Coleridge's 1818 lecture and have been utilised without a fundamental shift in meaning in later centuries.

Blake uses the term *conscious* several times throughout his works, primarily in the adjectival sense of having deliberate awareness, while the term *unconscious* appears only once in an aphorism from Johann Kasper Lavater's (1741-1801) *Aphorisms on Man* (1788) that Blake appreciatively annotates, interpreting the term as unawareness (*M*1, E95; *PM* 'Mary,' E487; *DC*48, E545; *LE*, E756; *AtL*343, E591). There appears no evidence that Blake and Coleridge met in person, although the two poets were associated with similar circles through their mutual connection Charles Augustus Tulk (1786-1849), who introduced Coleridge to

[30] The Romantic period may be considered formative towards some developments of modern psychology leading up to the twentieth century and beyond. This is significant as the contemporary relevance of Romantic thought is a developing topic. Alan Richardson, for instance, in 'Reimagining the Romantic Imagination' (2013) argues that Romanticism is becoming increasingly relevant to twenty-first-century discoveries in cognitive science (385).

[31] Coleridge's statement also alludes to the daimon as mediator between consciousness and unconsciousness.

Blake's poetry (Baulch, 'Reading Coleridge Reading Blake' 5). Given this socio-cultural proximity, I consider it appropriate to use the terms conscious and unconscious in my critique of Blake's work, as they are general Romantic concepts brought into wider usage by Coleridge, and only later centrally established within depth psychology. However, I do not imply Blake has his own concept of the unconscious, although his mythos contains indications of such. Instead, I apply the term to better discuss Blake's psycho-cosmology with a contemporary audience because these concepts maintain a consistent general meaning into current times. Thus, my usage of these terms is not explicitly psychoanalytic, and where so, this distinction will be made clear.

Another point of difference in this thesis from the psychoanalytic view is the emphasis on the term *human* over *the self*. This prioritisation orientates the psychological aspects of this study towards literary humanism. Additionally, there are three reasons for choosing the human over the self. The first is that *human* presents an embodied sense of being, whereas *the self* presents an abstracted and isolated identity (Blake's "Selfhood"), and further, *human* also describes an embedded being; embedded in the cultural and natural environment (*J*5:22, E147).[32] Secondly, *human* invites the term humanity, which represents the collective species (the term's ontological aspect) but also emphasises a humane ethos as a foundation to the individual (the term's ethical aspect)—or at least the need for such. In this way, *humanity* focuses the human being within a beneficial value system aligned with established usage of the term in a way that simultaneously promotes individual and collective well-being into the future.

[32] My usage of *human* places the term in alignment with some aspects of posthumanism, where the human is recognised as an integral and embedded part of the larger non-human environment. New literary humanism is particularly alert to the shifts of posthuman thought, at times in agreement and at other times questioning such. For a critical discussion on the human and posthuman, see Mousley, 'Limits, Limitlessness and the Politics of the (Post)Human.'

In contrast, the self is abstracted from ethical humanity. The third reason is that within the humanities, narrowly defined concepts of the human have been eroded over the closing decades of the twentieth century. This leaves a gap within which the human may be reinvigorated in a more nuanced and pluralistic manner, as a post-postmodern (post-deconstructive) motif.[33] Reconstructing humanness through literary humanism can therefore serve as a focus for rehumanising the humanities in an embodied, ethical, pluralistic manner.[34]

The above discussion orbits around a methodology for literary-humanistic critique of Blake as a visionary. Davies and Schuchard's discovery that his mother was a member of the Moravian church, along with subsequent related discoveries,[35] provides additional context within which to position his ideas of vision and visionary practice (36). Additionally, in the

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[33] There are a variety of ideas around post-postmodernism and related movements such as New Sincerity or metamodernism. To avoid tying the broader movement to a single thinker, I use the term post-postmodern loosely to indicate the cultural and intellectual activity that has wearied of radical deconstruction and bottomless relativism and seeks to reconstruct culture and ideas towards more integrated, inclusive, and meaningful ends. With many new counter-movements arising, postmodernism appears to be coming to an end. As early as 1995, architect Tom Turner suggested "the built environment professions are witnessing the gradual dawn of a post-postmodernism that seeks to temper reason with faith" (9). Rita Felski might also be described as a post-postmodernist in her recent efforts to move beyond deconstructive critique and embrace new, engaged, and immersive ways of reading—see Felski, *The Limits of Critique*. The label post-postmodern, however, is cumbersome. Turner encourages his readers to "embrace post-Postmodernism—and pray for a better name" (10).

[34] The use of *reconstructing* (and its variants) throughout this thesis is not intended to align this research with Reconstructivism, associated with Chris Sunami and Paulo Freire.

[35] I examine this topic in more detail in section 3.2. For an account of Blake's family connections with the Moravians, see Davies and Schuchard, 'Recovering the lost Moravian history of William Blake's family' (2004). For an article on Blake and the visionary practices of the Moravians, see Schuchard, 'Young William Blake and the Moravian Tradition of Visionary Art' (2006).

past few decades, Blake criticism has blossomed into a cornucopia of topics. Yet within this efflorescence, the question of what Blake's work envisions remains unresolved.

One work on Blake, John Beer's *Blake's Humanism* (1968), now written over half a century ago, seems largely overlooked. Here, Beer discusses the humanistic nature of Blake's vision, focusing on Blake as a type of humanist in his own right, rather than one participating in a broader historical movement. Beer explores Blake's "visionary humanism," while noting that at times Blake's imagination overwhelms this designation, making it appropriate to describe Blake also as a "humanist visionary" (14). Beer considers Blake to approach human experience solidly from fresh angles and believes Blake solves human problems by addressing their origin in the human mind (4, 6). This thesis agrees with many of Beer's ideas; some are discussed in later chapters. Like Beer, I suggest Blake's vision is humanistic, yet my aim here is not a continuation of Beer's work.

Beer's *Blake's Humanism* serves as a reminder today of how central the human is in Blake's oeuvre, especially *Jerusalem*, at a time when this topic has become peripheral in Blake criticism. It seems Blake's humanism has been forgotten following his late twentieth-century passing through the postmodern "fires of deconstruction" (qtd. in Eaves, 'On Blakes We Want' 415).[36] But after fire comes new growth, and the time now seems ripe to explore the relevance of Blake's human and humanism in the current twenty-first century. Newness holds potential but also the unknown, and new (post-deconstructive) understandings of humanness must be creatively and critically developed. The deconstructed human of previous decades is unlikely to remain in a postmodern void for long. Rather than let history and circumstance crudely reform our self-understanding, it is probably better that we articulate ourselves as a species deliberately and wisely. A question presses against humanity: What understanding of our

[36] Eaves believes this phrase comes from David Simpson ('On Blakes We Want' 415).

humanness will we as a species take into the future? This question relies upon re-envisioning humanism.

Mousley views humanism as a "complex, self-critical and pluralistic tradition of thought," one that includes writers of many varieties, each with different social and political agendas ('Humanising Contemporary Theory, Re-humanising Literature' par. 2).[37] He argues that when narrow, caricatured ideas of humanism, such as Belsey's notion of it being "the interests of the bourgeois class" are set aside, we can penetrate deeply into a far richer field of human enquiry among a diversity of writers (Mousley par. 2; Belsey 7). Because this thesis reads Blake humanistically, with a focus on the present experience of reading literature and a concern for the future of humanity, Mousley's approach is highly relevant. Yet to date, almost nothing is written on Blake and literary humanism.[38] By addressing this gap, this thesis aims to show that literary humanism provides a new way of reading Blake, and that, in turn, Blake's daimon contributes new ideas to literary humanism. Yet before we can reach this end, we must examine the ancient origins of an unusual concept: the daimon.

[37] Mousley lists a number of writers who are justifiably humanists in this richer sense: "Karl Marx, Shakespeare, Matthew Arnold, George Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Theodor Adorno, Raymond Williams, Frantz Fanon and Hélène Cixous" ('Humanising Contemporary Theory' par. 2).

[38] It appears the only instances that come close to linking Blake and literary humanism are when Blake is mentioned in Harrison's *What Is Fiction For?* 119, 120, 129, 155, 181, as a minor reference, mostly regarding Blake's opposition to John Locke (1632-1704) and not directly in relation to literary humanism.

3. Ascertaining Blake's Daimon

> "Daemonic"—this word has had so many connotations imposed upon it, has been so variously interpreted, in the course of its wanderings from the days of ancient religious mythology into our own time.
>
> – Stefan Zweig, *The Struggle with the Daemon* (11)

3.1 A GENEALOGY OF THE DAIMON

The following genealogy of the historical development of the idea of the daimon will demonstrate how it is conceptionally linked with concepts of the human across a variety of periods and contexts, leading to Blake's own context. As will be shown, various historical perspectives repeatedly relate the two—human and daimon—as either co-existing in some form of symbiotic relationship (whether psychologically internalised or metaphysically externalised) or otherwise as ontologically identical. The varieties of this enduring connection over time indicate something deeply human in the daimon, even if only allegorical, and this gives it literary-humanistic value.

Writings on the daimon first appear in the mythology and philosophy of Greek antiquity. In Homer's *Iliad* it is occasionally used to mean individual gods or goddesses, but more often is the active power of divinity, capable of possessing, punishing, empowering, or guiding individuals (Homer 1.222, 3.420, 5.438, 11.792, 17.98; Liddell and Scott, 'δαίμων'). Another mythical example is seen in Hesiod's (fl. 750 BC) *Works and Days* (c. 800 BC), where he describes the souls of humans from the previous golden age, who watch over and protect

humanity in later ages, as daimons (Hesiod 122). Typical to mythic narrative, such examples speak to a general audience of the time, hence a more philosophical usage of the term is absent. Philosophical views tend to internalise the daimon in relation to the human individual, rather than conceiving of it as an external being in its own right, a god, goddess, or lesser spirit.

The pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus, in a fragment recorded by Plutarch, connects individual character with the daimon, stating "ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων" (*íthos anthrópo daímon*) (Heraclitus qtd. in Plutarch, 6: *Platonicae quaestiones* 999e). This quote is typically translated as "character is to man destiny,"[1] which can be interpreted in an eschatological sense when the daimon is considered an external power, as co-agent of human destiny or fate. This sense offers an ethical meaning that seems appropriate to a general audience: that a person's character determines their destiny in life—destiny being traditionally allotted by the individual's daimon. Yet ἦθος (ethos) more accurately means the "essence of something" and δαίμων (daimon) is better applied in its original and complete meaning, not only as destiny, but as daimonic power. Interpreted with this more accurate use of terms, Heraclitus' fragment reads as a deeply ontological statement: the essence of human existence is the daimon. This ontological interpretation offers a meaning far beyond merely character or ethics as determinants of life's outcome, although it does not exclude this. Heraclitus considers the daimon as an inner creative power, intertwined with the fate of each human being, as their essential nature. Heraclitus' maxim alludes to the deeper psychological processes in the daimonic exchange between the unconscious (unrevealed or potential being) and the conscious ego-persona (surface character). Heraclitus' daimon answers the enigma of human existence, presenting a human creativity within that transcends embodiment and deconstructs much of the philosophical and doctrinal

[1] I am grateful to Emeritus Professor Michael Tsianikas for his clarification and insight into the translation and meaning of this fragment from Heraclitus. The material in this paragraph on Heraclitus is drawn from personal conversation with Professor Tsianikas (16 April 2019).

dogma that would later accumulate around the human. Heraclitus's view later echoes in the esoteric interpretations of the Neoplatonists and eventually among the Romantics, and so is very much relevant to this thesis.

However, the most common view of the daimon is recognised in Socrates' (c. 470-399 BC) personal daimon, or *daimonion*, a mysterious being who guided him not prescriptively but proscriptively, by warning him against unwise actions; yet did not, interestingly, warn him against approaching his trail and death (Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 1: *Apology* 40a-40c). Socrates' daimon is, in a sense, synonymous with conscience, an inner knowing of correct action. In *Cratylus* (c. 380-370 BC), Socrates also describes those who are "wise and knowing (δαήμονες)" as daimons (δαίμονες), because "in the old form of our language the two words are the same" (Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 12: *Cratylus* 398b-c). To these daimonic humans, Socrates attributes a higher human potential orientated to wisdom and goodness (398b-c). Socrates therefore uses the term daimon to indicate the highest human faculty, available only to sage humans, showing Socrates' daimon to be, like Heraclitus', an internal power.

Plato further mentions the daimon in several other works.[2] In *Symposium* (c. 385-370 BC), Socrates' idea of the internal daimon meets with the philosopher-priestess Diotima's view on daimons. Initially conceiving of daimons as external, Diotima describes the power they have for

> [i]nterpreting and transporting human things to the gods and divine things to men; entreaties and sacrifices from below, and ordinances and requitals from above: being

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[2] Some references to the daimon (δαίμων) appearing in Plato's works include: *Cratylus* 398b-c, *Laws* 5.729e; *Phaedo* 107d; *Republic* 3.391e, 3.392a, 4.427b, 5.469a; *Symposium* 202e; and *Timaeus* 90a-c (see Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes*).

> midway between, it makes each to supplement the other, so that the whole is combined in one (Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 9: *Symposium* 202e).

Diotima then considers the internalisation of the daimon, asserting, “Whosoever has skill in these affairs is a spiritual man [δαιμόνιος ἀνήρ, a daimonic human]” (Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 9: *Symposium* 203a). Thus, we see the daimon again internalised in any human being who has a particular ability for mediating divine forces, reflecting ideas of poetic inspiration and prefiguring modern secular concepts of genius. In this view, the daimon is not an external spirit mediating higher and lower worlds, but a psychological integrative power between base human nature and higher human potential. Diotima adds that love (ἔρως) is also a great daimon (δαίμων μέγας) and is betwixt abundance and poverty, ignorance and wisdom, inspiring people to possess beauty and goodness (202d-e, 203a, 203d, 203e). Here, Diotima highlights the daimon as an intermediary power: the power love has over individuals.

The daimon is also closely related to the hero. In *Cratylus*, after describing the higher sage type of daimonic human, Socrates explains that the word *hero* originates from *eros* (ἔρως), love,[3] since the hero in Greek mythology often arises from the union between a mortal and a god or goddess (Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 12: *Cratylus* 398c-d).[4] Such heroes suggest another type of daimonic human, given their demi-god status and extraordinary intelligence, skill, beauty, or power. Socrates follows this topic with a discussion of the meaning of the

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[3] By current knowledge, there appears no etymological evidence for this assertion by Socrates.

[4] Examples of beings born from this type of daimonic union in Greek mythology include Hercules, Achilles, Asclepius, and Orpheus. The same motif abounds in numerous other mythologies. Gilgamesh (Sumerian), Bragi (Nordic), Cú Chulainn (Gaelic), Arjuna (Hindu), Bacchus (Roman), Merlin (Brythonic), and even Jesus (through the Immaculate Conception) are all the result of union between a mortal and an immortal. This motif also continues in contemporary fictional superheroes, such as Wonder Woman.

Greek word for human (ἄνθρωποι), thus presenting several tiers, or degrees, of daimonic existence, from the sage to the hero to the ordinary human, a pattern which Neoplatonists adopt. In these various daimonic types recorded by Plato, we see sagacity, heroism, and love as traits defining the daimonic human, offering higher states for the ordinary human to aspire to through virtuous knowledge, virtuous action, and love.

Aristotle articulates another aspect of the daimon as it pertains to human life. The concept of εὐδαιμονία (*eudaimonia*) is the central telos of Aristotelian ethics and politics, presented by Aristotle in *The Nicomachean Ethics* (c. 350 BC) as the highest good human action can achieve (*Aristotle's Ethica Nicomachea* 1095a.15-20; *Aristotle in 23 Volumes* 19: 1095a.15-19). *Eudaimonia* is typically understood through Aristotle's naturalistic views as an optimal human flourishing, rather than as a supernatural concept, and is translated by H. Rackham as "the good life" or "doing well" (1095a.15-19). Yet, in *On Prophesying by Dreams* (c. 350 BC), Aristotle recognises the more mysterious aspects of the daimon when writing that both dreams and nature are daimonic, "δαιμόνια μέντοι· ἡ γὰρ φύσις δαιμονία" (Aristotle, *Aristotelis Opera Omnia* 155; Pigman 54).[5] In *Conceptions of Dreaming from Homer to 1800* (2019), G. W. Pigman interprets this idea as Aristotle's recognition of daimonic unpredictability (54, 114). Aristotle's daimon may therefore be conceived of as a wild power that, if harnessed wisely, may be applied for greater human good.

Among the various prominent thinkers of antiquity mentioned above, we can recognise a consistent intertwining of concepts of the daimon with those of the human being. This conceptual symbiosis continues in later centuries. Although the daimon is not a common concept in classical thought, it was nonetheless pervasive and significant enough in both the philosophy and religion of antiquity to be taken up by later Neoplatonists and neoclassicists.

[5] This paraphrased translation of Aristotle is derived from G. W. Pigman, and supported by Peter T. Struck, in *Divination and Human Nature: A Cognitive History of Intuition in Classical Antiquity* (2018), 98.

Maximus Tyrius (fl. late 2nd cent.), an eclectic Platonist and precursor to Neoplatonism, describes daimons in *The Dissertations* (c. late 2nd cent.) as a governing power of a higher order; thus the daimon of the animal realm is the rational soul of the human, but the daimon of the human realm is of a higher nature again, what might be called human genius, a potential beyond what is ordinary in human beings (Maximus 239). Maximus states that the daimon is that which energises the soul, according to what that soul lives up to—reason, anger, desire, and so on—and as the governing power of the soul, from birth to death to the afterlife, composes the fate of a particular individual accordingly (239-240).

The daimon is further explored by the Neoplatonists, including Plotinus (203-270), Porphyry (233-305), Iamblichus (245-325), and Proclus (412-485). For example, we find Plotinus considering the daimonic human as a conscious orchestrator of their own human (and even cosmic) destiny, although, in agreement with Socrates, this lofty state is only realised in more sage human types (Plotinus, *The Six Enneads* 159). The Neoplatonists of late antiquity had a much broader concern than merely reviving Platonic doctrine. By their efforts, they studied and synthesised almost all Hellenic philosophy, religion, and literature, including, of course, Plato, but also Aristotle and the ethics of the Stoics, while explicitly rejecting Epicureanism and the materialistic aspects of Stoicism (Wildberg par. 1). Their synthesis of a millennium of thought resulted in what Wildberg describes as "a kind of meta-discourse and reflection on the sum-total of ideas produced over centuries of sustained inquiry into the human condition" (par. 1). Seen in this way, Neoplatonic thought is therefore very much a literary-humanistic refinement of antiquity.

However, it must be noted that Neoplatonism prioritises *nous* (mind, intellect, intuitive spirit) over the physicality of being human and therefore sits somewhat at odds with modern materialistic paradigms and should be seen as partial in this regard, although such approaches were common among the majority of intellectuals in the ancient world (par. 3). Wildberg writes

that "Neoplatonism is nothing but a philosophy of the soul, or 'psychology' in the original sense of that word" (par. 19). The noumenal emphasis of Neoplatonism provides an intellectual orientation to the psyche that facilitates an exploration of the daimon. This non-corporeal approach would later come to the Romantics, primarily through the Romantic Neoplatonist Thomas Taylor (1758-1835), who wrote extensively on it. The noumenal emphasis among the Romantics would in turn be adopted into the ontology of modern psychology, particularly among prominent psychotherapists of the twentieth century, several of whom also wrote on the daimon.[6]

Approaching the end of antiquity, Neoplatonism encountered the millennium-long rise of Christianity, and the daimon increasingly became heretical. A similar concept, however, had already existed in the Semitic traditions. In the Hebrew Old Testament, מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה (*malakh*) indicates a messenger from Yahweh, serving a similar function to the daimon as mediator between Heaven and Earth. In the Christian Bible, *malakh* became *angel* (from the Greek ἄγγελος, messenger), while *daimon* was demonised (Weiner 1: 668). This slippage of signifiers and signified led to connotations of the evil demon in contrast to the good angel (Weiner 1: 668). Strong's *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible* (1900), for instance, includes one of the daimon's original meanings, "to *distribute* fortunes," but this is appended with "a supernatural spirit (of a bad nature)" and "devil" (Strong 21; his emphasis). Essentially, this polarisation was the result of religious doctrine, rather than philosophical thought, and reflects the medieval period in general with its distancing (at least in Western Europe) from the classical worldview. Not surprisingly, a sense of morality towards the daimon was already present in antiquity, where the ancient Greeks discerned ἀγαθοδαίμων (*agathodaímōn*) from κακοδαίμων (*kakodaímōn*), the former designating a noble spirit and the latter an evil spirit (Liddell and

[6] Notable twentieth-century psychologists with an interest in the daimon include Carl Gustav Jung, Rollo May, James Hillman (1926-2011), and Stephen A. Diamond.

Scott, 'κακοδαίμων', 'δαίμων'). However, the Neoplatonic system is not morally polarised in such a Manichaean way. According to Maximus, Plato's cosmos is hierarchical, valuing reason over animalistic passions and genius over reason, with each successively higher stage being relatively more divine (Maximus 239).

Regardless, to fervent members of Christendom all types of daimons were heretical, allowing angels to replace the daimon's role as mediator and conduit of the divine. One example of this is shown in Acts 7.38, where angels pass oracles through the generations: "This is he, that was in the church in the wilderness with the angel which spake to him in the mount Sina, and with our fathers: who received the lively oracles to give unto us" (*The Holy Bible, King James Version* Acts 7.38). With the replacement of daimons with angels, a new hierarchy is introduced: the Christian 'daimon'—the angel—comes to indicate the higher type of daimon, having the qualities of divine genius, while the heathen daimons (and similar spirits from a variety of cultures, even those originally given noble qualities) become the lower daimons (demons/devil) of the Christian world. These demonical spirits are blamed for influencing individuals to acts of anger, pride, lust, and other Christian sins. Thus, the casting out of evil spirits increasingly appears in the New Testament, and here the Greek *δαιμόνιον (daimónion)* is often used to describe these beings—which is the same word Socrates uses to describe his personal daimon (*OED Online*, 'demon, n. (and adj.),' Etymology; Plato, *Platonis Opera*, 'Apology' 40a). The plural of daimon, *δαίμονες* (*daímones*), appears in the same sense, for example, in Matthew 8.31, though is rendered in the King James Version (1769) as "devils": "So the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine" (*The Holy Bible, King James Version* Matt. 8.31). Subsequently, through sectarian, moralistic doctrines and erosion across translations, Christianity greatly displaced the original sense of daimon found in antiquity. Regardless, the basic concept persists in the guise of the angel or devil, and these two supernatural beings remain inextricably relevant to the lives of

ordinary human beings of the time. Thus, the metaphysical relationship between the daimon and the human is maintained.

Eventually, the daimon of antiquity was resuscitated by Renaissance humanists such as Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), and Giordano Bruno (1548-1600). For one example, Ficino, drawing from Plato, writes of Eros as the "*daemon magnus*," an idea that filtered down to his followers, foremost Pico della Mirandola, as well as Bruno (Couliano 91, 241n5). A further example is where Bruno, in *Gli Eroici Furori* ("The Heroic Enthusiasts") (1586), describes how the ratio of the intellect to the animal instincts determines a being's nature: in humans the intellect is suppressed by animal instincts, whereas in angels the intellect surpasses animal instincts; in demons or heroes the two are in equal proportion—suggesting the hero or demon is a transformative step between humans and a higher, divine state; a daimon (Bruno 112). Such ideas developed strands of earlier Neoplatonic thought.

The Neoplatonic daimon now survived in the atmosphere of a post-medieval, highly Christianised society facing the dawn of modern science. Occult magical practices of antiquity were adapted to the early modern mindset, and commonly practiced within royal and imperial courts, including that of Tudor Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603) and Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1552-1612) (Eamon 409). In addition, Christian esotericists, such as Paracelsus (1493-1541), Jakob Böhme (1575-1624), and later, Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), were influenced by and extended esoteric systems of thought, which Blake would later inherit. Within this confluence of occult ideas and practitioners, which was becoming increasingly diverse and obscure, the daimon in its various expressions found a home, whether as angel, demon, daemon, or spirit, and was carried through to the late modern period.

At the same time, the extent to which the daimon, or an equivalent to it, appears in more common ideas cannot be overlooked; the Christian guardian angel being one obvious example.

Indeed, the similarities between the Christian angel and the daimon are many. A well-known daimonic trope is seen in Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragedie of Doctor Faustus* (c. 1592), where Faustus has both a good and a bad angel, each offering him competing advice (Marlowe, 2: 'Doctor Faustus' 1.70-77). Earlier forms of this shoulder-angel are found in *The Shepherd of Hermas* (c. 2nd cent.), a Christian non-canonical work considered an inspired work by some early Church fathers (Hoole v-vi).[7] *The Shepherd of Hermas* states that there is both a wicked and a righteous angel in every human heart, alluding to earlier classical ideas of the daimon (56). It is important to note here that these references are not simply towards good and bad human morality, but morality issued by invisible beings, influencing human development towards a more (or less) divine state. Christian angels, like daimons, are also capable of stirring sublime emotions, such as awe and wonder, as in The Book of Revelation (originally written c. 95) where they are bringers of God's wrath (*The Holy Bible, King James Version* Rev. 15.1). These angels carry authority as mediators for the Christian God, ensuring their beneficence in the eyes of the faithful. This reaction contrasts with Christian reactions to the daimonic beings of other traditions; the Greek pagan nature-spirit Pan, for example, was progressively demonised by Christians to the point of being considered an image of the Christian devil, thereby subsumed within Christian mythology (Cardete del Olmo, Abstract). Here, the moral orientation of daimonic beings—who by nature are sublime and transcend ordinary human understanding, so cannot be easily comprehended—is defined by their alignment, or lack thereof, with the recognised Christian authority, God. Yet as Christian denominations multiplied and doctrine diversified following the Reformation, so did new, considered (rather than dogmatic) perspectives on the daimon enter through gaps in the Christian worldview.

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[7] Hermas (c. mid 2nd cent.) is reputed to be the author of this work, although this is not certain.

Milton has done much to humanise the Biblical creation myth in *Paradise Lost*, and in doing so he also fleshes out the character of Satan and his demons. That Satan speaks of himself and his followers as “self-begot, self-rais’d / By [their] own quick’ning power” is an instance of the trope of the daimon as a primeval creative existence (Milton, *Paradise Lost* 5:857-8). Satan’s capital city is named Pandaemonium (literally all-daemonic), and the entire plot of *Paradise Lost* involves movement between Heaven, Earth, and Hell, replicating a cosmic daimonic drama through the fall and eventual restoration of humankind through Christ the God-man, “so God with man unites” (Milton, *Paradise Lost* 12:382). These are but some illustrative examples of the many instances of daimonic motifs in *Paradise Lost*. Another example from Milton occurs in ‘Il Penseroso,’ where he writes of “those Daemons that are found / In fire, air, flood, or under ground, / Whose power hath a true consent / With Planet, or with Element,” referring to the four elements of the traditional cosmos (Milton, ‘Il Penseroso’ 93-6). Clearly, Milton was familiar with the daimon (commonly spelt as daemon at the time). He humanises it through an outwardly Christian mythos supported by many classical undercurrents and thereby reinforces its ancient link with humanism.

A more modern aspect of the daimon came through a renewed interest in human genius during the eighteenth century. In eighteenth-century Germany, human genius and daimons were “inextricably linked,” according to Angus Nicholls, through the work of Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), his protégé Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), and their successor Goethe (Nicholls 53). Nicholls writes that Plato—a major influence upon many writers of the eighteenth century—viewed genius as unrelated to subjectivity or imagination, being instead the result of inspiration by the muse—that is, possession by an external daimon (53). Inverting Plato’s understanding of genius, Hamann, Herder, and Goethe placed genius within the individual, much like Heraclitus or Plotinus. In doing so, they roused a Romantic conception of the daimonic individual, ripe for an age of revolution.

Indeed, Hamann, Herder, and Goethe were highly influential within German Romanticism.[8] Isaiah Berlin, in *Three Critics of the Enlightenment: Vico, Herder, Hamann* (2000), attributes to Hamann an even wider influence, as a source of European Romanticism, including subsequent German thinkers (49). Berlin also writes that Hamann's initial influence eventually reached England and, in his words, the "most eloquent exponent" of the Romantic doctrine, Blake (49). An indirect connection between Hamann and Blake may be traced through the Moravian Church in London. According to Alexander Regier, there is evidence to suggest Hamann visited London in 1758, finding solace within the Moravian Church at a point of spiritual crisis in his life, after becoming very sceptical of his friend Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) ideas of rational Enlightenment ('Anglo-German Connections' 758-9). The Moravians were also a significant influence upon Blake (this is discussed below), and Regier asserts that the exposure to Moravian ideas for both Hamann and Blake is an important, unexplored link (757). Through such connections, eighteenth-century German ideas of genius and the daimon are likely to have influenced Blake's thought.

At the same time, in eighteenth-century Britain, the idea of genius began to shift semantically towards the gifted individual. In Renaissance Britain, genius meant a person's particular disposition and character, formed from astrological influences, and was something every individual had (Bate 5). This idea is embedded in the older sense of genius and daimon alike, as the soul commensurate with cosmic creative forces. But increasingly from the eighteenth century onward, social opinions of giftedness coalesced around particular people,

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[8] German Romanticism refers here to a cluster of philosophical, aesthetic, and cultural movements appearing in Germany towards the end of the eighteenth century, inclusive of *Sturm und Drang* and Jena, Berlin, and Heidelberg Romanticism, that extended its influence somewhat into Weimar Classicism and the German Idealists. Obviously, this term is a later construct applied to a complex and variegated movement. It is used here as a general composite term.

the foremost being William Shakespeare (1564-1616) and Isaac Newton (1643-1727).[9] The legacy of Renaissance humanism that sanctifies the human at the centre of the cosmos was selectively actualised through these two brilliant individuals, who were idolised as geniuses by critics, commentators, artists, and scientists who followed in their wake. Each becomes, in Patricia Fara's words, "a secular saint for our modern society" (3). While this social mythologisation of gifted individuals is in part a misrecognition of the person in place of a symbol, this replacement is also suggestive of the daimon, whose power lends mythic imagination to fact, shaping reality towards creative inventions that in turn become accepted by society as realities. Genius, even in secular society, holds an aura of mystique.

Thus, genius became a popular topic, and with reflexiveness towards this emerging social trend, the idea of genius was extensively theorised in Britain in the eighteenth century by writers such as Alexander Gerard (1728-1795), William Duff (1732-1815), and Edward Young (1683-1765). Like its German counterpart, English genius retained its meaning as a faculty of original creativity through these theorists. It was considered indistinct from natural or divine powers of creativity and was increasingly focused in the individual. It was associated with art, enthusiasm, imagination, mastery of rules in art or science, and the mythic Prometheus (Weiner 2: 294).[10] Eighteenth-century ideas of genius often retained religious connotations, from the term's origins, at a time when a religious British society began to secularise, hence the secular sainthood mentioned earlier. In this shift are the early stirrings of the current-day

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[9] For a full account of how the idea of genius developed in relation to Shakespeare and Newton, see Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (1997) and Fara, *Newton: The Making of Genius* (2002), respectively.

[10] In Greek mythology, Prometheus, a titan, acts as a daimonic mediator between humankind and the Gods by bringing fire (a symbol of knowledge and inspiration) to humanity. Prometheus was a focus in the poetry of both Percy Shelley and Goethe. See P. Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound* (1820) and Goethe, *Goethes Werke* (1827) 2: 76-8.

secular and materialistic concept of genius, stripped of its ancient heritage like much of the post-Revolutionary world, even while it remains mysterious to current-day neuroscience (Johnson 904-5). Because of this, the current-day idea of genius has almost completely distanced itself from association with the daimon, to fit within a predominantly secular, scientific paradigm.

However, during the eighteenth century there was much more speculation, as the concept of genius was in flux. It was closely connected to imagination, and both concepts were developed through the influential work of Gerard and Duff, whose explorations of genius run parallel to the daimon. According to James Engell, in *The Creative Imagination*, Gerard created a climate that "produced what became the ideal of Romantic genius and those individuals who grew up to exemplify it" (Engell 84). Through Gerard an expanded concept of the imagination was theorised, one that included the faculties of judgement and passion (79-80). By assimilating judgement, imagination was conceived as a direct and intuitive power capable of ascertaining both specific details and the whole of any given subject or creative work (79-80). Passion also contributed to the imagination, adding an energy of active interest towards a subject or work (80). Thus, Gerard considers imagination as this combination of faculties, expressed differently according to the idiosyncrasies and proclivities of the unique genius of each individual (Engell 80). The assimilation of judgement and passion within imagination ensured a more unified, humanised conception of imagination, and by extension, a more rounded idea of the human genius applying this imagination.

Differing from Gerard, Duff emphasises the spontaneity of genius, the immediate, intuitive power of imagination to provide a complete understanding as well as that understanding's proper application (Engell 85). In this view, Duff exalts genius to an almost supernatural capacity while pushing judgement into the background (85). To Duff, imagination produces symbols and myths as a code to "give the psyche a quick and powerful way to

represent complex beliefs, associations, archetypes, and feelings," which genius is then capable of rapidly accessing (Engell 85). Duff was also entranced by the "poetic figures of speech" found in Egyptian and Eastern mythologies, further developing his concept of genius in relation to the condensed expression of symbolic and poetic language and thus fostering a foundation for later esoteric writings of the Romantics (Engell 85-6). Combining these aspects, Duff's idea of genius enhances its capacity to enact "a totality of response" from all human faculties, linking the whole human being through the imagination to their genius (Engell 86). This understanding is entirely congruent with Blake.

A third eighteenth-century influence on ideas of genius was Edward Young. In his *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759), Young argues that genius is superior to learning, particularly of the classical kind, thus subverting the dominant neoclassicism of the time; it "is the God within" and can set the writer "right in composition" without the need for rules or learning; it is the power that may make writers great (25-31). Young was particularly influential upon the Romantics in England, but also in continental Europe, where *The Complaint: Or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death & Immortality* (1742) achieved wide recognition, especially in Germany (J. May par. 14). Young is an important pre-Romantic figure whose ideas prepare an understanding of genius as Romantic inspiration in concert with the daimon.

By placing genius in tandem with the imagination, Gerard, Duff, and Young each present a fresh perspective not only on what being human entails, but more importantly, what humans have the potential of becoming. Their conceptions of imagination reiterate traditional connections between humanistic thought, genius, and the daimon. Moreover, looking forward, such ideas of imagination, channelled through the arts and sciences, became an important factor

for inventive applications of human genius in the eighteenth century and beyond.[11] Hence, with these theorists we begin to recognise a revolutionary movement, a break from Neoclassicism towards more innovative conceptualisations of the human, unbound by laws, possessed by passion, longing for liberty—inviting the daimonic politics, art, and intellectualism of early Romanticism.

With the coming of the Romantic period, exploration of the daimon blossomed. M. H. Abrams in *Natural Supernaturalism* describes the Romantics as linked through an endeavour "to naturalize the supernatural and to humanize the divine"—a very daimonic preoccupation (68). For many Romantic artists, the daimon does not remain only an external influence, like a muse, as in Plato's *Ion*, but becomes the superior nature—the artistic genius—of inspired individuality. Romanticism in this way altered the classical concept of the daimon towards its integration with modern individualism. Only later did this concept give way to a reduced conceptualisation of genius as no more than an isolated, even estranged, though gifted personality, absent of a primal, universal creative power within. In other words, the post-Romantic period has seen the daimon hyper-secularised—and its individualism seriously challenged in the postmodern era.[12]

Romanticism is also distinguished by an intense pressure between looking back and looking forward, which encouraged many prominent Romantic writers to draw upon ancient conceptions of the daimon with the newness of creative experimentation, "*nach dem Beispiel der Alten*" ("after the example of the ancients"), to use Goethe's phrase (Nicholls 2; his

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[11] Albert Einstein, often considered the greatest genius of twentieth-century science, would later say in an interview with *The Saturday Evening Post* (26 October 1929), "Imagination is more important than knowledge. Knowledge is limited. Imagination encircles the world" (Einstein qtd. in Viereck 117).

[12] See Montuori and Purser, 'Deconstructing the lone genius myth: Toward a contextual view of creativity.'

translation). Such writers include Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Keats, Percy and Mary Shelley, Ann Radcliffe (1764-1823), Mary Tighe (1772-1810), Lord Byron, Matthew Lewis (1775-1818), and Blake himself. Writing became a central tool for accessing the daimon among Romantics, having associations with the ancient Greek *furor poeticus*. Daimonic expressions are also found through other media, such as the paintings of Francisco Goya (1746-1828), for example. Goethe, as another example, adopts a broad approach to how the daimon may be expressed that includes exemplars of music in Mozart (1756-1791), painting in Raphael (1483-1520), poetry in Byron, drama in Shakespeare, and warfare in Napoleon (1769-1821) (Nicholls 251). While sharing some commonalities, Romantic conceptions of the daimon diversify through the varied purposes sought by each writer: for Goethe it is a study of the potential within and beyond humanity; for Coleridge, the individual's quest of knowledge; for Keats, a rapturous sensual-emotional experience; for Mary Shelley, an enquiry into medical science and human ethics; for Radcliffe, a motif for Gothic terror; and for Blake, a process of restoring the human to divine wholeness. Among all such Romantics, humanness is closely compared, contrasted, or equated with the daimon, even while the daimon transcends ordinary ideas of the human.

Perhaps the most important textual sources for this ancient renewal during the Romantic period in Britain are the translations of Platonic and Neoplatonic works by Thomas Taylor.[13] Himself a Neoplatonist, Taylor was certainly familiar with the concept of the daimon, displaying an ease with the concept equalling earlier Renaissance and classical scholars.

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[13] Taylor's translations were read by Blake, Shelley, Wordsworth, and Coleridge in England and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), and Bronson Alcott (1799-1888) in America (Raine, 'Thomas Taylor in England' 3-9).

Throughout his work, he regularly translates the Greek δαίμων to the anglicised "dæmon."[14] Additionally, he has long been considered an influence upon Blake.

Blake and Taylor were exact contemporaries, moved in common intellectual circles, and shared the patronage of John Flaxman, though there is no direct evidence that they knew each other personally (Bentley, 'The Neoplatonism of William Blake by George Mills Harper,' 169; Cardinale and Cardinale 95). The connection between Taylor and Blake has been unclear for some time. The most extensive work on this connection to date is George Mills Harper's *The Neoplatonism of William Blake* (1961), where Harper argues for Taylor's Neoplatonic influence upon Blake. In 1964, G. E. Bentley, Jr. reviewed this work, stating, "Harper has tackled a prodigious mountain shrouded in mists, and in clambering up the first foothills he has suffered a number of nasty falls," concluding "[t]here is good material here in places, but it needs to be treated far more scrupulously and reliably" (Bentley 172). However, more recently (2010-11), Cardinale and Cardinale have written on the discovery of what appears to be Blake's annotated copy of Taylor's *The Mystical Initiations; or, Hymns of Orpheus* (1787)—a point I will expand upon below. Cardinale and Cardinale also mention two third-party accounts of meetings between Blake and Taylor: in the *Reminiscences* (1867-9) of Alexander Dyce (1798-1869), a long-term friend of Taylor; and an anecdote from William Meredith (1804-1831) given in 1829 (Cardinale and Cardinale 95-6). The mists around a connection between Blake and Taylor are made clearer in these discoveries, though much remains shrouded.

We therefore come to the end of this genealogy with the Romantics, who, as I mentioned in chapter two, were peculiarly interested in the daimon, far more than earlier periods. Let us discover, then, how Blake orientates himself to such a genealogy.

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[14] For some instances of the daemon in Thomas Taylor's translations and works, see Aristotle, *The Rhetoric, Poetic, and Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle* (1818) 186, 277, and Plotinus, *Select Works of Plotinus* (1817) xli-xlii, 106-7, 409-10.

3.2 William Blake's Daimon

Childhood exposure

There is much evidence to suggest that the Moravian Church was a strong influence on Blake's conception of the daimon. From 1722, the Moravian Church began its third period through a renewal by Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf (1700-1760), who led the Church's community to include Lutherans and Reformed Moravians, as well as Anglicans in England, thereby establishing several ways or "Tropi" within the Church (Freeman 2). This renewal would bring the Moravian and Anglican churches to a long history of accord and cooperation, and also to share many similar beliefs, such as: the Trinity, the importance of liturgy and its power through words, the scripture of the Old and New Testament, baptism, and righteousness through faith and grace (Freeman 1, 5-7). Despite these similarities, and the Church's recognition as an ancient episcopal Church in the Moravian Act of 1749, in the mid-eighteenth century the Moravians experienced a "political-cum-social witch-hunt" that interrogated their "Being of Christianity" (Pinnington 213-15). They were considered by Bishop Lavington in 1755 not as another denomination with differences in ceremony and doctrine, but like Gnostics (Pinnington 215).

Like the Moravians, Blake's worldview was also deemed Gnostic according to the Romantic diarist Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867), "repeated with sufficient consistency to silence one so unlearned as [himself]" (Robinson 23). Robinson's views on Blake, however, are questionable, given he expresses many odd statements about Blake that are not reflected in Blake's work. Robinson also contradicts himself by admitting he knows little of Gnosticism even while recognising it in Blake. Even so, the traces of Gnosticism in Blake are far from consistent. Peter Otto states that Blake repeats ancient Gnosticism "while turning it inside out," making this world the true heaven ('William Blake, the Ancient Gnostics, and the Birth of

Modern Gnosticism' 473). The idea of an inverted Gnosticism gestures to a daimonic cosmology, where the divine reality is mediated through the ordinary world: "If the doors of perception were cleansed," writes Blake, "every thing would appear to man as it is: infinite" (*MHH*14, E39).

This view of recognising the divine in the ordinary closely concurs with Moravian religious practices. Zinzendorf's influence upon the Moravian community promoted the idea of Jesus' *Menschwerdung*—his "humanation"—so that the saviour was recognised as fully human, including his experiences of pleasure and pain (Schuchard 85). Yet this ordinariness in Christ does not exclude his divinity, as do natural-theological views such as Thomas Jefferson's Christian Deism or the later historicist views of David Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* (1835). Instead, this doctrine bridges the gap between the divine and the ordinary for Moravian devotees, promoting access to Christ by awakening their own full humanity. Moravian doctrine taught a sensual, even sexual, approach to Christ through intense meditative immersion in the minute details of religious art, poetry, and music; a practice that would activate the visionary imagination (Schuchard 85). The intensity of these practices is considered to have a transforming, sublime, awe-inspiring effect upon the devotee, mirroring the *terribiltà* of Michelangelo (1475-1564),[15] whom Zizendorf, Moravian artists, and Blake greatly revered (96). This "*Herzensreligion* (religion of the heart)" also very much resonates with a daimonic state, being a sublime immersion in a sensual-imaginary experience of Christ as God-Man, a practice seeking to awaken and fuse the divine with the ordinary within the individual. Blake refers to the same in *Jerusalem*:

Trembling I sit day and night, my friends are astonish'd at me.

[15] *Terribiltà* is the capacity to inspire awe, terror, or other sublime emotions through art. It is described by Schuchard as "a transforming, energizing, imaginative passion" (96).

> Yet they forgive my wanderings, I rest not from my great task!
>
> To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eyes
>
> Of Man inwards into the Worlds of Thought: into Eternity
>
> Ever expanding in the Bosom of God. the Human Imagination
>
> O Saviour pour upon me thy Spirit of meekness & love. (*J*5:16-21, E147)

The trembling mentioned here by Blake takes on a new light when understood in the context of these Moravian trance-like practices, since trembling is a common symptom of trance (Simons et al. 257).

Moravian techniques of visionary art emphasised the imagination and the importance of minute details in religious imagery. They involved creating emblems through a practice of "iconomysticism," following from the Jesuit tradition (Schuchard 89). In this way, Moravian artwork acted like the "signatures" of Paracelsus and Boehme,[16] producing an esoteric language understood by few, yet visually accessible to all, even children and the illiterate (90). This practice was promoted in England through individuals such as Johan Valentin Haidt (1700-1780), a significant London artist who travelled between Germany and England and frequented the Fetter Lane Chapel in London between 1724 and 1754. Haidt emphasised the value of art for the spiritual development of children and through this had great influence upon Moravian families (Schuchard 93). In 1749, Zinzendorf commissioned Haidt to paint dozens of historical and biblical scenes of relevance to Moravian teachings for display at Fetter Lane and nearby Lindsey House, the home of Zinzendorf (93-4). Thus, the *Herzensreligion*, involving practices of iconomysticism and *terribiltà*, became central to the Moravian Church at Fetter Lane.

[16] Both mystics influenced the Moravian church and were read by Blake.

It is now known that Blake's mother Catherine Blake (née Wright) (1725-1792) was deeply involved in the inner circles of the Church at Fetter Lane around this time. Davies and Schuchard have uncovered some of the once-hidden history around this connection, revealing "how much inaccurate or incomplete information abounds about even the most basic details of Blake's life" (42). According to them, Blake's mother (in her first marriage) joined the congregation in 1750 with her husband, Thomas Armitage, and left in 1751 following his death (39, 41). She remarried James Blake (William's father to be) in October 1752, but from the initial findings of Davies and Schuchard, there was no indication that Catherine Blake remained connected with the Moravian community. However, in a subsequent article, Schuchard suggests there is renewed plausibility to William Muir's claim (provided by Thomas Wright) that "William Blake's parents attended the Moravian Chapel in Fetter Lane," if only in the form of public services (Wright 1: 2; Schuchard 84). The time at which Thomas and Catherine Armitage, William's uncle John Blake, and perhaps James Blake were most involved with the Moravian Church was known as the "Sifting Time (c. 1743-53), a turbulent and creative period of spiritual, sexual, and artistic experimentation" (Schuchard 85). This period brought an "international network of ecumenical missionaries, an esoteric tradition of Christian Kabbalism, Hermetic alchemy, and Oriental theosophy, along with a European 'high culture' of religious art, music, and poetry" to Fetter Lane (85). William Blake's eclecticism is well known, and many of these influences are apparent in his work.

Schuchard describes additional artistic connections between Blake and the Moravian Church. Within Moravian communities, the intense visionary practices of the *Herzensreligion* were taught to children from an early age, and most likely to William Blake through his mother's home-schooling (Schuchard 85, 96). Catherine Blake most likely knew Brother Christopher Henry Müller, who came to London from Herrnhaag, "the most radical center of the Sifting Time," and whose duty was to care for the children of the London Moravian

community, which included his instructing them in art and engraving (Schuchard 92-3). While there is no evidence William Blake was taught directly by Müller, the young Blake was exposed to visionary artwork in the houses of aristocratic friends of Zinzendorf, most probably taken by his mother (92). Years later (c. 1800-1807), Blake was in regular contact with a pair who attended services at Fetter Lane, the poet James Montgomery (1771-1854) and the artist Jonathan Spilsbury (c. 1737-1812) (95). His connection with these two artists probably involved discussion of Moravian artistic practices. Schuchard also suggests that Blake may have been exposed to Haidt's artwork through his friendship with Montgomery and Spilsbury (95). These encounters show the various ways Blake was likely exposed to Moravian doctrine and practices.

Supporting these encounters are several resonances between Blake's work and that of the Moravians. In comparing Blake with Haidt, we can see that both apply art as a religious practice, both encourage an independent spirit as artists, and both emphasise outline over colouring (Schuchard 93-94). Schuchard also highlights similarities between two of Blake's paintings—*Christ the Mediator* (c. 1799-1800)[17] and *Mary Magdalene Washing Christ's Feet* (c. 1805)—and two of Haidt's works on similar subjects (94-95). Further similarities in tenets and practices between Blake and the Moravian Church are recognisable. Alexander Regier mentions that both: value language and the use of figurative language within poetic hymnody; emphasise the symbol of the lamb—which is more central to Blake than the cross—and the child; and express Christian tenets with deeply local specificity while adopting wider intellectual associations (seen in Blake's mythologisation of England in *Milton* and *Jerusalem*) (Regier, 'Anglo-German Connections' 767, 770, 773). Along with the evidence of encounters

[17] This painting is examined in section 4.1.

with Moravians given above, such resonances suggest a strong influence of Moravian teachings upon Blake.

These resonances are important because they detail Blake's earliest childhood influences as the foundation for the rest of his life. They show that he was most likely exposed to a doctrine that teaches the cultivation of loving unity between oneself and the divine through sublime art and practices of active imagination, as a means of becoming fully human, with Christ as the exemplar of humanity. These very themes are the pervasive focus and climactic conclusion of *Jerusalem*, and Blake's *magnum opus* could indeed be read as a Moravian work of visionary practice. I will explore these ideas more fully in the following chapters.

It is also necessary to note that this Moravian influence, while both diverse and highly eclectic, is not the limit of Blake's intellectual, artistic, and spiritual exploration. His wider explorations beyond his childhood include his study of the art, writing, and ideas of numerous other individuals, many of whom he avowedly disagrees with, often from a position that seems to be in alignment with Moravian values. While Blake's upbringing was one of osmotic learning, like most children, his adulthood shows stages of learning involving curiosity and criticism towards a range of views. He swiftly denounced some views, such as those of his nemeses Isaac Newton, John Locke, and Francis Bacon (1561-1626), while deeply exploring others only to ultimately reject them, such as those of Swedenborg and "the Greeks" (*LE*, E701). Beginning with *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake's later work displays more overt daimonic themes and imagery. Indeed, the very title of *The Marriage* is daimonic, and it contains a range of conceptual and poetic allusions to the daimon, much of which comes from Blake's rejection of Swedenborg's teachings as he shifts his style towards a more daemonic aesthetic.

Conception of the daimon

We can now discuss the ways in which the above intellectual and personal history informs Blake's conception of the daimon. In *All Religions are One* (c. 1788), Blake writes:

> PRINCIPLE 1st That the Poetic Genius is the true Man. and that the body or outward form of Man is derived from the Poetic Genius. Likewise that the forms of all things are derived from their Genius. which by the Ancients was call'd an Angel & Spirit & Demon. (*ARO*, E1)

Here, Blake equates true human nature with Poetic Genius. He sees Poetic Genius ontologically, as a universal reality that is the origin to all things and beings, conceived of as a reiteration of ancient thought. He also describes a creative power inherent in Poetic Genius, from which various individual, embodied beings are derived. Similarly, he describes the forms of all things as originating from their own genius, and affirms that this term is synonymous with angel, spirit, or demon, according to the "Ancients" (*ARO*, E1).[18] By equating genius with the "true Man," Blake continues the longstanding humanistic association with the daimon (*ARO*, E1).

Throughout his oeuvre, Blake writes reverently of these "Ancients" (*ARO*, E1). In a letter to Reverend John Trusler (23 August 1799), he names Moses, Solomon, Aesop, Homer, and Plato as the wisest of them, and in his *Descriptive Catalogue* for his 1809 exhibition, he writes with similar high praise for "the Ancient Britons" (*LE*, E702; *DC*39, E542). Thus, in mentioning the Ancients, he is referring broadly to his British heritage formed by a combination of Judeo-Christian, classical, and Brythonic influences. Yet he is also romanticising and

[18] As mentioned earlier, Goethe takes a similar approach in his study of the daimon ("*das Dämonische*"), which was done according to Goethe "*nach dem Beispiel der Alten*," after the example of the ancients (Goethe qtd. Nicholls 226).

mythologising these figures, describing his writing on these Ancients in the *Descriptive Catalogue* as giving "the historical fact in its poetical vigour" (*DC*43, E543). His concept of Poetic Genius looks to these Ancients, and, although he doesn't mention Heraclitus directly, it closely resembles Heraclitus' daimon in its ontological and creative sense and also resonates with Neoplatonic concepts of the daimon.

Demon, *angel, spirit*, and *genius* are found regularly throughout Blake's oeuvre, used in various senses, even when applying the same word.[19] While Blake never uses the word *daimon*, it is clear from the above passage that he knew of the concept, given the context he places genius within. He uses the word *daemon*—in the sense of a demonical spirit—once in a manuscript fragment, 'then She bore Pale desire,' dated by Erdman to the early 1780s (*FS*3, E447). However, some accommodation for variance in spelling and terminology is necessary here, given that the spelling variant *daimon* was not in wide usage during Blake's lifetime; *demon* was the most common English equivalent at the time, with *daemon* lesser known, but increasing in usage during the Romantic period (*Google Books Ngram Viewer,* 'Demon,' 'Daemon,' 'Daimon'). As mentioned in chapter two, *daimon* is the term used in relation to Blake in this thesis because it best encompasses his sense of the trope, which will become clearer as we proceed.

However, Blake's terminology is only one part of his conceptualisation of the daimon. To understand Blake's daimon we must also draw on his artistic liberty. Granted, as I have shown in the above genealogy, these terms each have distinct historico-cultural meanings among a range of contexts beyond Blake's work, yet in *All Religions are One*, they are treated as one and the same, even while he applies them differently elsewhere in his oeuvre. This contradiction could be accounted for by the slipperiness of the term. But contradiction also

[19] I examine these terms' usage in *Jerusalem* more closely in chapter four.

exists because his understanding changes over time and his concepts morph across various works. Furthermore, he generally lacks scholarly precision and an integrated worldview. My aim, therefore, is not to show Blake's direct intellectual engagement with the concept of the daimon. He was not a scholar, so it would be fruitless to hold him to the precision expected by one, and this includes holding him to a precise definition of terms and scholarly discussion of their associated concepts. Unlike other contemporaries, such as Goethe, Coleridge, and Taylor, who wrote as scholars on the daimon, Blake approached it as a visionary artist and poet. This thesis, therefore, does not seek his scholarship on the daimon, but reads it from his art and poetry, as an aesthetic, cosmological, and characterological trope.

Blake was clearly intent on arguing his points, although his arguments are seldom rational, but aesthetic and rhetorical. Across his career, one of his central arguments is the insufficiency of reason as an epistemological tool, clearly a reaction against Enlightenment rationalism. The faculty of reason, according to Blake in *Milton*, divides human beings from their innate existence as creative imagination (*M*32:34, E132). He represents reasoning as Urizen and its result as Ulro, a state of abstraction insulated from reality, which dislocates the individual from their greater human existence, and especially their capacity for genius, illustrated by Albion's state at the beginning of *Jerusalem* (*J*4-6, E146-9). But Blake's idea of genius transcends all such limits, as the greatness and truth of human nature that is accessible through the imagination and expresses truth spontaneously, creatively, and in a more complete manner, illustrated by Albion's final awakening in *Jerusalem* (*J*96-99, E255-9). This view of genius resonates with earlier theorists, such as Duff, Young, and Hamann. By dismissing reason and heralding inspiration, imagination, and genius, Blake presents *mythos* (story) as more fundamental to existence than *logos* (reason).[20] This makes his worldview

[20] Throughout this thesis, I italicise the terms *logos* and *mythos* when referring to them generally, from their original Greek sense, as reason and story respectively.

philosophically limited but artistically compelling. Therefore, his work—and the daimon therein—is better treated as rhetorical myth and aesthetic experience, as literature and art, rather than as philosophy or empirical fact.

Given Blake's work is highly imaginative and idiosyncratic, that he invents history and supersedes logic as an artist and mythopoet, how, then, can his trope of the daimon be wholly understood in relation to a historical or philosophical framework, such as the genealogy previously mapped? Nicholls writes on a similar issue in *Goethe's Concept of the Daemonic*, mentioning that Goethe's understanding of the daemonic is often expressed in highly subjective ways (16). Nicholls asks

> whether it is satisfactory, from the point of view of literary scholarship, to deal with Goethe's personal and particular understanding of the daemonic by looking exclusively at the works from his oeuvre in which it appears, or whether any real grasp of his use of this concept must inevitably reckon with its manifold appearances throughout the history of Western thought. (16)

A similar situation is found with Blake, who also develops his own personal, subjective understanding of the daimon. Nicholls further asks,

> is it even possible, by analyzing and cataloging representations of the daemonic throughout the history of Western letters, to arrive at a theoretical essence against which Goethe's use of this concept can be measured and assessed? (16)

This present study of Blake must acknowledge the same conclusion Nicholls comes to with Goethe. Drawing from Walter Benjamin's study of *Trauerspiel* (tragic drama), Nicholls writes

that "[g]eneralized notions, concepts, or topoi can be understood, according to Benjamin, not as fixed essences, but only in terms of their individual, concrete, and particular manifestations" (16). A similar approach will be taken here towards Blake.

All Religions are One shows one instance, among many, of Blake's daimon, which, in their collection, form not so much a uniform concept as a literary, artistic, and mythological topos—a variegated place or landscape—of the daimon. As this thesis is primarily a literary study, referring to Blake's daimon as a concept is misleading, since in literary works it can only develop into a uniform concept to a limited extent. Therefore, it is better to consider it as a trope, manifesting variously through specific instances. Thus, Blake's daimon is indicated in this thesis' title and conceived throughout as a trope.

An examination of the ways Blake's daimon resonates historically among various thinkers will serve to contextualise it as a trope. It seems quite likely Blake's involvement with the daimon in its various aspects is inspired by his exposure to Moravian religious-artistic practice, doctrine, and a range of esoteric thought, and especially through his apparent contact with Platonic and Neoplatonic ideas via Thomas Taylor. This daimon appears in both an internal and external sense in Blake's work. His first principle in *All Religions are One* presents it as both the innermost human nature (like Heraclitus, Plotinus, or Socrates) and an external power acting on forms (like Homer or Hesiod).[21] There is no inherent contradiction in these external and internal senses as Blake uses them because they represent the two polar states within his cosmology: the divine sovereignty of the awakened individual and the possessed consciousness of the fallen individual. Thus, in *Jerusalem*, the innermost daimonic nature is realised in individuals having an awakened divine imagination, such as in Los, Erin, the

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[21] From 1814-1817, Blake engraved 37 plates designed by John Flaxman for Flaxman's *Compositions From the Works Days and Theogony of Hesiod* (1817), showing that Blake was familiar with Hesiod's ideas. This work includes specific references to Hesiod's ideas of the daimon and the golden age (see Flaxman, pls. 9-10).

Eternals, and the awakened Albion, while the sleeping individual remains subject to possession by external states, imposed by archetypal daemonic figures such as Urizen, Vala, or Rahab. The term daemonic is used purposely here for the latter because in Blake's mythos these archetypal figures (or states) are disconnected from the infinite while having great transgressive, egoistic power over the world. Blake's mythopoetic cosmology explores a topos of the daimon/daemon in various ways.

Blake's daimon is also innately creative, expressing divine power within the earthly realm and within human beings. Chapter four of *Jerusalem* clearly reflects this internal sense when Albion is restored to wholeness at the conclusion of the epic. Albion's awakening is the triumphant return to his full potential, the innate creative power of the human soul. This mirrors Heraclitus' fragment ("ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων"), which presents a deeper understanding of human ontology, with the daimon as the ontological power of creative potential within each human being (Heraclitus qtd. in Plutarch, 6: *Platonicae quaestiones* 999e). Yet, even when adopting the common translation of Heraclitus' fragment, that a person's moral character determines their destiny, Heraclitus' maxim remains true in all four chapters of *Jerusalem*. *Jerusalem*'s first three chapters narrate Albion's failure to awaken due to various sins in his character. In each narrative of failure, Albion's fate is dismal, or, we might say demonic. Yet fate is synonymous (in one sense) with the daimon. Thus, when Albion awakens his innate creative power, he gains conscious control over his own fate, which is realised as his true, daimonic humanity. He is restored to his full potential as a conscious, creative human. Thus, in both the internal and external senses of the daimon, Heraclitus and Blake converge.

However, as similar as Blake's daimon is to this fragment from Heraclitus, it differs from Socrates' personal daimon. Blake's trope does not seem to resonate much with the proscriptive warnings of Socrates' daimon because there is an innate ethos of liberty associated with wisdom in Blake's mythos, while he often associates influence, suggestion, or controlling

of one being by another with imprisonment. Socrates' daimon is an unusual and seemingly unique case in classical literature. But, as previously discussed, Socrates also discusses the daimon in other forms, such as the sage, the hero, and Eros, all of which resonate closely with Blake's protagonist characters and their ideals. For example, in *Jerusalem*, Jesus is very much a Socratic sage-like daimonic human, embodying wisdom and goodness, and Blake's chief protagonist Los illustrates the daimonic-human hero who bridges the immortal and mortal worlds, driven to greatness by love. Eros as the creative power of life is also a common motif in Blake's oeuvre, perhaps best represented by his concept of "Living Form" that underlies his anti-mathematical cosmology (*OV*, E270).

Blake's daimon also differs from Aristotle's conception. He disagreed with Aristotle's analytical approach to knowledge, which he describes in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* as merely a skeleton of a body (*MHH*20, E42). He also disregards Aristotle's abstraction of God from the imaginative world, in contrast to Biblical personages Jesus, Abraham, and David, whom he writes, "considerd God as a Man in the Spiritual or Imaginative Vision" (*AtBS*212, E663). In these distinctions, we can recognise Blake's aversion to abstract, rational knowledge and his preference for more direct and rounded human experience via the imagination. The result of these distinctions shows in Aristotle's civilising of the daimon, towards the mature political outcome of *eudaimonia*, in contrast to Blake's creative, visionary aesthetic.

We can also recognise Neoplatonic resonances in Blake's oeuvre. Cardinale and Cardinale argue that the annotations found on a first-edition copy of Thomas Taylor's *The Mystical Initiations; or, Hymns of Orpheus* appear to be Blake's, since the handwriting is strikingly similar to his own, and the sections underlined and comments added coincide with his intellectual interests at the time; when he wrote *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*, 1787-94 (Cardinale and Cardinale 84). If this is correct, then this is evidence for Blake's direct exposure to a Neoplatonic understanding of the daimon, since Taylor explores it in great detail

in his dissertation in *The Mystical Initiations* and mentions it in the translated hymns that follow.

Taylor uses the word "dæmon" twenty times throughout *The Mystical Initiations*, with "demonical" indicating evil daemons, and "angel" denoting a spiritual being of a higher order than daemons (Taylor, *The Mystical Initiations* 26-27).[22] Cardinale and Cardinale show that the sentence, "About every God there is a kindred multitude of angels, heroes, and daemons" is underlined by the annotator, confirming his or her awareness of the concept (91). Taylor mentions a "multitude of invisible beings, which Plato indiscriminately calls dæmons" (59). He proceeds to differentiate these beings into those given special status by human deification and those unaccounted for by name (59-60). He gives the latter the common name "dæmon," which he classifies as being either good or evil types (60-63). While he clearly shows distinctions among these categories of being, reflecting an understanding of the Neoplatonic hierarchical cosmology, at times he is loose with these distinctions. Additionally, he includes a hymn, titled 'To the Dæmon, or Genius,' implying an interchangeability between these two terms (203).

Taylor's grouping of terms is similar to Blake's grouping in *All Religions are One*, composed c. 1788, around the time Blake would have read Taylor's work. Blake's short tract, however, does not philosophically distinguish between the terms to the degree Taylor does. Additionally, Blake's inflection of genius as poetic in *All Religions are One* not only stands against Plato's (and Enlightenment rationalists') placing of reason as the highest faculty of truth, but also highlights the innate creativity present within genius as the expression of life itself—this being a prominent Romantic trope (Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 5: *Republic* 4.442c). In comparison to Blake, Taylor is much more philosophical, as he adheres to the

[22] Instances of "dæmon" or "angel" appear in Taylor, *The Mystical Initiations* at 39, 59-63, 73, 80, 82, 112-113, 142, 147, 149-150, 152, 156, 166, 168, 185, 187, 203, 216, 222, 226.

school of Plato and the Neoplatonists. While Blake engages in similar idea to these writers, he is the foremost among them to express the daimon through art and poetry. His subtle differences from Taylor reaffirm his similarities to Heraclitus' daimon, as well as to Eros as the archetype of life's innate loving, creative power.

Still, there is an ideational background that Blake draws from. If the annotator to the discovered copy of Taylor's *The Mystical Initiations* is Blake, then it is likely he was quite interested in the ideas Taylor explores, given Blake's esoteric background and curiosity for knowledge. However, because of his tendency to stubbornly assert his own truths, he may not have entirely agreed with Taylor's understanding, and it therefore seems likely Blake's apparent exposure to Taylor could have provided a model for him to develop his own mythopoetic cosmology in response. In his work at this time (c. 1787-94), we begin to recognise a display of increasingly inventive thought, most clearly apparent in the unorthodox mythopoetic motifs of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, such as his depiction of Hell's printing house or the narrator's encounter with a fanatical angel (*MHH*15-20, E40-2). This inventiveness continues with Blake's formation of distinct mythopoetic characters; Urizen, Orc, Tharmas, Los, Vala, and the like, in his prophetic works. And ultimately, we can recognise in his major poems, *The Four Zoas*, *Milton*, and *Jerusalem*, a great degree of mythological resonance developing out of his artistic originality, making his longer works especially mythopoetic explorations, as the coming chapters will show.

Another trait of Blake's daimon is its simultaneous immanence and transcendence, bridging actual and potential states. Blake's equating of Poetic Genius—the daimon—with the true human points to a perceived higher potential for humanity. Yet this is not a transcending of the human, but, rather the true human as transcendent. This approach strongly reflects Moravian ideas about the divinity of the ordinary human. Furthermore, this divine ordinariness includes the sensual and practical aspects of embodied life along with a focus on the artist,

supporting Moravian practices of religious art, poetry, and music as a conduit to achieve a more-fully human state. This state is symbolised among the Moravians by Christ, the exemplary God-Man, a mythological daimonic figure. Blake's daimon, therefore, is aligned with Christ, and thus with the aspiration towards full humanity that Blake sought to depict in his art and poetry. His use of mythopoetic literature to present an ideal of the fully human—as a creative, daimonic being—also brings his work to resonate with new approaches to literary humanism. His literature presents a psycho-cosmological process that maps various states, or stages, of human spiritual development.

Blake's daimon is also very similar to Milton's, as a Christian mythological motif with classical undercurrents. Blake was, of course, very familiar with Milton's work, having illustrated Milton's *Paradise Lost* and written his own lengthy work on the poet, *Milton*. This poem narrates Milton's descent from Heaven and explores themes of individual transformation, poetic inspiration, and literary legacy. Indeed, the ending of Book I of *Milton* depicts Milton entering Blake's body (his left foot) as a spirit of poetic inspiration, which is a daimonic motif: "But Milton entering my Foot; I saw in the nether / Regions of the Imagination" (*M*21:4-5, E115). Many other instances of the daimon can be read from *Milton*. These instances, along with Blake's illustrations of Milton's work, show the conveyance of a daimonic legacy from Milton to Blake.

Milton's detailed articulation of the figure of Satan also has an important role in relation to Blake's daimon. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake famously writes, "The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & God, and at liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of the Devils party without knowing it" (*MHH*6, E35). Here, his notion of the "true Poet" links with the "true Man" as Poetic Genius in *All Religions are One*, making Satan a Romantic hero and artist. In *Creature and Creator*, Paul Cantor argues along these lines, showing that both Blake's and Shelley's response to Milton inverts the values

of Milton's Christian mythos, so that God becomes the oppressive tyrant and Satan the lone Romantic genius, or daemon, rebelling against God's order (30, 77-78). A rebellion against divine authority occurs in Blake's earlier prophetic works, mainly through Urizen as the oppressive demiurge and Orc as rebel hero. This inversion shifts in his later work (after c. 1795) with the emphasis on Los as the archetypal creative artist. His exploration of the Satan archetype as a positive figure passes, and he returns to more Christian values, reemphasising Satan as evil and Christ as the model individual. Blake's tendency for devout religiosity—in contrast with Shelley's atheism—persists in his later work, including *Jerusalem*, making the daimon, rather than the daemon, a defining trope for his ideal Romantic individual. The result of all this is that Milton's legacy aids in Blake's depiction of the daemonic (in Blake's fallen world) as necessary for the realisation of the daimonic (in Blake's awakened state). *Jerusalem* explores both facets yet concludes on the daimonic human being, a being who has dealt with and integrated their demons and become a more complete human as a result.[23]

Finally, a comparison between Blake's daimon and the theories of imagination, genius, and creativity expounded by Gerard, Duff, and Young will clarify Blake's position in relation to eighteenth-century ideas of genius, which, as I have previously explained, still held traces of its ancient sense concurrent with the daimon, albeit in new forms.

Blake's model of the liberated human explored in *The Four Zoas* and completed in *Jerusalem* is based around harmonisation of the Four Zoas as four human faculties. According to Damon in *A Blake Dictionary* (1965), these faculties are imagination (Urthona/Los), reason (Urizen), passion/energy (Luvah/Orc), and the sensual body (Tharmas) (399). This harmonisation of faculties is very similar to Gerard's concept of genius, which involves the combination of judgement, passion, and imagination—Blake extends this triad by adding the

[23] This process of integration is elaborated in more detail in chapters five and six.

sensual body. His inclusion of a more physical or objective human faculty (the sensual body) is significant, as this brings his conception of genius to bridge psychological and physical faculties, in accord with the role of the daimon as mediator between spirit and body. Gerard emphasises the individualism of imagination and genius, attributing to gifted individuals a self-aware intelligence that provides the capacity for its own development (Engell 83). Yet Blake avoids concluding upon an isolated individual as the seat of genius and instead presents genius as originating within a collective, divine humanity, described in *Jerusalem* as

> the Only General and Universal Form
> To which all Lineaments tend & seek with love & sympathy
> All broad & general principles belong to benevolence
> Who protects minute particulars, every one in their own identity. (*J*38:20-23, E185)

Genius does not originate in separate individuals, claims Blake, but rather the individual originates from universal divinity, God. Nonetheless, Blake's individual does not dissolve and disappear in the liberated state,[24] but exists in relational openness, expansion, and translucency towards all other beings by virtue of that original state (*J*42:35-36, E189). In *The Laocoön,* his equation that imagination is the "Eternal Body of Man," which is Jesus, which is also God, similarly situates genius not as a quality based in each individual human, but as arising from a common origin, the exemplar for all human forms, Jesus, to whom "We are his Members" (*L*, E273). This same idea is repeated in *All Religions are One*, where all beings are derivations of Poetic Genius (*ARO*, E1). Individuals in Blake's cosmos originate from one universal divinity, which is imagination, genius, and the true human in one; it is infinite and eternal, and the greater

[24] Blake's liberated state differs in this sense from the Buddhist निर्वाण (*nirvāṇa*).

potential of the individual human. Blake's individuals may either awaken to this true humanity or fall into forgetfulness of it. He therefore sets his concept of individual genius within a universal divinity, which orientates it more so to the mediating daimon, in contrast to Gerard's individualistically embedded idea of genius.

Duff's theories of imagination and genius come closer to Blake than do Gerard's. Duff considers imagination the highest faculty, able to spontaneously codify dense meaning in symbols and myth, and that genius, closely linked to imagination, operates through the entire human being (Engell 85-6). Blake parallels these ideas in a response to George Berkeley's (1685-1753) idea in *Siris* (1744) that reason is the higher faculty for developing understanding from the imagination (*AtBS*214, E664). He writes, "Knowledge is not by deduction but Immediate by Perception or Sense," and that this knowledge involves the entire human being: "at once Christ addresses himself to the Man not to his Reason" (*AtBS*214, E664). As in Moravian doctrine, Blake places Christ as the direct and total mediating figure for human understanding, providing immediate comprehension of complex experience. This same epistemology pervades Blake's mythopoetic vision. He explores human nature in literature and art through an experience rich in symbolism, allegory, and mythological motifs, which are mediums for understanding in agreement with Duff's view of genius. The communication of dense meaning through symbol, allegory, and myth is also central to the practice of Moravian art (Schuchard 90). Furthermore, Blake and Duff were both interested in exploring deep esoteric symbolism within poetry. Blake's regular use of religio-poetic language, which resembles the Moravian iconomysticism discussed above, parallels—albeit in a different context—Duff's fascination with the poetic language of Egyptian and Eastern mythologies (Engell 85-6). Blake and Duff, therefore, share many similar views on the poetic epistemology of genius.

Finally, Blake was familiar with Young's work, since he devoted two years of his life to illustrating a new edition of *Night Thoughts* (1797), published by Richard Edwards (1768-1827). Young's idea of genius as a source of spontaneous creative expression, a God within, is also a central motif within Blake's oeuvre, and Blake's statements on composition reiterate this in many places (Young 25-31). An example of such writerly inspiration is described in Blake's letter to Thomas Butts (25 April 1803), "I have written this Poem from immediate Dictation twelve or sometimes twenty or thirty lines at a time without Premeditation & even against my Will" (*LE*, E728-9). Another example is found in a letter to Reverend John Trusler (16 August 1799), "I find more & more that my Style of Designing is a Species by itself. & in this which I send you have been compelld by my Genius or Angel to follow where he led" (*LE*, E701). Daimonic inspiration is central to Blake's artistic and literary practice.

This genealogy serves not only to contextualise Blake's daimon within the literary, artistic, philosophical, and religious traditions of the daimon, but also highlights the daimon's link to concepts of the human among a variety of thinkers across many periods. These links provide an important basis for the argument that will be developed in part II of this thesis; that the daimon is a key to Blake's humanistic thought. Having orientated and articulated Blake's daimon in relation to earlier ideas of the daimon, we are now in a position to study it more directly, as a rhetorical and aesthetic trope within the mythopoetry, poetry, and art of *Jerusalem*.

PART II

4. The Dimensions of Blake's Daimon

> We who dwell on Earth can do nothing of ourselves, every thing is conducted by Spirits, no less than Digestion or Sleep.
>
> – William Blake, *Jerusalem* (*J*3, E145)

4.1 *JERUSALEM*'S DAIMONIC COSMOLOGY

Blake's mythos describes a distinctly daimonic cosmology that reaches its pinnacle of expression in *Jerusalem*. This mythopoetic cosmos is defined primarily by his distinction between Eternity and the temporal world (*VLJ*69, E555). Blake further divides the temporal world into three states, Ulro, Generation, and Beulah, which, while given external locations in his cosmos, primarily act as modes of consciousness shaping the perceptions and actions of beings inhabiting such states. Ulro is Blake's lowest state, a confused, nihilistic void isolated from the universe through self-interest, brought about by abstract reasoning, adherence to dogmatic laws, and negative emotion. Generation is Blake's state of conflicting opposites, found in nature driven by the survival instinct, and therefore involving animalistic urges and passions.[1] Beulah is Blake's state of harmony between opposites, a lunar, dream-like realm of loving emotion, sensual pleasure, care, and empathy. These three states are presented as gradations of erroneous perception. Blake's ideal freedom from all these states is named Eden, which is technically not a state in itself. To him, Eden is the true perception of the ontological basis of reality, associated with Eternity and the infinite potential of human imagination. Blake

[1] Throughout this thesis, I consider this animalistic state to be that which engages in the primal drives of evolutionary biology: fighting, fleeing, fornicating, and feeding (Pribram 11).

presents Eden as the source of Creation and the awakened consciousness of the true human, who is powerful, wise, visionary, sublime, and creative.

These four terms (Ulro, Generation, Beulah, and Eden) first appear as the structure of a cosmology within Blake's unfinished *The Four Zoas*, begun around 1796. At this time, Blake begins to form his own distinct mythology, following from *The Book of Los* (1795) and *The Song of Los* (1795), which mark a noticeable shift in his thought. He places Los, the archetype of creative imagination, centrally within his work and begins to explore deeper ideas around art and religion as solutions to the human condition. These ideas become a foundation to his major illuminated works. But the formation of Blake's mythopoetic cosmos was gradual, being only partially developed in *The Four Zoas*. In *Blake's Critique of Transcendence: Love, Jealousy, and the Sublime in* The Four Zoas (2000), Peter Otto likens *The Four Zoas* to the vast ruin of human history, which is reflected in Albion's (humanity's) fallen body (4). Otto's perspective shows that although *The Four Zoas* is considered incomplete, its ruins are nonetheless a mythological reflection of the human experience, one of considerable depth. While Blake's mythopoetic cosmos is salvageable from *The Four Zoas*, it appears with greater coherence in *Milton* and *Jerusalem*.

Figure 1. William Blake. *Christ Appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection*. 1795-1805, colour monotype with watercolour, pen, and black ink, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1670868.

Around the time of Blake's turn to his own mythology, the idea of states is brilliantly illustrated in several of his paintings. *Christ Appearing to the Apostles After the Resurrection* (1795) (fig. 1) is one example, illustrating the highest state of Eden. Christ's daimonic awareness of Eternity provides restful shelter and uplifting Blakean fourfold vision to his Apostles, who remain in the lesser threefold vision of Beulah.[2] In this ascendant state, Christ's

[2] Corresponding numerical terms describing states of vision appear most completely in a poem included in Blake's letter to Thomas Butts (22 November 1802). Blake seems to suggest the poem was written (or desired to be included in the letter) by Catherine Blake (1762-1831), his wife. The final lines (83-88) are:

divine imagination inspires liberation from what Blake describes in *There is No Natural Religion* (c. 1788) as the "same dull round" of the temporal world. This liberation is described in *Jerusalem* as the "passage through / Eternal Death! and of the awaking to Eternal Life" (*NNR*b, E3; *J*4:1-2, E146).

Christ's body presents an openness entirely transparent to the universe. His face expresses mercy and his open hands suggest generosity along with supportiveness. He stands in strength, without tyrannical dominance over his surroundings, and presents himself as equal to his Apostles. Yet the Apostles cannot abide in the same state as Christ. They bow to him, seeking at his feet the shelter of Beulah, a state of love lacking in the full wisdom that Christ exudes. As Tristanne J. Connolly notes in *William Blake and the Body* (2002), Blake's bodies tend to depict their state of vision through their posture and clothing (71-72). Correspondingly, Christ's posture is upright and open, and his robes are thin, almost transparent, clearly mapping his bodily outline. The Apostles, in contrast, are bent over and their robes are thicker and

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> Now I a fourfold vision see
>
> And a fourfold vision is given to me
>
> Tis fourfold in my supreme delight
>
> And three fold in soft Beulahs night
>
> And twofold Always. May God us keep
>
> From Single vision & Newtons sleep. (*LE*, E722)

From this poem, single, twofold, threefold, and fourfold vision appear to correspond to the four realms of Ulro, Generation, Beulah, and Eden respectively. Damon, in *A Blake Dictionary*, mentions them as part of Blake's system of mysticism and this idea is sometimes repeated in studies of Blake (291). However, while Blake uses these numerical terms frequently, they do not always have the same designation, so their usefulness in describing a system for Blake is limited.

heavier, concealing their forms—with the exception of the Apostle immediately to the left of Christ, who may be the Beloved Discipline John, here partially uncovered and looking directly at Christ with awe. Through his presence, Christ is offering an example of Edenic awareness to his Apostles. Yet, bound by their own limitations—their mind's selfhood, which places Christ above themselves—they are unable to take the creative, imaginative leap in self-identification to become Christ-like, as truly humane beings. Because of their less-awakened imagination, a gap remains between themselves and their infinite potential, though they long for it.

In *There is No Natural Religion*, Blake acknowledges this human longing for the infinite, and the recognition of the infinite in all things as a way to restore the individual to the wholeness of the true human (*NNR*b, E2-3). This restoration is also the central theme of Blake's major works and a process that defines his concept of the human. Therefore, it is not enough to say Blake's human is simply the true human in the Edenic state and nought else, as this would exclude humanity's fallen states; neither is humanity simply the fallen human for him. Instead, he conceives of the human as the relational dynamic between and inclusive of both the eternal and temporal human. Blake's human bridges God's divinity with humankind's material nature, written in the conclusion of *There is No Natural Religion*, "God becomes as we are, / that we may be as he / is" (*NNR*b, E3).

For Blake, humanity therefore lives between matter and spirit, and thus between historical-empirical fact and the mythologies of culture, whether modern or ancient. This liminal state describes an ongoing daimonic pulse of creative existence, the ever-evolving expression and reception of experiences that blend objectivity and subjectivity within an all-inclusive human existence that is limited only by the limits of the imagination. This daimonic state is Blake's Eden, which is not simply above fallen states, but has integrated and thus surpassed them through accumulated wisdom. Such is seen in Blake's Divine Family, the

Eternals, to whom Los and Albion belong, who are capable of entering creation without becoming bound by its limitations, as Los demonstrates in *Jerusalem* (Damon 105-6). Still, the risk of falling into lower states always exists, either within one's own creation, as occurs for Albion, or by succumbing to the created world of another, as occurs for the many beings within Albion. Blake's Eden is not a peaceful paradise, but the energised rapture of vision, transcendent immersion in creative immanence, which can overwhelm less experienced beings. A being deeply awake to such a state is able to maintain full creative freedom within every possible experience because they recognise, as Blake writes in *The Laocoön*, that "In Eternity All is Vision" (*L*, E273).

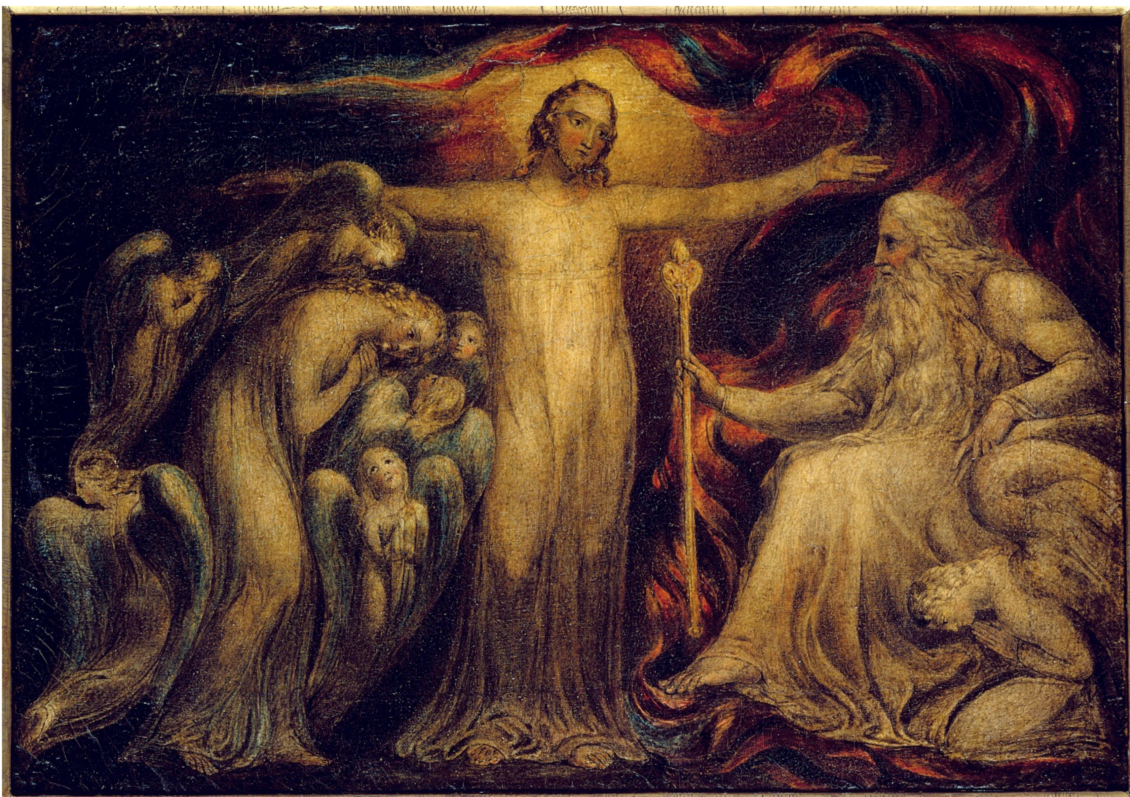

Figure 2. William Blake. *"Christ the Mediator": Christ Pleading Before the Father for St. Mary Magdalene*. c. 1799-1800, tempera, pen and ink on canvas, private collection, United States. www.blakearchive.org/copy/biblicaltemperas?descId=but429.1.pt.01. Reused under Fair Dealing for Criticism or Review.

The daimonic state of the true human as a liminal figure, both between and inclusive of the mundane and the divine, is represented in Blake's *"Christ the Mediator": Christ Pleading Before the Father for St. Mary Magdalene* (c. 1799-1800) (fig. 2). Here, Mary Magdalene (foreground, left) represents the ordinariness, or perhaps even the lowliness, of humanity,[3] while God (right) is the divine reality. Christ bridges the two, and in this specific image, acts as mediator for Mary Magdalene, thus linking the divine with the ordinary and the ordinary with the divine, as the daimon would. The recognition of this bridging power is central to this thesis. This image provides a clear representation of Blake's mythic cosmos centred on the daimonic human, for whom Christ is a primary exemplar. As Kathleen Lundeen writes, Blake "envisions Jesus as having achieved the highest prophetic and artistic ideal, immediate mediation" (154).[4]

Without understanding the centrality of the daimon within Blake's mythos, a reader may overlook the significance of this mediatory power. One example occurs in Tweedy's *The God of the Left Hemisphere*. Tweedy attempts, quite insightfully, to map Blake's mythos to the neuroscientific understanding of left and right brain hemispheres, while demonstrating similar mythological accounts in creation stories such as The Book of Genesis (c. 5th-4th cent. BC), Plato's *Timaeus* (c. 360 BC), and the Norse sagas (recorded c. 1190-1320) (Tweedy 33-34).[5] But by focusing on the differences between Urizen (as the left-brain) and Blake's awakened

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[3] Mary Magdalene has traditionally been considered a sinful woman or prostitute to whom Christ showed mercy after she bathed his feet, showing in parable the extent of Jesus' non-judgemental inclusivity (*The Holy Bible, King James Version* Luk. 7.36-50).

[4] The idea of Blake's Christ as daimonic artist will be further explored in chapter seven.

[5] Tweedy's work maps Blake's thought to the personal account of neuro-anatomist Jill Bolte Taylor (1959-), who claims to have experienced purely right-brain consciousness as a state of deep peace, compassion, and profound intuitive awareness of her own physicality after suffering a haemorrhage in her left brain hemisphere (Bolte Taylor 39, 61, 133, 135).

state (as the right-brain), Tweedy exacerbates the contrast between these two states, rather than showing their deeper symbiotic relationship in Blake's myth. For it can be observed that *Jerusalem* concludes with the ultimate integration of Urizen (and the other Zoas) within awakened Albion (*J*96:41-42, E256). This process is facilitated by Jesus, who for Blake is the integrative being that encompasses all beings and restores them to their own individual wholeness. Blake's Christ is therefore not a Manichaean-like negating opposite to Urizen (or fallen consciousness), as Tweedy seems to suggest (45). Tweedy describes Blake's mythos as a shift from the limited, abstracting, rationalising left-brain to the limitless, intuitive, embodied right-brain (45-46). But it would be more accurate in relating Blake's mythos to brain hemispheres to consider not a shift from one brain hemisphere to the other but their integration.[6] This is because, generally speaking, Blake's mythos tends towards daimonic mediation and the ultimate integration of contraries, not the negating of one side of a polarity in favour of the other. *"Christ the Mediator"* (fig. 2) is one such example, which clearly depicts a process of mediation that could be read in light of Tweedy's work as a metaphor for the integration of the human psyche.

[6] This is not to say that neuroscientific research necessarily supports such an integrative process, although some researchers are willing to explore its possible benefits. See Field for one example.

Figure 3. William Blake. *Newton*. 1795, coloured print, ink, and watercolour on paper, Tate Collection, London. www.blakearchive.org/copy/cpd?descId=but306.1.cprint.01.

Blake also explores his mythos' lower states in his artwork. In sharp contrast to Christ, Blake's *Newton* (1795) (fig. 3) shows a singularly-focused state of the human psyche. Blake satirises Isaac Newton (1643-1727), the scientific genius of the age, as an exemplar of the lowest state of Ulro. Newton sits on the seafloor, the lowest point of the earth, but is imperious, in contrast to humble Mary Magdalene. He is entirely unaware of his surroundings, demonstrating what Blake describes as Newton's sleeping state of single vision (*LE*, E722). Newton's focused, rational mind is intent on abstract measurement on a cloth or paper scroll. Despite the rich colour and diverse detail of his surroundings, his focus is entirely limited to simple, monochromatic geometry and its logic. The dark background suggests the unknown, which he seeks to conquer by his calculations, and the base of the seafloor suggests he is

working at the lowest level of his consciousness. Thus, Newton is fixated in the state of Ulro with a mind to dominate the surrounding natural world of Generation by mastering and applying its laws to his (and humanity's) advantage. His entire effort is focused through his eyes, mind, hands, and fingers—some of the most manipulative human organs. The rest of his body is unconscious of his task, merely providing a base from which to act. This painting shows Blake's skilful satirising of Newton as a representative of the Urizenic mode, a single-minded fragment of the whole human being, driven to know and dominate the world by reducing it to precise mathematical laws within a framework of spiritual vacuity.

To Blake, Newton's discoveries did not advance humankind, as modern science would have it, but placed an isolating, reductive perspective on the world and on the human being. The power of Newton's laws to predict and control the world are simply more laws for oppressing life's innate creative liberty, Blake would say, reducing life in its fullness to a mono-dimensional set of rational and empirical figures; the world of Urizen. As Tweedy explains in *The God of the Left Hemisphere*, Urizen, like God of The Book of Genesis and the Demiurge in Plato's *Timaeus*, is not a Creator God, but merely fashions a secondary creation through rationalised abstraction by dividing and categorising the chaos of Infinity (33-34). What remains unacknowledged in Newton's universe, as in the fallen world of Ulro according to Blake, is life's creative potential as fundamental to existence—Blake's Gothic "Living Form" (*OV*, E270). For Blake's Newton, life is reduced to a single dimension that circulates narrowly, being therefore effectively dead, though it may be manipulated powerfully from without. This mathematical world of matter is portrayed as a restriction of infinite being into identification solely with material consciousness and a limited epistemology. Such restriction results in the clay man Adam and woman Eve, further paralleling Tweedy's view that Urizen reflects God of The Book of Genesis (34). For Blake, the Scientific Revolution is a repetition of the Fall, with Newton and similar empiricists as Satan and his demons, blocking and obscuring the

daimonic road to the divine human imagination. He concludes in *There is No Natural Religion* that life defined by philosophical and experimental knowledge—the natural philosophy of Newton and his ilk—"would soon be at the ratio of all things & stand still, unable to do other than repeat the same dull round over again" (*NNR*b, E3).

In contrast to this supposedly reduced epistemology, Blake presents an epistemology of human genius as knowledge gained by Christ-mediated vision; immediate and direct as a fully-human comprehension of reality in its infinite totality. Blake's vision is deemed fully human because his idea of genius involves the total, awakened engagement of all human faculties—imagination, emotion, sensation, and reason. His humanisation of infinite genius presents a universalised human as the origin and essence of all: "for Cities / Are Men, fathers of multitudes, and Rivers & Mount[a]ins / Are also Men; every thing is Human, mighty! sublime!" (*J*34:46-48, E180). This primordial consciousness is Poetic Genius, the daimon, from which all things are derived.

Even methods of experimental knowledge are derived from Poetic Genius according to Blake. "As the true method of knowledge is experiment," writes Blake in *All Religions are One*, "the true faculty of knowing must be the faculty which experiences" (*ARO*, E1). Here, he implies that human experience is more fundamental than rational experiment, consciousness more primary to, and a prerequisite for, empirical science—a point of debate unresolved to this day in physics and neuroscience. He places Poetic Genius as the original faculty of knowledge and experience, and considers empiricism a tributary mode of consciousness, connected to but reduced from the infinite experience of genius, amounting to little more than "the ratio of all things," precisely what Newton is calculating in Blake's *Newton* (fig. 3) (*NNR*b, E3).

Similarly, various religions and philosophies become reduced derivations of genius. In Blake's view, religions and philosophies often arise from visionary experience, the insights or revelations of genius, but ultimately these ossify into doctrine and dogma. He writes, "all sects

of Philosophy are from the Poetic Genius adapted to the weaknesses of every individual," and adds that "The Religions of all Nations are derived from each Nations different reception of the Poetic Genius" (*ARO*, E1). In other words, limitless genius manifests as particular forms of diminished consciousness among humanity through various individual and collective imperfections, forming philosophies, religions, and cultures, which become encrusted habits or doctrines, the "mind-forg'd manacles" that solidify as human limitation (*SoE*46:8, E27). At their worst, such limited visions of reality shape Blake's humans into withered and darkened fragments of their potential, an evil state that in turn corrupts and violates all around it. The exploration of this fallen state is a primary concern in *Jerusalem*. Albion roams in his fallen state, for example, speaking favourably of demonstration (Blake's term for empirical experimentation) as a doctrine, while "every Human perfection / Of mountain & river & city, are small & wither'd & darken'd" (*J*5:7-8, E147). This withered and darkened state symbolises the withering and darkening of human genius, so that what was once living becomes an imposition upon life's boundless, primordial, divine creativity.

For Blake, the awakened state of Eternity is normality for humanity, from which historical time is a deviation. In *Fearful Symmetry*, Northrop Frye explains how Blake can consider the state of creative genius (Edenic consciousness) as normal for humanity, and further, how genius can be considered the essence of God (30-31). Frye's example is that a sane person is normal not because they appear like everyone else, but because they are superior (assumedly in practical mental function rather than any kind of social status) to a lunatic; likewise, the healthy person is normal for being superior (in physical capacity) to the cripple (30). "A visionary," Frye continues, "is supreme normality because most of his contemporaries are privative just as cripples and lunatics are" (30). Thus, to Blake, the various heightened capacities of genius show supreme normality, not abnormality. Frye contends that genius expresses the latent capacities of humanity, whose ultimate capacity is the expression of God,

the infinite, just as Blake considers the human to be infinite (Frye, *Fearful Symmetry* 30; *NNR*b, E3). Christ is the exemplar of human normality in this regard, more human by virtue of his integrated wholeness—his divinity.

Yet Frye's account of normality is one-sided, because within the perfected state is always the potential for its opposite: the fragmented, temporal, isolated, uncreative, and largely ignorant human. A more inclusive view is provided by Peter Otto, who recognises Blake's dynamic, liminal process between these two perfect and imperfect states, where humanity is "not a collection of autonomous selves, but a mobile, expansive body, formed and reformed in relations between the Zoas, and between the temporal and the divine" ('A Sublime Allegory' 79). I argue that Blake's daimonic psycho-cosmology is centred on this liminal dynamic relationship, where the awakened and the fallen are rigorously symbiotic. Logically, infinite consciousness contains an infinite number of points of view, which is itself the most comprehensive point of view because it contains all others. Yet Blake posits that in adopting a specific view, the viewer shapes the wider world under the limits of that view. Likewise, that viewer is similarly shaped by the limited world they experience, they "become what they behold," writes Blake (*J*66:36, E218). For Blake, this viewer is enclosed within a feedback loop of their own limited view of the world until they perceive or act beyond it, and in this way humans oscillate between the perfected and imperfect states.

The imagination is Blake's key to transcending these limits. In *The Laocoön*, he asserts that "The Eternal Body of Man is The IMAGINATION. / God himself," a source of infinite creative potential containing all possibilities, and thus the capacity to conceive, and therefore act, beyond the limits of a given viewpoint (*L*, E273). Blakean awakened imagination liberates being from becoming lost in its own creations, even as these are created by that being. Thus, awakened imagination sustains a dynamic, intermediary position between infinite potential and the world of concrete experience. This awakened imagination is daimonic because it mediates

between actual and potential. Without the capacity for transcendence, being becomes a mere reflection of its own surroundings, like the human developed from Locke's *tabula rasa*. Such a state lacks creativity, unable to envision the present living originality of things beyond the scope of memory drawn from reasoned experience. As Otto writes in *Constructive Vision and Visionary Deconstruction*, in our limited perceptions of the world "we see only the Lockean time that is constituted by the reasoning memory" (137). Blake shows us that, when confined within our own viewpoint at a fundamental level, we humans are passively created (the etymological meaning of *creature*). We become more like an object than a subject, a product than a producer, disconnected from the creative imagination of the soul, which is the subjectivity necessary for art and literature that Blake considers fundamental to humanity: "The whole Business of Man Is The Arts" (*L*, E273).

The difference between being as creator and being as creature defines Blake's morality.[7] The creature is bestial, Blake's fallen human as animalistic in the worst sense: unthinking, blindly devouring, crude and cruel, easily beguiled and made captive by oppressors—represented by the separated Four Zoas.[8] Contrasting this, the creator reflects the Creator, the angelic human who has integrated their faculties (Zoas) within a morally awakened state. This human moral axis from bestial to angelic also defines Blake's human as daimonic, an ontological existence between hellish and heavenly states, recalling earlier Neoplatonic ideas of the human as between animalistic and angelic states. The heavenly angelic state (Blake's Eden) necessitates a certain moral integrity coinciding with breadth of vision. Ultimately, in order to maintain infinite vision and love for all beings, which is Blake's ideal for humanity, an individual must be able to contain and wisely relate to—rather than

[7] For a broader study of the Romantic distinction between creature and creator, see Cantor, *Creature and Creator: Myth-making and English Romanticism*.

[8] *Zoa* is Latin, derived from the ancient Greek ζῷον ("animal") (*OED Online*, '-zoa, comb. form').

unconsciously react to—all points of view. Such an existence emulates the all-encompassing loving acceptance of divinity exemplified by Christ (but not necessarily the Church or its dogma).

This loving, relational openness is symbolised by Jerusalem, the divine city, who "IS NAMED LIBERTY" and is also the emanation (the surrounding relational matrix, or aura) of Albion, who represents humanity (*J*26, E171). Albion's fall coincides with his separation from Jerusalem, analogous to matter separating from spirit. When Albion is fallen, all loving relationships deteriorate within the world because the archetypal blueprint for relationship (Albion's connection to Jerusalem) has disintegrated. Egotism, dominance, and persecution become the norm because the world consists of a disparate collection of narrow-minded viewpoints, like Blake's Newton, each viewer believing themselves correct from their limited perspective and asserting such upon a larger world. But when Albion is awakened to Eternity, he reunites with Jerusalem, restoring the world of loving relationships as Jerusalem becomes the emanation of every single being within Albion (*J*99:5, E259). Interactions then become complementary, as stated in Blake's maxim in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "Opposition is true Friendship" (*MHH*20, E42).

These two states, single vision (Ulro) and divine vision (Eden), form the basic polarity that Blake's human oscillates between. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, both in its title and contents, shows Blake's early attempt to reconcile these two states. This reconciliation is later repeated in *Jerusalem*, indicated by the final line to chapter one's introductory verse: "Heaven, Earth & Hell, henceforth shall live in harmony" (*J*3:10, E145). Blake sought total harmony for humanity, ontologically and morally, individually and collectively, which required a consciousness capable of encompassing and integrating all possible human experience. Heralding later developments in psychoanalysis, he recognises Heaven and (we might assume) Hell, not as external places, but the literal manifestation of inner psychological states that

humans act out: “in your own Bosom you bear your Heaven / And Earth, & all you behold, tho it appears Without it is Within / In your Imagination” (*J*71:17-19, E225). Throughout *Jerusalem*, Blake expresses these ideas literarily and artistically, through a mythopoeia of the human as intermediary between heavenly and hellish states of consciousness.

David Baulch also recognises being as intermediary in Blake. He writes, “As in *On Homers Poetry [and] On Virgil*, *Jerusalem* associates Gothic form with a conception of being as a process that neither reaches a final material form nor a transcendent eschatological destination” (Baulch, ‘“Living Form”: William Blake’s Gothic Relations’ 58). Neither state is emphasised in *Jerusalem* as final because Blake’s ideal is the development of an ongoing culture of artistic practice, not a rigid theological doctrine or philosophical conclusion. Being in *Jerusalem* oscillates in a creative relational state between materiality and transcendence and is therefore ontologically daimonic, called by Blake and recognised by Baulch as “Gothic” or “Living Form” (*OV*, E270; Baulch 58). Therefore, what Blake calls Gothic is synonymous with humanity as daimonic living form, a creative being whose faculties (the Four Zoas) are integrated because they are restored to their origin in Poetic Genius. He also imagines the Gothic collectively in the “Ancient Britons,” as a primordial, cultured humanity, a civilisation of “Wisdom, Art, and Science” (*DC*39, E542; *J*3, E146). Such a culture coincides with his ideal golden age. These coinciding ideas show *Jerusalem* as his most fully realised literary attempt to mythopoetically articulate the individual and collective awakening of the daimonic human.

Jerusalem as mythopoeia seeks to present this intermediary living form of the daimon aesthetically and poetically for the reader. Yet, in reading literature and art, we cannot reduce or explain it away with generalisations or abstractions—Blake was strongly against both—but must focus on the particulars of a poem, a novel, a literary essay, or a painting. Reflecting such ideas, Blake does not isolate the particular from a generalised Infinity. Rather, his idea of vision

is an intensification of the particular, an opening to the infinite details of life, and of art. Writing to Reverend John Trusler (16 August 1799), Blake expresses his hope to reveal in his work "Infinite Particulars which will present themselves to the Contemplator," thereby echoing Moravian artistic practices (*LE*, E701).[9] Blake consistently values "minute particulars," a phrase applied almost exclusively within *Jerusalem*—although the concept recurs, worded differently, in his other works (*J*38:23, E185; *et alibi*). He writes in *Jerusalem*, "he who wishes to see a Vision; a perfect Whole / Must see it in its Minute Particulars; Organized" and adds that "General Forms have their vitality in Particulars: & every / Particular is a Man; a Divine Member of the Divine Jesus" (*J*91:20-21, 29-30, E251). Such ideas reiterate his Gothic "Living Form" (*OV*, E270).

To Blake, divine humanity "is the Only General and Universal Form" (*J*38:19-20, E185). Therefore, in his mythos, when individuals are spiritually asleep, they are unconscious towards their divine humanity and to the wholeness of life in its richness and detail, because they are absorbed in generalised laws, doctrines, or ideas. The result is that their words and actions are fragmentary because these are to a degree based upon a general understanding, as Blake would see it. Action stemming from general understanding imposed upon a fundamentally particularised world will lack cohesion with reality and relational coherence to the other. Others are seen not as they are, but as one thinks they are. But when an individual is spiritually awake, in Blake's view, their words and actions are particularised expressions of the infinite whole, bringing inspired restorative revelations to the whole because they communicate

[9] Of course, infinite particularity in art is an idealistic impossibility, requiring the suggestive eye of imagination to create an illusion of such beyond the physical limits of the artist's graver, pencil or brush. However, the same cannot be said of nature, whose infinitesimal details go beyond ordinary human perceptive capacity. Ironically, for Blake, scientific instruments have heightened our blunt senses to further our investigation of nature's details.

and cohere with the deeply specific, detailed actuality of reality. Blake's understanding shows that such words and actions are living art. Such expression provides daimonic gateways connecting the particular to the universal, bringing understanding and the development of greater human potential.

Therefore, the outcome of Blake's visionary perspective is an experience of clear, finely organised, vitalised detail. General forms, which are the unarticulated potentials of Poetic Genius, are articulated through life's vitality towards exacting uniqueness; life differentiates, combining the creative with the critical. Blake writes that "Living Form is Eternal Existence," the state of exuberant creativity, the freedom of life itself, actualising the clarified, liberated state that transcends the ossification of static views built upon doctrine, laws, dogma, and limited perspectives of space and time (*OV*, E270). "Striving with Systems to deliver Individuals from those Systems," Blake's daimonic humans adopt doctrine only to liberate beings into the creative living form beyond doctrine (*J*11:5, E154). As a liminal and transgressive being, the daimon provides an antidote to the arrogant state that accepts incomplete understanding as complete and therefore worthwhile imposing upon others. *Jerusalem* is therefore an attempt to bridge the gap between limited and unlimited, actual and potential, conscious and unconscious in the human individual and collective, as Blake understands them.

Mending this gap between the fallen and eternal worlds is the work of Blake's Edenic beings, daimonic humans who at times descend into the lower states for specific purposes, retaining their awareness of Eternity through their wisdom. Urthona is one such Eternal, who is named Los when entering the Gates of Los and the fallen world. Los retains awareness of his eternality, stating "I know I am Urthona keeper of the Gates of Heaven," yet nonetheless struggles against the pull of forgetfulness in the lower states as he strives to restore fallen and corrupted Albion to Eternity (*J*82:81, E241). To be effective in the transfiguration of humanity,

the daimon must connect the lowest limits of the human condition to their inner vision, which may require a grand struggle of personal transformation. Fittingly, Los works in the heart of London (*J*10:17, E153). He is appropriately a blacksmith, applying the utilitarian world of tools—objects of Urizenic materiality—to build a city of art that facilitates vision, named Golgonooza (*J*10:62, E154). In this way, Los's work re-establishes the potential of human genius at the heart of the fallen world and therefore completes a circular process of human restoration linking the fallen to the awakened state, which I refer to as Blake's daimonic process.

In Blake's cosmos, emanations are necessary for relational exchanges between beings, acting as a medium or auric extension of individuals, "For Man cannot unite with Man but by their Emanations / Which stand both Male & Female at the Gates of each Humanity" (*J*88:10-11, E246).[10] Without emanations facilitating relationships, connections are fragmented and chaotic, "with storms & agitations / Of earthquakes & consuming fires they [individuals] roll apart in fear" (*J*88:8-9, E246). Emanations in Blake therefore act as a cosmic social fabric, promoting various modes of connection according to the archetypal being they emanate from. For example, Vala (the emanation of Luvah) shapes interactions through natural instinct and passions; Jerusalem (Albion's emanation) facilitates relationships of liberty, empathy, and compassion. Emanations differ from Blake's daimon in that they tend to pervasively expand a given fixed state around beings rather than translate between states. An awakened being is integrated with their emanation, and therefore effective both within and across states.

[10] The idea of emanations most commonly originates from Plotinus, whom Blake may have derived it from, and is later found among Gnostic, Kabbalistic, and Theosophic works. Blake uses the term only in *Milton* and *Jerusalem*, not in any earlier works, which adds to the argument that Blake's mythos has Neoplatonic undercurrents. For more on Plotinus' idea of emanations, see Armstrong.

In this way, Los creates the daimonically liberating processes of Golgonooza within the relational space formed by his emanation Enitharmon. Golgonooza is a process (therefore involving time) within a matrix of artworks (involving space), in agreement with Blake's statement in *Milton* that "Los is by mortals nam'd Time Enitharmon is nam'd Space" (*M*24:68, E121). Harold Bloom, in his commentary in Erdman's *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, describes Golgonooza as "the City of salvation through art," alluding to the link between daimonic transformation and creativity (E932). Mark Lussier describes the process of Golgonooza as enriching the space-time environment through intellection and imagination, "through perceptual modes of complementarity 'between generation and eternity'," quoting in part from Nicholas M. Williams (Lussier 200; N. Williams 170-1). Lussier's description highlights the evolutionary role of contraries in Golgonooza's daimonic process. Because Los remains awake to the vision of Eternity while in the world, his creations embody Eternity. Consequently, Los has the power to awaken beings to the integrated contraries of Eternity from within a world of disparate contraries. Golgonooza provides an experiential conduit through transfigurative art, by which the imagination may expand and evolve towards Edenic vision. Unlike Los, Enitharmon is mortal; she cannot connect beings to Eternity but provides a haven within the material world for Los's creation (Damon 124-5). Together they form a daimonic mediating pair. Los is the daimonic intermediary who builds Golgonooza, while Enitharmon connects Golgonooza to the temporal world, which is otherwise isolated from Eternity. And, like the imagination, Los enters the apparent solidity of the temporal world ephemerally, paradoxically to open temporal experience to permanent being beyond the transitoriness of time and its limits. This work of Los-Enitharmon is mirrored in the classical daimon, which provides a metaphorical bridge between the mundane and the sacred.

While Golgonooza symbolises visionary art's daimonic mediating power, Blake's characterisation of Los provides another angle on art as mediatory, in a more psychological

manner. In *Jerusalem*, Los is the daimonic mediator intent on Albion's restoration to wholeness. Hazard Adams, in *Blake and Yeats: The Contrary Vision*, discusses Yeats's idea of the mask as a symbol that covers the everyday persona with a particularised image from the "deep sea of images," and so "is a partial adoption in time of the Daimon, an imperfect completion of self by means of style, personality, and the social weapons" (253). In this view, masks aid in the completion of the temporal persona. Adams likens Los to Blake's mask, which seems fitting not only because Los is typically considered Blake's self-characterisation, but also because in Blake's mythos, Los is a characterisation of Blake's endeavour to awaken humanity, presented through his role as *Jerusalem*'s protagonist (Adams 252; Damon 124). Los is the eternal Zoa Urthona manifesting as a daimonic hero within (or as) time in the fallen world; "Los is by mortals nam'd Time," and in *Jerusalem*, Los views "all that has existed in the space of six thousand years" (*M*24:68, E121; *J*13:59, E157). He represents and encompasses time, and in doing so, acts as a mask providing a portal to eternity through his being. Throughout *Jerusalem*, he strives to awaken Albion (humanity) to wholeness by his noble-minded, heroic deeds and words, until ultimately, towards the end of the narrative, Jesus presents himself in "the likeness & similitude of Los" and explains Los's loving sacrifice for Albion (*J*96:7, E255). Albion is then moved to relinquish his own selfishness through Los's image, which, like the city of Golgonooza, provides a daimonic window to divinity from within the finite world. Opening to such an image, Albion leaps into Los's furnaces and is transfigured to wholeness. Los's furnaces contain fire, a symbol of inspiration and transformation, and "Los is the Demon of the Furnaces" (*J*42:6, E195). Adams's discussion on Yeats's paired symbols, the mask and daimon, as tools for psychic integration and completion parallels Albion's transformation to the wholeness of Poetic Genius through the aid of the daimon Los.

By the use of art and personal character, therefore, Blake's daimonic human works to expand purely rational mathematical consciousness into living emotive, sensual, and

imaginative consciousness. Blake's daimon is a humanising force upon single vision, broadening human self-understanding and development. Blake's mythopoetic literature and art, especially in *Jerusalem*, is in this way humanistic. Blake is not ultimately opposed to reductionistic consciousness because, at the conclusion of *Jerusalem*, "Bacon & Newton & Locke, & Milton & Shakspear & Chaucer" all gather around or enter Heaven (*J*98:9, E257).[11] Blake seeks to enrich and expand reductionistic consciousness, to round out consciousness with humanity. This is confirmed in the main narrative arc of *Jerusalem*, which sees Albion the archetypal human transfigured from Blakean single vision to the fourfold humanistic vision of Blake's Eden. Albion humanises through a series of relational tensions and exchanges between contrary states, mirroring Blake's statement in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "Without Contraries is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence" (*MHH*3, E34). A similar idea is echoed by Keats in the last few years of his life. While previously opposing romance and vision to evil and suffering, he came to question these ideas more deeply and subsequently was able to more fully embrace the contrarieties of life (Stillinger 27-8). For example, he writes in the poem, 'Welcome Joy, and Welcome Sorrow' (1818): "Let me see, and let me write / Of the day, and of the night" (Keats 43). Wordsworth also explores the combination of contraries throughout his work, intending a final calm in their reconciliation, according to Swingle, an ending more equanimous than Blake's "thunderous majesty" (Swingle 347-8; *J*98:29, E257). Such examples position Blake's daimonic process within the wider Romantic milieu.

The rich humanness inherent in Blake's mythos also positions his work as an expression of humanism. John Beer defines Blake's humanism as neither the Renaissance nor Victorian kind (14). Renaissance humanism, Beer writes, sought to encompass the best of classicism and

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[11] The lines in plate 98 are ambiguous as to whether these writers appear in Heaven or surround it. See *J*98:8-10, E257.

paganism in harmony with the truths of religion, while Victorian humanism sought to elevate reason over faith (14). According to Beer, Blake was like other writers such as "Coleridge, Dickens, Forster, and Lawrence," in insisting "that the key to understanding 'humanity' can only be found by an exacting look at the nature of the individual" (14). This observation is partly correct, for although Blake focuses on the individual human, he also explores how the individual exists within both fallen and divine states of collective humanity.

Blake's humanism is a humane, mythic, visionary response to the everyday human world he experienced, drawing from his own imagination along with a wide sweep of ideas from historical, mythical, literary, and artistic sources. His vision of the divine human, who for Blake is the result of awakening the human imagination, is the solution he prescribes to ordinary humanity—to actual humans of the world. This shows that his humanism does not accept humankind as we are, but envisions a greater potential for us, at a fundamental, ontological level. But however lofty these flights of imagination are, they ultimately reconnect to Blake's literary endeavour as a pragmatic outcome: to restore a golden age among humanity. His writing is constantly moving between ideals and realities, weaving the mythical among allegories of the literal, so much so that his writing's worldly relevance may appear unreliable. Yet when it is understood as mythopoeia of the human individual, following from Beer, encompassed by its own particular logic (or mythos), *Jerusalem* provides much material for literary contemplation, with the potential of furthering human understanding.

Throughout this thesis, I develop the argument that *Jerusalem*'s daimonic topos can be read as an allegory of humanistic awakening, designed by Blake to rouse aspiration towards the greater human potential within his readers.[12] Such allegorical narrative provides a mode for conveying complex humanistic knowledge. As Wyatt Moss-Wellington states, in *Narrative*

[12] This idea is touched upon in coming chapters, and more fully explored in chapters seven and eight.

Humanism: Kindness and Complexity in Fiction and Film (2019), narrative satisfies our pancultural human need for immersive experience and enables us to understand our own and others' complex lives intersubjectively (1, 39). Moss-Wellington further discusses many humanistic capacities of narrative that arise through narrative's personal, social, ethical, historical, and psychological significance (48, 51, 73, 75, 82). By approaching *Jerusalem* as an allegorical narrative of humanistic understanding, a critical, self-reflexive feedback process between reader and Blake's myth of daimonic transformation can be developed. This trajectory of transformation mythologised in *Jerusalem* is not an imaginary, literary experience to be passively absorbed, but one to be allegorically contemplated, like a Moravian emblem. By reading Blake in this manner, I aim to show that *Jerusalem*'s tenets can be applied more concretely towards a Blakean literary humanism.[13] In this way, *Jerusalem* may be read and applied as a literary-humanistic work, to actively understand and develop human potential through the practice of literature.

4.2 The Poetics of the Daimon

Having outlined Blake's mythic cosmos and shown it to be centred around a daimonic human ontology, a range of poetic instances of this trope can be explored and discussed. If *Jerusalem* is a mythopoeia of literary humanism through the trope of the daimon, as I argue throughout this thesis, then we should be able to find many instances of analogy between *Jerusalem*'s daimonic human and the practice of literature to support this hypothesis.

The mythologisation of poetry as divine speech is a common Romantic trope. Stephen C. Behrendt describes the divine origins attributed to poetry by Romantic poets, who often utilised the ancient symbol of the Aeolian harp or lyre, not only as a symbol for poetry but also

[13] Again, this idea is touched upon in coming chapters, and decisively established in chapter eight.

for the imagination ('The Ineffable' 569). Behrendt writes that the poet would be "swept by an intellectual breeze (in-spired, or 'blown into') to yield artefacts that are only partially products of the mediating artist and that originate in the eternal and infinite imaginative state that Blake terms 'Vision'" (569). This quote appears to be a reference to Coleridge's 'The Eolian Harp' (1796):

> And what if all of animated nature
>
> Be but organic Harps diversely fram'd,
>
> That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps
>
> Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
>
> At once the Soul of each, and God of all? (Coleridge, *The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* 102, lines 44-8)

Through such poetic symbolism, which intimates a daimonic consciousness, Romantic poetry enfolds itself in mythopoetry, the poetic rendering of its own mythology. Like Coleridge, Blake is at the heart of such mythmaking, presenting himself as an artist who mediates a divine visionary state.

The mythopoeia present within *Jerusalem* is innately tied to Blake's poetry. An example is seen in a verse from chapter two of *Jerusalem*, where he weaves a poetic tapestry, mixing distant, traditionally holy places with local places familiar to him (relative to London and Londoners of the time). Like Coleridge's symbol of ideal wisdom, "the star of eve / Serenely brilliant," Blake presents vision as a "silent Sun" above a dark land (Coleridge, *The Poems of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* 100, lines 7-8; *J*43:1, E191):

> Then the Divine Vision like a silent Sun appeard above

> Albions dark rocks: setting behind the Gardens of Kensington
>
> On Tyburns River, in clouds of blood: where was mild Zion Hills
>
> Most ancient promontory, and in the Sun, a Human Form appeard
>
> And thus the Voice Divine went forth upon the rocks of Albion. (*J*43:1-5, E191)

A simile of "Divine Vision" is found in the alliterated "silent Sun," which becomes the agent of the scene, setting over the contrasting, local, dark rocks near Tyburn's river (*J*43:1, E191). Tyburn has a long history as a site of executions, from 1196 until 1783, by which time executions were a public spectacle. The use of prominent sites of public awareness is necessary in mythopoetry to give the work relevance to a wide, local audience. Intensity associated with such sites, particularly from mytho-cultural motifs such as birth, death, coronation, battles, miracles, or tragedy, furthers their mythopoetic value because such intensity breaches the ordinary with the extraordinary. Blake links the motif of death with the setting sun by likening the red sunset to "clouds of blood" over Tyburn's river, mixing the imagery of water, blood, and endings with the tragedy of human violence and misery, all highlighted by the light of a sun-like vision (*J*43:3, E191). Tyburn as a site of human entertainment and horror, a metaphor for the suffering drama of human existence, is framed within a wider, deeper cosmos, demonstrating another mythopoetic technique: the contextualisation of human life meaningfully and metaphorically within something larger. The hill of Zion, geographically in Jerusalem, is placed in London, blending places mythopoetically. And the timescale is extended from the present scene of human spectacle to vaster scales of sacred time by including this "[m]ost ancient promontory" (*J*43:4, E191; my adjustment). Thus, time and space are stretched towards eternity and divine vision. Yet in this mythopoetic stretching of the everyday, the very source of vision is rehumanised, "in the Sun, a Human Form appeard" (*J*43:4, E191). This is not the human entertained by, or a victim of, the gallows, but the risen true human of

Blake's mythos. This risen human enters Albion's darkened world and speaks, creating a bridge, like the daimon, between divine and mundane. Such is one example of Blake's skilful mythopoetic, daimonic poetry.

The Divine Voice then describes Albion as once being an angelic figure, personally endeared to him:

> I elected Albion for my glory; I gave to him the Nations,
> Of the whole Earth. he was the Angel of my Presence: and all
> The Sons of God were Albions Sons: and Jerusalem was my joy. (*J*43:6-8, E191)

These lines reiterate the myth of the angel Lucifer prior to his fall, which Albion somewhat represents in Blake's new context of mythic Britain. Albion's darkened land is reflected in the dark activities of its inhabitants, the British people. Yet the Divine Voice speaks to Albion's better nature, his divine humanity as the Angel of the Presence, and then describes at length how the "Man of Sin & Repentance" lurks hidden within Albion's forests (*J*43:12, E191).[14] This separating of Albion's true humanity from the sinful state reflects a common idea in Blake's work, to distinguish the individual, who is holy, from their state, which is sinful, in order for the individual to be liberated from that state. At the close of chapter one, when Albion is in a ruinous state, the residents of Beulah lament, like a Greek dramatic chorus, "Descend O Lamb of God & take away the imputation of Sin / By the Creation of States & the deliverance of Individuals" (*J*25:12-13, E170). These states are created because they provide experiences

[14] The word *sin* can be read in Blake as psychological misalignment with the Blakean true human. Blake emphasises in chapter two of *Jerusalem* that sin must be responded to not with punishment (such cruelty is to him another kind of sin) but with forgiveness (love), to allow individuals to realign with their true humanity (*J*31:6-8, E177).

contrasting with truth, which forces the individual soul, the true human for Blake, to ultimately transcend their limited state once its falsity is perceived and cast off. Contrast between states is presented poetically in the verse discussed earlier, with the sun of vision over the dark land, and this scene is then humanised and the same idea of distinguishing between states is revealed, offering Blake's reader a poetic followed by an intellectual perspective on the same idea. The Divine Voice acts as a daimonic mediator for Albion, attempting to awaken him to his individuality as a true human, against the backdrop of a dark and tragic world. Albion as the Angel of the Presence would then be an extension of divine will and power in the world: a daimon. Blake's reader may imaginatively experience and contemplate these poetic ideas as mythopoeia.

Blake's poetry rests upon his understanding of language. Kathleen Lundeen, in her study of Blake's language and its ontology in *Knight of the Living Dead*, takes language as the ontological essence of the human in Blake. Drawing from The Gospel of John (originally written c. 90-110), "In the beginning was the Word," and Blake's annotation to Lavater, "every thing on earth is the word of God," she concludes that Blake's humans have "the freedom of circulation enjoyed by words" (*The Holy Bible, King James Version* Jn. 1.1; *AtL*630, E599; Lundeen 137). Lundeen's examination of language in Blake appears to conclude upon Blake's climactic moment of *Jerusalem*, where Albion's "every Word & Every Character / Was Human" (*J*98:35-36, E258). This seems an obvious place to rest a conclusion upon, yet Blake's mythos does not rest in this finality (*finality* being cognate with *finite*), but is an ongoing, perpetual returning to immortal life. For once Albion and Jerusalem unite, the myriad of beings within them continue in the cycle of fall and restoration as before, "living going forth & returning wearied," reposing in limited states until "Awaking into [Albion's] Bosom in the Life of Immortality" (*J*99:2,4, E258; my addition). In Blake's cosmos, humans, like words, manifest from Poetic Genius (the true human), entering the world only to fade like sparks from a fire,

until they reawaken in Poetic Genius once more. The life-death cycle for words and beings is daimonic, oscillating between immortality and mortality. Although Lundeen acknowledges fallen language considerably in *Knight of the Living Dead*, by concluding on Blake's language as spiritual she seems to overstep the role of fallen language in Blake's myth as a necessary counterpart to sublime language.

Language translates (moves or shifts) from its origin to its worldly context. Just as a dictionary meaning never embodies the full contextual meaning of a word's usage, so the human in Blake's mythos takes on states as though clothed in habits of consciousness. Blake's humans translate as they habituate themselves in particular ways in the mortal world through their words, actions, and memories. Paul De Man's ironic assumption that "Translation … presupposes meaning," is examined by Lundeen in relation to how meaning is carried across the borders between languages (De Man qtd. in Lundeen 157). She describes borders as a liminal, middle ground that is neutral, autonomous, and dimensionless, and acknowledges that "much of Blake's art takes place in that elusive area" (157). This thesis certainly agrees with Lundeen's observation in the sense that the daimon within Blake's art is the liminal being *par excellence*. But Lundeen's conclusion is that "Blake is a monist" (22). She writes that to understand Blake requires "an epistemology that escapes dualistic reasoning, as well as a language that is not predicated on binary thinking" (162). Yet her prescription is itself binary by its emphasis on avoiding binary thinking. It is a Blakean negation. But Blake works through contraries to build a unity of complementary polarities—matter is to be recognised as contrary to spirit, not a negation of it, for example—so that such opposites form a continuum that opens understanding of their unity. This continuum is Blake's daimon, but Lundeen seeks to reduce Blake to monism, leaving no space for the dualistic aspects of Blake's mythos. The elusive liminal space she rightly observes his art within evades monistic reduction because borders are both a definition of and a continuum across dualities. Blake is better recognised as a dualist

and monist simultaneously, however contradictory the logic. Such simultaneity is the basic ontology of the daimonic trope.

Jerusalem's cosmos is the dramatic stage for the monistic word of God to spread across a daimonic continuum. Language is daimonic in Blake's cosmos because it ranges from Poetic Genius, where the word is literally God (the Gospel of John's mythical "beginning"), to a void resembling Deconstructive *différance*, a phantasm of endless referrals undermining all sense of meaning (*The Holy Bible, King James Version* Jn. 1.1). Words in their highest usage in Eden are literal divine human beings for Blake. These Edenic words communicate absolutely; they translate across boundaries, bridge distances, and work towards shared understanding between individuals and states, "One Man reflecting each in each & clearly seen / And seeing," because they operate daimonically across Blakean contraries (*J*98:39-40, E258). They are "the Words of the Mutual Covenant Divine" and they "Humanize / In the Forgiveness of Sins" (*J*98:41,44-45, E258). However, language loses its humanity as its speaker descends into lower states, and at the extreme of Ulro, words are negations; meaningless creations of a narrow and isolated mind whose solipsism prevents communication.

All communication is a translation between individuals, and Lundeen recognises "the distinction between corrupt translation and its sublime counterpart" as analogous to "the distinction between figuration and transfiguration" in Blake (159). Figuration is the formation of states as derivations of original meaning—the word or being in a particular context—whereas transfiguration is translation in the Biblical sense as a return to origins—the original word and being of Poetic Genius (156). Misunderstanding between individuals is a corrupt translation of meaning across boundaries, which often occurs when contexts misalign or are misunderstood. Failed communication therefore does not mediate, so is anti-daimonic and potentially demonic, and Blake's fallen world is the product of such conflict. In contrast, clear, sublime communication is daimonic because it reconciles differences and awakens humanity,

in both the ethical and ontological sense. Blake's mythos illustrates that how individuals apply the ubiquitous word of God determines their humanness and their effect upon the world. He shows that words may either liberate or ensnare according to a being's alignment with the truly human, which is Poetic Genius. And through narrative, *Jerusalem* explores both liberating and binding outcomes of speech, from the words of the Saviour's "mild song" to perturbed Albion's response of "jealous fears" (*J*4:5, E146; *J*4:33, E147). *Jerusalem* is written in "English, the rough basement," as Blake's metaphor for his mother tongue (*J*36:58, E183). English is called such because "Los built the stubborn structure of the Language, acting against / Albions melancholy," which seems to suggest a tool for getting under unconscious darkness (*J*36:59-60, E183). Language, especially poetry, is a key to humanistic liberation in *Jerusalem*.

Many examples of the connection between language, poetry, and liberation can be found. Often, Los uses daimonic words in his attempts to awaken fallen beings. For example, when he appeals to the other three Zoas:

> Then Los grew furious raging: Why stand we here trembling around
>
> Calling on God for help; and not ourselves in whom God dwells
>
> Stretching a hand to save the falling Man: are we not Four
>
> Beholding Albion upon the Precipice ready to fall into Non-Entity. (*J*38:12-15, E184)

Los's words demonstrate their daimonic awakening power through three elements, a typical pattern recognisable in his appeals elsewhere in *Jerusalem*. Firstly, he relies upon striking a chord in the moral fibre of other beings (in this case the other three Zoas), by righteous admonition and strong honesty about the fallen being's situation, thereby showing the extreme need for awakening. Secondly, he includes intellectual aspects of Blake's doctrine of liberation along with idiosyncratic terms, such as "Non-Entity," sometimes in a strangely formal style,

as though these are common knowledge that other beings have merely forgotten. And thirdly, these appeals are highly emotive in tone and language, to energise his listeners towards acting upon the moral and intellectual elements of his words. These appeals are daimonic in purpose, aiming to liberate fallen individuals from their states and link them with Eternity. Yet they are also daimonic in language, like much of Blake's poetry in *Jerusalem*, through expressions of sublime thought, inspired or intense tone, and the inclusion of mythic tropes. Expressions of appeal by daimonic characters therefore expose fallen characters to the divine reality. Such an idea mirrors the traditional idea of poetry as divine speech.

While Los works to link beings to the divine through speech, other beings seek to sever this connection. When Blake writes that "Luvah slew Tharmas the Angel of the Tongue," he uses *angel* in the sense of a guardian spirit, genius, or daimon associated with a particular thing, in this case a body part (*J*63:5, E214). Tharmas is the Zoa of the sensual body, which includes the tongue, and the angel of the tongue is an important idea for poetry as an inspired divine practice, related to traditions of the Muse, *furor poeticus*, prophecy, and so on. The meaning of angel here is essentially the same as genius, spirit, or demon, used by Blake as synonyms for Poetic Genius in *All Religions are One* (*ARO*, E1). Furthermore, angels' divine connotations also grant them likeness to the daimon, as both mediate divine power within the world. Therefore, the slaying of the angel of the tongue is a symbol of separating speech from its divine origin. Just as Los rouses beings to divinity through his daimonic speech, so Luvah creates conditions for demonic speech. Blake confirms this perspective, writing that "Luvah is named Satan, because he has enterd that State / A World where Man is by Nature the enemy of Man" (*J*49:68-69, E199). Thus, speech and its art, poetry, are poised between divine and demonic, and can go either way.

Nevertheless, a divine source is ascribed to *Jerusalem* itself by Blake. The opening poem of chapter one makes this clear in its discussion of poetry. Blake declares God has gifted

"[t]o Man the wond'rous art of writing," to record divine speech, which is given "in thunder and in fire!" and has the power to harmonise Heaven, Earth, and Hell (*J*3:4,5,10, E145; my adjustment). He also mentions that *Jerusalem* was dictated to him—a daimonic motif. Even so, he seeks to justify his choices for *Jerusalem*'s poetic form, avoiding rhyme and monotonous meter and instead choosing particular rhythms for particular parts, to unfetter poetry, because "Poetry Fetter'd, Fetters the Human Race" (*J*3, E146). Through such ideas, Blake presents poetry as a divine power, with wider consequences for humanity. Still, the question of the divinity of Blake's words should be left to the judgement of his reader. Lundeen recognises a style of "unbounded narration" in Blake's writing, where characters are "unconstrained by such pedestrian parameters as time and space" (141). Such language prevents the sedimentation of history, facts, or objects in their written form, and creates an effect like a dream, where everything renews itself in each new moment of poetic expression.

The above examples highlight the rich allegories around poetry, poets, and language within *Jerusalem*. These are but a few instances among many more, for which limits of space here prevent a fuller exploration. Nevertheless, the examples given show, in various ways, how *Jerusalem* explores poetry in its ancient sense, as connected with the daimon. Blake's trope of the daimon facilitates human awakening, understanding, and development in *Jerusalem*, with poetry as an integral aspect of this process, making Blake's daimon relevant to literary humanism.

4.3 The Aesthetics of the Daimon

Because the daimon by nature circumvents rationalism, aesthetics provides a much more workable approach for studying the artistic and literary experience of it. Edmund Burke (1729-1797) was highly influential on aesthetics in Britain during Blake's time, following his publication of *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and*

Beautiful (1757)—in the year of Blake's birth. While Burke notes a "remarkable contrast" between the beautiful and the sublime, Blake often blends these two aesthetic categories together (Burke 3.27). Vincent Arthur De Luca, in *Words of Eternity: Blake and the Poetics of the Sublime* (2014), observes that "Blake treats the Burkean style of the sublime as Los might treat his spectrous brother; it is appropriated, assimilated, hated, and perhaps secretly loved, but ultimately made present as a negation, the better to reveal the outlines of a new, emergent style" (52). Blake replaces Burke's negating opposition between beauty and the sublime with a Blakean contrary, so that the two aesthetics mutually develop.

In the absence of beauty, the sublime tends to the monstrous and the non-human, which invites resistance to it being judged as morally good.[15] The monstrous aesthetic in *Jerusalem* is perhaps best recognised in Blake's scenes of the fallen world. Bundock and Effinger, in the introduction to *William Blake's Gothic Imagination: Bodies of Horror* (2018), write of "the restlessness of history occasioned by the constitutive loss … of the origin in Blake's writing" (4). In Blake's cosmos, a monstrous aesthetic erupts with the fall of humanity from their eternal origin in Poetic Genius. With the loss of Poetic Genius, beauty (Jerusalem) is lost and replaced by seduction (Vala). Humanity becomes inhumane. Los must salvage humanity out of this Gothic nightmare, which requires his creative engagement with the darkness of humanity. Such salvation is a daimonic restoration of the human species to their eternal humanity, which, artistically speaking, is the restoration of an aesthetic that combines beauty with the sublime, contrary to Burke. Thus, *Jerusalem*'s mythic narrative concludes in a return to sublime beauty as central to humanity. But to reach this, *Jerusalem* proceeds through interactions and intersections between the sublime and the beautiful, which includes moral and spiritual beauty,

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[15] Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein; or, The Modern Prometheus* (1818) also explores this correlation between beauty and moral judgement among humanity, and, much like Blake, involves the monstrous and daemonic.

and their absence. The aesthetic fusion of beauty with the sublime, contrasted with nightmarish falls from such, furthers Blake's emergent style, which is a style of daimonic art.

The principles of style for *Jerusalem* are not only displayed in its artwork and poetry but are recorded mythically through its narrative. In *Jerusalem*, Los is considered by Damon (and many later critics) as Blake's self-characterisation (Damon 251). This association provides a link between *Jerusalem*'s mythic process of daimonic awakening and the process of creative work, provided the symbolism of *Jerusalem* can be understood clearly as allegory. Considering such, what then can be made of the following passage from chapter two of *Jerusalem*, where Los struggles to save Albion from falling into non-existence:

> Los was all astonishment & terror: he trembled sitting on the Stone
> Of London: but the interiors of Albions fibres & nerves were hidden
> From Los; astonishd be beheld only the petrified surfaces:
> And saw his Furnaces in ruins, for Los is the Demon of the Furnaces;
> He saw also the Four Points of Albion reversd inwards
> He siezd his Hammer & Tongs, his iron Poker & his Bellows,
> Upon the valleys of Middlesex, Shouting loud for aid Divine. (*J*46:3-9, E195)

Los's furnaces symbolise the heart of the creative process, where the fires of passion and inspiration burn. Likewise, his anvil is the page, canvas, or copper plate of the writer and artist at work, and Los's tools, his hammer and tongs, are the pen, brush, or burin. But here the situation is dire. Los's furnaces of creativity are in ruins, while Albion, the nation, falls into oblivion. Los responds as the "Demon of the Furnaces," driven to creative work (*J*46:6, E195). Caught between ruin and hope, he calls for divine aid; he is the daimonic artist, a mediator for divine vision in the world.

The above passage emphasises sublime action and emotion: Los is "all astonishment & terror," trembling, he seizes the tools of his art and engages Middlesex as though in battle (*J*46:3, E195). Middlesex and the Stone of London both indicate the centre, the navel or omphalos, as the most vital point of Britain, which is under threat from Albion's fall, further stressing the peril present. Accordingly, the lines of poetry do not rest, each verb is compounded by the next; Los feels, sees, and acts without a punctuated full stop. He is alive, observant, unhesitant: daimonic. A sublime aesthetic results. Blake's archetypal artist is no calm, reflective, or melancholy creative, but a warrior battling for existence. His friend and his nation, Albion, is closing up, now a petrified surface, obscure to its own depths. In this scene, the daimonic artist is presented mythopoetically in Los, and in doing so, Blake conveys through symbol and allegory his own aspirations as an artist responding to the society around him.

An aesthetic of sublime intensity is common in Los. In chapter four of *Jerusalem*, he confronts the Giants of Albion, pagan titanic beings who build stone monuments and temples across Britain:

> So Los spoke. And the Giants of Albion terrified & ashamed
> With Los's thunderous Words, began to build trembling rocking Stones
> For his Words roll in thunders & lightnings among the Temples
> Terrified rocking to & fro upon the earth. (*J*90:58-61, E250)

Los's words have a titanic scale; they shape mythic Britain and its primordial telluric religion of stone monuments and giant beings. Such awesome and sublime transformation reflects the Moravian reverence for Michelangelo's *terribiltà*. As a fierce daimon, Los digs under the surface world to realign primordial materialistic forces with divine vision. He orders his

Spectre (his shadow self)[16] to engage with these cosmologically misaligned giants and align them with humanity: "Tell them to obey their Humanities, & not pretend Holiness" (*J*91:5, E251). Blake injects his doctrine of humanistic liberation into Los's speech: "tell them that the Worship of God, is honouring his gifts / In other men: & loving the greatest men best, each according / To his Genius" (*J*91:7-9, E251). This genius "is the Holy Ghost," God as the "intellectual fountain of Humanity" (*J*91:9-10, E251). This is Blake's doctrine of creative genius, which is an undoing of static doctrine into inspired spontaneity. His divine humanistic vision confronts the pagan reverence for materiality, seen among those "calling themselves Deists, Worshipping the Maternal / Humanity; calling it Nature, and Natural Religion," which in his view includes Newton, Locke, Bacon, and other empiricists (*J*90:65-66, E250). Blake represents materialistic views as neglectful of higher human creative potentiality. Yet he does not assert an external, transcendent God over matter, but places transcendence within the ordinary human form. To Blake, neither matter nor God should be above (an authority over) humanity, because this would limit creativity. These ideas centralise humanistic thought in the context of greater human potential, which includes humane ethics and is accessed through the creative imagination, Blake's God (*J*91:9-10, E251). Blake therefore presents the artist or poet as daimonic mediator of sublime vision, holding the key to greater human potential.

There is a strong association in Blake between art and individual character. He writes in his *Descriptive Catalogue*, "The great and golden rule of art, as well as of life, is this: That

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[16] Blake describes both the Spectre and Shadow as two types or aspects of being throughout his oeuvre. I maintain Blake's convention of capitalisation for these beings, to recognise them as characters addressed by a proper noun, but also to distinguish these beings from other meanings for these terms, specifically the shadow as a psychoanalytical concept. Shadow in this sense of the term is derived from Jungian psychology, though also has earlier equivalents in Freudian psychology; as Anthony Stevens writes, "the shadow ... is roughly equivalent to the whole of the Freudian unconscious" (43).

the more distinct, sharp, and wirey the bounding line, the more perfect the work of art; and the less keen and sharp, the greater is the evidence of weak imitation, plagiarism, and bungling" (*DC*63-64, E549-50). That this golden rule applies both for art and life links an individual's creative work with their character. Morris Eaves tightens this association in *William Blake's Theory of Art* (1982), writing that "since art and life both follow the same rule, they are potentially identical" (37). Eaves argues that for Blake, ethics and morality arise from character, which arises from imagination, thereby concluding that "character and morality are, broadly speaking, artistic matters" (37). Furthermore, Eaves envisions Blake's imagination "as a person, rather than a mental process or faculty," making imagination the ground for individual identity, and, through this identity, the basis to an individual's life and works—their art (19).

The aesthetic quality of life for Blake's characters follows, then, from the quality of their imagination; in scope, in content, and in their capacity for its exercise. The imitation and plagiarism that Blake ascribes to bad art may be likened to art that proceeds from memory rather than inspiration, in his view (*VLJ*68, E554). Thus, a fallen being is limited in both character and creativity to regurgitations of their past experience because they are limited in imagination. Such reiteration ensures life remains second-hand, repeating the "same dull round," and is ultimately entropic, as Blake's realm of "Eternal Death" (*NNR*b, E2; *J*4:2, E146). Furthermore, "The bounded is loathed by its possessor," writes Blake in *There is No Natural Religion* (*NNR*b, E2). Limited states frustrate the soul's innate boundlessness, causing malefic behaviour through spite, envy, ignorance, and the like, which becomes habitual and perpetuates a morally and aesthetically limited and perturbed identity and works, and, by extension, world. In contrast to the limitations of memory, the inspired imagination is "Living Form," the ontological basis of Blake's true human that is concordant with an immortal aesthetics and morality, and therefore perpetuates "Eternal Existence" (*OV*, E270). Consequently, Blake's emphasis on distinct lines defines his ideal individual and cosmos, wherein for both,

determinate lineation brings clarity and order to an otherwise chaotic existence (*DC*64-65, E550).

These ethico-aesthetic identity associations are recognisable within *Jerusalem*. Fallen characters produce a world of horrors by their morally-blurred acts, as an expression of their life as art. Los's Spectre stands over Los, "Howling in pain: a blackning Shadow, blackning dark & opake / Cursing the terrible Los: bitterly cursing him for his friendship / To Albion, suggesting murderous thoughts against Albion" (*J*6:5-7, E149). As a shadowy form, the Spectre is ill-defined and his expression disturbed and immoral—Blake ascribes similar traits to artists he disfavoured, such as those of the Venetian and Flemish schools, Correggio (1489-1534), Rembrandt (1606-1669), Titian (1490-1576), Rubens (1577-1640), and the like (*DC*27, E538; *DC*50, E545; *CCP*62, E576). A world of horrors is also created by the daughters of fallen Albion, who

> … divide & unite in jealousy & cruelty
> The Inhabitants of Albion at the Harvest & the Vintage
> Feel their Brain cut round beneath the temples shrieking
> Bonifying into a Scull, the Marrow exuding in dismal pain. (*J*58:5-8, E207)

Such figures present varieties of dark, distorted, and nightmarish aesthetics within *Jerusalem*'s verse and image. In contrast, those of noble character produce an aesthetic of beauty aligned with moral goodness and inspired imagination. For instance, Los sings of Jerusalem as though she is a heavenly bird:

> Thy forehead bright: Holiness to the Lord, with Gates of pearl
> Reflects Eternity beneath thy azure wings of feathery down

Ribbd delicate & clothd with featherd gold & azure & purple

From thy white shoulders shadowing, purity in holiness! (*J*86:4-7, E244)

Los later describes Jerusalem as "Terrible to behold for thy extreme beauty & perfection," showing that her holiness is not harmlessness, but embodies daimonic intensity, merging extreme beauty with sublime power (*J*86:16, E244).

Noble action is also capable of transforming dark realities in *Jerusalem*, such as when the Four Zoas—after the rousing speech by Los mentioned earlier—rescue Albion from dissolution into non-existence:

Pale they stood around the House of Death:

In the midst of temptations & despair: among the rooted Oaks:

Among reared Rocks of Albions Sons, at length they rose

With one accord in love sublime, & as on Cherubs wings

They Albion surround with kindest violence to bear him back

Against his will thro Los's Gate to Eden: Four-fold; loud! (*J*38:80-39:3, E186)

An aesthetic of violence, loudness, and force blends here with kindness and sublime love, producing daimonic transformation through contrariness as Albion is brought from Ulro to Eden. And, as a final example of ethico-aesthetic identity, selflessness is presented as a prerequisite for creative grace when Albion must relinquish his selfhood in Los's furnaces before he can ascend "among the Visions of God in Eternity" (*J*96:43, E256). Thus, for Blake, aesthetic vision has a moral foundation.

Sharp and distinct lineation in both art and life define Blake's aesthetic vision, which is accessed through the imagination. He writes in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, on his artwork

The Bard, from Gray (c. 1809), that "The painter of this work asserts that all his imaginations appear to him infinitely more perfect and more minutely organized than any thing seen by his mortal eye" (*DC*38, E541-2). This implies that the artist's hand requires more exactitude than their physical eye in order to effectively paint the refined visions of the imagination. More broadly, it implies that all visionary painting, poetry, music, and other artforms must mesh the mortal senses with something more refined, acute, and exact, for it to open the audience to a visionary experience. An insurmountable barrier of physical limitation seems to prevent this possibility, but Blake's solution is the activation of the "imaginative and immortal organs" to bridge the gap between what is physically perceivable and what he claims is beyond the mortal senses (*DC*38, E541). Moravian practices of visionary art are once again recognisable in these ideas.

Jerusalem's reader is exposed to a mythologisation of the active imagination, personified as Los the protagonist daimonic artist who aids Albion—the archetypal human, Britain, and the universe—in moving from mundane to infinite vision. Because of Albion's archetypal symbolism, this narrative of awakening to vision is both individual and communal. *Jerusalem* presents this ideal intellectually, when the Divine Family describes the harmony between individuality and the whole, seen from the visionary state:

> We live as One Man; for contracting our infinite senses
>
> We behold multitude; or expanding: we behold as one,
>
> As One Man all the Universal Family; and that One Man
>
> We call Jesus the Christ: and he in us, and we in him,
>
> Live in perfect harmony in Eden the land of life. (*J*34:18-21, E180)

In painterly terms, the mutuality between the whole (Christ) and its parts (individual humans) is composition. And as for a painting, a viewer may choose to focus on the whole work or specific parts of the work. Connolly observes that in Blake's view, a shift to visionary perception "reveals the true human lineaments of all things" (204). Even non-human objects, "Tree Metal Earth & Stone," are humanised in Blake's idea of visionary perception (Connolly 204; *J*99:1, E258). *Jerusalem* describes how collective and individual harmonise among those individuals who lucidly perceive their true humanity.

In contrast, the unclear individual is disjointed and disruptive, blotted and blurred, like Blake's Spectre; thinking their selfhood advantageous over harmonious relational exchange, they remain at odds with the cosmos. Likewise, in Blake's theory of painting, the individual who paints in vagaries and blotches, like Rubens or Titian, will never convey truth (*CCP*62, E576). In his *Descriptive Catalogue*, Blake writes that "Spirits are organized men: Moderns wish to draw figures without lines, and with great and heavy shadows; are not shadows more unmeaning than lines, and more heavy?" (*DC*38, E541-2). Shadows blur distinctions and blend forms, dissolving individuality into the darkness of the whole. "[T]his World of Mortality is but a Shadow," writes Blake, a meaningless, heavy, disorganised state of being (*J*71:19, E225). Blake asserts that when individuals are possessed by this shadowy state—the Spectre, which draws them into Ulro—they mistake the state for their identity and are unable to perceive their own distinct, ethical, imaginative, daimonic self. Their art—their words, actions, and work in the world—then expresses the qualities of this assumed shadowy identity.

Blake's human thus oscillates between an aesthetic of clarity and blurriness according to their risen or fallen state. Clarity increases individual humanity, both as ontological self-awareness and humane awareness towards others. This is because Blake's infinite cosmos is ultimately human, "every thing is Human, mighty! sublime!" (*J*34:48, E180). Furthermore, "In every bosom a Universe expands," indicating that Blake's cosmos opens both inwardly and

outwardly from the human, according to the quality of their imagination (*J*34:49, E180). All is contained within human imagination, making humans the elementary creators of Blake's universe. Clarity, virtue, and creativity reach their apex in the awakened daimonic human. Whereas in the fallen state, confused consciousness produces hells unwittingly and unwillingly for fallen beings.

Connolly describes Blake's human as the "atomic unit of infinitely divisible matter" (204). However, matter and its monadic unit, the atom, seem an inappropriate metaphor, as this supposes that infinite distinctness is solidity for Blake. This solidity conflicts both with Blake's concept of beings existing one inside the other, in mutuality, and with his idea that imagination, rather than matter, is the ontological basis for humanity. An aesthetic emphasising infinite detail certainly exists, but this detail becomes increasingly insubstantial, inwardly expansive, and translucent as beings awaken, presenting complex details more as though with intricate, sharp light than with matter. For Blake, notions of material bodies and their philosophical ground found in "Bacon, Locke & Newton" are "filthy garments," a falsehood to be cast off (*M*41:5,6, E142). The inspired individual, in Blake's view, should "cleanse the Face of … Spirit by Self-examination," "wash off the Not Human" and be clothed with imagination (*M*40:37, E142; *M*41:1, E142). For Blake, vision is liberated imagination acquired through self-examination, which articulates the fully human, unique individual intricately. Blakean vision results in individual articulation and harmonisation with the infinite cosmos, as both share the same kind of imagination, which is perfected in Christ, Blake's exemplary daimonic human.

Through the awakening of daimonic imagination within individuals, Blake's cosmos evolves towards collective psycho-cosmic epiphanies. These epiphanies manifest originality in creation, the ever-new expressions of "Living Form," which is Blake's ideal aesthetic in art and poetry (*OV*, E270). He writes in the *Descriptive Catalogue*, "an Original Invention [cannot] Exist without Execution Organized & minutely Delineated & Articulated Either by God or

Man" (*DC*62, E576; my addition). Originality is therefore the mark of an awakened human, and he lists some examples: "Fuseli & Michael Angelo Shakespeare & Milton" (*DC*62, E576). In the logic of Blake's mythos, then, these artists should present daimonic art—art that awakens their audiences to their truly human state, as Blake perceives it. I have already touched upon the importance Michelangelo's *terribiltà* as a daimonic practice of art and shown Milton's role in conveying daimonic motifs to Blake.[17] Fuseli and Shakespeare can also be examined in a similar light. In brief, Fuseli's supernatural and mythical themes in many of his paintings present a daimonic aesthetic, and Ned Lukacher shows in *Daemonic Figures: Shakespeare and the Question of Conscience* (1994) that Shakespeare deals with the daimon substantially, while realistically illuminating human nature.

Consequently, Blake's ideal of awakening seems to share some similarity to the work of the artists he lists, although a deeper study would reveal the inherent limitations of such. It appears that he refers to these better-known authorities in his public catalogue to position himself among them as an aspiring artist, although he is also sincere in admiring them. In contrast to these role models, other artists, such as the "Venetian and Flemish Demons," as he calls them, would seem to move their audiences to demonic consciousness "continually by blotting and blurring," in his view (*DC*55, E547; *DC*51, E546). Like demons, they would obfuscate the infinite individual of Blake's mythos through their shadowy art. Although these are Blake's personal judgements about art, they are intertwined with his mythos, and therefore are important for understanding *Jerusalem*'s daimonic aesthetic.

Like beauty, clarity, and morality, scale is also aesthetically intertwined with an individual's state in *Jerusalem*. Those who reside in Eden, the Eternals, have human sense organs "kept in their perfect Integrity," enabling creative freedom through their awakened

[17] See section 3.2.

imaginations, "At will Contracting into Worms, or Expanding into Gods" (*J*55:36,37, E205). Because of the Eternals' infinite vision, this power is retained even in the fallen world, "for tho [they] sit down within / The plowed furrow [Ulro], listning to the weeping clods," they are able to expand or contract both space and time (*J*55:42-43, E205; my additions). This grants the Eternals the power to liberate individuals from fallen states by transgressing the boundaries of limitation, as daimonic beings.

In contrast, a fallen individual who has become possessed by lower states contracts and withers unwillingly. This is not only a decrease in size, but in morality, beauty, and joy, seen in Albion's "Giant beauty and perfection fallen into dust," resulting in a hellish world created "from within his witherd breast grown narrow with his woes" (*J*19:8-9, E164). Creativity still exists in the fallen state, the imagination persists, but in darkened and disturbed ways; the senses close and the mind putrefies in its own solipsistic, negative thoughts and feelings. Albion's dream of the fallen world is a nightmare:

> The corn is turn'd to thistles & the apples into poison:
>
> The birds of song to murderous crows, his joys to bitter groans!
>
> The voices of children in his tents, to cries of helpless infants!
>
> And self-exiled from the face of light & shine of morning,
>
> In the dark world a narrow house! he wanders up and down. (*J*19:10-14, E164)

This is Blake's mythic Britain disconnected from the divine city of Jerusalem. An aesthetic of pain, darkness, and misery pervades every aspect of human experience in such a world. This is Albion's reality, one example of a derivation of Poetic Genius "adapted to the weaknesses" of his character (*ARO*, E1). Eventually, with daimonic aid and a transformation in his own character, Albion is restored to "Humanity Divine Incomprehensible" (*J*98:24, E257). The

dimensions of Blake's daimon, therefore, span the full spectrum of human existence and experience, from the lowest to the highest states. As I will elaborate in the coming chapters, this scope and scale of Blake's daimon makes it an ideal mythical agent for an allegory of humanistic understanding.

5. The Daimon and the Individual

Full many a gem of purest ray serene

The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear:

Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,

And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

– Thomas Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (53-56)

… by the study of the precisions created by poetic genius we advance our knowledge of ourselves.

– F. R. Leavis, *Valuation in Criticism* (299)

5.1 The Artist and the Spectre

It seems the fate of potentially brilliant minds to be constrained by the ignorance of their surrounding society. Fitting with this idea, and indeed with Blake's own feelings towards his contemporary society, chapter one of *Jerusalem* is dedicated "To the Public" (*J*3, E145). The striving of artistic genius over collective ignorance and the destructive culture of war is a pervasive theme of Blake's work and is certainly found within *Jerusalem*. Blake writes, "He who despises & mocks a Mental Gift in another; calling it pride & selfishness & sin; mocks Jesus the giver of every Mental Gift," and Albion in the perturbed state declares "Humanity shall be no more: but war & princedom & victory!" (*J*77, E232; *J*4:32, E147). As Blake makes clear, both throughout *Jerusalem* and in the example of his own life, the struggle of genius among the masses is not easily won. Blake's artist-protagonist Los, mirroring his own

perseverance against obstacles in his life, exhibits a superhuman resolve in the face of many obstacles, suggesting a will in Los that is powerful enough to be considered daimonic, according to Stephen Diamond's understanding of will power as a primal force (Diamond 218). Throughout *Jerusalem*, Los applies this primordial will in a spirit of service, performing a series of deeds that prepare a foundation for the awakening of Albion to his true humanity as Poetic Genius, establishing a culture of creative genius among humankind. The psychological obstacles set against genius in *Jerusalem* are many, and yet it is by individual engagement with these obstacles that the narrative of *Jerusalem* develops.

In this way, *Jerusalem* mythically collides heroic, daimonic protagonists of Blake's humanism (such as Los) against dehumanising, malevolent antagonists (such as fallen Albion). This mythic drama plays out among individual characters that are simultaneously archetypal, whose symbolism invites an allegorical reading of Blake's humanism. To arrive at how Blake's daimon enables *Jerusalem* to be read as a literary-humanistic allegory, we must further substantiate this daimon, and its identity with Blake's human, through examples found within *Jerusalem*. In this chapter, through a string of such examples, I will explore the trope of the daimon in Blake's idea of the individual and their precarious yet destined path to humanistic awakening.

From the beginning of chapter one of *Jerusalem*, Jerusalem's children are lost within the fallen world. To solve this problem, Los intends to bring "the Sons & Daughters of Jerusalem to be / The Sons & Daughters of Los" (*J*10:3-4, E152). The process by which this occurs is somewhat obscure but becomes clear when read symbolically. Like much of Blake's work, this process engages deeply with ideas of human creativity and relationship at the bedrock of Western thought. Adopting Jerusalem's children as Los's own may be seen to represent the restoration of liberty (Jerusalem) to the culture of creative genius and the arts (Los). To achieve this, Los works to "form the spiritual sword / That lays open the hidden

heart," indicating art's capacity to clarify the unconscious; to encounter, gather, and articulate the unarticulated into the artist's milieu, and thereby enculture what was previously unconscious to the artist and their society (*J*9:18-19, E152).

Such art is not art as imitation of the material world, which Blake, like Plato, opposes (*CCP*67, E577; Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 6: *Republic* 10.596e–602c).[1] Blake's idea is that art results from inspiration, drawing from acts of imagination beyond the rational-conscious mind. On this point however—of imagination versus reason—Blake and Plato differ. For Blake, art produced by the rational mind cannot proceed beyond the bounds of mundane (Urizenic) culture; such artistic practice will only ever "repeat the same dull round over again" (*NNR*b, E3). Yet Blake also asserts that through inspiration and imagination—the influence of the daimon—art can surpass Urizenic being, awakening and articulating the unconscious into consciousness. By symbolically restoring liberty to art, Los expands the capacity of the human imagination within *Jerusalem*'s cosmos, though not without risk. These ideas anticipate psychoanalysis, where the process of bringing the unconscious into consciousness is considered transformative to the psyche, and, with this, brings the potential for new modes of relationship. The unconscious is, by definition, not part of one's conscious self-identity, and is therefore thought to be the other through projection. However, a recognition of consciousness in the otherness of the unconscious inspires a new dynamic interaction with the unconscious, overcoming a once static (death-like, Urizenic) relationship, furthering the flow of creative inspiration.

As a daimonic figure, Los demonstrates the capacity for both mildness and wrath in relating to others, as each situation requires. His unyielding determination to awaken Albion

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[1] Blake was certainly aware of his work's similarity to Plato, for he writes to Thomas Butts (6 July 1803) that *Jerusalem* is "Allegory addressd to the Intellectual powers" that "is also somewhat in the same manner defind by Plato" (*LE*, E730).

and restore humanity to Eternity is impressive. He acts in "fury & strength" to compel his Spectre to assist his work, while his Spectre weeps and howls and curses and is "Driven to desperation by Los's terrors & threatning fears" (*J*10:22-30, E153). Los is entirely daimonic in nature: he is able to manifest in full both the dark and light side of human nature, not blindly or reactively (unconsciously), but skilfully (consciously) according to his purpose, because he is awake to Eternity. Representing the daimonic imagination within *Jerusalem*, he acts as a furious mediator between Eternity and time-bound creation when this is required to achieve his aims. He brings the overwhelming energy of the sublime to breach the enclosed isolation of the self in Ulro in order to ensure humankind's opening to reality beyond its own solipsism. There is a degree of violence to Los's approach. Yet reading Blake's poetry as he suggests, as "Allegory addressd to the Intellectual powers," with Los responding to the harms perpetuated by the fallen world through Albion, his sons and daughters, the Spectre, and the like, such violence can be recognised as an allegory of Blake's notion of intellectual war (*LE*, E730). This war is the debate of ideas that occurs within literature and art, which Blake pursued as a means towards truth, whose end is not only ideas, but living human culture.

This battle of ideas is not simply between humans of different intellectual camps in the external world but is internalised within each individual psyche. Truth, for Blake, involves the transformation of the entire human character at a fundamental, ontological level. Blake mythologises this inner battle by showing Los direct his stern force of character towards his own Spectre. Los's Spectre responds by attempting to dissuade Los through disparaging words and evocations of shame and pity. Los does not yield, and the Spectre breaks into despair, speaking in an unusually self-conscious manner for a Spectre, who is by definition a shadowy, distorting reflection of the individual they shadow, with no real identity of their own. In becoming self-conscious, Los's Spectre has a breakthrough of self-understanding, an

articulation of consciousness from the unconscious. The Spectre says, in a manner that may evoke pity from the reader, that he is

> Created to be the great example of horror & agony: also my
> Prayer is vain I called for compassion: compassion mockd
> Mercy & pity threw the grave stone over me & with lead
> And iron, bound it over me for ever: Life lives on my
> Consuming: & the Almighty hath made me his Contrary
> To be all evil, all reversed & for ever dead: knowing
> And seeing life, yet living not; how can I then behold
> And not tremble; how can I be beheld & not abhorrd. (*J*10:52-59, E154)

The Spectre, who is depicted as the personification of human evil, is transformed through this process of self-articulation. It appears to pity itself, and then seeks further pity from Los. In response, Los recognises this as the deceptiveness of the Spectre, an attempt to take advantage of another's compassion, so does not allow this call for pity to distract him from his task. The Spectre, he believes, is masking evil behind an appeal for help. Thus, he does not succumb to its influence and instead orders it to continue the work he must complete. He wipes "dark tears" off the Spectre and continues building Golgonooza, the great city of art (*J*10:60-63, E154).

Reading this scene as an allegory of the artist at work promotes the idea of an undistracted focus towards the artist's work of individual and collective transformation. Unconsciousness, here embodied in the Spectre, must be transformed into consciousness, Los. Therefore, consciousness needs to direct, and not become directed by, the unconscious. Failure to do so results in madness, where the orderly conscious self is swallowed by the chaos of the unconscious (the Spectre). The artist works with receptivity towards creative inspiration,

allowing a degree of openness to the unconscious in order to reveal and transform its contents, yet not so much openness as to disrupt the conscious capacity to practise art. Similarly, Los does not close off completely from the Spectre, for that would prevent any possibility of transforming the Spectre into a more conscious state; he remains open to the Spectre's expression without losing focus. Rather than succumbing to the dark "horror & agony" of such a state, which would likely result in further confusion, misery, and destruction, Los instead applies his will to engage those dark energies towards a constructive creative work (*J*10:52, E154). Blake's artist works similarly, directing unconscious energies towards a consciously realised work of art. This is unlike Plato's view, written in *Ion* (c. 380 BC). Plato considers the poet in a state of *furor poeticus* as an unconscious channel, possessed by the muse and ignorant about their art (*Plato in Twelve Volumes* 9: *Ion* 534a). In *A Vision of The Last Judgment*, Blake explicitly disagrees: "Plato has made Socrates say that Poets & Prophets do not Know or Understand what they write or Utter this is a most Pernicious Falshood" (*VLJ*68, E554). Blake's ideal artist/poet is deliberately, skilfully engaged in developing their deeper consciousness because of their awakened, daimonic state.

Figure 4. William Blake. *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, plate 6. 1804-c. 1820, relief and white-line etching with hand colouring, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1667780.

Plate 6 of *Jerusalem* (fig. 4) shows Los in *agon* with his Spectre, reflecting the psychological struggles of the artist working towards the fulfilment of their creative task. The image shows the Spectre arching over Los, hovering with dark, bat-like wings, dramatically surrounded by the smoke and flames of Los's furnaces. Los is steadfast. He sits upon the anvil beside his furnace; his securely extended left leg, strong right foot placement, and steady upward gaze suggesting a solid position, both physically and psychologically. His stone-like

skin tone further reinforces this appearance of strength and stability. In addition, he holds his hammer as if unthreatened—he is not using it to fend off the Spectre. And the obvious phallic imagery of the hammer increases the sense of unmoving power from his seat of stone. Mastery of the deeper energies of life (Eros) is depicted, not subjection to their unconscious, goading impulse. The Spectre in contrast holds his hands to his ears, as if not wanting to hear Los's words of conscious purpose, displaying a gesture of denial, or even maddening torture.

The Spectre has attempted to make Los doubt himself so that he will become overridden by the negative emotions of his own shadow. But Los has the power to remain unconquered by his Spectre due to his vision of Eternity, which arises from the recognition of his own eternal identity. His stable presence upon the stones mirrors his psychological coherence as a symbol of eternal reality itself, unconquered by the vicissitudes of experience, in contrast to the Spectre who reflects and distorts Los's experience into exaggerated, negative, ephemeral illusions. The Spectre is like an issuing vapour, having no independent substance apart from Los, and playing against the integrity and virtue of Los's mind. Los's state is Eden, the eternal revelation of infinity in every moment, which is to Blake the Gothic Christian practice of life as spiritual art, where "Living Form is Eternal Existence" (*OV*, E270). Los is ultimately victorious in this mental battle and directs his Spectre to assist him in building Golgonooza. If he were not in this eternal state, his creative work could not connect Eternity with the temporal world. The chain at the bottom-right of the image shows that his visionary furnace and his visionary work are tied to the world.

Blake shows that this work is Los's sacrifice for the awakening of humanity. It is not a sacrifice for atonement, but for love; not for receiving, but for giving. Here the role of the classical daimon is pertinent. The daimon traditionally transfers what is given between the gods and humanity. Ideally, this transfer occurs for the betterment of humanity through humankind maintaining a beneficial relationship with the gods, who symbolise a more perfected state of

being. The daimon as messenger may take what is given by humanity as an offering to the gods and return with the appropriate reciprocal gift from the gods.

But suppose a human, in a state of guilt, shame, fear, or hatred—in Blake's terms, under the sway of their Spectre—should seek to escape their state through a violent sacrifice, by slaughtering an innocent, particularly one who is good and loving, as a scapegoat and pure offering. This occurs throughout *Jerusalem* in the fallen world, such as when the sons of Albion call for the sacrifice of the Lamb's children in front of Jerusalem (*J*18:26-28, E163). Because the classical daimon as operant of fate relays divine justice, returning a dark reward for a dark deed is not against the its duty. It returns the fruits of that which is performed before the gods—the daimon is messenger.

In contrast, and by the same logic, a human who offers works and acts of love as a sacrifice is likely to accrue the equivalent in return from the gods. This is very archaic reasoning, yet as a principle of sacrifice, it survives today as the basis to our reciprocal interactions in society, whether human relationships, economic exchange, or many other areas. For example, a child offering to wash the dishes for their parents every night for a week offers a kind of sacrifice, and we can presume some level of reciprocal return. Such return, even if it is simply appreciation, contributes balance to the sacrificial act. Sacrifice is entwined with our sense of justice in all areas of life.

Furthermore, a sacrifice reflects the quality of the consciousness of the sacrificer. Acts of reciprocation are more likely to be tainted by suffering among those who are bitter, perverted, or malevolent, like the Spectre. Thus, Los struggles with his unruly Spectre to build the city of Golgonooza. Los's Spectre is a ghostly reflection of Los's own shadow psyche and an obstacle to the fulfilment of his work of loving sacrifice. His struggle shows the necessity of conquering one's own inner demons, in order to produce a work of greatness. If he were not to overcome his Spectre, then his creation would become the unconscious impulses of a fallen

state, without vision, motivated by selfishness, and lacking vitality. His sacrifice, and thus his artistic creation, would lack love.

The Spectre is also maddening, and the struggle between Los and his Spectre defines the difference between genius and madness, presenting the idea that only those who overcome the obstacles to creative genius can produce works of genius. For Blake, such victories lead the artist to a state of greater sanity of mind, where the unconscious is successfully made conscious and integrated into the conscious mind. This coincides with Northrop Frye's idea of Blake depicting genius as a state of supreme normality,[2] a state whose works often surpass the grasp of the common mind (*Fearful Symmetry* 30). For Blake, the individual who has conquered their own Spectre is not only more situated in reality, by which they suffer less illusions of self-doubt, negative emotion, and so on that serve to distort mental judgement, but is also less perturbed by experiences that would psychologically unhinge an individual who has not resolved their own Spectre. Such a state of overcoming one's Spectre is equivalent in Jungian psychology to the individual who has become conscious of their shadow and thereby gains greater psychological stability and sanity (Hart 98).

This resolute stability is recognisable in Los's stable posture, seated upon a stone block in plate 6 (fig. 4). This stone block is also likely Los's anvil. It is the focal point for daimonic transformation, which is why Los calls for the Spectre to aid his work at this stone, thereby channelling the Spectre's darkness into the transformative process of art. This stone block has both artistic and psychological symbolism. Interpreted as anvil, the artistic process transforms whatever raw material is used (metal of some kind) into a work of art. Interpreted as artist's seat, the artistic process psychologically transforms the artist. Both transformations converge

[2] As mentioned in section 4.1.

in the image of Los seated on the anvil, showing artwork and artist as one, making the practice of art one of both physical and psychological transfiguration.

In the idea of the daimon as the carrier of human sacrifice to the gods, and recognising that for Blake "All deities reside in the human breast," Blake's human being becomes their own daimon, their own mediator between their innate divinity and their mundanely conceived self (*MHH*11, E38). Or, when their divinity is unrealised, they become whatever they hold in their heart. For Blake, Eternity is within each person, but the individual's manner of sacrifice in life largely determines their resultant state of being. Sacrifice is a creative act. The individual creates their own—and others'—hells or heavens through their actions, as 'A Memorable Fancy' in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* recounts, detailing the narrator's encounter with a self-righteous angel, who manifests a vision that has no power over the narrator (*MHH*17-20, E41-2).

Jerusalem explores this same process through Albion's fall and redemption. For Blake, the awakened human being is their own creator, the determiner of their own fate (a function of the human as daimon according to Heraclitus), an artist shaping their own existence (Heraclitus qtd. in Plutarch, 6: *Platonicae quaestiones* 999e). In contrast, Blake's fallen (or sleeping) human is subjected to a degree of unconscious chaos (their Spectre), which becomes the false deity, ruling over them and their fate like a demon. *Jerusalem* presents a mythic narrative of awakening the individual from this fallen, dominated state to the state of humane, creative freedom, founded upon loving sacrifice.

Plates 6-11 of *Jerusalem* describe Los (the artist) struggling with his Spectre in the pursuit of creative work. This struggle is a common trope among artists. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890), Edvard Munch (1863-1944), Anne Sexton (1928-1974), and Sylvia Plath (1932-1963) are but a few examples of artists who struggled with their own shadow. And Percy Shelley's 'Ode to the West Wind' (1820) is one example of how an

artist's inner creative struggle can be directed to the outer world: "Drive my dead thoughts over the universe / Like wither'd leaves to quicken a new birth!" (*Prometheus*, 'Ode to the West Wind' 5.7-8). Placed alongside these other artists, we may recognise that Blake is self-reflectively exploring a transpersonal trope. His empowering words and imagery, reinforced by his own life experience as an artist, contextualises this broader trope of the struggling artist within significant, individually and socially relevant themes: personal self-transformation, loving sacrifice towards those people and values we care about, and the artist as agent for cultural evolution.

After considerable struggle, Los gains some ground in awakening his Spectre. Once it attains a degree of self-consciousness, a change occurs in his work to restore fallen humanity: Erin, the daughters of Beulah, and Los's sons and daughters appear in the world. Damon considers Erin and the daughters of Beulah to represent an understanding of the holiness of the human body and its instincts, which allows for nurturing and loving human relationships (128). In Blake's psycho-cosmos, they provide a space for a human consciousness that is broader than simple animalistic drives in the struggle for survival or the will to domination through violence. Los has liberated an aspect of the unconscious into consciousness, and in doing so, has established a new, positive potential among humanity. This is an example from *Jerusalem* of how the transformation of the Spectre coincides with a liberation in human consciousness. It is also a step of transformation in Blake's daimonic process, where an unconscious aspect of humanity is made more conscious, further bridging humanity with the divine. Los here is the agent of this transformation between polarities, the daimon working with strength of character and artistic inspiration to achieve this bridging process that will ultimately, according to Blake's vision, restore humanity to the state of wholeness in an eternal culture of Poetic Genius.

It is, however, important to note that for Blake this opening of consciousness does not suppress the violent instincts of human nature in favour of an unearthly purity, as seen in

Puritanical ideas of the sinfulness of the body and its instincts. Erin's arrival positions love and violence not as warring opposites, as may occur in Blakean twofold vision, but as Blakean contraries, allowing progression because of their constructive polarisation. Blake describes Erin as the "majestic form" holding "eternal tears" of compassion that link carnal lust with heavenly love; a soothing space that takes in and heals pain at "the Ends of Beulah, where the Dead wail night & day" (*J*86:45, E245; *J*48:52, E197).[3] The coming of Erin at this point in *Jerusalem* recontextualises human nature within a broader, more wholesome space, providing perspective on its prior, conflicting narrowness.

With the creation of a space receptive to higher consciousness, Los recovers his children. Los's sons represent revelatory culture and the prophets of society. Together with Los, they battle the sons of Albion, who are trapped in tyrannical, selfish, singular vision. Los and his children also work to align all the counties of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland with the gates of Golgonooza, creating a matrix over the British Isles, and thereby providing protection to the emanations of Albion's sons and to those fleeing the conflict between Luvah (revolutionaries) and Urizen (empire). This matrix built by Los and his children is Enitharmon's halls. Those within Enitharmon's halls are governed not by force but "by the sweet delights of secret amorous glances" (*J*16:60, E161). This is a merciful form of governance, Beulah's soft influence, orchestrated through Enitharmon's spiritual beauty (Damon 124). While Enitharmon's halls govern the material (vegetable)[4] world, Golgonooza provides experiences of timeless art to restore human culture to the wisdom of Eternity: "All things acted on Earth are seen in the bright Sculptures of / Los's Halls & every Age renews its powers from these Works" (*J*16:61-62, E161). These sculptures are described as bright,

[3] Erin is also an archaic name for Ireland.

[4] Blake often uses the term *vegetable* to describe the natural or material world, in contrast to the world of spiritual or living forms.

whether they depict events of love or hate, because their images arise from eternal vision, which does not filter experience through moral judgement but witnesses all things with clarity in their actual state—much like a direct perception of Kant's transcendent *das Ding an sich*, the thing-in-itself (Kant § 32).

Although Blake appears not to have read Kant, Steve Vine argues for a Kantian Blake through similarities in their concepts of the sublime, writing that for Blake, "as in Kant, the sensuous or corporeal—materiality itself—is reduced in the name of the supersensuous" (240). This seems incorrect, since for Blake materiality is not reduced by the supersensuous but expanded. He writes, "If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is: infinite" (*MHH*14, E39). For Blake, inspired works of (material) art—such as those described in Golgonooza—are experienced as visionary windows into Eternity. Thus, Blake differs from Kant in that the transcendent is obtainable through the immanent. Objects, when perceived through Blake's state of vision, evoke an intensity of experience that awakens their perceiver, much like what Patterson describes as a daimonic Keatsian "special mode of intense perception" (*The Daimonic in the Poetry of Keats 3*).

This daimonic awakening of consciousness in Blake's mythos also involves the awakening of noble character. Throughout *Jerusalem*, compassion flows from Beulah, with the continual emphasis on mercy and forgiveness to wash away sin. Beulah brings sympathetic response, dreams, "lovely delusions," and "merciful forms" to soften pain and satisfy desire (*J*17:27,28, E162). This sublunar dream world provides an ethical dimension for Blake's ideal creative culture to flourish, as preparatory to the ultimate apex of creativity in Blake's Eden. However, only those able to integrate the virtues of these higher states can remain there, and for many there are psychological obstacles to attaining to such.

For example, at the conclusion of chapter one of *Jerusalem*, through the influence of Beulah, Albion experiences devastating shame and guilt after awakening to the consequences

of the evil he has done to others. From this state, it is too great a shift to the visionary state of Eden for Albion. The unresolved torments of his own mind torture him with images of shame, jealousy, hatred, and fear. It would be disastrous if Albion was able to freely create from his imagination while in such a state, as do Blake's Eternals in Eden. However, from *Jerusalem*'s commencement this disaster has already occurred, resulting in the creation of the fallen world as a demiurgic dream—or nightmare—of Albion's sleeping imagination (humanity's collective unconscious). The results of this creation are only realised more lucidly by Albion at this later point in the narrative (plates 21-25). Albion becomes stuck within his own creation, which he perpetuates until he fully awakens. Through this narrative, Blake highlights the necessity for freedom from the negative distortions of the conscious and unconscious psyche as a prerequisite to successfully exercising the creative power of Eden. Such freedom from "Sin," as Blake describes it, arises through Beulah, whose daughters sing for the Lamb of God to "take away the remembrance of Sin," bringing those receptive to them (self-)forgiveness and an opening of the psyche to love (*J*51:30, E200).

The meeting of psyche and love is a well-explored trope, perhaps most skilfully sculpted in marble in Antonio Canova's *Amore e Psiche* (Psyche Revived by Cupid's Kiss) (1793), which holds similar symbolism to Blake's design, 'The Reunion of the Soul & the Body' (1808), etched by Luigi Schiavonetti for Robert Blair's *The Grave* (1743) (Canova; Blair 32). Cupid is *Έρως* (*Éros*) in Greek, and there are similarities between Blake's awakened state and Eros, who is an archetypal symbol of the creative vitality of life and is considered by Plato and Renaissance Humanists to be a great daimon who mediates between the divine and mundane worlds.[5] Through these symbols, Blake shows love as a psychological step for daimonic awakening, and Beulah is presented as the cosmological state that fallen beings must

[5] Similarity between Blake's "Living Form" and Eros has been drawn in section 3.2 (*OV*, E270). The designation of Eros as a great daimon is given by Plato's Diotima and Ficino, as discussed in section 3.1.

embrace and be embraced by in order to awaken the latent creative power of humanity. Yet the road to such awakening is potentially hazardous, as Albion experiences. Blake's allegorical mythos tells us that to better ourselves as human beings is simultaneously a meaningful and difficult process.

5.2 Awakening and Dismay

Existential psychologist Rollo May describes in *Love and Will* (1969) the two aspects of the daimonic in human consciousness, which, depending on the orientation of the individual towards such consciousness, lead to either creativity or destructivity:

> The daimonic is the urge in every being to affirm itself, assert itself, perpetuate and increase itself. The daimonic becomes evil when it usurps the total personality without regard to the integration of the self or to the unique forms and desires of others and their need for integration. It then appears as excessive aggression, hostility, cruelty—the things about ourselves which horrify us most and which we repress whenever we can or, more likely, project on others. But these are the reverse side of the same assertion which empowers our creativity. All life is a flux between these two aspects of the daimonic. (R. May 123)

These two aspects are a surprising match to the two paths of awakening and spiritual sleep represented by Blake a century and a half earlier. Blake's awakened human must find integration not only with themselves but also with others, which empowers their creativity. Likewise, his fallen human is the isolated being who affirms themselves over and above others, projecting their own evils onto others while acting destructively. These two states are shown in Albion's perturbed state from the beginning of *Jerusalem* (the destructive misalignment with

daimonic consciousness, what I define as the demonic), and his awakened creative state at *Jerusalem*'s conclusion (the proper integration of daimonic consciousness). May's assertion that "All life is a flux between these two aspects of the daimonic" describes Blake's daimonic trope in *Jerusalem* quite precisely (123).

Psychological descriptions such as May's bring Blake's mythos towards the personal for his reader and orientate his mythopoetic thought to a more contemporary understanding. In a similar manner, *Jerusalem* also includes aspects of literary and cultural awakening that provide contemporary keys to literary-humanistic understanding. In chapter one of *Jerusalem,* Albion's failed awakening causes many people to suffer within his dream world. That this chapter is addressed "To the Public," highlights how the public are framed as individuals caught in situations that they never intended for themselves, due to their tendency to mass conformity (*J*3, E145). The words "SHEEP" and "GOATS" are incised at the top of plate 3.[6] The idea of the separation of sheep from goats is found in Matthew 25.32-34, where Christ "shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left" and invite the sheep to "inherit the kingdom prepared … from the foundation of the world" (*The Holy Bible, King James Version*, Matt. 25.32-34).

Michael Ferber's *A Dictionary of Literary Symbols* (2007) describes sheep as a symbol of the English, then outlines the Old and New Testament associations of sheep with a human collective (Ferber 191-2). Sheep are also a symbol of harmlessness, humility, and simplicity (Ferber 193). In classical and Hebraic culture, goats were sacrificial animals, hence the

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[6] The editors of *The William Blake Archive* note within the online version of Erdman's *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake* that these incisions are probably a later addition (*J*3, E145; *The William Blake Archive*). There are also several other edits applied to this plate, seemingly having a more orthodox Christian inclination. For a detailed study of these and other edits in *Jerusalem*, see Erdman, 'The Suppressed and Altered Passages in Blake's *Jerusalem*.'

scapegoat (Ferber 86). Goats are also a symbol of lust, connected to the daemonic God Pan and the Christian devil, and thus to sin in general, in contrast to sheep (Ferber 87). While the lamb is a prominent Moravian symbol, a passive following of the flock is not something Blake emphasises, as the Tyger of experience aesthetically and emotively suggests in his mirrored pair of poems, 'The Lamb' and 'The Tyger,' in *Songs of Innocence and of Experience* (*SoI*8, E8-9; *SoE*42, E24-5).

It would seem unusual for Blake to interpret the Bible along entirely orthodox lines. Instead, we can distinguish between his higher and lower symbolism of both sheep and goats. In this view, individual, active determination (the higher aspect of goats) liberates humans from passive, mass ignorance (the lower aspect of sheep), resulting in a state of holiness (the higher aspect of sheep) that includes passionate desire (the lower aspect of goats). The result is Blake's unorthodox mixing of the parable of the sheep and the goats, with an emphasis along individualistic versus collectivist lines. The basic idea of separating the chosen from the not-chosen remains from the original parable, but the parameters are revised by Blake. As is typical, Blake's mythos is better understood as adopting earlier mythological motifs only to reinvent them.

Blake's distinction between active and passive types draws an analogy in relation to literature, marking the difference between the active reader and the passive reader. Both may read a literary work, but the passive reader is more likely to overlook the literary dimension of that work. Like Blake's sheep, the passive reader merely follows the world they are placed within, the literary work they are reading, without critical thought or contemplation. In contrast, active readers are like Blake's goats, or perhaps even his Tyger. They engage with a work through enquiry and keen attention. Taking *Jerusalem* as an allegory of such literary reading makes active readers the individuals who are liberated through works of literature. The work itself is passive. The reader contributes to the work's purpose and brings out its value, a value

which may in some ways differ from the intentions of the author, as it will inevitably be drawn closer to the reader's own perspective—unless there is rigorous self-enquiry to check such. In any case, the active reader can bring new understandings that question consensus and provide fresh human insight, whereas the passive reader merely "repeat[s] the same dull round" of the text (*NNR*b, E3; my addition). This is one example of how Blake invites a literary-humanistic reading.

Yet individualism taken to exclusionary extremes is shown as problematic in *Jerusalem*. At the close of chapter one, Albion awakens to the reality of his fallen condition, yet his awakening is premature. He becomes aware of his afflicted state and its impact upon humanity, but out of guilt and shame for his actions, he remains powerless to overcome this state. This is a partial awakening—the complete awakening occurs in chapter four of *Jerusalem*. Los's deeds are the main aid in Albion's awakening, some of which have been discussed above. Other characters, such as Jerusalem and Vala, also contribute to this process. However, Vala's contribution comes indirectly, in the form of a seductive antagonism that Albion must overcome. In contrast, Los and Jerusalem are Albion's allies, and wish for his full awakening. Yet he remains in a state of dismay, unable to forgive himself for the horrific world he has dreamt up through his sleep of ignorance, to which he also subjected humankind. Bringing a collective moral hangover, Albion's partial awakening does not liberate humanity entirely and instead leaves "many [who] doubted & despaird & imputed Sin & Righteousness / To Individuals & not to States, and these Slept in Ulro" (*J*24:15-16, E171; my addition). Under these conditions, it would seem only the more resolute (the goats) are able to seize the opportunity to free themselves from limited states of being. A resolute mind arises from mental clarity, reiterating Blake's sharp, determinate lineation. But Albion's afflicted mentality prevents him from insightful enquiry into his own state. Similarly, in literature, the liberation of insight and meaning from a work often requires first asking incisive questions, reiterating

Los's spiritual sword as a symbol of literary enquiry into the human unknown. But where the reader's individualism dominates the work being read—such as in the extremes of reader reception theory—then the reader loses touch with the meaning of the work, and instead, like fallen Albion in his dismay, only ever sees meaning as it pertains to their own mind.

Figure 5. William Blake. *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, plate 25. 1804-c. 1820, relief and white-line etching with hand colouring, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1667738.

Blake repeatedly shows in *Jerusalem* how human psychology impacts upon perceptions of reality, which is an important consideration for reading his daimon and his humanism. Plate 25 (fig. 5) marks the end of chapter one of *Jerusalem*, at the point of Albion's premature awakening. This plate shows Albion deeply shattered following the awakening of his humanity within an unprepared psyche. His arrogant statements as the "perturbed man" at the beginning of chapter one of *Jerusalem* now seem completely hollow from his current position of moral defeat, reflecting the void-mentality of Ulro (*J*4:22, E146). Compare:

> My mountains are my own, and I will keep them to myself!
> The Malvern and the Cheviot, the Wolds Plinlimmon & Snowdon
> Are mine. here will I build my Laws of Moral Virtue!
> Humanity shall be no more: but war & princedom & victory! (*J*4:28-32, E147)

with:

> I have erred! I am ashamed! and will never return more:
> I have taught my children sacrifices of cruelty: what shall I answer?
> I will hide it from Eternals! I will give myself for my Children!
> Which way soever I turn, I behold Humanity and Pity! (*J*23:16-19, E168)

The immaturity of Albion's earlier boasting becomes apparent. At the conclusion of the chapter, he has realised his sinful actions towards his children, the multitude of living beings, and cannot forgive himself. In an act of further violent sacrifice, he offers himself as a sacrificial victim. He rends the Veil of Vala—which symbolises the illusory state that supposes

the world consists of deist laws of natural morality—and utters a dying curse for the "God who dwells in this dark Ulro & voidness" to take vengeance upon humankind (*J*23:38, E169).

Plate 25 (fig. 5) shows that Albion's previously (false) exalted state of self-absorbed power has vanished like a dream, and he is now on his knees, fallen and deeply ashamed. His body and head arch back, exposing his chest and the painful emotions contained therein to the world. His posture suggests he might scream his pain out were he not so emotionally defeated. He is overwhelmed by self-remorse and shame to the point of wishing his own destruction in the void of Ulro. Swamped by his own emotions, he lacks the power to overcome this state. Albion's powerlessness coincides with a lack of awareness of his primordial human identity as an immortal soul awake to the vision of Eternity. This vision is symbolised by the sun, moon, and stars tattooed over Albion's body. These celestial symbols appear again on plate 97 (fig. 9)[7] when Albion fully awakens, but on plate 25, they are dormant due to his preoccupation with selfhood. Albion has lost the dignity of his true being, having squandered it in acts of selfhood leading to the oppression and destruction of others. He now sleeps in a self-created nightmare. Jerusalem, who is liberty, declares that release from this state can occur through the removal of sin—shame, fear, confusion—by forgiveness, whereas punishment for sin only reinforces this fallen state (*J*26, E171). Yet lacking the mental acuity to relinquish his self-loathing, which would be a beneficial step for both himself and others, Albion in his confusion continues to call for punishment upon himself and upon humanity, instinctively to satiate—but really to further—his shame (*J*23:38-40, E169). He lacks a conscious connection to the divine state of love; his daimon is unrealised; his demons are painfully apparent. Albion's predicament represents the uninvited, incendiary insights that the daimon—who is more-than-human—brings upon the solipsistic human. Such sublime insight overwhelms the unprepared human

[7] The image on plate 97 is discussed in chapter seven.

ego into a state of inhumanity. Albion in this state allegorises the reader who is unacclimated to ideas beyond their own solipsism.

The identities of the three figures around Albion on plate 25 are not certain, although Morton D. Paley suggests they are Rahab, Tirzah, and Vala, the three female figures of natural morality, which he associates with the three Fates (*The Continuing City* 100). Offering a different approach to the same conclusion, Deirdre Toomey highlights the correspondences between Blake's image on plate 25 and René Boyvin's (1525-1598) *Le Tre Parche* (c. 1540-5) (Paley and Toomey 188).[8] Toomey states that the "resemblance between this Boyvin print and plate 25 of *Jerusalem* … in general design and minute detail is striking enough to lead one to conclude that Blake had seen and studied it" and she concludes that the figures in Blake's illustration represent the three Fates (Paley and Toomey 188). She draws connections between these two images based on the "unusual pyramidal composition" in both, along with several similarities of posture (188). She then outlines the differences, or "modifications" Blake applied, which appear more numerous and prominent than the similarities. Two examples are the figure on the left in Blake's illustration having a completely different pose, and Blake's illustration including a fourth figure (188). However, it seems more accurate to state that the two images are roughly alike. If Blake even encountered Boyvin's print, for which there seems no certain evidence, it may have loosely inspired Blake's illustration. Rather than assuming Blake copied aspects of Boyvin's print, their commonality could arise from a third source, since the figures in both images reflect the symbolic meaning of the Fates, as past, present, and future. For example, the spread arms of the central-top figure correspond to the span of human life, thus this figure can represent the Fate of the present. There is a common, largely pan-

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[8] Paley and Toomey's article, 'Two Pictorial Sources for *Jerusalem* 25,' contains two parts; the first is written by Paley, and the second by Toomey.

European symbolism underlying both images, which provides a more solid basis that explains their similarity.

Despite the apparently loose connection between the two works, Toomey's (and Paley's) conclusion that Blake's plate 25 portrays the three Fates surrounding Albion is plausible, but only incidental to Blake's mythos (188). Blake's tendency to rewrite mythological motifs in new ways is apparent here. Throughout his oeuvre he never refers to the Fates, nor their Greek name, Moirae, and uses the word *fate* without ever associating it with three women. This suggests he did not involve himself deliberately in the motif of the Fates. In alignment with the argument of this thesis, I would suggest he promoted an individualistic and collective idea of fate, derived from the Biblical tradition of Christ and the Apocalypse. Yet he renders this anew through his Moravian-inspired practice of Christianity as art, with its Neoplatonic undercurrents and Christ as the Poetic Genius, the daimon, which is traditionally a distributor of fate. Blake does present one, mildly amusing reference to three women and classical mythology in *A Vision of The Last Judgment*, although it is not to the Fates, but nonetheless reflects his creative blending of ancient mythology with contemporary society:

> The Ladies will be pleasd to see that I have represented the Furies by Three Men & not by three Women It is not because I think the Ancients wrong but they will be pleasd to remember that mine is Vision & not Fable The Spectator may suppose them Clergymen in the Pulpit Scourging Sin instead of Forgiving it. (*VLJ*77, E557)

Paley's suggestion that the three figures are Rahab, Tirzah, and Vala raises different issues. If this image on plate 25 (fig. 5) is to correlate with these characters, then it would be expected they are mentioned in the surrounding text. While Vala is mentioned, Tirzah and Rahab are only mentioned once on plate 5 and not again until the second chapter, on plate 30,

suggesting their lack of relevance to the image on plate 25. On the other hand, the plates leading up to plate 25 narrate the conversation between Vala, Jerusalem, and Albion, so it is more likely these are the figures present on plate 25. Yet the question of who the fourth figure is, to the left of Albion, remains. The degree of leniency given to correlations between Blake's text and illustrations appears to be an unresolved issue in studying Blake. Often his illustrations have some variance from the text, although their affinity is more common. Overall, these figures on plate 25 remain somewhat uncertain, which only serves to open wider possibilities for interpretation, granting, in the spirit of Blake's "Living Form," not a final conclusion, but an ongoing, live exploration of the image (*OV*, E270).

Other aspects of the image can be studied. Paley also focuses on it showing the winding of some type of material into a ball from Albion's navel (Paley and Toomey 186). According to Paley, this is simultaneously Albion's umbilical cord, intestines, and fibres of vegetation, which invites discussion on the dense meaning that could be unpacked from this triple-symbolism (186). Whatever this material, it strikes a resonance with Blake's well-known verse at the beginning of chapter three of *Jerusalem* that asks the reader to wind a ball of golden string in order to return to Jerusalem (*J*77, E231). On plate 25 (fig. 5), this 'string' is being drawn from Albion's navel and wound at the heart of the over-arching figure, whom I would interpret to be Vala, with her arms extending a covering veil. Yet it is the figure on the right who is winding the ball, and who appears to be Jerusalem. This identification can be strengthened by recognising her similarity in appearance to the female figure on plates 26, 92, and 99, who in those plates is clearly Jerusalem—plate 26 and 92 confirm this in writing, and plate 99 clearly matches the textual narrative involving Jerusalem and Jehovah. If this is the case, she is not cruelly disembowelling Albion on plate 25, as Paley suggests, but has a look of concern, if not tears of compassion, as she winds his life-force from his navel, the mythical centre of life, into a golden ball so as to preserve it. Further confirmation of this interpretation

is that Albion's fate, following from Toomey, is to eventually be reunited with Jerusalem, who here holds and winds the golden ball of his thread of life, which is traditionally woven by the Fates. Under this interpretation, the fourth figure remains uncertain. The figure's posture of deep self-reflection complements Albion's inner state of self-absorption in Ulro. Albion's head is tilted in this figure's direction, and placed directly under her face, suggesting this fourth figure is some unrealised, or compartmentalised, counterpart to Albion's present state of torment.

If Blake has used the motif of the Fates, he has reworked it as "Vision" rather than "Fable," as artistic invention rather than exact mythological duplication (*VLJ*77, E557). The image is presented in this sense as somewhat original, while drawing from established ideas. It shows Albion at his lowest point, and yet from his navel extends his life, his fate, connecting him to Jerusalem, the highest state of individual freedom. This golden string is therefore the connector of the lowest and the highest states, a daimonic bridge, which additionally correlates with Heraclitus' maxim, read eschatologically as the idea that individual character determines human fate (Heraclitus qtd. in Plutarch, *Platonicae quaestiones* 999e).[9]

Through the narrative of chapter one of *Jerusalem*, Albion has moved from the false exaltation of egotism to the recognition of the effects of his sinful actions, bringing a painful self-awareness for which he was not prepared. As a result, he has distanced himself from the higher state out of shame, and yet the kindness of Jerusalem and the beings in Beulah keeps Albion connected to his eternal identity, however far he is from it in his present state. Blake is suggesting, through this image and the surrounding narrative, that however fallen a being is, they are never severed from the divine. It is the work of the daimon to restore this connection and preserve the relationship between the mundane and the sacred. Los eventually achieves

[9] This fragment was discussed in chapter three.

this restoration at the conclusion of *Jerusalem* when Albion is moved to sacrifice his selfhood in the fires of Los's furnaces and is restored to wholeness. This narrative provides insight into Blake's daimon as the mediator between fallen and awakened states.

The narrative also allegorises the dramatic tension in literature between the reader as a unique individual of specific disposition and background and the specific experience conveyed by a literary work. While for Blake it matters that Albion is the mythological primordial man of Britain, we can read Blake's mythic narrative more broadly as an allegory for literary practice. Consequently, Albion is a particular individual initially at odds with his world, yet he ultimately resolves this misalignment. Similarly, in reading literature there remains a difference between reader and work, determined uniquely by the qualities of both. The reader experiences the work as other. This difference is bridged when an engaged resonance with the work occurs, when the obstacles to absorption in the work are surmounted. On the reader's part, this may require some form of individual sacrifice—devoting sufficient time and attention, gaining an understanding of language or culture, doing additional research, perhaps having a willingness to suspend disbelief, and so on.

Furthermore, Los represents the creative imagination, a necessity for reading literature. To be consumed in Los's furnaces can be recognised as a metaphor for absorption in the imaginary world of a literary work. This is not a passive absorption, for it requires a commitment of being, a sincere willingness towards the work, just as Albion is eventually sincere in his willingness to be transformed by Los's furnaces. To actively read literature is to place oneself in the fires of literature: intense moral conundrums; emotional drama; profound, unusual, or controversial ideas; new perspectives on the world, language, or oneself; haunting imaginary experiences, and so on, all of which may present some difficulty. But reading literature can bring significant change. Read actively and inquisitively, literature has the potential to move readers through richer dimensions of the imagination, facilitating greater

human understanding and development. Thus, we can recognise further ways in which Blake's daimonic mythos may be read for ideas of literary humanism.

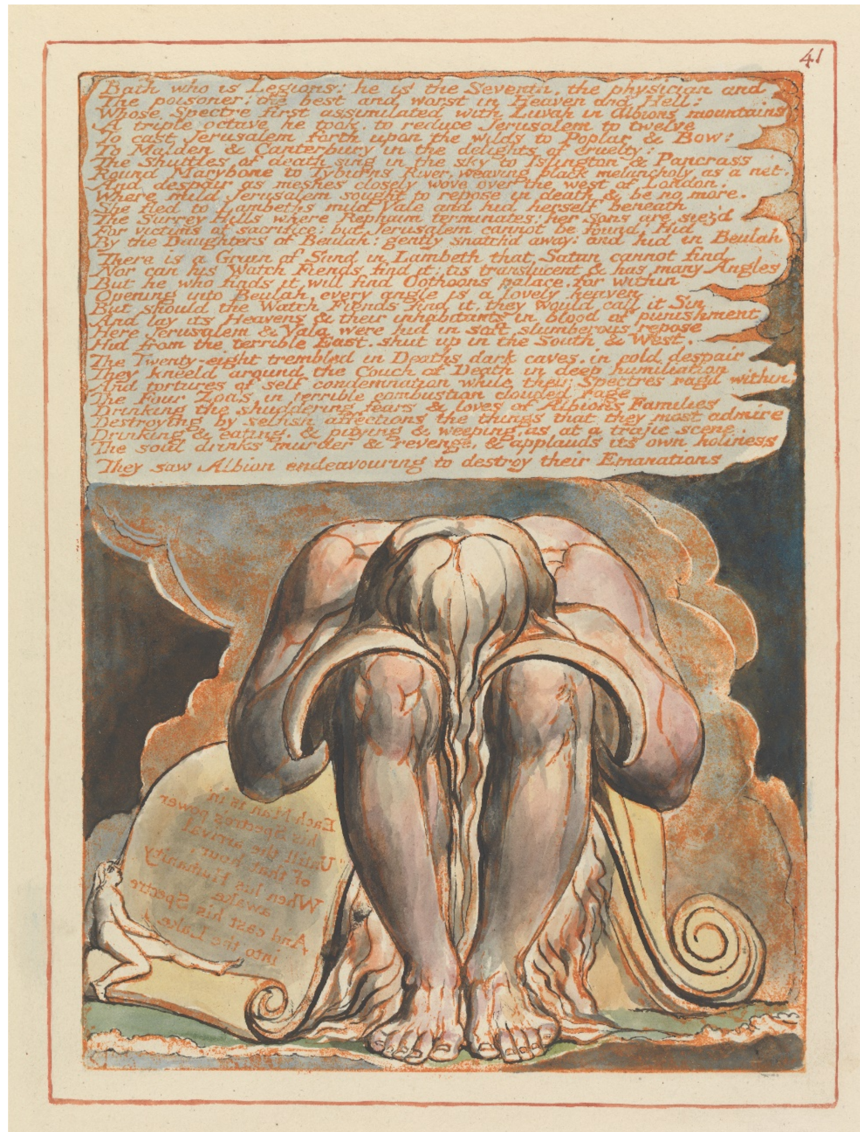

Figure 6. William Blake. *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, plate 41. 1804-c. 1820, relief and white-line etching with hand colouring, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1667758.

Further examples in *Jerusalem* of the conflict between humanity and inhumanity may be seen, highlighting how the daimon in intertwined with Blake's humanism, and allegorising

the importance of self-reflective, critical reading. The artwork on plate 41 (fig. 6)[10] continues the theme of awakening, and shares similarities with both plate 6 (fig. 4), regarding Los's struggle with his Spectre, and also with plate 25 (fig. 5), showing Albion's premature awakening. Plate 41 (fig. 6) depicts a crouched figure with their head tucked in their lap, whose limbs appear pale and stone-like, with smoke billowing behind them. On the left of the figure is a scroll, with a tiny person sitting on its curled end, and on the right of the figure, the same scroll appears to end in a spiral curl, resembling the curls of the Ionic order of classical architecture, but more as a ruin among billowing smoke. The figure's hair is overgrown, reaching the ground, suggesting they have maintained that position—one of spiritual sleep—for a long time. They appear to have fallen asleep on an open book, indicating a mindset trapped within the book's doctrine. The small person sits in a posture of ease and vitality, looking curiously at the central figure, perhaps waiting for them to recognise what the scroll has written on it, in reverse:

> Each Man is in
> his Spectre's power
> Untill the arrival
> of that hour,
> When his Humanity
> Awake
> And cast his Spectre
> into the Lake. (*J*37, E184)

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[10] Because Erdman uses a different ordering system, this plate corresponds to Erdman's plate 37, which I draw the textual references from.

This brief poem, concluding with the casting one's Spectre into a rhyming but apparently unrelated lake, seems comical. The terse lines and imperative requirement for awakening, however, add impact, making the direct message of the poem clear: the Spectre's influence must be overcome in one's own mind. This message is presented at a point in *Jerusalem* when Albion, the Twenty-four cathedral cities, and the Four Zoas are all caught in their "Spectre's power," so is vitally relevant to the narrative (*J*37, E184).

This image (fig. 6) shows the unconsciousness of Ulro that comes from being dominated by one's Spectre. The influence of the Spectre serves to erode the freethinking, autonomous capacity of the mind, replacing it with thoughts—and subsequent actions—motivated by negative states of self-doubt, fear, anxiety, envy, confusion, and hatred, to the detriment of oneself and other beings. The uncritical examination of the mind's activities, not being measured from a standpoint of humane existence, permits such patterns of behaviour, which in time become habitual aspects of one's identity, from which one's humanity is forgotten and overshadowed by the Spectre. This coincides with the uncritical examination of outside influences—as seen in this image, where the figure is immersed in the book (a doctrine) and is unconscious of other perspectives. There can be no critical thought within a monosemic doctrine. Enforcing a singular meaning excludes other possible interpretations, resulting in a tyranny upon the mind, narrowness, rigidity, and an incapacity for genuine conversation, as this image reveals.

Such a state is contrary to Blake's individual of Poetic Genius, who exists as the full creative energy of life and converses with the living potential of all forms. This creative energy of life finds its archetypical image in Eros, which Rollo May describes, in full alignment with Blake's awakened human, as the "original creative force" and the capacity to "participate, via imagination and emotional and spiritual sensitivity, in forms and meanings beyond ourselves in the interpersonal world and the world of nature around us" (79). Blake's alignment with the

archetype Eros implies a humanism that engages with all life forms meaningfully, fostering mutual respect through all living beings' common existence as "Living Form" (*OV*, E270).

Yet the figure on plate 41 sits in a heap. Their state resembles incubation as an egg; life unhatched, unexamined, and unlived. Their incubation process involves stewing in the torments of their Spectre. Pain may eventually bring enough motivation to awaken from this state, although currently there is smoke but no fire—fire being a symbol of transformation. The poem on the scroll has a kind of impish tone, as is typical for Blake's reversed text, holding both warning and promise. For this individual, "the arrival / of that hour, / When his Humanity / Awake[ns]" seems inevitable (*J*37, E184; my addition). Importantly, it is his humanity that awakens to cast off the influence of the Spectre. The individual's humanity is the fire required, which is the fire of inspired vision. As Blake writes in *Milton*:

> Bring me my Bow of burning gold:
> Bring me my Arrows of desire:
> Bring me my Spear: O clouds unfold!
> Bring me my Chariot of fire! (*M*1:9-12, E95)

Blake's idea of humanity—humane being—is consistently a power of liberation. Blakean humanity is daimonic, an explorative, creative consciousness, arising from the divine imagination and eternally evolving between the poles of sleeping and awakened consciousness. Humanity contains within it the fire of genius. The same idea appears in this image (fig. 6). The figure sleeps, one day to awaken and cast off that which prevents their full potential as a human being. Their world is currently a limited enclosure; their creative life is contained within a sleeping mindset. But the actual world, Blake shows, is always larger and more interesting than this; an existence filled with knowledge, life, and creative potential, indicated by the

surroundings: the message on the scroll, the tiny person, the smoke as potential for the fire of vision—a world neglected by those sleeping.

There is always a larger universe in Blake's psycho-cosmos, a universe that lives in ease, freedom, and joy, which, like—or rather as—the daimon Eros, may at times cross, or even irrupt, into the worlds of those enclosed in self-created mental cages, to awaken their being to the creative and humane love that is their eternal nature. Or the daimon may simply wait, "Untill the arrival / of that hour" when humanity recognises itself through apocalyptic revelation (*J*37, E184). This hour can be found in Blake's famous lines from 'Auguries of Innocence' (c. 1800-1804):

> To see a World in a Grain of Sand
> And a Heaven in a Wild Flower
> Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
> And Eternity in an hour. (*PM*, 'Auguries of Innocence' 1-4, E490)

Yet we should not hold Blake too precisely to measurements of time. Clearly the above verse, as well as that accompanying plate 37, discussed above, are poetic renderings of time. Blake's measurements of poetic time are not the precise mathematical chains that Urizen produces in *The Book of Urizen* (1794) through an "Incessant beat; forging chains new & new / Numb'ring with links. hours, days & years" (*BU*10:17-18, E75). In poetic time, an hour is an extended moment, a day is a collection of these, and days and years follow the rhythms of life. As Blake states in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, humanity need only cleanse their perception to see the infinite reality (*MHH*14, E39). This includes a cleansing of the Urizenic mindset that mechanically divides and abstracts time from an otherwise overflowing world of life.

Blake's *Milton* describes a more peculiar pathway to moments of humanistic insight, "There is a Moment in each Day that Satan cannot find" (*M*35:42, E136). Reflecting what has been discussed so far in this chapter, neither the remorseful (plate 25) nor the slumbering (plate 41) find this moment, "but the Industrious," such as Los on plate 6, "find / This Moment & … It renovates every Moment of the Day if rightly placed" (*M*35:43-45, E136). In *Milton*, a precise moment of the day becomes a gateway for daimonic transformation and humanistic revelation. But in *Jerusalem*, as Peter Otto states, such revelation is occurring all the time, in every moment (*Constructive Vision* 129). Mark S. Ferrara also holds this view, writing that in *Jerusalem*, Blake considers awakening possible through the eternal moment of the present (20). Yet, while eternal vision is ever-present in Blake's view, as an innate human potential, individual humans may lack the insight to realise Eternity in the present. As I have shown in this chapter, various inner obstacles of character integrity and personal willpower can prevent this awakening.

A natural, unforced process towards human insight seems the wisest course, since a premature awakening, seen in the example of Albion in chapter one of *Jerusalem*, can bring disastrous results. Those who are not ready for awakening remain asleep in Ulro (*J*25:14-16, E171). There are, however, times when Los finds it necessary to proactively battle the forces of ignorance and sleep as they encroach upon the innocent. And yet the final awakening in *Jerusalem*, the apocalypse of Albion (from the Greek *αποκάλυψη*, to uncover), occurs only when the time is right—actually, when "Time was Finished!" and Eternity remains to take time's place, resulting in the liberation of all beings (*J*94:18, E254). There is, therefore, a mixture of both divine involvement and non-interference, salvatory safety and demonic danger, in the process of awakening humanity throughout *Jerusalem*, creating a lively and dramatic narrative. This narrative shows that Blake's complex terrain of humanistic thought is entwined with facets of daimonic transformation.

5.3 GENIUS, MADNESS, AND CULTURAL RENEWAL

As I have shown, to grasp the deeper dimension of Blake's vision requires a mythological and psychological approach, which includes a process or journey of transformation. *Jerusalem* narrates this process, which I will now expand upon in greater detail. Blake introduces chapter one of *Jerusalem* with a short poem that conflates the love of books with the love of heaven and presents writing and books as God-given gifts. The poem then describes Blake's muse, God himself, who "speaks in thunder and in fire! / Thunder of Thought, & flames of fierce desire: / Even from the depths of Hell" (*J*3:5-7, E145). Blake relates himself to the common man, the religious person, and the sinner on the one hand, while writing of his connection to God on the other (*J*3, E145). God's thunder and fire arises "Even from the depths of Hell" and unites "Heaven, Earth & Hell" in the inventive inclusiveness of Blake's Edenic vision (*J*3:7, E145; *J*3:10, E145). Despite such inventiveness, Blake nevertheless positions himself as the traditional poet who speaks to the masses through the influence of his muse. By declaring his ability to hear his muse at the beginning of *Jerusalem*, he is marking his place in the classical tradition of poetry, much like Milton, Homer, and other (neo)classical poets. This display of creative originality and ancient tradition implies he is a daimonic poet himself, linking past and future, mythic reality and the present moment.

Blake then mentions his choice of metre, placing his work alongside Milton's and Shakespeare's. Although by declaring his abandonment of "Monotonous Cadence" he sets himself apart from traditional poetry (*J*3, E145). His emphasis on unfettered metre seems to reflect his own fondness for unrestrained creativity, showing that his approach to traditional rules is individualistic. In art, as in poetry, he appears to adopt and promote those elements of tradition he values, such as the stylistic aspects of Michelangelo and Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), while rejecting traditional expectations that do not suit him. In other words, Blake draws

selectively from tradition. His approach is therefore not intended to entirely undermine tradition but is an attempt to restore an earlier living tradition out of a perceived stagnant, ruled-bound one. He considered this living tradition to be found in ancient "Gothic" art, the "Living Form" of unfettered creativity anchored in the daimonic, the "Primeval State of Man" (*OV*, E270; *J*3, E146). These aspects of his approach inspired later medievalist artists such as the Pre-Raphaelites. Within an expansive and inclusive vision, Blake, like the Pre-Raphaelites, sought to restore a particular interpretation of the pre-modern world.

The ways in which Blake sought this radical restoration may seem contrary to modern orthodox society—and quite rightly, given the task. For example, he describes vision as the "enjoyments of Genius; which to Angels [the modern orthodoxy] look like torment and insanity" (*MHH*6, E35; my addition). In Blake's mythos, vision is a conscious poetic madness only the Eternals in their great integrity can maintain (*M*30:21-28, E129-30). Aligned with this idea, Ross Woodman, in *Sanity, Madness, Transformation: The Psyche in Romanticism,* describes poetic inspiration as having an initial bright flash of madness, making creativity possible, but then fading as it becomes encultured within the commonplace society (14-15).[11] A similar idea arises from Percy Shelley, from which we are reminded of Behrendt's description of the Aeolian harp as a Romantic motif: "for the mind in creation is as a fading coal, which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness; this power arises from within …" (Behrendt, 'The Ineffable' 569; P. Shelley, *Essays* 47-8). In Blake's cosmos this fading takes place when the Eternals rest in Beulah periodically and their inspired intensity dissipates among Beulah's restful shade, a sub-lunar realm of dreams, desire-fulfilment, and fantasy. Beulah is also the highest state attainable for fallen humanity until they are fully liberated, so brings fallen humans to temporarily encounter this shaded or abated

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[11] For a detailed and insightful exploration of the development of ideas of madness in relation to Romanticism, see also James Whitehead, *Madness and the Romantic Poet: A Critical History*.

vision on occasion. The possibility of descending into the lower states also arises for the Eternals while in Beulah, often involuntarily by succumbing to negative emotions through their Spectre, which unwittingly compels them to immoral acts. In these ways, for Blake, higher creative genius descends and encultures the lower worlds as a faded image of original genius.

In a related idea, Northrop Frye describes Blake's work as demonstrating "the sanity of genius and the madness of the commonplace mind" (*Fearful Symmetry* 13). Woodman extends this idea by discussing Romanticism as a process of developing self-consciousness from the madness of the unconscious—a daimonic process symbolised by Los's spiritual sword, discussed earlier (4). This process is, in another sense, a two-way conversation between the dead—the unconscious—and the living—consciousness (Woodman 5, 8, 25, 36). Or, in Blake's psycho-cosmos, between the unconscious as the world of Eternal Death (Ulro and Generation) and consciousness as Eternity. Los and his family mediate between the conscious and unconscious, enacting a daimonic transformation of human culture towards the consciousness of Eternity. These notions of madness and inspiration derived from Blake's thought, demonstrated in Blake's illustrations discussed previously, and informed by Woodman and Frye point to states of consciousness that provide cultural value ordinarily inaccessible to the common world.

Another example of this enculturing process is found in chapter one of *Jerusalem*. As the world darkens and withers, Albion's sons rage "against their Human natures, ravning to gormandize / The Human majesty" (*J*19:23-24, E164). Albion flees within himself to escape the machinations of his sons, seemingly out of fear and for self-preservation, and in doing so, the result is his partial awakening from Ulro. How does this occur? At this point in the narrative Los has built Golgonooza. He follows this by aligning the counties of the British Isles to the gates of Golgonooza. Since Albion also represents the land of Britain, this alignment aligns Albion's unconscious with the consciousness of Golgonooza, which as the city of divine art

establishes a daimonic bridge to eternal consciousness. In connecting the land with visionary art, much like some indigenous mythological practices (paralleling Blake's mythopoeia of the ancient British), Albion as country is aligned to Eternity through Golgonooza, which is the creation of the mythic daimon Los. And just before Albion flees within himself, Los becomes his protector, when "the Moon of Beulah rose / Clouded with storms: Los his strong Guard walkd round beneath the Moon" (*J*19:37-38, E164). Therefore, when Albion later meets and communicates with Jerusalem and Vala, having the protection of Los and alignment with Golgonooza, he is exposed to the threefold lunar vision of Beulah. This process has a dramatic and traumatic effect upon Albion, as was discussed earlier in this chapter.

Los, in consciously descending from Eternity to restore Albion, is doing more than offering inspired works of genius in a faded form to the fallen world. He is, instead, attempting to reach the lowest states (embodied in Albion) to facilitate their awakening. This is a degree of transformation far beyond that produced from the faded fruits of genius among common society. Because Albion represents humankind and his character arc ends in full awakening, this transformation is a complete apocalypse of the fallen world. However, in chapter one of *Jerusalem*, this process is only partially successful. By Albion's exposure to the mercy of Beulah during his conversation with Jerusalem and Vala, he becomes aware of his moral blindness and past corrupt acts. But this exposure is more than Albion can accept, and results in his shameful incapacity and wish for destruction. Blake is highlighting here that if humanity (Albion) in its fallen state were to be exposed prematurely to the higher consciousness of genius, it would likely be misunderstood, rejected, even violently opposed. Such is confirmed in accounts of the lives of Socrates, Jesus of Nazareth (c. 4 BC-c. 30/33), Hypatia (c. 350/370-415), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), and many persecuted others. Visionary genius is not easily assimilated into collective awareness.

During this awakening process, Los is also aware of the precarious position he is in, poised between consciousness and the unconscious, like Nietzsche's tightrope walker in *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (1883) (Woodman 21; Nietzsche 9). In this sense, his sojourn into the fallen world is a journey into the madness of the unconscious, into the void "outside of Existence, which if enterd into / Englobes itself & becomes a Womb," which is Albion's couch (*J*1:1-2, E144).[12] This fallen world is the mythical underworld, the realm of "Eternal Death," containing Shadows, Spectres, and ignorant sleeping beings (*J*4:2, E146). Los's descent is a deliberate 'fall,' a journey that represents the willing deconstruction of a system of integrated meaning for the individual. This deliberate fall is a process that Woodman compares to the first stage of the shamanic journey (100). Such journeys, following this deconstructive fall, are completed with a return journey to the common society and its traditional structure, having gained new knowledge (100). To succeed in this shamanic journey, it is necessary to put aside the known, as a symbolic death, in order to immerse in the unknown and eventually to return reborn to known culture with renewed vision (100). Putting aside the known implies an inevitable return to culture, rather than culture's permanent abandonment; the latter *is* madness, as individuals and societies require a stable cultural identity to differentiate themselves from the chaos of the unconscious (100). The shamanic journey is a temporary eclipsing of the known, for to remain in a state of perpetual deconstruction is to persist in a destructive void, in the pre-formed chaos of the unconscious, symbolised by the "Womb" within which Albion sleeps in Eternal Death (*J*1:2, E144). Rebirth must eventuate from this womb; a culture must restore itself or it will otherwise remain in the infantile passivity of an unarticulated consciousness amid a dominant unconscious, unknown pattern. This is why Blake emphasises that in Eden "every Minute

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[12] These lines from the opening poem on plate 1 were erased by Blake on all copies of *Jerusalem* yet were able to be recovered by Sir Geoffrey Keynes (Erdman, 'The Suppressed and Altered Passages in Blake's *Jerusalem*' 11). This frontispiece poem is discussed at length in section 7.2.

Particular is Holy," describing an aesthetic of attention to detail and the vivacity of daimonic awareness (*J*69:42, E223). Blake's eternal culture of Eden is presented as creating the universe with exact and specific detail, as a vivid, complex, and conscious articulation of divine imagination, which is the opposite of both general truths (abstractions) and the void state of Ulro (nihilism). To Blake, the common society that the individual and collective must return to is Eden, humanity's normal and eternal state of genius. I will return to this idea of cultural (and literary) reconstruction throughout this thesis.

The process of travelling into the unknown and articulating new, specific understanding or knowledge for the known world is fundamental to both the creative arts and the theoretical sciences. In chapter one of *Jerusalem*, Albion (humanity) is lost in the uncivilised, artless void, enwombed and isolated from Eternity, and as a result, collective ignorance and a culture of destructive and divisive war create a world of great suffering for many beings. Los strives to restore Albion to the culture of Eternity, to "Art & Science the Foundation of Society Which is Humanity itself," primarily by building the city of Golgonooza (*VLJ*84, E562). Albion in his fallen state precipitates the cruel reasoning of the fallen world as a state imposed upon all temporal human beings. The fallen world is driven by selfhood, resulting in the decay of culture into barbarism, where animal instincts act in the guise of reason, as rationalisations for selfish, harmful ends, and where the creativity of art has devolved into the destructivity of war. Blake criticises this society in *The Laocoön*: "Art Degraded Imagination Denied War Governed the Nations" (*L*, E274). This fallen state is not even an Enlightened culture, which would instead exercise reason wisely in proportion to what is humane and apply the energy of creativity towards life enriching art and science. The journey away from culture is only valuable when there is an integrative return with new knowledge gained that is beneficial for that culture. When the unconscious is made consciously known, which is not without the pains of effort and transformation, and that knowledge is effectively mediated into the established culture, a once

unknown aspect of humanity or the world is integrated into human knowledge. This seems a necessary process for ensuring the renewal of human culture, which would otherwise stagnate in the "same dull round," like the long-haired figure on plate 41 (fig. 6) (*NNR*b, E3). In any case, whether or not this cultural renewal is practised, what is unknown will of its own accord inevitably impinge upon the known, so the unknown requires ongoing, attentive mediation. Any society taking this into account is far more adapted to survival within an always vaster universe than itself.

This cultural mythos of renewal has implications for *Jerusalem*'s reader. *Jerusalem* is a work of visionary literature and the reader may seem confused when attempting to comprehend Blake's rather unusual work. Initially, it may appear obscure, an unknown other speaking in a language of its own that some past critics have considered an expression of madness. But with persistence, patterns within Blake's seeming madness arise and the unknown becomes known. He even admits his own difficult style, writing to William Hayley (23 October 1804) to "excuse my enthusiasm or rather madness, for I am really drunk with intellectual vision" (*LE*, E757). *Jerusalem* may be initially unknown but is like a womb wherein given sufficient time the reader's intellect may gestate within it and come to understand it. While we should be cautious in going as far as Woodman's statement, that the reader of Blake is ultimately "renovated by their engagement with his illuminated text," we can at least surmise the possibility that some new understanding is to be gained from *Jerusalem* (107). Whether the gain is sufficient to be deemed renovation in the Blakean sense is another matter that would depend on the individual reader. Yet as I argue within this thesis, we should not read Blake's myth of daimonic transformation literally, but literarily, as an allegory of Blake's humanism. An allegorical reading of *Jerusalem* turns Blake's mythical renovation into the possibility of renovation in the reader's own humanistic understanding and development,

not by passive acceptance of Blake's understanding but through active (critical and creative) enquiry into it.

To begin to explore the readerly effects of *Jerusalem* more concretely would require research involving cognitive and neurophysiological studies beyond the scope of this thesis. It suffices to say, here, that such research may produce some interesting results in relation to literary cognitive affect, given the deep psychological terrain that *Jerusalem* explores. While not going this far, the following chapter does explore the cognitive dimension of *Jerusalem* a little further through further elucidation of the facets of Blake's daimon.

6. The Transmutation of Human Darkness

> The banks of the Thames are clouded! the ancient porches of Albion are
> Darken'd! they are drawn thro' unbounded space, scatter'd upon
> The Void in incoherent despair! Cambridge & Oxford & London,
> Are driven among the starry Wheels, rent away and dissipated,
> In Chasms & Abysses of sorrow …
>
> – William Blake, *Jerusalem* (*J*5:1-5, E147)

> … the turning back of history to its source in myth becomes a leap forward that transforms divided mankind into community.
>
> – Leonard W. Deen, *Conversing in Paradise: Poetic Genius and Identity-as-Community in Blake's Los* (9)

6.1 Reading Blake Cognitively

As I have shown in previous chapters, the daimon in *Jerusalem* mythically outlines a process for awakening humanity. Here I deal with the darker side of this process through *Jerusalem*'s poetry. Blake indicates the need for awakening from the darkness within as a major aspect of his literary work. "Awake! awake O sleeper of the land of shadows, wake! expand!" goes the song of the Saviour from the very beginning of *Jerusalem* (*J*4:6, E146). And the narrator of *Jerusalem* later states his aim, "to open the immortal Eyes / Of Man inwards into the Worlds of Thought," thought otherwise dark until examined (*J*5:18-19, E147). But are such imperative and determined statements merely Romanticised rhetoric, or is there a more substantial,

transformative process recognisable in Blake's language? My argument here proceeds through the understanding that language has a determinable psychological effect upon its readers. With this in mind, I apply some of Terence Cave's methods of cognitive criticism outlined in *Thinking with Literature* as a step towards a literary-humanistic reading of *Jerusalem*. I examine in what ways Blake's mythopoetry, centred around the literary trope of the daimon, has the potential to facilitate psychological transformation in the reader, and, consequently, human culture.

In *Thinking with Literature*, Terence Cave seeks to avoid the longstanding tendency to polarise the human as body and mind (or soul) by employing current "second-generation" cognitive science frameworks that emphasise the continuity of body and mind (28). In describing the unconscious and conscious operations of the human psyche, Cave prefers the terms "prereflective" and "reflective" to overcome the body/mind divide and to describe the layered structure to the human psyche that cognitive science hypothesises (22n4). However, the body/mind divide remains deeply rooted in our modern thinking, and Cave's language does not entirely resist this polarisation. For instance, he mentions the human brain as evolving out of the animal mind, forming a duality of human and animal upon which he adds various gradated levels of cognition between these supposed two basic types of brain (29-30). While his description of brain function concludes upon a non-polarised continuum, the continuity presented is built upon more basic, static divisions that are bridged by dynamic processes.

For example, Cave writes of the kinesic imagination, which provides a sense of motor resonance—whose literary equivalent is the ability to imagine movement when reading a phrase, such as "pounding waves" (29-30). Cave associates kinesic imagination with the ancient, and thus animal, brain—a primeval evolutionary development for humans (29). Cave then mentions the social capacities of the human brain as a higher level of cognition, particularly the evolved trait of empathy found in humans, known as mind-reading in cognitive

science—the capacity to understand another being's experience (30). Analytical thinking can also be recognised as a higher level of cognitive function, such as what is required to understand literary devices, metaphor, irony, symbolism, and other complex concepts, of which only humans appear capable. Such higher levels of thought are associated with the more recent evolutionary developments of the human (not animal) brain. For Cave, sensual descriptions in literature utilise the aesthetic imagination—in the original Greek sense, where "*aisthesis* just is sensory perception"—that falls somewhere between these higher and lower functions (29).

Cave's model postulates additional ideas around human cognition, including an emphasis on embodied cognition, a more interactive relationship between reason and emotion, and a conception of the mind as extending through the body into the external world (28). His ideas match some of the posthuman concerns discussed by Timothy Harfield, including valuing emotional and embodied cognition and recognising the role of imagination in both knowledge production and empathic relationships with the non-human world (Harfield 274-75). Yet from the perspective of new literary humanism, such concerns may also be recognised as humanistic in that they accommodate the wholeness of human existence. Overall, Cave's ideas present a dynamic, interactive fusion of body, mind, and environment, suggesting an ecology of being-and-world built upon integrating processes, one which strikes chords with Blake's thought in some ways, making it a useful cognitive model for reading Blake to extract his humanistic ideas.

In Cave's model, reading literature involves the combined operations of various layers of human cognitive development, from the most basic and primal (as in kinesic imagination), to the more complex, recent developments of the human brain (such as our capacity for empathy and complex analysis), as a stratified but continuous arrangement of interacting processes (Cave 30). Still, his model cannot escape the need for distinctions—between separate brain functions, higher and lower, human and animal, because a cognitive-science approach is

fundamentally analytical. Distinctions are impossible to avoid if any phenomenon is to be understood scientifically. As much as Cave suggests a continuity, it is one built upon distinctions, when the reverse should be utilised to avoid a body/mind divide: that the basis of the body-mind should be seen as a unity upon which distinctions are secondary.

A solution is found by recognising narrative as the *human* basis for understanding ourselves (our mind/body complex) and the world. This recognition proceeds from the work of psychologist Jerome Bruner, who notes that as humans "we organize our experience and our memory of human happenings mainly in the form of narrative" (4). Bruner qualifies this statement epistemologically, stating that narrative 'truths' are culturally inflected, personally and socially constrained, and, at their best, achieve verisimilitude to our human reality (4). Narrative truth is unlike science or logic, which procedurally bypass human subjectivity to obtain objective or rational truths, but at the cost of any humanised perspective. The more-humanised truth of narrative may be recognised as an epistemological prioritisation of *mythos* over *logos*, which aligns with Blake's epistemology of human imagination over pure reason. Hirsch et al. also support the psychological utility of such ideas by recognising that narrative provides the highest level of cognitive integration: "A growing body of theory and research indicates that the broadest and most integrative levels of an individual's knowledge system can be characterized as narrative descriptions of reality" (216). In this light, story—including our personal narrative—and story's age-long sifting into myth—the collective stories we tell ourselves about our minds and bodies and world—provide a more integrative mode for understanding our human selves and our place in the world than rational deduction and empirical evidence alone.[1]

[1] For a recent study of narrative as an important aspect of humanism, see also Moss-Wellington, *Narrative Humanism.*

Yet narrative can also contain reason and empiricism without disrupting its basis as *mythos*. This integrated inclusiveness seems to be the conclusion Blake aims for in *Jerusalem* when he narrates how "Bacon & Newton & Locke, & Milton & Shakspear & Chaucer," empiricists and poets alike, gather around Heaven at the end of *Jerusalem*, or when the Four Zoas—Urizen (the reasoning faculty) included—are reintegrated into Albion, who is the foundation to Blake's humanistic mythos (*J*98:9, E257; *J*96:41-42, E256). Narrative is a continuum within which distinctions—such as between body and mind, or between self and other—can be made without disrupting the underlying continuum. Humanised integration through narrative is possible because distinctions within a narrative whole necessitate *relationships* between these distinctions. This third factor, relationships, is an important intermediary between parts, and between parts and the whole, that is quintessential to Blake's understanding of humanity, a point I return to later through examples from *Jerusalem*.

My argument here, aided by Cave's model, is that Blake's mythos provides a narrative (certainly not the only one) for the transformation of human psychological darkness. This should not be surprising, considering that Romantic thought in many ways served as a precursor to later developments in psychology. Cave's model may be mapped onto the daimon as integrative mediator between the unconscious and conscious human psyche. This mapping correlates Cave's terms *prereflective* and *reflective* with the unconscious and conscious psyche respectively.[2] The unconscious implies a source of deeper, untapped human potential not found in Cave's term *prereflective*, and is therefore a more appropriate term when studying *Jerusalem*. Blake's epic of human transformation narrates a daimonic process of awakening from the darkness of the human unconscious towards more evolved cognitive states, including

[2] The pairing of conscious and unconscious as concepts has roots in Romanticism, as discussed in section 2.2.

those ascribed to human genius, thus providing an allegory for the development of human potential.

Dealing with the daimon requires an emphasis on polarisation, as this creates the tension necessary for movement, communication, and, most importantly, transformation between states. Polarisation generates potential that allows the integration of human faculties towards greater wholeness. This integration is fulfilled through the introduction of a third, dynamic mediating factor, the daimon. Cave's idea of gradation between the animal and human mind may be mapped onto this daimonic model, coinciding with earlier Neoplatonic ideas of the daimon as facilitating the next step in evolution of being, whether from animal to human, or human to angel.[3] Thus, combining the above ideas, Cave's model of prereflective and reflective cognition corresponds to the unconscious and conscious processes of the body-mind complex, not as a divisive polarisation of the human being (Blake's fallen state), but as a polarised structure facilitating a communicative potential across polarities. Such daimonic complementarity is the basis for a dynamic process of integrative evolution towards a greater functioning whole—epitomised in Blake's dictum, "Without Contraries is no progression" (*MHH*3, E34).

Turning now to literary criticism, Cave's method of criticism brings awareness of the cognitive dimension of reading literature, and in doing so, invites self-reflexive human understanding for the reader. A good example of Cave's cognitive criticism is his reading of Yeats's poem 'The Balloon of the Mind' (Cave 32-40). Reading his commentary on Yeats not only yields particular insights about Yeats's poem, but also about how poetic language is cognised by the reader as human being. For example, he analyses the phrase "the balloon of the mind," questioning its metaphorical meaning (32-3). Such analysis, a typical activity of

[3] See section 3.1 of this thesis on Maximus Tyrius' concept of the daimon.

much close reading in literature, is a higher-order cognitive process. Cave highlights how Yeats's phrase evokes a certain experience in the reader's imagination, even though the language is metaphorical and makes no sense literally (35-6). The imagined balloon gives not only an aesthetic impression but also a kinesic sense—in its movement when blown about by the wind, its firmness when grasped, and so on, as Yeats's poem describes.

Exploring different cognitive levels of poetic language (kinesic, aesthetic, symbolic, and so on) through the reading experience reveals the layers of cognition simultaneously present, though not always consciously recognised, when reading a poem. The reader may perceive their own cognition at work as they read. Thus, they have the potential to understand themselves self-reflexively as a human psyche, but also as a human being cognitively embedded in a relational world, since poems also engage the reader's imagination with objects of the external world (balloons, wind, and so on). When this cognitive close reading becomes sufficiently self-reflective, the reader begins to grasp not only the poem, but the changes of their own consciousness in response to the poem. This practice therefore facilitates self-awareness in a directly experiential and uniquely personal way.

As examples will show, when reading poetry across levels of cognitive analysis, the spectrum of conscious-unconscious cognition in a poem is highlighted, which serves, given a skilful, self-aware reading, to integrate a poem across this spectrum for the reader. In other words, observing how these layers of cognition simultaneously operate while reading establishes an interactive reading between the literary work, consciousness, and (potentially) unconsciousness. Following from Cave's model, higher cognitive function is brought into conscious relationship with more primal, near-universal kinesic sensations, urges, needs, and emotions, which Mousley describes as near-universal "*resonating particulars*" (Mousley, 'The New Literary Humanism' 820; his emphasis). Mousley argues that even though individuals interpret particulars in literature differently, according to personal, socio-cultural, or discourse

differences, particulars can still resonate with a range of individuals, “if not with universal meaning, then at least beyond themselves to some larger significance” (*Literature and the Human* 81). A reader can distinguish Blake’s expressions of deeper, commonly human urges, needs, and emotions from the more cerebral expressions that are grasped by their higher cognitive mind. Such active, mediative reading stimulates understanding across different layers of cognition, and may potentially lead to increased dynamic cognition and even an integrative understanding of these layers in the reader’s own psyche. Literature then becomes a practice for human self-awareness. This process is analogically mirrored in the function of the daimon as mediator between higher and lower consciousness within Blake’s mythos, seen specifically in *Jerusalem* through Los.

Cave’s cognitive criticism, as a practice of literary self-awareness, can also be applied towards a literary-humanistic reading of *Jerusalem*. Because of Blake’s protean style, his poetry traverses many levels of human cognition, rapidly and sometimes chaotically, from the primal to the aesthetic, to the empathetic, metaphorical, mythical, and philosophical. His dextrous language sheds light upon a wide range of the human condition, yet the specific angle of this light has much to do with how the reader chooses to interpret his mythic archetypes and symbols.

6.2 Blake’s Mythopoetry and the Daimon of Literary Transformation

The distinction between mythic and realist literature must be considered when reading Blake from a literary-humanistic perspective. In realist literature, it would be unexpected that a reader will find their own struggles, or those of others close to them, identically reflected back at them, though a general sense of personal resonance with the events of the work would be more

common.[4] Certainly, specific struggles and highly contextualised issues are readily available in realist literature, though these are more likely to be different to the reader's own life experience than not. Such difference holds primary value in promoting realistic exploration of the other, as a world outside of the reader's own mind. Indeed, a good portion of reading fiction involves sympathising with a character (or characters) within a narrative. While such characters are unlikely to be the same as the reader, it is possible they will share some similarities. The reader's sympathy may be stretched (exercised, if you will) by empathetically following a character through the shifts, twists, and transformations of the unfolding realistic narrative. The reader can maintain sympathy with the character provided a degree of realism is maintained and provided the character does not differ, or transform, so completely as to lose recognition within the reader's imagination. In this way, the other within a fictional work becomes a source of sympathetic resonance because we as readers can relate to that other. Not only this, but we tend to enjoy reading of the changes a character goes through, whether dramatic, romantic, tragic, comedic, and so on. Such literature is not only personally and emotionally engaging but exercises our emotions in the process.

In mythic literature, however, a deeper mode of reading occurs. Because mythic literature, or the mythic mode, communicates a more primal, near-universal human experience through symbols, motifs, and archetypes (such as the journey, good versus evil, the wise woman, the hero, and so on), often with less emphasis on realism, reading mythic narrative

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[4] The initial idea employed here, of placing literature on a spectrum from mythical to realistic, was developed by Northrop Frye from the ideas of Aristotle, described in Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* (33-34). There are five fictional modes in this spectrum: myth, romance, high mimetic, low mimetic, and ironic (33-34). Frye considers his theory of modes to be a circle, where his fifth ironic mode reintroduces myth following the realism of his high and low mimetic modes, and therefore reconnects to his first mythic mode (42). The discussion that follows, however, is my own analysis of the realist and mythic modes.

becomes a much more self-reflexive process. In reading myth, we usually cannot fully relate what is read to the external world, so are left to relate to it internally. Thus, in myth, we do not so much relate to the other as relate to what is common, and deeply so, among humankind. We engage with the psyche and its relationship to life as a whole in deeper symbolic and archetypal ways, thereby engaging with the core tropes of our shared humanness. Mythological tropes serve as anchors of primal, collective resonance around which a narrative unfolds, a narrative whose details do not so much provide a surface as a depth. Rather than depicting individual human experience straightforwardly, mythic literature invites the recognition of seemingly universal human experience through quasi-realist compositions of lightly concealed figurativeness. Myths deal with grand themes by resonating with near-universal symbols through particulars, whereas realist literature tends to expand more upon details and particulars for their own sake, keeping chords of broader resonance more or less concealed in the background. Both realist and mythic modes of literature may be critiqued from a cognitive perspective as a means towards literary-humanistic understanding. In such critique, it is important to recognise the different psychological orientations different modes of literature naturally establish, as outlined above.

Blake is primarily a writer of the mythic mode, through which he seeks a solution to the problems of his time by addressing their deeper origins, thereby opening to human problems that persist across time, quite possibly at the scale of deep history, such as human disunity, selfishness, and expedient violence.[5] He addresses these seemingly common human problems

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[5] The term *deep history*, as used by anthropologist Andrew Shryock and historian Daniel Lord Smail, takes human history as the period of our entire evolutionary development as hominins, beginning with the Paleolithic period 3.3 million years ago and including the Neolithic and Postlithic periods, up to the present day (Shyrock et al. ix; Smail 2). For more on this concept, see Smail, *On Deep History and the Brain* (2008), and Shryock et al., *Deep History: The Architecture of Past and Present* (2011).

creatively through mythopoetry. Yet we should not attribute universality to Blake, in the sense of his ideas having universal authority as truths, let alone Truth, even though Blake writes in this tone. Instead, we can recognise a wider potential for exploration of human issues through the broadening depth of mythic symbolism and the elements of primal human resonance that Blake's style readily employs.[6]

What Blake offers, like all quality writers, is literary material that yields understanding when appropriately approached. His universality is not of truth, but of the possibility for human response from all who read him, however that response may form. Recognised thus, a literary-humanistic critique of mythic works is not in search of universal truth but nuanced enquiry into the human relevance of a given work of literature, thereby uncovering points of resonance between work and reader for the purpose of developing human understanding and potential.

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[6] Universal truth is an absurd proposition for a literary work in any case, and the slightest hint of such is usually leapt upon, especially during a phase where historicism is popular. It would seem such ready aversion typically arises from confusing claims to literary knowledge beyond the text-context matrix with something resembling the factual claims of objective science. Such misunderstanding requires a revision of ideas of literary epistemology. It is not that literary knowledge is truth in the sense of it being factual; literary knowledge is facilitative of subjective understanding, in whatever form this arises through the act of reading, through the nexus of author-text-reader-world. Literature provides material for subjective reflection and insightful response, which are nearly-universal human potentials. In this way, literature acts not as philosophy, religion, science, history, or sociology, or any other discipline, but as a fulcrum for the reader's own subjective responsiveness to something beyond the text, yet spurred by the text, inclusive of themselves, their world, and the wider world. Literary knowledge is an intersubjective *process*, not a collection of logical or empirical truths grounded in science, history, or otherwise. There is insufficient space to fully argue such points here, especially when other scholars have already done much satisfying work on these topics. For extensive discussion on the issues of literature, universalism, and truth, see Harrison, *What Is Fiction For?* 56-101, and Mousley, *Literature and the Human* 72-103.

Jerusalem's trope of the daimon may be studied for its human significance in this manner, as a mythopoetic and humanistic focus for critical and creative enquiry.

Jerusalem is a mythopoetic work because it contains, according to Martin Bidney's definition provided in *Blake and Goethe: Psychology, Ontology, Imagination*, "reimaginings of traditional religious or mythological material that invest the poet's ideas with a larger-than-life intensity and breadth" (1). Bidney describes Blake's central myth—shared also by Goethe—as a "cosmic-scale meliorism" (1-2). Blake's humanistic faith is in the power of humanity to redeem itself as Devil and return to itself as God, for "[a]ll deities reside in the human breast" (*MHH*11, E38; my adjustment). Bidney also recognises in Blake's "Devil-redeeming myth" a transformation of states, with Blake imbuing human "dualism, stasis, and otherworldliness with a new feeling of unity, process, and immanence" (2-3).[7] Otherworldliness seems an odd term here if the first set of terms is intended to describe Blake's fallen state. Nonetheless, transformation across these fundamental polarities proceeds, Bidney argues, because Blake's main myth facilitates the creative tension of contraries, which are paradoxically unified through this tension (2-3). Such ideas might equally be described as Blake's daimonic process, since Bidney's idea is that Blake depicts the human experience as a creative journey that ultimately reconciles the polarities of human consciousness.

Jerusalem is humanistic because it takes the myths of both God and Devil and integrates them as human archetypes. Bidney notes that this unifying myth is not original in Blake, since it is "ultimately inherited from gnostic, cabbalistic, and neo-Platonic models," but marks its originality in shifting this myth's scale "from cosmological or theological explanation to moral and psychological analysis and dramatization" (10). Arguably, both scales are present simultaneously. Read as myth, *Jerusalem* explores a cosmological and theological scale. Read

[7] The redemption of the devil as a Romantic trope in Blake is also recognised by Cantor in *Creature and Creator* and by Parker in *The Devil as Muse: Blake, Byron, and the Adversary* (Cantor ix-x; Parker 64).

as humanistic allegory, from this myth, *Jerusalem* becomes a self-reflective focus upon its own moral and psychological relevance. In this latter case, the cosmological and theological daimonic process within *Jerusalem* becomes an allegory of ordinary human existence. We can recognise in this allegorical shift, a funnelling and translation of age-old mythic motifs into a rich narrative with modern human relevance. Blake's 'ancient' vision becomes contemporary allegory.

The redemption of the devil, translated as a humanistic allegory, is the redemption of human psychological darkness, which is not so much an ontological evil but the psychological possession by such.[8] *Jerusalem* engages with aspects of the human struggle with darkness and is emotionally moving and thought provoking because human darkness is a deep and serious concern we all must face in one way or another in life. As mythopoetry, it intensifies this literary dance with the devil, to grapple with and thoroughly explore dark human experiences on the reader's behalf, in the relative safety of their own imagination. Applying Harrison's third claim (that literature has the capacity to refine the language of the collective human unconscious into the light of conscious), Blake's language may be seen to articulate into ordinary consciousness the deeper darkness that as human beings we may never individually face, nor desire to face, in the real world (Harrison, *What Is Fiction For?* 13). The safety of such literary exploration is probably why so many find reading dark literature compelling—an idea quite like Aristotle's tragic catharsis for purging and refining the audience's sensibilities (Sachs sec. 3). Thus, the reader may gain greater human understanding through a contemplative, conscious exploration of *Jerusalem*'s darkness, such as by applying the cognitive practice outlined in the previous section. In this way, the dark poetry of *Jerusalem*

[8] For a detailed psychological study of human evil, creativity, and their relationship to the daimon, see Diamond, *Anger, Madness, and the Daimonic: The Psychological Genesis of Violence, Evil, and Creativity*.

has the potential to illuminate the contents of the human shadow within an individual's psyche, to mythically redeem the devil within.

In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake describes his "printing in the infernal method, by corrosives, which in Hell are salutary and medicinal, melting apparent surfaces away, and displaying the infinite which was hid" (*MHH*14, E39). This infernal method is a metaphor for reading Blake's illuminated prints, to awaken the reader, for "[i]f the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is: infinite" (*MHH*14, 39; my adjustment). It is also similar to Aristotle's catharsis as a purgative effect. However, while Aristotle's aim of catharsis is to clear the content of the human psyche, by exposing and flushing emotions related to tragedy, to leave a refined appreciation of life's beauty, Blake's method is much more radical (Sachs sec. 3). Blake seeks to cleanse perception at the fundamental level of human ontology. His infernal method applies the purgative of human darkness in an effort to reveal the true human. Corrosives bring what is described in *Milton* as a cleansing by self-examination, "to wash off the Not Human" (*M*41:1, E142). While Aristotle accepts the mortal human, Blake considers this also necessary of purgation, as a falsehood of human ignorance, the misidentification of the human soul with the darkness of matter. Blake's solution is recounted by Los in *Jerusalem*, as "Giving a body to Falshood that it may be cast off for ever" (*J*12:13, E155). Darkness therefore becomes its own purgative; it is intensified to the point of rejection. Darkness is the corrosive that peels back itself, "To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eyes" (*J*5:19, E147). While there is an apparent dualism in this process, it is important to recognise that purgation is a step in a larger process of ultimate integration, just as Albion's remorse at being fallen (discussed in section 5.2) is a necessary step towards *Jerusalem*'s integrative climax.

Within *Jerusalem*, Blake's scenes of human darkness are regularly contrasted with and channelled towards an ideal ethics and intellectual doctrine of liberation. Scenes of darkness

are therefore loci of readerly transformation. Joseph Viscomi describes Blake's infernal methods as an opening of the mind of the reader through his illuminated books (41). Viscomi writes, "The 'infernal method,' or its manifestation, the illuminated book, here the symbol of original art, is the cleansing agent. The relation between illuminated plate and mind is thus causal as well as analogous, with the former a key to opening the latter" (41). Viscomi suggests, through the causal relation, that *Jerusalem*'s reader ought to be mentally cleansed, perhaps in an Aristotelian cathartic sense, by an experience of the work. But he also suggests that *Jerusalem* is an analogy of the reader's mind, which implies that Blake's illuminated prints act as a kind of analogous blueprint of human psychology in general. A broad correlation between mind and work may be stretching the analogy. However, the analogous relationship is sharpened by the recognition that the reader's mind contains the contents of what is read, so that in any given moment of reading, there is a link between illuminated plate and mind. This link is the human experience of reading Blake, with its sensual, emotional, and intellectual elements, generating a process within the reader's imagination. This process brings the potential for readerly transformation through the purgative effects of *Jerusalem*'s narrative of human darkness set against heroic, daimonic forces of awakening. This basic idea of how *Jerusalem* as mythopoetry may transform the mind of the reader will be applied in the following section through some examples.

Cave's method of cognitive criticism presents another way of explaining how Blake's exploration of human darkness is transformative. In reading a work exploring psychologically dark subjects, the exploration of darkness within the reader's imagination may proceed through a readerly process of inference, spurred by what Cave describes as literature's language having "bold and highly precise modes of underspecification [that] act like a prompt or a trampoline, creating unlimited possibilities for imaginative leaps into the blue—or into the minds of others" (27). For *Jerusalem*'s darker scenes, these leaps become imaginative leaps into experiences of

human darkness—those imagined and composed by Blake. His words and images provide the initial stimulus for the imagination to create its own processes of reflection, which will vary from one reader to the next, but will remain within the commonality of imaginable human experience.

The supposition that contextual differences between Blake and his reader (in time, culture, and Blake's own psychology) might prevent the conveyance of experience between imaginations (via the literary work) does not hold. Firstly, Harrison counters this supposition with his "Doctrine of Universal Address: the idea that the potential audience for the great literature of any age of any culture is not limited to the people of that culture or age, but extends, problems of translation apart, to all mankind" (*What Is Fiction For?* 13). Secondly, Cave's observation that skilful underspecification in literature stimulates the imagination to bridge gaps between mind and literary work removes the need for a precise contextual alignment between Blake and his reader. And thirdly, Blake's contextualised content in *Jerusalem* is readily underpinned by what Mousley defines as "*primary emotions/sensations* [that] have a long evolutionary history and seem to be innate" in humans, giving *Jerusalem* sufficient human commonality for shared human experience despite contextual modulations ('The New Literary Humanism' 820; his emphasis).[9] Finally, simply put: people do read and understand across contextual differences. We also misunderstand. But we are not too solipsistic as a species to be completely incapable of understanding the differences among ourselves, and even finding deeper resonances across these.

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[9] Mousley refers to neurological research by theorists of emotion such as Antonio Damasio, who concludes in *The Feeling of What Happens* (2000) that there are "six so-called primary or universal emotions: happiness, sadness, fear, anger, surprise, or disgust" and a number of "so-called secondary or social emotions, such as embarrassment, jealousy, guilt, or pride" (Damasio 50-51).

Certainly, Blake's *Jerusalem* is culturally and historically inflected mythopoetry, but this does not mean it cannot produce an impression of *some* kind in his readers' psyches, regardless of their cultural or historical locality. It would be absurd to suggest his depictions of human horrors could only ever speak to Romantic-period British humans named William Blake, therefore we must find a more appropriate, wider ground. Where do we draw the line? Following from Mousley, *Jerusalem*'s impressionability is qualified as "nearly-universal," meaning that it spans "across many if not all cultural and historical differences," as an intermediary expression somewhere between the common primal human psyche and the various culturally inflected psyches of its readers ('The New Literary Humanism' 827). Therefore, *Jerusalem* is a mythopoetic literary exploration of human darkness that need not coincide with the cultural particulars of its readers in order to affect the engaged reader, by virtue of a common humanity. Such literature need only find resonance with readers' imaginations through skilful underspecification, so that the experience of reading *Jerusalem* resonates with the deeper human psyche—which myth tends to do more so than realist literature.

Of course, this resonance does not find every individual equally, for various reasons. Some people may gravitate towards and resonate with *Jerusalem* more than others, as may some cultures and time periods. This process is contingent upon a complex array of coalescing factors. As a work of literature and art, *Jerusalem* is not reducible to a singular objective meaning, but includes the subjective experiences of its readers as a complex, living richness of responses in the collective psyche, which is communicated intersubjectively through various literary, artistic, cultural, and academic channels. *Jerusalem*'s subjective interpretation as literature and art makes it more interesting than merely an object, fixed-in-print, with a set effect upon readers. It is not a mere psychological key designed to fit the exact lock to a human brain and thereby transform the unconscious. A reading of *Jerusalem*, like any literary reading,

certainly engages with the brain and unconscious mind of the reader, but its delivery is aesthetic, imaginary, and subjectively mediated. We *respond* with humanness to literary works. Such literary affect is what in common language might be described as a kind of magic, the power of bringing words to life in the reader's mind—which reflects the original meaning of animate, from *anima*, "air, breath, life, soul, mind" (*OED Online*, 'animate, v.,' Etymology).

There are as many responses to *Jerusalem* as there are readers, but this does not make each response unique. Responses cluster and gravitate around the specifics of *Jerusalem*, more so than the uniqueness of each reader. *Jerusalem*'s narrative explores various specific archetypal characterisations of human darkness, mainly through Albion, but also other forms as represented by Luvah, Vala, Rahab, and so on, each having specific archetypal symbolism and therefore resonating differently with different readers. Yet its conclusion is a singular resolution of this mythopoetic montage of human darkness into awakened Albion as the symbol of the primordial human of infinite creative potential. Awakened Albion, Blake's mythical true human, is a formless symbol that has the capacity to be expressed in limitless ways. Yet Albion is also Britain, a cultural inflection of this primordial symbol. *Jerusalem*'s conclusion may therefore be thought to be somewhere between a symbol of the primordial human and a specifically British cultural myth. The reader follows the various disjointed threads of *Jerusalem*'s dark narrative towards their resolution in the symbol of awakened creative potential. But this is an open-ended conclusion, where the primordial symbol overpowers *Jerusalem*'s context. The reader may then recognise that the cultural and the primal merge here into deeper possibilities of human imagination, which are truly universal. Blake asks his reader to overcome their own "mind-forg'd manacles" (*SE*46:8, E37).

Blake's narrative technique is reflected in Los's "Striving with Systems to deliver Individuals from those Systems" (*J*11:5, E154). The bulk of *Jerusalem* (ninety-seven plates) is not a coming into light, but the various attempts, many failed, to transfigure collective human

darkness. On the restoration of infinite potential, little can be said; Blake gives it roughly three plates. Like the anecdote of the Zen monk's finger pointing at the moon, Blake can only really point to something greater, and attempt to purge all the human darkness that prevents the realisation of that something in his readers. Thus, while readers differ, and each reader may or may not resonate with certain tracts of *Jerusalem*, all such tracts converge in its open-ended climax, as a nearly-universal symbol of awakening.

This symbol of awakening is supported by the qualities of *Jerusalem* that allow it to work more directly and more deeply with a reader's unconscious. To the extent that *Jerusalem* is, as Viscomi suggests, analogous with the reader's mind, then the mythopoetic, daimonic transformations of darkness within *Jerusalem* have the potential to transmute the reader's unconscious material to the light of consciousness, by narrative resonance. This process is facilitated by *Jerusalem* as a mythopoetic narrative, because mythic literature couples simplistic realism with universal profundity, thereby orientating the reader towards the internal depths of their psyche. However, it is important to emphasise that such transformation is merely a potential of the literary work, rather than any guarantee, and that this transformation is to be interpreted allegorically, which coming chapters will show more clearly. In any case, it is the reader who must wind *Jerusalem*'s "golden string, / … into a ball" (*J*77, E231). Blake never said this winding would be easy.

6.3 *JERUSALEM*'S DARK POETRY

Opportunities for exploring human darkness abound in *Jerusalem*. Indeed, the entire poem is centred on a narrative about the transmutation of Albion's darkness, moving from a "perturbed Man" in the fallen world to "the Visions of God in Eternity" (*J*4:22, E146; *J*96:43, E256). *Jerusalem* also interweaves the transformation of many of Blake's other characters, including Los, the Spectre, Jerusalem, Britannia, the Four Zoas, and humanity at large. Because Blake

writes mythopoetically, these individuals are archetypal, meaning they represent various facets, faculties, or functions of the human, and in this recognition may be read as aspects of collective humanity, with individuals sharing these traits in various ways.

For example, Blake's figure of the Spectre represents all the unwelcome, abhorred, evil aspects of human society—the shadow of humanity—that for the most part we as humans tend to dismiss, excuse, or ignore as parts of ourselves, though may be more willing to recognise in others. In relation to the Spectre, Los represents the transformative agent who does not yield to the obscuring influence of the shadow, but instead faces it directly and brings its unarticulated darkness into consciousness.[10] In literary practice, this process is mirrored in the writing process when the writer willingly approaches some aspect of the collective human shadow—through specific settings, characters, events and so forth—and articulates this for its greater understanding, This unearthing of an aspect of the collective shadow is then, to a greater or lesser degree, filtered into society through its readers. Los's engagement with his Spectre is in this sense analogous to the craft of writing as a practice for illuminating aspects of the collective human shadow.

Blake's literary exploration of the Spectre is an imagined representation of the terrible darkness within the human psyche, which sits in contrast to his vision of awakening for humanity, thereby providing a dramatic tension between antagonism and protagonism for the reader. This tension induces the reader of suspended disbelief towards the conclusion of *Jerusalem*'s narrative: Albion's liberation, which is a symbol of the liberation of creative genius and human imagination in every individual. Even though Blake's narrative is essentially a fiction, its mythic motifs, powerful language, and conclusive visionary symbolism resonate with the primal human psyche. Blake's skilfully intense aesthetic language often communicates

[10] As discussed in section 5.1.

primal human needs, urges, emotions, imagery, and narrative patterns that in cognitive terminology may be recognised as ancient and deeply embedded in the human brain. By communicating to the deeper human psyche, Blake's mythopoetic writing has the potential to engage the reader imaginatively with human darkness as a transformative process.

Further examples of this process can be given. Another is found in the third chapter of *Jerusalem*, plate 66. At this point of the narrative, the daughters of Albion are fallen, like Albion, and humanity has lost fundamental unity, fragmenting into male and female as though these were separate species. The feminine consciousness unites as one being to dominate the fallen world—and the male species. Here, Blake describes the darker aspects of the feminine psyche—later in the chapter, these gender roles are reversed and the male unites to dominate, revealing the dark male psyche.[11] The following quote begins the description of Albion's daughters' sacrificial ritual, when the feminine consciousness dominates the world:

> Los beheld in terror: he pour 'd his loud storms on the Furnaces:
> The Daughters of Albion clothed in garments of needle work
> Strip them off from their shoulders and bosoms, they lay aside
> Their garments; they sit naked upon the Stone of trial.
> The Knife of flint passes over the howling Victim: his blood
> Gushes & stains the fair side of the fair Daugters of Albion. (*J*66:16-21; E218)

Beginning from line 16—"Los beheld in terror: he pour 'd his loud storms on the Furnaces"—the reader is given a cue for how to respond to what is occurring: a scene of terror has been witnessed, and continues, and yet Los as hero-smith and chief protagonist does not freeze or

[11] It should be noted that Blake considers collective male or female dominance over the opposite gender to be a failure in humanity to find wholeness and unity. Chapter three of *Jerusalem* explores both scenarios.

flee in fear, but responds vigorously as the transformative daimon (*J*66:16, E218). To utilise Cave's methods of cognitive criticism, here a highly kinesic, aesthetic language is used—Los "pour'd his loud storms on the Furnaces"—which by its disjunct imagery also suggests reading this phrase metaphorically. Los's striving is communicated through a mixture of primal imagery and complex metaphors, or what Cave might describe as sensorimotor perceptions and higher-order cognition (30). This heroic performance invites the reader to rely upon Los (who represents the engaged imagination) as a light through the dark horror of the textual passage that follows. In doing so, a transformative passage is created in the reader's imagination from the present darkness to Los in polar opposition. This opposition creates tension, which is friction, heat, and transformation. Without the contrasting tension of this opposition, the reader would merely have a horrible scene and no guidance but their own as to how to respond. Los as daimonic protagonist sets the vector for a heroic light of transformation, which most readers, given the circumstances of the scene, are likely to acknowledge. Through sympathetic resonance with Los, coupled with reaction to the horrific scene, the reader may be moved along similar lines by this process.

This process is enhanced by the symbolism Blake uses, which creates a poetic vision of deep horror, engaging primitive layers of the human psyche. Primal imagery abounds in Blake's description of the scene. The daughters of Albion strip off their garments and "sit naked upon the Stone of trail. / The Knife of flint passes over the howling Victim: his blood / Gushes & stains the fair side of the fair Daugters of Albion" (*J*66:19-21, E218). The bloodying of their fair nakedness vividly confuses innocence and eroticism with inhumanity and violence. Through imagery involving nakedness, blood, and human sacrifice, Blake is stirring up the primal human imagination, and the sheer contrast between this and Los as heroic, creative protagonist is likely to orientate the reader, just as skilful composition in visual art leads the eye of the viewer to move towards particular aspects of a painting. This orientation is daimonic,

since it directs the reader to an ascending alignment along the axis from hellish primal horror to divine heroism. The horrific acts of the daughters of Albion are framed as inhuman and the noble striving of Los as the human ideal. In this way, Blake guides his reader towards his vision for humanity.

The scene continues with further sharp contrasts. The daughters of Albion apply careful attention to detail in their sacrificial ritual: they arrange their victim's hair and part his seven locks; they place a reed in his hand and mock him; then they cut open his clothing to enter his heart (*J*66:22-28, E218). At this point, realism is lost, and the reader is forced to stretch their imagination: the daughters of Albion enter their victim's heart and erect a temple and altar, then pour cold water on the front of his brain, causing his eyes to congeal and his nostrils and tongue to freeze over and shrink (*J*66:29-33, E218). Loss of realism, combined with sudden shifts in scale from within the heart to the outside of the brain, and later to the covering up of the sun and moon, create a sense of surreal disorientation for the kinesic imagination. Each act is horrific and unnaturally connected. By combining this chain of deeds with the hospitable, primitive symbols of "cups / And dishes of painted clay," which the daughters of Albion feed their victim from to close his tongue while they glow "with beauty & cruelty," the dark and light feminine is skilfully blended to further the confusion of this surreal, horrific scene (*J*66:32-33, E218). The confusion of this imagery appears deliberate, and adds to the horror of the action, generating an effect of fascinating revulsion, vivifying the experience of darkness for the reader. The scene continues, describing how humanity, seeing this victim, become the same as him, thus subtly but directly involving the reader in this experience:

> All who see. become what they behold. their eyes are coverd
> With veils of tears and their nostrils & tongues shrunk up
> Their ear bent outwards. as their Victim, so are they in the pangs

> Of unconquerable fear! amidst delights of revenge Earth-shaking! (*J*66:36-39, E218)

Thus, the scene of a sacrifice of a single human becomes the myth of humanity's loss of divine vision.

This scene began by describing several humans interacting (the daughters of Albion and their victim) in a more or less comprehensible manner, which, however bleak, is recognisable as human experience. This humanness, and accompanying inhumanity, provides an initial familiarity that Blake then expands to a grander scale, beyond ordinary human comprehension. This technique of a recognisable local scene that becomes cosmic in scale is common in Blake and seems useful for producing mythopoetry. He then describes humankind's loss of divine vision in a highly mythical register, moving to the cosmic, before returning to the personal:

> The Divine Vision became First a burning flame, then a column
> Of fire, then an awful fiery wheel surrounding earth & heaven:
> And then a globe of blood wandering distant in all unknown night:
> Afar into the unknown night the mountains fled away:
> Six months of mortality; a summer: & six months of mortality; a winter:
> The Human form began to be alterd by the Daughters of Albion. (*J*66:42-47, E219)

At this point the modern reader may surmise that Blake is critiquing the modern, secular *Zeitgeist*, as a recession of divine vision in Blake's understanding, a perspective where summer and winter combine to form a mundane year of mortality, where "the Sun is shrunk: the Heavens are shrunk / Away into the far remote: and the Trees & Mountains witherd" (*J*66:50-51, E219). Blake describes a world where the most banal aspects of humankind take

narcissistic, solipsistic centrality. His world apart from divine vision turns bleaker still, forming "indefinite cloudy shadows in darkness & separation" (*J*66:52, E219). Humans in this state are connected through confusion and falsity, as an incoherent unconscious collective:

> By Invisible hatreds adjoind, they seem remote and separate
>
> From each other; and yet are a Mighty Polypus in the Deep!
>
> As the Misletoe grows on the Oak, so Albions Tree on Eternity: Lo!
>
> He who will not comingle in Love, must be adjoind by Hate. (*J*66:53-56, E219)

Such descriptions may evoke primeval feelings of aloneness and separation or a sense of despair at the incoherence of failed human communities. Feelings of being parasitical are alluded to; the individual as parasite on their community, consuming it without a sense of belonging to it. These images resonate with the loneliness of our human condition, highlighted by the modern age, which is well-expressed by modernist director Orson Welles: "We're born alone, we live alone, we die alone" (Welles).[12]

This instance of aloneness is linked with aloneness as a broader theme of *Jerusalem*. From *Jerusalem*'s beginning, separation (from the divine) is the core affliction Albion suffers, the consequences of which are devastating for humankind. Leonard W. Deen, in *Conversing in Paradise: Poetic Genius and Identity-as-Community in Blake's Los* (1983), writes of fallen Albion as the "disintegrated community reflected in the parts of a single figure" (8). Albion's disintegration creates a void in humanity that yearns to be filled, which represents the craving for belonging, relationship, and unity that we as social beings inherently desire—reiterating the point made earlier on relationship as a third, integrating factor between a narrative and its

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[12] This line was written by Welles for Henry Jaglom's script in *Someone to Love* (1987).

parts.[13] In *Jerusalem*, a response to the yearning for human connectedness comes from Eternity, specifically in the daimonic descent of Los, who is the third factor between fragmented temporal Albion and the eternal wholeness of the cosmos. This daimonic response drives the entire narrative towards a conclusion of collective unity.

Jerusalem narrates how Los reintegrates Albion with the cosmos through their relationship. Deen recognises that Los's identity preserves the integrity of the community in its external fragmentation, "as the acorn preserves the oak" (8). He notes that identity is both offspring from community and the seed of future community (8). In Los's example, the community is Eternity, and Los as daimonic human descends into the fallen world (Albion) to sow the seed of eternal identity that will awaken into eternal community. The result, at *Jerusalem*'s conclusion, is Albion's restoration through Los's image (his deeds and love). The world (Albion) then becomes an integrated, creative community, restored to Eternity. Through this daimonic narrative, Los provides the blueprint for Blake's ideal community.

Often during this narrative, Los is alone in the darkening world, determined to save Albion from disintegration into the void. He declares in response to a world of pervasive separation: "I see America closd apart, & Jerusalem driven in terror / Away from Albions mountains, far away from Londons spires! / I will not endure this thing! I alone withstand to death" (*J*38:69-71, E186). Los's aloneness completely differs from the aloneness of Ulro, which is defeated and self-centred isolation. Los's solitude in the fallen world is founded on integration with Eternity, for he declares, "I alone / Remain in permanent strength" (*J*38:77-78, E186). He preserves the most fundamental ontological relationship, that between self and universe, which is also his awareness of Poetic Genius. He symbolises the flame of transfigurative inspiration, the candle of hope, the sun, and the integrated seed of an inspired

[13] See section 6.1.

life, both individual and communal, mythically set against the darkness of fragmenting dehumanising existence. Los is consciousness in an ocean of collective unconsciousness, though he is clearly aware of both and acts accordingly.

Los is also a liminal figure. In *Milton,* Blake writes that "Los is by mortals nam'd Time" and that "Time is the mercy of Eternity" (*M*24:68,72, E121). As time, his apparently solid identity is constructed out of the need to bridge Eternity and Ulro. Los's determination to restore Albion comes from love, as "Eternity is in love with the productions of time" (*MHH*7:10, E36). Yet his steadfastness, like his existence, is relational, not innate; it comes from his connection to Eternity and his duty to reconnect Albion. In contrast, Albion's withdrawal is a dissolution into non-existence, a disengagement from Eternity, described in the first line of *Jerusalem* as "a Void, outside of Existence" (*J*1:1, E144). This void is a "pleasant Shadow of Repose calld Albions lovely Land," a solipsistic, infantile dream-world where Albion attempts to become absolute, alone—reiterating Urizen from *The Book of Urizen* and, ultimately, the Gnostic demiurge (*J*1:3, E144). But by exiling himself from reality, Albion's dream loses the vigour of Eternity, so must eventually die. Without Los as a third liminal element—the daimon—the immortal and the mortal could never mix. Darkness and light would similarly remain distinct and there would be no nuance in the universe, only immiscible absolutes. Los enters Albion's world of disintegration as time to reintegrate Albion with Eternity, to shape, as a daimonic smith, Albion's darkened, dying world into a world receptive to illuminating visionary life. Los is not illumination itself, but, in his selfless liminality, is a mediator of vision and a transmuter of darkness—a visionary artist, in Blake's understanding.

Throughout *Jerusalem*, Los struggles and strives against Albion's darkness and those possessed by Albion's demonic (or anti-daimonic) dream, almost losing hope.

But now Albion is darkened & Jerusalem lies in ruins:

Above the Mountains of Albion, above the head of Los.

And Los shouted with ceaseless shoutings & his tears poured down

His immortal cheeks, rearing his hands to heaven for aid Divine! (*J*71:54-57, E226)

Los is resolute as an immortal alone in a mortal world. He does not fear physical death but spiritual failure, which would be the loss of Los's existential purpose. His tears flow from his morality as a divine immortal, not from his creaturely, physical vulnerability. He strives to bring being out of non-being, spirit out of matter, which is why his furnaces are daimonically animated by primal emotions: they "howl loud; living: self-moving: lamenting / With fury & despair" (*J*73:2-3, E228). Los's engagement with darkness is daimonic, not divine, for an intermediary power between light and darkness is required to restore darkness to light.[14] Eventually, Los's final words show confidence in the completion of his task: "Fear not my Sons this Waking Death. he is become One with me / Behold him here! We shall not Die! we shall be united in Jesus" (*J*93:18-20, E253). And then "Time was Finished," marking the end of Los's work and the end of Los as he returns to Urthona, who then enters into "Albions bosom" (*J*94:18, E254; *J*96:42, E256).

By highlighting the tragedies of human isolation—the incoherent disconnection within humanity (the "Mighty Polypus"), human solipsistic narcissism (fallen Albion), or the lone struggle of the individual against darkness (Los)—Blake's reader is guided to better appreciate

[14] Taking darkness and light as understood in modern physics is insufficient for their metaphorical usage in a psychological context. Psychological darkness (the unconscious) cannot be solved by simply adding light (consciousness). In *Trauma, Cultural Complexes, and Transformation* (2018), Evija Volfa Vestergaard states that there is value in a "gradual uniting of the opposites in the psyche" (84). Graduality implies a *process* of transformation, which is a third factor that mediates between dualistic opposites. This process is represented by Blake's daimonic process.

Jerusalem's moments of personal union, and, ultimately, the climactic personal union of Albion and Jerusalem (*J*66:54, E219). Blake's message is that darkness ceases in union, communion, and a community of creative, awakened humanity. *Jerusalem* is hopeful for humanity's ultimate togetherness, yet never naïve about the human proclivity for evil. Plays of contrast are delivered for dramatic effect, heightening the potential for readerly influence along their daimonic axis. Readers, of course, will tailor their own response to these narrative parameters.

Even within *Jerusalem*'s poetic currents of influence there remain many possible interpretations. For example, because Albion is a multivalent symbol in Blake's mythos, his fall from Infinity may be interpreted on several levels, each with very different outcomes. At the largest scale, fallen Albion represents the world of time and space in Blake's mythos: "All things Begin & End in Albions Ancient Druid Rocky Shore" (*J*27, E171). Stephen C. Behrendt ascribes more Earth-bound scales in *Reading William Blake* (1992), writing that Albion represents "England and Everyperson," as well as "universal humanity" (167). If Albion is read as the archetypal human, his fall is personal and psychological. If Albion is the land of Britain, his fall invites socio-political or geopolitical interpretation. When Albion is read as all humankind, the world, or the universe, then the narrative presents respectively anthropological, ecological, or cosmological contexts. Los, correspondingly, becomes the power of daimonic transformation within these different contexts. Likewise, all other characters shift their context according to how Albion is interpreted because Albion is the primordial individual that contains all other characters.

Albion's fall therefore presents a complex array of different scales of interpretation. As a descent from infinite potential, his fall manifests the world of dark experiences, which includes *Jerusalem*'s other characters and their actions therein. The sacrificial rite of the daughters of Albion explored above, for example, is an extension of Albion's darkened

consciousness. However, not all characters have direct familial relations to Albion. His fall is a struggle between eternity and temporality. The characters of *Jerusalem* are not uniformly dark, but a mixture of types in various states. Ultimately, Albion's fall is a necessary step of the daimonic process that facilitates—through Blake's principle that "Opposition is true Friendship"—his (and every other being's) eventual awakening (*MHH*20, E42).

An instance of the fall as a precipitant for awakening occurs on plate 36, where Albion falls further within his already fallen state. He is in deep woe; he is sick of human life and proceeds to descend into the void, calling others to join him, or be a ransom for him there (*J*35:19-20, E181). He has completely lost faith in life, believes himself abandoned by God, sees his friends as a weary burden, and even feels terror towards the "human footstep" (*J*35:22-23, E181). As in the previous example for plate 66, Los is again the heroic protagonist. He faces a dreadful scene: "Los shudder'd at beholding Albion, for his disease / Arose upon him pale and ghastly: and he call'd around / The Friends of Albion: trembling at the sight of Eternal Death" (*J*36:1-3, E181). Albion's disease is his fallen humanity, which causes him to sink into Eternal Death, the void of Ulro. Albion calls his friends to him:

> The four appear'd with their Emanations in fiery
> Chariots: black their fires roll beholding Albions house of Eternity
> Damp couch the flames beneath and silent, sick, stand shuddering
> Before the Porch of sixteen pillars: weeping every one
> Descended and fell down upon their knees round Albions knees,
> Swearing the Oath of God! with awful voice of thunders round
> Upon the hills & valleys, and the cloudy Oath roll'd far and wide. (*J*36:4-10, E181)

A combination of rising and falling kinesic language is applied around symbols of disease. Albion's "disease / Arose upon him," black fires roll from the chariots of "The four" in witness to Albion's Eternal house, while "damp couch the flames beneath" this house (*J*36:1-2,4-5, E181). The alliteration of line 6 creates a sense of unnatural, disease-ridden cessation, as the flames "silent, sick, stand shuddering" (*J*36:6, E181). There is a rise as a "Porch of sixteen pillars" appears (*J*36:7, E181). The colon in line 7 provides a caesura, followed by "weeping every one," which the reader may assume to be the weeping of pillars, another image of kinesic descent (*J*36:7-8, E181). Yet when the next line is read, an enjambment is apparent: "weeping every one / Descended and fell down upon their knees round Albions knees," and the descent blends across both lines (*J*36:7-8, E181). This descent is one of profound sympathy; Albion's friends fall down on their knees, and the intense collective ruin of the situation is reemphasised with "round Albions knees" (*J*36:8, E181). Yet to this fall there is again a rise, coming as a heroic symbol, the oath to God, a virtuous ascent of the voice in promise of truth, out of the threatening darkness that verges on the void. Suddenly there is expansion, power, grandeur: the friends of Albion from the fallen depths now have noble voices of reverberating thunder; filling the hills and valleys, "the cloudy Oath roll'd far and wide" (*J*36:10, E181). Friendship—sympathy, devotion, loyalty, assistance—commiserates and uplifts in sublime combination with thunderous power. Such is the motion and emotion that Blake conveys in this passage, out of a scene of dark descent.

The reader of plate 36 is orientated to a dynamic of pervasive despair whose focus and solution is a striving of the noble, daimonic spirit, like the previous example for plate 66. A great degree of movement is present in this passage, mainly descent and ascent, yet also expansive rolling. This motion is studded with various motifs, mainly disease as the problem and virtue as the solution. The scene is intensely fragmented in terms of physical realism but contains a continuity through emotive and kinesic narrative. The presence of symbols—

chariots, a house of Eternity, pillars, thunder—as the imagery associated with the passage's motifs adds a higher conceptual layer, while the primal motion and emotion of the scene is more intuitive. This passage, again like the previous example, combines higher cognition with the brain's primal sense, fusing the two in a daimonic language, inducing the reader's imagination similarly.

As the previous examples demonstrate, Blake rarely describes the appearance of his characters apart from what is indicated through the events occurring; his interspersed artwork may suffice for details in this regard. This absence of static description in written language allows motive, emotive, and symbolic experience to dominate the focus of the reader, a technique that pervades most of *Jerusalem*. This language suggests Cave's idea of skilful underspecification, inviting the activation of sympathetic imagination (27). Blake's writing style may deliberately frustrate the objectively orientated reader. Yet while his language is objectively fragmented, like a shifting dream or nightmare, it is arguably consistent in the mythic mode through movement, emotion, expression, deeds, symbolism, style, structure, and core ideas. The poem's disruption to logic and objectivity may serve to reduce inhibitions towards irrational influxes from the reader's unconscious while reading the work, thereby allowing a more primal reception of the work while entraining the higher mind towards a more mythological mode of thinking.

Jerusalem participates in the primal human grammar of myth. But how does this increase its potential to resonate with the collective human psyche when such myth is also shaped within culturally inflected expressions? Let us explore this through another example. Plates 94 and 95 describe the apocalyptic crescendo at which "Time was Finished!" prior to Albion's full awakening (*J*94:18, E254).

> ... The Breath Divine Breathed over Albion

> Beneath the Furnaces & starry Wheels and in the Immortal Tomb
> And England who is Brittannia awoke from Death on Albions bosom
> She awoke pale & cold she fainted seven times on the Body of Albion. (*J*94:18-21, E254)

Here, as throughout *Jerusalem*, many symbolic terms are hard to reconcile with everyday human experience. For example, "The Breath Divine" may be inconceivable for many, and Blakean idioms such as "Furnaces & starry Wheels" and "Immortal Tomb" are similarly obscure (*J*94:18-19, E254). In some cases, his language is broadly culturally inflected, but in other instances, it is narrowly Blakean. If his intention is to transform his reader, then how does a reader grapple with language that is outside of their cultural purview? The above phrases are not nearly as universally recognisable as, for example, "awoke pale & cold" or "fainted seven times" (*J*94:21, E254). These phrases are within a common human reality, so are much more likely to be understood connotatively: to wake pale and cold connotes sickness of some kind, for example. And even though fainting seven times would be highly unusual, fainting is basically a universally human phenomenon. Indeed, because these phrases describe biological phenomena, they are more likely to find commonality with all humans through our common biological reality as a species. These expressions in Blake's poetry therefore resonate with more basic modes of human cognition, Mousley's "human needs, urges and anxieties whose claim to universality is partly the product of literature's deployment of *resonating particulars*" ('The New Literary Humanism' 820; his emphasis).

In contrast, the culturally inflected and specific expressions in Blake require enculturation, of a general or specific kind, to be understood. Part of this understanding comes from reading Blake and learning his idiomatic language. Other parts come from understanding the broader context in which he wrote, biographically, historically, literarily, artistically,

culturally, and so on. The same generally holds for any literary work. Yet not every specific cultural expression will resonate with Blake's reader. Where differences exist, these may serve as material for understanding the human other.

What distinguishes Blake, or what he seems to do well, is his mythic poetry that rouses deeper human urges, emotions, and consciousness, albeit to a particular vision. The moral light of this vision may be debated, but it is nonetheless a movement away from the carnal darkness of sacrificial violence, the moral darkness of selfishness, the social darkness of isolation and mutual hatred, and the individual darkness of not knowing oneself as fully alive. Blake's solution to human darkness is the awakening of individual creative imagination in harmony with the cosmos. This is one solution among many. It is not necessarily reliable, so the reader need not subscribe. What is important, however, for literary humanism, is *Jerusalem*'s exploration of humanly relevant themes—such as darkness—that provide specific material for creative and critical enquiry into our own humanity.

The remaining lines of plate 94 continue to mix what is commonly human with the cultural particularity of Blake's idiomatic style:

> O pitious Sleep O pitious Dream! O God O God awake I have slain
> In Dreams of Chastity & Moral Law I have Murdered Albion! Ah!
> In Stone-henge & on London Stone & in the Oak Groves of Malden
> I have Slain him in my Sleep with the Knife of the Druid O England
> O all ye Nations of the Earth behold ye the Jealous Wife
> The Eagle & the Wolf & Monkey & Owl & the King & Priest were there. (*J*94:22-27, E254)

The language is especially Blakean, obviously, but I mention this to highlight another point about the idiosyncrasy of all literature. In the above passage, there is a prevalence of emotive language: the repeated exclamation “O,” exclamation marks, and “Ah” punctuate Brittannia’s continuing soliloquy (*J*94:22-27, E254). A more primal emotiveness sets the tone of the passage, while regular idioms of Blakean obscurity intersperse this tone. This idiomatic language is likely to baffle the reader unfamiliar with Blake. Ritualised language around religion, violent sacrifice, archaic mythological sites in England, and the primal symbolism of animals embeds highly symbolic content in lines of emotionality. The lines make little logical sense: How can Brittannia have slain Albion in her sleep? In three different places? Why in “Dreams of Chastity & Moral Law” would she murder? (*J*94:23, E254). And why is she then the “Jealous Wife”? (*J*94:26, E254). There is an esoteric symbolism within these mythopoetic lines, yet examined through only general syntactic analysis, it is easy to see why some considered Blake mad. Logic, like the objective realism absent in plate 36, discussed previously, is not what Blake’s narrative rests upon. To the contrary, his aesthetic language seems to deliberately deconstruct logic, overriding it successfully with mythic imagery and themes, emotive characters, and their performative outbursts.

In cognitive terms, *Jerusalem* could be said to engage the brain differently to more robustly logical narratives. In *Constructive Vision and Visionary Deconstruction*, Otto discerns two levels of reading *Jerusalem* (128). The first is rather straightforward: *Jerusalem* begins as a vision and follows a narrative that is recorded and ordered by the reader’s reasoning memory—which is not an easy task, given the narrative’s structure, or lack thereof (128). The second level of reading *Jerusalem* is as visionary experience, what Otto calls “a visionary construction” (128). At this level of reading, *Jerusalem* “attempts to wake us from the slumber of ontic time by returning this time to its ground” (128). The poem becomes a single expansive vision in the perpetual present, rather than simply a linear time-based narrative, so that the

"vision of Christ/Albion underlies the whole poem and all of time" (129). Otto's idea of visionary reading appears to match Blake's aim for his reader, which is to reject the first level of reading as a falsehood of the reasoning memory. Furthermore, Otto's visionary reading of *Jerusalem* is consistent with the literary-humanistic reading of this thesis. *Jerusalem* is to be experienced, and not necessarily made sense of in any preconceived, let alone rational-linear way—although attempts may be made to read it as such. *Jerusalem*'s gaps in logic, its uncertainty and unfamiliarity, are its visionary design. These present opportunities for exercising the creative imagination, for engaging with Blake's vision creatively in the present moment of reading.

Blake's work requires the reader also to work, to reflect and contemplate. He writes in *A Vision of The Last Judgment*: "the Imaginative Image returns by the seed of Contemplative Thought" (*VLJ*69, E555). In this way, *Jerusalem* is an intermediary for the reader's own contemplation, which is a living, ongoing practice. A definitive judgement on the work as an end in itself, at arm's length from the reader's involvement, remains at odds with its reading in a visionary manner of the kind Otto suggests. Certainly, conclusions may be drawn, but final conclusions are not as primary in Blake's view as ongoing visionary reading. *Jerusalem* invites a living human response to the experience of its poetry and art, not its reduction to a fixed idea. It deconstructs notions of finality, finitude, and isolating, dehumanising approaches to the world, while constructing a visionary *and* humanised mode of reading because Blake's idealised human is vision itself. *Jerusalem* encourages this visionary state liberally (in several main senses of the term) through awakening and exercising creativity, imagination, and (Blake would hope) humane genius.

Regardless of these intended gains, reading Blake is an engagement with intense facets of our own humanity; the raw emotion of human drama, the intensity of mystical consciousness, the chasms of despair, the ebullience of love, the striving of the lone individual

against all odds, the power of friendship, and the fury of hate. Although these human elements are culturally encased, they remain ubiquitous as possible human (not simply cultural) experiences. Such experiences have been built by Blake into the poem, which in turn are received, however interpreted, within the reader's imagination. Blake's poetry succeeds figuratively as mythopoetry because it leaves the reader with much to interpret. It presents dramatics intensities of human darkness within a daimonic cosmos and provides a narrative for awakening from this darkness into creative genius. In this way, it nudges the reader towards its mythical content, yet the reader is left to make of this content what they will.

This awakening is a movement towards the lively creative thought of genius, rather than a fixation upon a particular idea or doctrine. (The very idea of Blakean doctrine eventually undermines itself, if not recognised earlier as an oxymoron.) Brittannia awakens Albion, who is stone-like and in pain:

> Her voice pierc'd Albions clay cold ear. he moved upon the Rock
> The Breath Divine went forth upon the morning hills, Albion mov'd
> Upon the Rock, he opend his eyelids in pain; in pain he mov'd
> His stony members, he saw England. Ah! shall the Dead live again. (*J*95:1-4, E254-5)

Albion awakens from the darkness of the clay man, a stasis of pain, limited and opaque. The frozen shadows of stone-like, uncreative thought resist change painfully, but ultimately flow into the light of living form. Life animates Albion towards the eternal human, the triumphant individual and all of humanity rising out of the oppressive obscurity of the collective unconscious.

> The Breath Divine went forth over the morning hills Albion rose

> In anger: the wrath of God breaking bright flaming on all sides around
> His awful limbs: into the Heavens he walked clothed in flames
> Loud thundring, with broad flashes of flaming lightning & pillars
> Of fire, speaking the Words of Eternity in Human Forms … (*J*95:5-9, E255)

Albion's rise from death is described with fluid, energising poetic rhythm. The verse's extraordinary imagery (clothed by flames, walking into the heavens) remains humanly familiar by contact with the ordinary (feelings of heaviness of sleep, wind moving over the hills, and so on). This combination of ordinary and extraordinary creates a daimonic aesthetic; human yet more than human, integrated as a single narrative of high emotional import. The sustained avoidance of logic and empirical realism ensures the success of this daimonic blending. The reader is able to relate to the work and relate the work back to themselves as a human being. *Jerusalem*, like every other work of literature, provides a unique mirror for understanding and developing our human nature.

6.4 Reintegrating our Human Monstrosities

What makes *Jerusalem* more obviously a metaphorical human mirror is that *Jerusalem* alludes to this self-reflective practice. The reflexive language of the line, "speaking the Words of Eternity in Human Forms," for example, points to *Jerusalem* as metanarrative (*J*95:9, E255). Moreover, Blake's opening verse on plate 3 and the triumphant closing passage of Albion's awakening on plate 98 (lines 28-40) both focus on language as a sacred and specifically human art. Plate 3 presents the God whose words are dictated in *Jerusalem* as the God who gave writing to humankind (*J*3, E145). Plate 98 describes new ways of using language, where "every Word & Every Character / Was Human," suggesting a complete transfiguration of language, far beyond the human darkness previously explored (*J*98:35-36, E258). This language involves

"the Words of the Mutual Covenant Divine," where, according to Blake, human and God speak with the same creative power, intelligence, truthfulness and beauty, where words "Humanize / In the Forgiveness of Sins" (*J*98:41,44-45, E258). The beginning and ending of *Jerusalem* frame the entire poem as a metanarrative for practising humanistic language, a sublime myth for awakening Poetic Genius amid human darkness, "Even from the depths of Hell" (*J*3:7, E145).

Jerusalem, Blake's *magnum opus*, is an attempt to engage with ideas at the root of Western culture and therefore has relevance today in a world pervaded by, and questioning, Western influence. He presents *Jerusalem* as a mythopoetic narrative of transformation for the individual, the British nation, and all of humankind. Yet, as I have also shown, through his use of resonating particulars, rhetoric, emotional affect, symbolic power, and metanarrative references, this narrative becomes a metanarrative intended by him to reproduce the same transformation for the individual, nation, and humankind in the real world by the practice of humanistic language—"to Restore what the Ancients calld the Golden Age," a society centred on Poetic Genius (*VLJ*72, E555). This *telos* is culturally inflected, yet it also provides a transcultural interface through human commonalities. *Jerusalem* produces a mythic nexus that collides significant aspects of Western thought before the reader, thereby codifying new possibilities for their integration, within a more creative, vital, and imaginative primordiality.

As poetry, *Jerusalem* need not arrive at a rational conclusion, so can engage with rationality's shadow. Rationality had been increasingly apotheosised in the centuries leading up to Blake's era, literally gaining such status during the French Revolution through the so-called *Culte de la Raison* (cult of reason), which was ironically supported by mob rule and irrational violence. Reason, whether cultish atheism or moderate deism, was seen as problematic by Blake. His yearning to return to a primal divine wisdom, coupled with his Romantic aspiration for present change, particularly through the innovations of individual

genius, is recognised in *Jerusalem* through his attempt to rework the founding myths of his civilisation. Consequently, Blake does not accurately repeat founding Western rationalists such as Aristotle or Plato on their terms. Instead, he aspired to change the fundamentals of these classical systems and their Enlightenment descendants, by retelling the foundational story of reason from a Romantic humanist perspective. His retelling also engages other Western mythologies, though not to the same degree, recontextualising local British legend around Arthurian and Druidical myths, and in some instances the Nordic mythos, along with various other imported strands, including Judaic and Catholic mythologies. Thus, his Romantic reworking encompasses the broader mythos of the European continent, while centred on Britain and inflected (somewhat) through contemporary English culture. To bring about his desired affect (the transformation of human darkness towards a golden age), Blake attempts to exhume the shadow, as he perceives it, of this collective mythos, in order to orientate this shadow towards the light of his own Romantic vision.

As modern psychotherapy acknowledges, the shadow left unexamined is a cause of suffering, for oneself and for others, while awareness of the shadow leads to greater psychological balance (Hart 98). From a psychoanalytical perspective, an awareness of the shadow prevents individuals from unconsciously acting out or projecting onto the world the human monstrosities within. In a similar, yet more poetic and imaginative manner, *Jerusalem* as mythopoetry attempts to address Blake's understanding of the shadow of Western civilisation at its root, in order to rework the collective Western mythos. Understood in this way, we can better grasp the scope of Blake's myth, whether we agree with it or not.

Moreover, the daimon, having its origins at the root of Western thought, slipping between the often-conflicting worldviews of the West across the centuries, moving among the cracks in orthodoxy but nevertheless holding the interest of many brilliant minds, and strangely prominent among the Romantics, including Blake, offers a profound mythical motif. It suggests

the various splits, suppressions, and supersessions among the Western mythos across time are reconcilable. Such mending is presented mythically in Blake's daimonic process, which awakens inhumane, narrow, and darkened states to a more expansive, inclusive, and integrative human consciousness. We will explore the latter in the coming chapter.

7. Awakening Humanistically

> The prophecy of Francis Bacon has now been fulfilled; and man, who at times dreamt of himself as a little lower than the angels, has submitted to become the servant and the minister of nature. It still remains to be seen whether the same actor can play both parts.
>
> – Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (96)

> Tell them to obey their Humanities, & not pretend Holiness;
> When they are murderers: as far as my Hammer & Anvil permit
> Go, tell them that the Worship of God, is honouring his gifts
> In other men: & loving the greatest men best, each according
> To his Genius: which is the Holy Ghost in Man; there is no other
> God, than that God who is the intellectual fountain of Humanity.
>
> – William Blake, *Jerusalem* (*J*91:5-10, E251)

7.1 Christ the Artist

Humanity is God, according to Blake: "God only Acts & Is, in existing beings or Men," he declares in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*; "there is no other / God, than that God who is the intellectual fountain of Humanity," he proclaims in *Jerusalem*; and finally, in *The Laocoön*, he affirms, "The Eternal Body of Man is The IMAGINATION. / God himself" (*MHH*16, E40; *J*91:9-10, E251; *L*, E273).[1] In *Jerusalem*, he also correlates human intellect and genius with

[1] An earlier version of parts of this chapter has been adapted to Dearing, 'Daimonic Art: Meditating Imagery in Blake's *Jerusalem*.' This article is currently under review for publication in *Journal of Romanticism*.

the holy ghost: rhetorically, he asks, "is the Holy Ghost any other than an Intellectual Fountain?" a question he somewhat answers later, stating that "Genius … is the Holy Ghost in Man" (*J*77, E231; *J*91:9, E251). These associations allude to the central importance of the daimon in Blake's awakened humanity. What he means by humanity is important. I have so far thoroughly explored his concept of humanity in its ontological sense and demonstrated points of human resonance for the present-day reader of Blake. This has included a probing into human darkness, out of which humanity may be transformed towards a greater potential. But what exactly is this potential, in his understanding, and how does he orientate this potential to the world? To answer this, I will elaborate Blake's ideal of the Christ-like artist as a core idea within his mythos. This idea will be shown, in the sections that follow, to have particular relevance to Blake's daimonic process and to literary humanism.

Despite his reputation as an enthusiastic mystic, Blake is pragmatic in working towards his vision. He writes in *The Laocoön* that "Jesus & his Apostles & Disciples were all Artists," that "Christianity is Art," and that any person who is not a poet, painter, musician, or architect cannot be a Christian (*L*, E273). Similarly, the fourth chapter of *Jerusalem*, being dedicated "To the Christians," aligns with Blake's Christianity as the practice of art, both culturally in specific arts, and broadly in the art of being human (*J*77, E231). Further, since Christ may be recognised as the exemplary daimonic human, both the individual human in God and God in the individual human, then the practice of art in *Jerusalem* is also daimonic. The artist (who is potentially every human) becomes the daimonic human when their artistic practice procures the restoration of their own identity as divine human imagination, reintegrating their fallen humanity within Poetic Genius (which Los exemplifies, and Albion achieves). Blake's Christ in this sense is simply a symbol of union between the unique individual and their limitless divine potential. From this state of awakened human potential, life is creativity mediated through divine imagination without hindrance, and the freedom and wisdom of Eternal

consciousness is restored among human civilisation. This is Blake's vision for the humanistic awakening of humankind. Blake's concept of the Christ-like artist is a key to his ideal of humanistic awakening; a radical, unorthodox idea of Christ that appears to extend from Moravian visionary practices.

Blake's ideas of Christ stand at odds with a Lockean worldview. For Blake, the mind as Lockean *tabula rasa* cannot be creative (productive) but only reproductive of what has already impressed itself upon that mind—matching Blake's state of Generation. Strongly opposing Locke, Blake considers the mind's capacity for creativity to increase as the individual evolves towards Eden, which for him is the origin and absolute state of human creativity. Eden is productive, via imagination, while reason-bound states merely rehash already-produced material via rational processes. Reason is therefore not creative. Consequently Ulro, the extreme state of rational dominance, is a place of non-creation, Blake's world of Eternal Death. He writes in *There is No Natural Religion* that this state as "[t]he same dull round even of a universe would soon become a mill with complicated wheels" (*NNR*b, E2; my adjustment). Humans within this state of Ulro cannot create; they are, instead, the created. They are mere creatures at the whim of forces beyond their control, "cogs tyrannic / Moving by compulsion each other," a state of near-total determinism and thus slavery, even for the powerful (*J*15:18-19, E159).[2] As a consequence to such existential slavery, there is a reactionary drive to control, which in Ulro occurs through the insular will of selfhood, leading to fragmentary consciousness at odds with a universally cohesive divine will. This control manifests the tyrant, an empowered selfish egotist, seen in the fallen Albion and his fallen sons and daughters throughout *Jerusalem*. The tyrant believes himself or herself the victor, the one in control, but is truly the

[2] Determinism was an important debate during the eighteenth-century, involving leading thinkers such as Kant, Holbach, Spinoza (from the seventeenth century), Helvétius, and many others (Berlin 73-5). It remains to this day an unresolved question.

victim of their own solipsistic, creaturely reasoning. Being subject to forces beyond their conscious capacity, the exclusively rationalistic humans, as Blake presents them, are thus closer to instinct-driven animals than to Blake's liberated humanity. The human-as-creature falls short of the creative potential of the human being envisioned by Blake, which poses a problem for the view of humans as innately creative beings, as artists.

Blake's Christ as the daimonic artist presents a solution to this problem. Through this refigured archetype, Blake expands the Christian myth of Christ's Resurrection to a perpetual renewal (a resurrection) of creation by the acts (primarily speech) of every awakened being. *Jerusalem*'s plate 98 describes these acts of speech as a visionary conversation creating "new Expanses, creating exemplars of Memory and of Intellect / Creating Space, Creating Time according to the wonders Divine / Of Human Imagination" (*J*98:30-32, E257-8). The divine will harmonises the collective through the orchestration of all awakened individuals as one liberated body, the human imagination, "Which is the Divine Body of the Lord Jesus," bringing a collective Christ-like ethos of loving sacrifice and mercy among the awakened (*J*5:58-9, E148). As divine humanity awakens, they become co-creators of the universe, agents of the creative power of God, creators rather than creatures. They do not clash through egotism. Their Edenic creativity opens possibilities: "Wheel within Wheel in freedom revolve in harmony & peace" (*J*15:20, E159).

At the slightly lower state of Beulah, which might ordinarily be considered a kind of heavenly paradise, beings remain subjected to creation through their immersion in orchestrated, joyful experiences of shared love and mercy. A sliver of selfhood remains in Beulah. The conventional Christian narrative generally concludes at this idea of Heaven; a state of perfection in divine will, the vision of God, freedom from misery, and the experience of loving relationships with God and other beings (Hontheim, 'Heaven' par. 6-8,30). Consequently, the conventional Christian Heaven matches Blake's Beulah but falls short of his vision of Eden.

He envisions Eden as radically unbound, sublime, and potent, encompassing and integrating the full range of human experience, including the lesser states of Beulah, Generation, and Ulro, to enable full creative power.

The idea of Christ as the divine artist also matches Herder's "fervent belief," to quote Engell, "in Jesus as the symbolic being in whom meet God, matter, spirit, man, and the transforming creative dwelling in them all. Jesus becomes a 'middle point,' a 'mediating center'" (Engell 221). In this sense, Jesus is a daimon. Similarly, in *Jerusalem*, following Albion's Christ-like awakening, Albion awakens his emanation, Jerusalem, restoring their union. This union symbolises the commingling of the earthly with the heavenly, and therefore the self's capacity for daimonic relationship with the universe. Albion and Jerusalem become a single, complete divine human. Doing such, Albion (who is the multitude of humanity) and Jerusalem (humanity's higher potential) become as Jesus—"The Eternal Body of Man is The Imagination. / God himself / that is / JESUS We are his Members" (*L*, E273). Albion's restoration and union with Jerusalem restores the eternal human as a divine creator, a daimonic artist, thereby granting all humanity the same potential.

Yet while humans remain creaturely, as in Blake's lower states, the restoration of the divine in humanity is yet to be fully achieved and remains unconscious, passive, or restrained. All that is bound in time and space is creaturely according to Blake. This creatureliness becomes clearest in his use of the polypus, mentioned in the previous chapter, which Denise Gigante writes of as "the creature whose powers of pluripotent, even totipotent, regeneration had caused a massive sensation in the scientific community of eighteenth-century Europe" (126). In 1703, the Dutch scientist Antoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) classified this creature as a plant, but in 1741, Abraham Trembley (1710-1784) considered it an animal, after noting the creature's ability to walk and grasp food (Gigante 126). In his usual style, Blake takes this strange creature as a metaphor for the human world, a world which he often describes

as "Vegetable" but also presents as devouring, a polypus-like "murderous Providence! A Creation that groans, living on Death. / Where Fish & Bird & Beast & Man & Tree & Metal & Stone / Live by Devouring, going into Eternal Death continually" (*J*50:5-7, E199).

Blake's polypus represents the world of the all-devouring soulless creaturely consumer, where humanity (and other life forms) are spiritually asleep, a "Polypus of Death" and "Spectre over Europe and Asia" (*J*49:24, E198). It symbolises a society combining generic individualism and the accommodation of selfishness, as though this will make a paradise. Creatureliness is present here in two ways: in the herd-like quality of generic individuals and in the bestial manifestations of selfish behaviour. In such a society, inhumane qualities flourish out of necessity and opportunism, "[t]ill deep dissimulation is the only defence an honest man has left" (*J*49:23, E198; my adjustment). Kathleen Raine likens Blake's polypus to Newton's influence: "Blake saw in this soulless vegetation the same error at work that produced Newton's soulless physics" (*Blake and Tradition* 1: 241). In this view, we might say that Newton's abstract cosmology, as Blake understood it, is Generation, the natural world wherein life is constrained to its creaturely consciousness, metaphorised as a polypus. But Blake saw Newton worse than this, for in the purely Newtonian cosmos, as Blake presents it, the human creature is a completely deterministic mechanism of mathematical laws, which is even less human than a living polypus. This state is Ulro, the product of materialistic worldviews such as natural religion and natural philosophy. The proponents of these views are declared by Blake as enemies of his ideal Christian artist, and of all humankind (*J*52, E201-2).

Consequently, Blake's idea of Christ as the daimonic artist aims to liberate the traditional Christian from passive creatureliness that might leave it susceptible to Ulro's influence. He sought to restore the Christian mythos to a paradise centred on the power of art—the Lamb, a symbol of humility, becomes simultaneously the Tyger, a symbol of mastery (*SE*42, E24-5). In *Jerusalem*, Creation is literally centred on the artist as sublime fountain of

God, “there is no other / God, than that God who is the intellectual fountain of Humanity” (*J*91:4-10, E251). Thus, his expansion of the Christian mythos ultimately solves the problem of creativity found in both traditional Christianity and Newtonian cosmology, both of which can be seen to still somewhat influence contemporary Western thought. Both doctrines limit the artist within the passivity of an uncreative ultimate truth, which Blake’s mythos surpasses by deeming creativity the truth—which is also a fundamental alteration of the Platonic perspective.

Along with this expansion, what else did Blake’s Christianity involve? He states in the prelude to chapter four of *Jerusalem*: “I know of no other Christianity and of no other Gospel than the liberty both of body & mind to exercise the Divine Arts of Imagination” (*J*77, E231). For all his use of Christian concepts, terminology, and figures (which he seems to readily apply, perhaps because they were a social currency of his time), this statement absolves him of an orthodox position. It is the liberty of imagination that he venerates *as* Christianity. And from this state of liberty, his ideal Christian practitioner is to produce works of art and discoveries of science through the eternal vision of imagination, rather than abstract laws and reductionistic experiment. This liberty is not directed to material prosperity, nor to the decadence of Bacchic frenzy, nor the enjoyment of Epicurean moderation. And yet neither is pleasure suppressed in a stoic manner. Rather, Blake’s Christian is to become a medium on Earth for the divine imagination, to awaken human civilisation to its own infinite, immortal genius through such, and cultivate a culture of this on Earth. This is the joyful state in his view, what we might call Blake’s *eudaimonia*, although he never uses this term. Blake considers the soul’s work is in producing an immortal body of culture, cultivated by practising the eternal arts and sciences, with the physical body as an earthly extension of the soul. In this practice, the body is a temporal state whose proper function is for communicating art, through itself and its

extensions, the pen, brush, burin, or other instruments, to liberate humanity from the unconscious impulses of vegetable or mechanical lower states (*J*77, E232).

Art conjoins with knowledge for Blake, so that "to Labour in Knowledge. is to Build up Jerusalem: and to Despise Knowledge, is to Despise Jerusalem & her Builders" (*J*77, E231). Jerusalem is to him the city of eternal culture. But what is knowledge according to Blake? It is knowledge of particulars, not general knowledge. It is the application of imagination—the universal genius—to the arts and sciences. Knowledge is not restricted to abstract reasoning of empirical evidence but is a living manifestation of the entire human being, including emotion, reason, imagination, and form (represented by the Four Zoas) as an integrated, harmonious whole. Knowledge is revelatory, spontaneous "Living Form," rather than a fixation upon laws or dogma (*OV*, E270). For Blake, knowledge is poetically inspired genius, and is aligned with wisdom and happiness. To build Blake's Jerusalem is to actualise genius in the world, as a work of loving service to Christ, who is himself Poetic Genius and the imagination. Building Jerusalem is therefore an ongoing daimonic process that unites Heaven (the imagination) and Earth (the world) so that humanity evolves as a collective towards Christ the divine, creative imagination. This is Blake's ultimate goal, mythologised in Albion's awakening and reunion with Jerusalem at the conclusion of chapter four of *Jerusalem.* This mythic goal is not an end but a beginning. It is a return to the ongoing work of eternity—in Blake's view, a return to normality—where eternal humanity perpetually explores, actualises, shares, and experiences ever-new possibilities of the imagination.

However otherworldly this process seems, Blake framed it within a literary and artistic context as "Allegory addressd to the Intellectual powers" (*LE*, E730). He was otherwise very practically minded in his daily work. He focused upon art as a religious practice that engaged with the world. Eternity and Infinity were to be made immanent through art, rather than viewed only as mystical states transcending the world. To him, Eternity presents itself in the everyday

experiences of life on Earth, and in this sense, he considered himself a conduit for Eternity through his work as author and artist. In such ideas we can again recognise a Moravian influence. Among the Moravian community, the most ordinary details of members' lives were discussed as a spiritual practice (Regier, 'Anglo-German Connections' 764). According to Regier, this practice was "a form of analysis that combined the physical and spiritual by valuing the tiniest, seemingly insignificant detail of a man's or a woman's life as an important and relevant part of his or her existence" (764). These are the holy minute particulars that Blake emphasises throughout his work. He sets a practical example of an ideal way of working in the world as an artist that combines the physical and the spiritual. He summarises this work in a letter to William Hayley (12 March 1804), mixing sarcasm towards excessive labour with a witty encapsulation of his visionary philosophy: "Engraving is eternal work" (*LE*, E743).

Yet while Blake claims to have looked to Eternity, his influences were often historical: Michelangelo, Raphael, Albrecht Dürer, Julio Romano (1499-1546), Paracelsus, Jakob Böhme, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321), Shakespeare, Milton, to name the most prominent. He praises the art or writing of such individuals as eternal and perfect works of genius (*DC*46, E544). In declaring Eternity within works that are constrained by time, he plays daimonically with the juxtaposition of time and timelessness. Seeking to emulate the same grandeur, his vision aims to span beyond his own contemporary context, even while maintaining contact with it.

Blake sought to delve into universal thought by touching upon myth, archetypes, and deeper epistemological and ontological themes in art, consciousness, and culture. His work runs deep, mythically rather than historically, into various Western traditions.[3] Thus, while

[3] David Weir, in *Brahma in the West: William Blake and the Oriental Renaissance* (2003), even argues for Blake's engagement with Oriental traditions, particularly Hinduism, whose literature found its way into eighteenth-century Britain. "The eighteenth century was the great age of mythography when the religions of the

much of his radicalism is shaped by his setting and times, his deeper ideas are an attempt to approach the universality and the timelessness of myth through poetry and art. As Weir writes, "Blake believed that *all* religion was a codified corruption of poetry, or rather, of the vital, energetic vision of the world the Poetic Genius makes possible" (3). Blake's poetic imagination attempts to infiltrate perceived contemporary ignorance with what he presents as universal ideas, to establish an eternal culture of creative genius within the contemporary world—to build Jerusalem. These deeper aspects of his work will be shown in the following chapter to be applicable to literary humanism.

Blake's mythos suggests that every individual who is not Christ-like is yet to fully realise their humanity. But for Blake, Christ is not a particular individual, nor simply a religious figure of Christianity, but an archetype of human potential. As with many other figures, Blake invents Christ anew. Christ becomes the symbol of perfected humanity, in both the ethical and ontological sense. In the latter, he is all humankind as one body, and in this body is the potential for every single individual to attain their own unique perfection. Thus, as a mythic archetype, Christ may appear as any specific individual, such that she or he becomes Christ-like, as Jesus does in *Jerusalem* by appearing in the likeness of Los (*J*96:7, E255). In this way, Blake's vision of Christ encompasses collective humanity, "As One Man all the Universal Family; and that One Man / We call Jesus the Christ: and he in us, and we in him," although without negating individual particularities (*J*34:19-20, E180).

It is a mistake to assume Blake's vision of Christ is the imposition of a Christian world view over and against the individual and cultural diversity of humanity. Blake's idea is that Christ encompasses this variegated humanity. The imagination is Christ, he declares, and each person evolves most fully into who they uniquely are when their imagination is liberated from

world were described, compared, and criticized," writes Weir (3). Blake was immersed in this mythographic confluence.

externally imposed constraints, which includes religious dogma. Blake's Christ does not homogenise humanity. Homogeneity is the loss and confusion of the "Minute Particulars" of individuals, resulting in the "Mighty Polypus" discussed earlier (*J*69:42, E223; *J*66:54, E219). Instead, Blake's Christ harmonises the innate diversity of humankind. Blake acknowledges all individual life, writing that "every Minute Particular is Holy," and "every thing that lives is holy, life delights in life" (*J*69:42, E223; *A*8:13, E54). His vision therefore undermines Christian orthodoxies by promoting individualism and creativity within the context of a harmonised universal potential.[4]

[4] Taking *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* as a turning point in Blake's thought and a foundational text for much of his later work, the counter-Christian motifs within *The Marriage* provide further evidence for this undermining of orthodox Christian thought.

Figure 7. William Blake. *The Last Judgement*. 1808, ink and watercolour over pencil, Petworth House, The National Trust, Sussex, England. © National Trust Images/John Hammond.

Blake's *The Last Judgement* (fig. 7)[5] shows Christ as the exemplary human and the central figure around whom are a myriad of individuals. These individuals are not isolated but

[5] The artwork presented in fig. 7 is a precursor to the painting based on the vision Blake describes at length in *A Vision of The Last Judgment* (*VLJ*, E554-66). This later work was lost some time after Blake's cancelled exhibition in 1810 (Johnson and Grant 408). His description of this later work is very specific in the Biblical references attributed to each aspect and figure in the work. While not ignoring these references, my comments on this artwork do not go into this much detail, instead looking more generally at the work's

are in dynamic relationship to the whole and to each other. Examining the image reveals couples, families, and friends, embracing and ascending on one side of Christ. On the other side are individuals that are self-absorbed, brooding or despairing, or abusing one another, as they descend. That there are no children on the descending side is supported by Blake's idea, written in a letter to Reverend John Trusler (23 August 1799), that among children there were "a vast Majority on the side of Imagination or Spiritual Sensation" (*LE*, E703). Christ contains and yet transcends the variety of human states presented here.[6] He is the integrated, whole human being, whose inner psyche has resolved its own fragmenting tendency.

Christ is the exemplary human to Blake because he has revealed the way of developing love towards all of life and all individual beings, regardless of their state. This is shown by his central position around which is set the spectrum of heavenly and hellish experiences of humankind. His centrality indicates his integration of both heaven and hell—their marriage, to allude to *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Yet he is also elevated in *The Last Judgement*, indicating his transcendence of dualities, including heaven and hell. His integration enables him to be fully present towards all experience, as a whole being, rather than a fragmented, partially conscious psyche facing human experiences incoherently or perturbedly, like Albion at the beginning of *Jerusalem*. This is Christ's immanence, his "immediate mediation" mentioned by Lundeen (154). He maintains a state of power and peace within, regardless of what he experiences. And this wholeness is simultaneously Christ's transcendence of all experience, which is a form of innocence. Having integrated both experience and innocence,

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composition and symbolism. A more detailed examination of the daimon in relation to this image's Biblical references would seem a fruitful study, yet not one there is space for in this chapter.

[6] For discussion around whether the figures in this image represent psychological states or individuals, see Mitchell, W. J. T. 'Blake's Visions of the Last Judgment.' Mitchell concludes that these figures represent psychological states (9).

hell and heaven, immanence and transcendence, Christ is the daimonic human, God in the human and the human in God. He is thereby capable of bringing the infinite into the finite as the exemplary artist. Thus, Blake's human (exemplified in Christ) is daimonic. And since in *Jerusalem* Albion represents humanity involved in the daimonic cycle of fall and restoration, until becoming liberated in the Christ-like state of creative imagination, Albion's journey in *Jerusalem* is the journey towards the artist as humanistic awakener—a daimonic artist. *Jerusalem* is therefore a mythopoetic account of the making of this daimonic artist. This fantastical and idealised account is, however, not to be read literally. It is allegorical, and the nature and implications of this will become clearer as we proceed with further examination of Blake's myth of human potential.

7.2 The Daimonic Artist in *Jerusalem*

A major ethical theme of *Jerusalem* is the loving sacrifice found in true friendship, which begins from the very first plate. Plate 1 of *Jerusalem* (fig. 8) shows Los wearing a coat and broad-brimmed hat, glancing to his right into an arched doorway as he enters it. His left hand pushes the door open, while his right hand appears to hold a shining, transparent disk.[7] This image presents a powerful beginning to the poem that is missed in the purely textual copies of *Jerusalem*.

[7] This disk appears again in plate 97 (fig. 9), which I discuss later in this chapter.

Figure 8. William Blake. *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, plate 1. 1804-c. 1820, relief and white-line etching with hand colouring, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1667706.

An early proof of this frontispiece plate shows passages of text above and around the archway, which were later erased but are significant for interpreting this plate. The (erased) text above the archway describes Albion's fallen existence:

There is a Void, outside of Existence, which if enterd into

> Englobes itself & becomes a Womb, such was Albions Couch
>
> A pleasant Shadow of Repose calld Albions lovely Land
>
> His Sublime & Pathos become Two Rocks fixd in the Earth
>
> His Reason his Spectrous Power, covers them above
>
> Jerusalem his Emanation is a Stone laying beneath
>
> O behold the Vision of Albion. (*J*1:1-7, E144)

These passages set the scene for what is to follow, which Blake outlines at the beginning of chapter one of *Jerusalem* as “the Sleep of Ulro! And of the passage through / Eternal Death! and of the awaking to Eternal Life” (*J*4:1-2, E146). As chapter one of *Jerusalem* unfolds, so does the falsity of Albion’s “lovely Land”; the illusion is crushed at the end of the chapter when Albion realises his fallen state but is powerless to overcome it (*J*1:3, E144).[8] The image on plate 1 shows Los entering the “passage through / Eternal Death,” not as a fallen being in ignorance, but knowingly and consciously, out of love for his friend Albion, who is lost therein. (*J*4:1-2, E146) There is a play between text and image here in the image of a passage and the passage of text. The passage (of text) describes Albion as lullingly but pleasantly reposed upon his couch, a void that has become a “Womb” outside of eternal existence (*J*1:2, E144). He is enclosed in what could be seen as a druidical trilithon, made of “Two Rocks fixd” either side of him, “His Sublime & Pathos,” and a third, “Reason,” covering him above (*J*1:4,5, E144). Echoing the text, the image shows Los entering a stone doorway.

In plate 1, there is a juxtaposition of hopelessness and hope between text and image. Albion’s emanation Jerusalem “is a Stone laying beneath,” which, with the image of the

[8] Albion’s failed awakening was discussed in chapter five.

trilithon, suggests a druidic sacrificial alter (*J*1:6, E144). The druids are perpetuators of a cruel sacrificial culture, according to Blake (*J*27:30-32, E172). Jerusalem as stone also suggests her imprisonment, a state of unconsciousness reflecting Albion's own limited state. A sense of passive hopelessness is present. Yet the stone as Jerusalem—the petrified divine female—also suggests hope and the potential to awaken. The stone can be a symbol for bestowing royal sovereignty, represented by the Stone of Scone and appearing in the Arthurian mythos with the king-making sword in the stone. John Beer, in *Blake's Humanism*, relates stones in Blake's mythos to a loss of translucency, when humankind shuts up their faculties (127). And in commenting on Blake's unfinished poem, *The French Revolution* (1791), Beer notes that line 211, describing the sealing of the heavens with a stone, alludes to the sealing of Christ within the cave upon his death, which turns the story of Christ's Resurrection into a myth describing the state of humanity (Beer 104; *FR*211, E295). Jerusalem as a stone may be seen to represent this same potential for human resurrection from the world of death. For the hope of human potential to be born, a hopeless situation must first present itself.

On the right side of the doorway*,* the text reads: "Half Friendship is the bitterest Enmity said Los / As he enterd the Door of Death for Albions sake Inspired / The long sufferings of God are not for ever there is a Judgment" (*J*1:8-10, E144). This utterance by Los is in preparation for the task he is about to begin. Los may be cursing Albion for his delusion, which caused Albion's lack of commitment to their friendship. Yet Los is also resolving himself to whole-hearted friendship, as motivation to achieve his purpose of restoring Albion to Eternity. Los's dedication is important here: "Los enters the Door of Death for Albions sake Inspired," signalling the loving sacrifice he is willing to make, which is ultimately returned to him through Albion's sacrifice at the conclusion of the poem, completing a daimonic process of descent and restoration (*J*1:9, E144).

Sacrifice usually involves accepting some form of suffering in order to attain a greater outcome, and Los begins his task knowing this, but also knowing the suffering is “not for ever” (*J*1:10, E144). The above verse reveals the humane spirit of Los and the qualities that both define and inspire this spirit further, including devotion, friendship, loving sacrifice, and trust. These same humane qualities ultimately inspire Albion’s awakening on plate 96 and are central themes throughout the poem. Sacrifice through love contrasts with druidic sacrifice through violence, with the former being a spiritual sacrifice and the latter corporeal—these tropes are echoed throughout *Jerusalem*.[9] Paralleling these ideas, Los is corporeally entering the fallen world but remains spiritually in Eternity, in the state of inspired vision. Thus, Los’s presence is a daimonic bridge between the two worlds. By his humane virtues, he embodies the potential to awaken the sleeping humanistic qualities of Albion.

Yet this potential must ultimately actualise as words of Poetic Genius, a conversation of “Visionary forms dramatic” (*J*98:28, E257). In *Dialogic Imagination* (1981), John Jones presents Los’s endeavour to awaken Albion in terms of discourse, where Los must sacrifice his selfhood by practising the forgiveness of Albion’s sins, in order to open dialogical communication with Albion, who is trapped in the “monologic” of the fallen state (188, 198). Just as Blake writes in the opening to chapter three of *Jerusalem*, “Friendship cannot exist without Forgiveness of Sins continually,” so Jones writes that “dialogue cannot exist without self-annihilation,” because “forgiveness allows an individual to set aside ideological differences and engage another’s discourse dialogically” (*J*52, E201; Jones 198). Jones therefore highlights within *Jerusalem* the idea that dialogue is necessary to expand the mind beyond its tendency to monological perspective.

[9] I have discussed other instances of both loving and violent sacrifice in *Jerusalem* in chapters five and six.

Jones' statement is similar to Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of dialogism.[10] Bakhtin, like Blake, suggests the necessity for selflessness to better understand otherness (427). However, in *Jerusalem*, open dialogue occurs in proportion to the degree of awakening of individual characters, which means that the individuality of characters is a key to their capacity for dialogue. Conversely, dialogue is hampered in those characters who are possessed by generic lower states. The significance of this idea is enriched when considering the many layers of connotation *Jerusalem*'s mythopoeia contains; dialogue is encouraged on various levels, from individual thought, to discussions between people, political factions, nations, and so on. This idea consolidates the relevance of Blake's concept of Poetic Genius as a source of mutually illuminating discourse across multiple levels of society.

In reversed writing, the left side of the frontispiece doorway reads: "Every Thing has its Vermin O Spectre of the Sleeping Dead!" (*J*1:11, E144). Written in reverse, this statement suggests a mirror image, a distortion and thus barrier to an emancipated view. Vermin feed upon something else, and in this sense, the Spectre of the Sleeping Dead may be associated with Los's verminous Spectre, who arises when Los enters the fallen world, and who Los battles against as his own shadow. However, since Spectres are relative figures, depending on which state of vision a being abides in,[11] this reversed sentence could also be taken as a warning to Los as he enters the world of the sleeping dead, that to them he may be considered a Spectre, a contrary and destructive force. Indeed, Los does feed upon his Spectre, in the sense of

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[10] Bakhtin defines dialogism as "the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia" and decentralises monologue by adding that "unitariness [of language] is relative to the overpowering force of heteroglossia, and thus dialogism" (427).

[11] The relativity of spectrous consciousness is evidenced in *Jerusalem* by the statement that Los (Urthona's form in the temporal world) is a "Great Spectre" from Urthona's perspective (*J*95:17-19, E255).

commanding its will and energy towards his own work.[12] This shows that in order to awaken Albion, he must first master the forces of the fallen world, which he does by mastering his own shadow-self, his Spectre. The alternative is to risk eternal entrapment therein, should he succumb to the Spectre. Los enters the fallen world with awareness of the risks involved. He has conviction towards his task, knowing—as is written on the right side of the doorway—"there is a Judgment" that will ultimately make triumphant the humane ethos of his sacrificial work (*J*1:10, E144).[13]

Los has one foot through the doorway and one yet to enter, showing him in a liminal position. He is entering into relationship with the sleeping unconscious from full consciousness, suggesting a state open to dream, visionary art, and poetic imagination, while also highlighting the harmonious relational capacity of awakened humanity, discussed in the previous section. This doorway is Los's Gate mentioned throughout *Jerusalem*, a daimonic threshold between Eternity and fallen creation. Prior to entering, Los is Urthona, his eternal form. At the threshold he becomes Los, offering his complete self in sacrifice for the sake of Albion. Otto draws a homonymous analogy between Los and loss, writing that "in *Jerusalem* the withdrawal of Albion does not mean simply that Urthona must now confront Albion with the reality of loss, but that Urthona becomes Los" (*Constructive Vision* 30). Los bridges Albion's loss, as a merciful restoration, a sacrifice of immortality for mortal experience, mirroring the New Testament myth of Christ as God in human form. In this way, he becomes

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[12] For passages describing Los commanding his Spectre, see *J*6-11, E148-54. I have discussed this scene in chapter five.

[13] Los's sacrifice is honoured when, shortly after Albion's final death (*J*94, E254), time ceases, bringing the apocalypse of Albion, and "the Sons of Eden praise Urthonas Spectre [Los] in songs / Because he kept the Divine Vision in time of trouble" (*J*95:19-20, E255; my addition). This judgement is also depicted in Blake's *The Last Judgement* (fig. 7).

a mediator, the daimonic bridging-consciousness for Albion to awaken to Eternity. Los has sacrificed himself out of love for Albion, and later, at the point of Albion's awakening, Jesus appears in "the likeness & similitude of Los" for this reason (*J*96:7, E255). Los becomes the gateway for Albion to return to Eternity. Otto describes him as "the smith who builds the form of the fallen world and himself the ontological time of that world" (30). This shows Los as a creator—an artist—of the relational process between lost, fallen creation and Eternity, between sleep and consciousness, between form and imagination.

In this light, Los may be read as an allegory of the creativity of artistic or literary geniuses, who strive to bridge their fervent imagination with the concrete world, who must surrender themselves in order to open to creative inspiration, who must empty themselves to become filled with art—an act of loving sacrifice. In contrast to this archetypal artist, the violent sacrifices of Blake's druids are destructive (uncreative) and issue from excessive selfhood, manifesting as egotism and a rigid desire to tyrannise, dominate, consume, and destroy. The druidic violent sacrifices of the other are the negation of art, an anti-culture of those who "first spoil & then destroy Imaginative Art For their Glory is War and Dominion" (*L*, E274).

Such destructive negation differs from the contrariness through which life progresses according to Blake, as stated on plate 3 of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "Without Contraries is no progression" (*MHH*3, E34). Negation is the effect of Ulro, which seeks the annihilation of all things into abstraction. In contrast, Blake's contrariness permits a relationship between polarities to exist, grow, and flourish through creative complementarity, either in conflict, as opposites feeding upon one another (Blake's state of Generation), or harmony, through mutual nurturing between opposites (Blake's state of Beulah). Recognising the complementarity of contraries—which requires a broad, inclusive vision—these lesser states are ultimately restored to the state of Eden through their visionary re-integration.

The image on plate 1 shows a play of contraries, seen in the contrary colours of orange and blue,[14] the presence of illumination upon shade, and Los's hesitant but courageous entrance into the fallen world. Through Blake's artistic contrariness, such opposites are brought into creative relationship, instead of being mutually nullified into abstractions, which rationalisation tends to produce by superimposing a relationship to the thing itself with a relationship to abstract reasons that utilise the thing. Recognising the contrariness of plate 1, Los may be read as symbolising the creative *gestalt* of contraries. He enters the doorway to the relatively unconscious, temporal world consciously, as an Eternal, offering a creative approach contrary to the fallen world's negation, and consequently, in Blake's understanding, has the correct approach to awaken Albion from his inhumane, abstracted, nihilistic sleep. Along these lines, Los symbolises aspects of the practice of Blakean art.

The task of art

One of Los's main tasks in *Jerusalem* is the building of the city of Golgonooza, which has so far been discussed as an artistic conduit for the individual to return to Eternity (in chapter four) and a transfigurative nexus through which Britain may be awakened (in chapter five). Golgonooza has additional cosmological and philosophical implications. During its construction, "golden builders," "builders in hope" appear and build the city through gentle emotions—pity, mercy, forgiveness, mildness, compassion, thanksgiving, and comfort; all descriptive of the state of Beulah (*J*12:25,43, E155-6). Blake outlines on plates 12-13 a complex description of Golgonooza as the fourfold city with various correspondences to directions, states, animals, metals, and the senses, among other symbols (*J*12:45-13:55, E156-7). Within the fallen world, the city's gate to Eden remains closed "till the time of renovation," although in *Jerusalem*, Eden exists in every moment, if only it can be recognised (*J*12:52,

[14] Technically, these are termed complementary colours in modern colour theory.

E156). Surrounding Golgonooza is "the land of death eternal," consisting of the lower worlds of Ulro and Generation. Ascending from here are "the Twenty-seven Heavens" ranging from "Vegetative Earth" to the "Blue Mundane Shell," wherein self-righteousness conglomerates "against the Divine Vision" (*J*13:30,32,33,52, E157). Above these heavens is Beulah, the dream-paradise. Eternity exists beyond all this, but also within the centre of the Earth, "both within and without," while the vegetative universe "opens like a flower from the Earths centre" (*J*13:36,34, E157). Los patrols his city and views in it "all that has existed in the space of six thousand years"—the traditional Biblical duration of history from the Fall to the Apocalypse (*J*13:59, E157).

Ferrara argues, correctly, that Blake's idea of the Apocalypse is not millenarian and should not be seen as a revelation occurring at the end of a period of linear time (20). Rather, according to Ferrara, Blake's Apocalypse holds the possibility of "enlightenment in the eternal moment" that is "open to all people" (20). This accords with Blake's Apocalypse as one of artistic revelation. But Ferrara, like some other Blake scholars, focuses almost exclusively upon Albion's transcendental outcome in *Jerusalem*, as though Albion's liberation is the only important part of Blake's soteriology. He concludes that "Blake offers a new vision in which dialectical opposition between such states as innocence and experience, or heaven and hell, is transcended through utopian synthesis" (31). He even states that "there can be no slipping back into duality and the fragmentation that characterizes Albion and the Four Zoas at the beginning of the poem" (31).

However, *Jerusalem* ends with the perpetual exploration of "Expansion or Contraction … Translucence or / Opakeness" among living beings (*J*98:36-37, E258).[15] In Ferrara's conclusion, a daimonic synthesis of contraries is recognised but these contraries are altogether

[15] This daimonic mortal-immortal cycle of Blake's psycho-cosmos was discussed earlier in section 4.2.

transcended. Certainly, Albion awakens to a creative state beyond Blakean negation, beyond having to always choose one side of each pair of opposites and suffer the resultant narrow vision. Albion awakens to Poetic Genius at the crest of imagination's creative potential, which for Blake is the potential of Infinity. But at the same time, Albion's liberated creative newness reinvigorates the perennial work of Creation. Upon Albion's awakening, Blake's universe is not dissolved into a transcendent Buddhist nirvana—which as शून्यता (*śūnyatā* or emptiness) more closely resembles the void of Ulro. Instead, the universe continues so that living beings may explore experiences through mutually creative relationships.

By rejecting the fallen state, Ferrara's conclusion is one of permanent transcendence. On the other hand, in *Blake's Critique of Transcendence*, Peter Otto maintains that *The Four Zoas* and Blake's Lambeth prophecies, which proceed and are in many ways a preparation for *Jerusalem*, do not advance transcendence by rejecting the fallen state (6-8). To the contrary, the fallen state (and body), properly understood, becomes the cause for redemption in *The Four Zoas* (Otto 8). Similar could be said of *Jerusalem*, wherein the awakened state is churned out of the experiences of suffering in the fallen world. By experiencing the limits of the fallen world, wisdom can be developed. Innocence becomes experience. This wisdom grants the capacity for Blake's Eternals to consciously immerse in the temporal world without succumbing to its illusions.[16] Thus, experience restores its innocence in the daimonic state that Blake's Eternals demonstrate. Blake's vision for human consciousness is therefore better described as daimonic, where transcendence is fused with immanence in an ongoing explorative dynamic of human understanding. His idea of awakened human existence is one of pure creativity, which always invites the possibility, through a failure of wisdom, of falling unconsciously into one's own or another's dreams of creation. *Jerusalem*'s ending is therefore

[16] See, for example, *J*55:42-46, E205. I have discussed this point earlier in section 4.3.

a return to its beginning. Eternity and time, spirit and body, conscious and unconscious, continue in tandem as Blakean contraries for the purposes of imagination as primal creativity. Blake's cyclical daimonic process ensures the time-bound world's perpetual renewal from its origin in revelatory vision.

Thus, artistic vision for Blake is forever tied to the world, though it arises from Eternity: "Eternity is in love with the productions of time" (*MHH*7:10, E36). Los's city of Golgonooza provides the truth-images of art, the visionary perception of all things, which in the vegetative world are mere instances of these truth-images. Blake writes, in *A Vision of The Last Judgment*:

> the Oak dies as well as the Lettuce but Its Eternal Image & Individuality never dies. but renews by its seed. just so the Imaginative Image returns by the seed of Contemplative Thought the Writings of the Prophets illustrate these conceptions of the Visionary Fancy by their various sublime & Divine Images as seen in the Worlds of Vision. (*VLJ*69, E555)

Blake's idea is that the world contains the seed of its "Eternal Image," to which the writings of the Prophets—Blake's Christian artists—guide readers for the world's renewal (*VLJ*69, E555).

As a distorted image of an object or person is likely to bring erroneous perception of that object or person, so relationships in the state of Ulro and Generation result in various degrees of misapprehension of that relationship, resulting in suffering between beings. Los's city of art, Golgonooza, provides the clear seed images of all that occurs, as works of art, by which all beings can align in error-free relationship with these images, which include other living beings. A similar idea is found in Plato's *Republic* (c. 375 BC) when Glaucon describes a perfect yet imaginary city that, because it is perfect, cannot exist in the imperfect material world (Plato, *Plato in Twelve Volumes* 6: *Republic* 592a-b). Socrates responds to Glaucon,

saying that when an individual wishes to see such a city, and is able to imagine it, they then become a citizen of that city even while in the material world (592b). This incident parallels Blake's Golgonooza as a city that aligns its inhabitants with error-free perception (Blake's Eden), even while living in the temporal world. However, where Blake differs from Plato is that his Eden is not an ideal form to be perceived as truth, but the potential of the artistic imagination to see through—not with—the forms of fallen creation into divine infinitude. This difference reflects the aesthetic distinction between classical moderation and Romantic sublimity. Thus, Golgonooza's forms exist not as a final truth in themselves, but to align their viewer with sublime vision: "If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is: infinite" (*MHH*14, E39). Only then can humans, according to Blake, recognise the same creative infinity within themselves.

Blake calls for perception to be cleansed (error-free), which he considers to be the absence of life-diminishing distortions, such as opaqueness and contraction, brought about by abstract reasoning and selfhood, typical of the states of Ulro, Generation, and to a lesser degree Beulah. His ideal error-free state is the visionary perception of all things as infinite and holy, not reduced to idealistic abstractions to be reasoned upon, as in Plato. His visionary perception is also not the materialistic empiricism of modern science, which measures objects within time and space and makes

> an Abstract, which is a Negation
> Not only of the Substance from which it is derived
> A murderer of its own Body: but also a murderer
> Of every Divine Member
> … This is the Spectre of Man. (*J*10:10-15, E153)

Blake aligns abstract reason with the Spectre. For Albion "Reason [is] his Spectrous Power" (*J*1:5, E144). Reason and empiricism are the driving forces of science. Yet according to G. Rousseau, in *Nervous Acts: Essays on Literature, Culture and Sensibility* (2004), it was not science (natural philosophy) *per se* that Blake and other Romantics opposed, but the narrow advancement of reason and empiricism (symbolised by Blake's Spectre) as tools for representing all human truth at the expense of a unified human experience (99-100). By distinguishing the wholeness of human experience (the awakened human) from pure reason (the Spectre), Blake also distinguishes himself from Plato and the whole tradition of logical philosophy (*logos*) that expands thence as a foundation of Western ideas of truth. Such truth has also supported much of modern science. Yet to Blake, rational truths were simply too narrow to be anything other than abstractions of a far richer, and more human, reality.

However, recent research is drawing interesting connections between science and the imagination that also align with Blake's daimon. Alan Richardson discusses the trajectory that the concept of imagination has taken over the past few decades in Romantic studies, from a "reigning concept in the field" to its suffering "a precipitous drop into disrepute," only then to be re-visited in relation to twenty-first-century neurocognitive, physiological, and materialist science (385). Richardson shows how a number of the Romantics, specifically Coleridge, Wordsworth, Percy Shelley, and Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), viewed the imagination in a much more physiologically-based manner than was previously thought, offering a variety of nuanced insights into its workings (388, 395). Richardson also explores the recent, surprising connections being drawn between cognitive sciences and the Romantic imagination, describing medical and scientific constructions of imagination during the Romantic period "neither as a transcendentalist nor as a materialist faculty, but rather as one that mediates between the material and immaterial" (387-8).

These Romantic conceptualisations of imagination resemble the traditional idea of the daimon, as mediator between matter and spirit, objectivity and subjectivity, human physiology and human psychology. This resemblance includes Blake's daimon, conceptualised as the human imagination. Blake's daimonic conception of the imagination encompasses the wholeness of human experience creatively, as narrated in *Jerusalem* through Albion's awakening to human wholeness through Christ/Los, the divine, creative imagination. For Blake, imagination is the key integrative factor for restoring the creative wholeness of humanity. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, he is explicit that "the notion that man has a body distinct from his soul, is to be expunged," providing a non-dual concept of body-and-soul, the daimon as the embodied imagination (*MHH*14, E39).

Richard Sha's work also supports these links between the imagination and the daimon. He writes on the Romantic physiological imagination: "Physiology thus lends the imagination the esemplastic power to unify materiality and immateriality; the plastic and living imagination performs its definition, bringing together perception and the creative powers of unification" (Sha 213). This is an accurate description of Blake's awakened, daimonic human being, who has activated and embodied their divine imagination so that their capacity for perception is entirely blended with their creative power. This creative power combines with the plasticity of imagination to produce the daimonic artist, who is a co-shaper of a fluid reality of inter-related openness between beings. Furthermore, this state of creative freedom resembles the archetype Eros, sharing in the traits of creativity, vitality, and love. These associations reinforce the link between Sha's idea of physiological imagination and Blake's Romantic daimon as a source of humanistic understanding.

This link has surprising relevance to current-day cognitive science, which should not be dismissed too quickly. Richardson writes on the Romantic period and the possibilities for

advancing knowledge mutually between Romanticists and cognitive scientists, while drawing from Mark Bruhn:

> Then as now, inquiry into imaginative acts proceeds largely by means of "disciplined acts of introspection" ([Bruhn] 548), and having thus leveled the playing field, Bruhn shows how Romantic self-observers could come up with more "fine-grained" and more sophisticated models of imaginative acts than have (as yet) their present day co-investigators ([Bruhn] 544). (Richardson 389)

Alerting ourselves to this, can we ever safely set aside the work of the Romantics, Blake included, as having no present-day value? A rigorous examination of their observations and ideas, as hypotheses at least, may yield further unforeseen discoveries, both in science and art.

Blake himself suggests a broad, creative perspective on truth as a key to a more complete understanding. This is seen in another important difference between Blake and Plato. Blake's Golgonooza contains all experience within creation, including reality's shadowy or spectrous aspects. Rather than simply exalting *eidoi* (Plato's Ideas) as truth to the exclusion of ignorance (represented by the shadows on the wall of Plato's cave in his allegory of the cave), Blake presents Golgonooza as eliciting a more inclusive awareness of reality. To fully restore humanity, the shadowy aspects of consciousness are to be redeemed and re-integrated into awareness, not abandoned as false.[17] The design of *Jerusalem* presents this integrative process

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[17] Los's mention in *Jerusalem* of "Giving a body to Falshood that it may be cast off for ever" may lead the reader to consider Blake to be rejecting some aspect of reality through a dualistic view of truth versus falsity (*J*12:12, E155). Yet, as has been mentioned previously (see section 6.2), disidentification with narrow vision is a necessary step in a larger process of ultimate integration. Also, it is important to recognise that Blake's awakening process is unending, evidenced by *Jerusalem*'s cyclical narrative structure, and therefore involves a perpetual

through its daimonic narrative of human wholeness. While the rational mind—as *ratio*—divides and dissects to arrive at truth, Blake's visionary imagination is presented as inclusive and integrative (reason included), by recognising that "everything that lives is Holy" and "All Things are comprehended in their Eternal Forms in the Divine" (*MHH*27, E45; *VLJ*69, E555). This inclusive power of imagination is seen when Los views in Golgonooza the other fallen Zoas—Urizen, Tharmas, and Orc, representing the false brain, false bowels, and false heart respectively—as well as Ahania, Enion, and Vala—their female emanations, "three evanescent shades" (*J*14:2-12, E158). The Zoas and their emanations exist in fallen creation as reflections of their eternal selves, to which Golgonooza provides the truth-images, the cleansed perception, for their restoration. These truth images appear contrary to fallen humanity's own skewed vision, since "without Contraries is no progression," and in this progress through contraries, the creative process of restoration to wholeness proceeds (*MHH*3, E34).

Los also views his sons and daughters in Golgonooza, who as his offspring show the living results of his creation. They have translucent heads and hearts and bright loins; they are "a translucent Wonder: a Universe within" (*J*14:16-30, E158). The translucency of Los's sons and daughters suggests their capacity for vision, though not yet for poetic action in the world, as the "gate of the tongue: the western gate in them is clos'd" (*J*14:26, E158). Golgonooza, the city of artistic inspiration, contains the full range of experience, the entire six-thousand-year span of historical time, both shadowy and translucent, since from the perspective of Eternity, all is divine and worthy of reintegration. Such inclusiveness is necessary in order to fully liberate fallen creation. By providing images of both fallen and eternal creation, Golgonooza acts as a gateway between the two. This inclusive vision is congruent with the daimon, whose

return to ever-new states of wholeness, revealing lesser states to be incomplete and therefore not being's true existence.

capacity to relate to amorality and ambiguity enables engagement with the full range of human experience for transfiguration, providing all with an inviolable connection to the divine.

In Blake's mythos, just as eternity is present in the centre of the Earth, like a seed to the flowering "Vegetative & Generative Nature," so within each being exists their original divine seed, their Poetic Genius (*VLJ*69, E555; *ARO*, E1). Human individuals experiencing Golgonooza can therefore return "by the seed of Contemplative Thought" to their original genius, their daimonic nature (*VLJ*69, E555). Golgonooza is a daimonic gateway into the visionary world. Hence, towards the end of *Jerusalem*, Albion "was lost in the contemplation of faith / And wonder at the Divine Mercy & at Los's sublime honour," so acts to purify his vision in Los's furnaces, which become "Fountains of Living Waters flowing from the Humanity Divine," to cleanse Albion's "doors of perception" (*J*96:31-32, 37, E256; *MHH*14, E39).

The abovementioned scenes reveal Blake's philosophy of art through allegory, which the reader's imagination may contemplate, rather than logic or evidence prove. *Jerusalem*'s mythos is essentially a window for the imagination—a theory also applied in the iconomysticism of the Moravians (Schuchard 89-90). Blake suggests this way of seeing in *A Vision of The Last Judgment*, "I question not my Corporeal or Vegetative Eye any more than I would Question a Window concerning a Sight I look thro it & not with it" (*VLJ*95, E566). Whereas the rational mind may reduce and opacify an image's meaning based on the mind's already existing knowledge and processes, the imaginative mind looks through an image to expand its possibilities with contemplation, freeing the mind from its "manacles" (*SE*46, E27). The purely rational approach is reductionistic, symbolised by Blake's two limits of "Contraction" and "Opakeness" (*J*42:29,30, E189). The imaginative approach, in contrast, is creative, symbolised by Blake's limitless "Expansion" and "Translucence" (*J*42:35, E189).

The imaginative approach may include reasoning as a complementary part of an expansive understanding, whereas the rational may not so easily encompass imagination.

Blake's concept of imagination carries a creative power congruent with his idea of fundamental reality, paralleling Coleridge's idea of primary imagination "as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I Am" (*Biographia Literaria* 304). In this view, the Romantic artist has the capacity to manifest their creative vision directly and uninhibitedly. Blake describes this capacity at the beginning of *Milton* as the flow of power through physiological channels when calling the Muses to inspire the writing of poetry:

> By your mild power; descending down the Nerves of my right arm
>
> From out the Portals of my Brain, where by your ministry
>
> The Eternal Great Humanity Divine. planted his Paradise,
>
> And in it caus'd the Spectres of the Dead to take sweet forms
>
> In likeness of himself. (*M*2:6-10, E96)

This verse presents the writer as restorer of divinity in the world by virtue of their ability to mediate between "The Eternal Great Humanity Divine" and the temporal world (of Spectres) (*M*2:8, E96). The writer's genius—his inspired vision—is articulated through relationship with the world, drawing spectrous humanity towards the writer's more human creative state. Another interpretation of this verse involves seeing the Spectres of the Dead as the inspiration of past writers that the writer may draw from. This interpretation relies on the idea of the daimon as an external source of inspiration and guidance—like the Muse, or Hesiod's spirits of the golden age, or more generally, any revered predecessors. Taking Spectres in this sense

is certainly plausible, given Blake was involved in spiritualist practices.[18] However, this interpretation fails to recognise the internal origin of Blake's daimon. It is also, perhaps, more appropriate to *Milton*, which deals with Milton's individual legacy as (imaginatively) inherited by Blake. *Jerusalem*, in contrast, centres on the theme of humanity's collective awakening, which is an internal awakening to daimonic vision.

This internal awakening presents the artist as awakened human imagination, the daimonic artist who communicates their inspired, creative vision to reduce the discrepancy between the illusions of the fragmented world and the wholeness of eternal reality by playing with both through art. Such an artist engages in a daimonic process, inclusive of both the unconscious and conscious, shadow and light, subject and object, to restore wholeness through their work. Blake's artist metaphorically lives in Jerusalem, the city/emanation of liberty, providing both a connection with the muse within and a vision of the perfect city (civilisation/culture) for the world without. This artist therefore experiences the infinite even while engaged in the finite world. They are an artist in the broadest sense: they may practise poetry, painting, architecture, or music, to name Blake's four arts, but more importantly, they practise the art of living, of being truly human (*L*, E274).

In this way, *Jerusalem* is significant because it details and demonstrates Blake's archetypal vision of the artist, while also being itself an example, a product, of that demonstration. *Jerusalem* is both a means and an end, a method and its result—the text being the objective proof of the method, however effective it is judged to be. *Jerusalem* is both symbol and object. Within *Jerusalem*, Blake has provided a multilayered, multifaceted approach to the same recurring process: of awakening the artist to vision. Consequently, Frye writes that Blake is not a mystic, but is, rather, a visionary (*Fearful Symmetry* 431-2). Blake's

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[18] Kathleen Lundeen explores this aspect of Blake's work at length in *Knight of the Living Dead*.

work is directed into the world, not away from it, calling humanity to a humanistic relationship with the ordinary world as divine in itself. This artistic state is allegorised in Blake's Eternals, who exist in a state of visionary imagination that is fully integrated with reality and creatively fluid therein. It is this integration of imagination with the ordinary that makes Blake's artistic practice daimonic. The artist is depicted as the daimonic human, creatively blending the sacred (imagination) with the mundane (reality) through an overflow of art into life. When art is recognised as any kind of action that is inspired by genius, Blake's artist becomes every human who is awake to life's potential. Thus, life is perceived as Blake presents it at the climax of *Jerusalem*, as a creative experience that invites opportunities for human evolution.

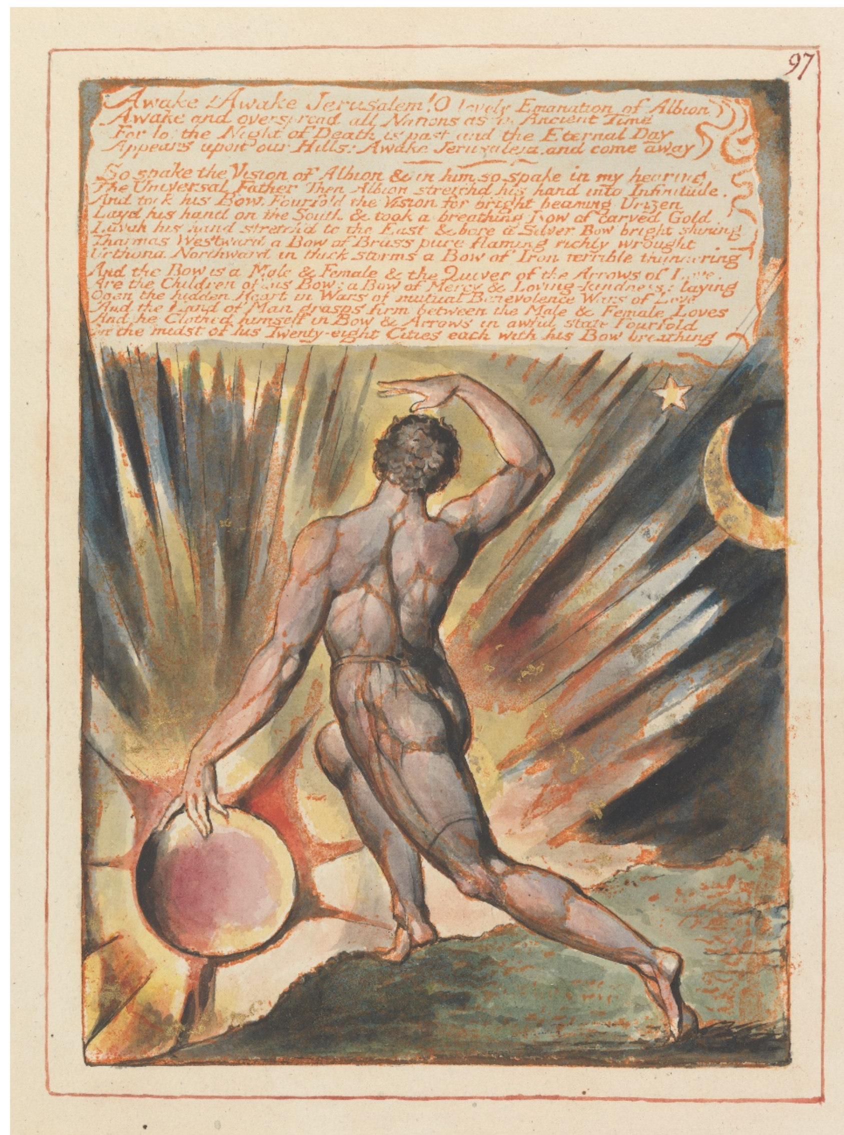

Figure 9. William Blake. *Jerusalem: The Emanation of the Giant Albion*, plate 97. 1804-c. 1820, relief and white-line etching with hand colouring, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/1667825.

Imagining the eternal human

The power of the awakened human being is revealed in plate 97 (fig. 9), which shows a state of wholeness and unity remarkably achieved through Blake's use of boundary lines. Otto, commenting on plate 2 in Blake's *America: a Prophecy* (1793), describes how Blake's use of lines as boundaries creates an active relation between contraries, rather than demarcating a "pre-existing pattern" of "God, Reason, or Nature" ('Politics, Aesthetics, and Blake's

"Bounding Line"' 177). This active relation, Otto continues, "this congruence and interaction between contraries," "defines the dynamic form constitutive of the new world [represented by America]" (177). As America for Blake "represents the Body," according to Damon, this new world is also the body of the artist's work (the created work), and therefore is the world of living visionary creation, the ever-new manifestations of genius (Damon 19).

Later in the same article, Otto applies a similar understanding regarding lineation to the horizon-line that the figure's right foot meets in plate 97 of *Jerusalem* (185). Otto identifies this figure as Los, yet gives no reason for this identification (185). It seems more likely this figure is Albion, as the alignment of text and image better support this interpretation: Albion has awoken and "stretchd his hand into Infinitude" (*J*97:6, E256). Los, however, makes a final appearance on plate 95, returning to his eternal form as Urthona, who then reintegrates into Albion. While there are similarities between plate 1 and plate 97, such as the sun disk held by both figures, or their facing away from the viewer as though entering some other realm, the climax of *Jerusalem* is not Los's awakening but Albion's, for Los was always awake. Therefore, I will consider plate 97 as depicting Albion.

Nonetheless, Otto's description of this figure is incisive and efficient. He describes the image as prophetic and performative, showing the "*differential* between the actual and the possible, the past and the future" through Blake's use of line, opening the viewer to "the possibility of art (creativity), democracy, and, Blake would add, human life itself" (185; his emphasis). These insights reveal how Blake's art aims to inspire in the human imagination a state of openness and hope of a new world, with this new world in *Jerusalem* being the world of visionary creativity experienced by awakened, daimonic humans, such as Los, the Eternals, and later Albion. Hope is a persistent theme ascribed to Los, which I have mentioned throughout this section: from plate 1, which contests hope with hopelessness, through to Golgonooza's "builders in hope," to the triumphant, concluding image of awakened Albion on

plate 97 (*J*12:43, E156).

From the textual narrative on plate 97, Albion is at the threshold of transformation. Having just thrown himself into Los's furnace, he now calls for Jerusalem to awaken (*J*96:35-97:6, E256). The image of Albion on plate 97 adds to this narrative. Albion stands on the edge of the known world, having one foot on the horizon, in a stance of self-mastery as he looks far out into the universe—in contrast to Los's hesitant stance on plate 1 (fig. 8). The boldness of Albion's position, a lunge that completes itself with a glance towards what is distant and high, and the presence of the illuminated solar disk in his left hand fortify a sense of hope with strength and the spirit of adventure. His uninhibited lunge shows complete comfort with the world he stands upon, suggesting this world is his homeland, which with his back to the viewer gives the sense that this is also the homeland for the viewer. Albion has returned to himself as mythic Britain, restoring wholeness to the British people, and perhaps the entire Earth and all humankind. Albion exceeds the provincial, for he appears not to wish to remain only in his homeland. He looks to the heavens, symbolised by Jerusalem as the heavenly mother and the expansive liberty of creative potential. The combination of the comfort of home and the aspiration for something greater adds impact to this image.

Additionally, Albion's hand is firm on the solar disk, giving a sense that this disk, the sun, is the central pivot of his movement. This disk is also the golden ball, now wound up, mentioned in the opening to chapter four of *Jerusalem*.[19] It is the same solar disk Los held as he entered the gateway into the world of time and space on plate 1 (fig. 8). However, in plate 97 this disk is far brighter, and it shares the sky with the moon, showing a more complete balance of heavenly polarities. In plate 1, Los is clothed and wears a hat; he is covered like the opaqueness of the fallen world he is entering. In plate 97, Albion is naked, his 'transparency'

[19] "I give you the end of a golden string, / Only wind it into a ball: / It will lead you in at Heavens Gate, / Built in Jerusalems wall" (*J*77, E231).

reflecting the state of liberation. His position in relation to the solar disk makes him appear an extension of its power in human form, acting in the world through great strides and far seeing vision, demonstrating the daimonic human. His daimonic nature is reinforced in this image because he is the bridge between polarities: known/unknown, earth/heaven, sun/moon, immanent/transcendent. His darkness has been transfigured and he is able to straddle both ends of these polarities with vigour and purpose, connecting a world of conflicting division into creative unity. Albion reveals an exemplary integrated human. He represents the embodied harmony of what is otherwise divided by the fragmenting mind, described by Blake as singular, twofold, or threefold vision—the lesser states of Ulro, Generation, and Beulah respectively. And it is not a placid harmony that Albion embodies, but rather one that overflows itself as a result of the creative energy arising from integrated wholeness. His self-mastery and exuberance indicate the state of Blakean fourfold vision—the daimonic human.

Plate 97 is also an image of the energy of Eros, the archetype of vital creativity and love, manifesting in the individual—in this case, Albion. Albion is the archetypal human, so the specific identity of the individual here is less important; the image could depict any awakened individual and, in each case, would be Eros inflected to the particulars of that individual, showing an individual's most vital, loving, creative self-manifestation. What is more important here is the representation of the completion of the human being, giving narrative closure to the opening image on plate 1.

The integrated divine human, Blake's eternal human, is not a specific individual. Albion is merely one example of the restoration of universal humanity, localised as mythic Britain. Neither is Blake's true human a specific ego-persona complex, but a symbol of the wholeness of the individual, the selfless human of pure creative potential. Just as Albion symbolises the restoration to wholeness at a national scale, so Blake's Christ symbolises this wholeness localised within the Christian mythos. It is conceivable that any other archetype of the universal

human from another cultural mythos could be represented in this daimonic fusion of local and universal, but here Blake is working within his own culture. He does not aim to repeat fragmentary nationalistic or religious discourse inasmuch as re-envision these in a more complete and creative way, to return ossified derivatives of Poetic Genius to their origin as visionary potentiality.

The eternal human is not an isolated identity, for, while preserving a localised individuality, each liberated individual exists in relationship with all of humanity and all beings, through mutual creative openness, as described by Blake's Saviour singing, "I am in you and you in me" (*J*4:7, E146). Completed beings can be fully open, translucent, and expansive, because they are not lacking within; or rather, their lack has been integrated by resolving their Spectre and they have nothing to hide from themselves or others. They can, therefore, be a complete, unique individual in loving, creative relationship towards other individuals.

Blake's eternal human continually strives for new horizons, new worlds, while being fully engaged in the present, embodied in and part of this world. Yet, like the alchemical ouroboros, the serpent that grasps its own tail within its mouth, this newness is also a rekindling of what is ancient, connecting the newness of time with the presence of eternity—just as Blake's literature connects ancient ideas creatively within a contemporary context. For he stresses that his work "is an Endeavour to Restore what the Ancients calld the Golden Age" (*VLJ*72, E555). This endeavour, which is mythologised in the work of the eternal human, paradoxically entwines Eternity (the most primordial) with time (the newness of the present). Similarly, among Blake's audience and the associated society, *Jerusalem* as a literary object places a mythos within reality and a creative fiction within the world of fact, as is expected of literature through its potential for cultural influence. This mixing further compounds the completeness of the individual eternal human as a mythic trope, integrated into the larger

cosmos. This integration is mapped structurally across *Jerusalem*'s narrative, where time and eternity are among the main forces shaping the plot towards a culmination in eternal humanity. *Jerusalem* therefore mythically narrates how the eternal human—Blake's daimonic human—is restored to an ever-expanding, perennial newness of creative existence through the imagination. Playing on the paradox of opposites, this fictional restoration occurs within the factual limits of a one-hundred plate work.

Blake's idea is that the eternal human is perennially new, not because it has any fixed structure but because it is "Living Form" (*OV*, E270). Likewise, art is "Living Form" when it brings the specifics of the human imagination—"minute particulars," a certain word, a specific brush stroke, a particular note—to life in the world (*J*38:23, E185). The imagination, according to Blake, is the transcendent and eternally creative source of the world, which always manifests in particulars. Plate 97 presents Albion as a particularisation of the eternal human, Blake's daimonic human. Thus, Blake's daimonic human is the movement from potential to particular that maintains living potential *as* the particular, a symbol of the reconciliation of life's creative wholeness with the ordinary world.

Jerusalem's design encapsulates this fusion of particular and potential as a mythologisation of Blake's own endeavour as an artist. The narrator of *Jerusalem* states early in the poem that his "great task" is "To open the Eternal Worlds, to open the immortal Eyes / Of Man inwards into the Worlds of Thought: into Eternity / Ever expanding in the Bosom of God. the Human Imagination" (*J*5:18-20, E147). To reiterate a point mentioned in the previous chapter, this is not to suggest that *Jerusalem* contains truth in an empirical, philosophical, or even religious sense. Rather, it seems more accurate to say that *Jerusalem* is designed to produce contemplation through an aesthetic performance of allegorised knowledge, which may (or may not) have a transformative effect for the reader/viewer.

7.3 Literature and Humanistic Awakening

In light of *Jerusalem*'s transformative design, what, then, is Blake's view of the value of literature? There are several instances where the term *literature* appears in his writings, and in every case, he either exalts the literary arts or writes of the importance of their practice and defence. Some examples follow. Three years prior to beginning work on *Jerusalem*, in a letter to John Flaxman (19 October 1801), he writes of the study of literature as a key activity for civilised human development: "Blessed are those who are found studious of Literature & Humane & polite accomplishments. Such have their lamps burning & such shall shine as the stars" (*LE*, E717-8). His concept of a cultured humanity exhibits neither pomposity nor impotence. He writes, for instance, of Chaucer's Squire from *The Canterbury Tales* having "the germ of perhaps greater perfection still [than his father, the Knight], as he blends literature and the arts with his warlike studies," adding that the family's "dress and their horses are of the first rate, without ostentation, and with all the true grandeur that unaffected simplicity when in high rank always displays" (*DC*11, E533). To defend truth, Blake's ideal civilised human is one who engages in "intellectual War" where necessary, until "The dark Religions are departed & sweet Science reigns" (*FZ*9.139:9,10, E407). The intellect is elsewhere associated with beauty, riches, and emotion, rounding out its warlike traits to form an integrated human faculty (*DC*47, E544; *CCP*23, E581; *SB*, E489). And in another letter, to William Hayley (7 April 1804), he writes of the importance of defending literature and advancing genius in order to "Disperse those Rebellious Spirits of Envy & Malignity" in society (*LE*, E746). Literature, and specifically literary genius, combining intellect, imagination, emotion, and the senses through language, is therefore a valid means of establishing the ideal civilisation through art, according to Blake.

As I touched upon in the previous chapter, this power of literary genius is allegorised in *Jerusalem*. This occurs from the beginning, with the opening poem on plate 3, "Reader!

lover of books! lover of heaven" (*J*3:1, E145). And it concludes at the end of the work, where individuals conversed from the state of awakened human genius

> … together in Visionary forms dramatic which bright
> Redounded from their Tongues in thunderous majesty, in Visions
> In new Expanses, creating exemplars of Memory and of Intellect
> Creating Space, Creating Time according to the wonders Divine
> Of Human Imagination. (*J*98:28-32, E257-8)

In this climactic verse, we see the grander range of literary qualities described. *Jerusalem*, as a "Sublime Allegory" "addressd to the Intellectual powers" promotes visionary forms, drama, majestic language, exemplary memory and intellect, and the creation of space and time through the human imagination—elements which any literary writer must master (*LE*, E730).

Taking this visionary climax from the intellectual to the corporeal plane, these ideas inform a humanistic literary practice. Reading *Jerusalem* as an allegory for literary composition, literary works are presented as a creation of the visionary imagination, descending into various earthly contexts from their author's imagination, through the power of their language: "Vision or Imagination is a Representation of what Eternally Exists" writes Blake, and "Imagination is Surrounded by the daughters of Inspiration who in the aggregate are calld Jerusalem" (*VLJ*68, E554). He therefore places Jerusalem at the heart of inspired work involving the creative imagination. The final line of *Jerusalem* mentions that Jerusalem is restored as the emanation of every liberated being, granting all humans an aura of inspired communion and the liberty of the creative imagination. In this state, the foundation of eternal culture as creative genius is restored. Thus, an ideal space for literary practice is allegorised in

Jerusalem's conclusion by giving access to imagination and inspiration for every individual and for collective humanity.

However, this is not to say that this climactic passage defines the entirety of Blake's mode of literary vision. *Jerusalem* explores a much wider scope of literary possibility than just the heart of inspiration; it allows for a full range of human experience and language,

> … varying
> According to the subject of discourse & [where] every Word & Every Character
> Was Human according to the Expansion or Contraction, the Translucence or
> Opakeness of Nervous fibres such was the variation of Time & Space
> Which vary according as the Organs of Perception vary. (*J*98:34-38, E258; my addition)

This range of human possibility, from the contracted opacity of fallen consciousness to the expanded translucence of awakened consciousness, and all else between, is encompassed by the daimon in its sublime, creative state as mediator between polarities. This daimon may be read allegorically as the author/artist.

Furthering this analogy, the daimonic state can be taken as a "Sublime Allegory" for literary-humanistic practice, involving both creative and critical aspects (*LE*, E730). The creative aspect of such practice involves the particularisation of human imagination from the creative fount of potential (Blake's Poetic Genius) into specific instances (words, sentences, up to entire works) of literary language. This creative practice is allegorised as literary writing in Blake's Eternals, who like an author create (literary) experiences freely. The critical aspect of such practice involves judgement of literary creations from a humanistic perspective, exploring questions of human relevance as advanced by literary humanism, both within literary

works and through them in relation to the wider world. Such questions could include, but are not limited to, human ethical, ontological, emotional, experiential, existential, and relational concerns. As a methodology for restoring humanity, this critical practice is allegorised in *Jerusalem* as the restoration of the fallen (created) world to wholeness in Eternity. Los enacts this restorative process, as do others aligned to such a pursuit, in order to derive human significance from the created world (literary works), to reveal error and illusion (as does the attentive, measured reading of a critic), "Giving a body to Falshood that it may be cast off for ever," and discerning, as Blake declares in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, "the infinite [human] which was hid" (namely, the literary-humanistic qualities and meaning of a literary work) (*MHH*14, E39; my addition).

Additionally, the city of Golgonooza allegorises the critical process of opening a specific literary work (a creation) to the infinite human within by extrapolating its meaning as a means towards human potential. Golgonooza also allegorises the critical practice of contextualising a work within the larger array of literary works, giving literary art its appropriate place (and valuation) within the whole according to its humanistic qualities. This human to be discovered in literature is not infinite in the sense of being without limits, but infinite as a subject of ongoing exploration; the study of humanity in all its facets, contexts, and perspectives in literature. The literary-humanistic critic's role here mirrors the purpose of Golgonooza in providing a passage (of textual critique) that exposes the humanity within a literary work—from various angles and lines of enquiry—and thereby guides the reader towards reflection on and enquiry into their own humanity. In this way, as an outline far from exhaustive, *Jerusalem* can be read as an allegory of literary humanism by focusing on the trope of the daimon found therein.

This concludes my study of the daimon in *Jerusalem*. Over these past four chapters, I have elucidated and critiqued many facets of the daimon within *Jerusalem*, including its

cosmological, poetic, aesthetic, individual, cultural, cognitive, monstrous, divine, artistic, and transformative aspects. I have therefore thoroughly answered my secondary thesis question: *How is the daimon present in William Blake's* Jerusalem*?* This answer is a necessary step for an answer to this thesis' primary question,[20] at which we will soon arrive. Even so, this study does not exhaust the varied aspects and multiple instances of the daimon within Blake's *magnum opus*, which to explore fully would overflow the required boundaries of this project. My study of Blake's daimon in *Jerusalem* is sufficient, however, to now begin to examine its application.

[20] Can *Jerusalem* be read as an allegory of Blake's humanism? (First raised in section 1.1.)

PART III

8. Articulating Literary Humanism

> … my guiding star is the idea that humanities scholarship, or the liberal arts if you will, no less than the university in its corporate mission, seek out the truth about human beings and the universe in an uncompromising and disciplined way, for its own sake.
>
> – David Thunder, 'The Public Role of Humanities Scholarship' (63)

8.1 *JERUSALEM* AS AN ALLEGORY OF LITERARY HUMANISM

By focusing upon the daimon, the previous part of this thesis has extracted many aspects of enduring human relevance from *Jerusalem*. What follows is a synthesis of these aspects into key ideas that will clarify Blake's literary humanism. The essential argument for this chapter, which converges the entire argument of this thesis and provides my original contribution to knowledge, is that *Jerusalem* prefigures ideas of new literary humanism.

The multivalence of myth plays a key role in how to interpret Blake's humanistic allegory. Behrendt writes that because Albion is "both England and Everyperson," Albion's final transfiguration into Eternity is not his alone but includes all characters in *Jerusalem* as well as its author (*Reading William Blake* 167). Behrendt further extends Albion's transfiguration to include *Jerusalem*'s readers, "who internalise that act and who—if they are 'ideal readers'—then *externalize* it in acts of interpersonal community that represent the rebuilding of paradise 'In Englands green & pleasant Land.'" (167; his emphasis). But Behrendt's assessment of *Jerusalem*'s effect upon readers seems to overstep the distinction between myth and its interpretation. Myth is symbolic language, so cannot be read literally; neither can the "rebuilding of paradise" nor "Englands green & pleasant Land" (167). These

are symbols before they are concrete realities, if ever. Nevertheless, they will inevitably be translated into concrete ideas variously by readers. Even so, Blake's original myth maintains its multivalence.

At the same time, what mythic literature holds in possibility it limits in utility; myth only has utility through specific interpretations, which are various. Blake's universality is not found in literal interpretation—to build a literal paradise in England, for example, because this means many things to many people. England should be read as a symbol, with various levels of both concrete and metaphorical meaning, from a geographic landmass, to a social body, a cultural ideal, a psychological state, or a metonym for home, for instance. In this way, even though a literal place, England is also recognised as a mythic place, like Heaven, Hyperborea, Shangri-La, the wilderness, the frontier, tomorrow. England can be interpreted simultaneously and plastically as a place, a metaphor, a memory or an aspiration, a past or a future, an ideal or a way of life; many things to many people. "The tree which moves some to tears of joy is in the Eyes of others only a Green thing that stands in the way," writes Blake in a letter to Reverend John Trusler (23 August 1799) (*LE*, E702). Thus, multivalent symbols have the potential for universal resonance within their particularity. But without an interpretation of *Jerusalem* that directs Blake's multivalent myth in a concrete, widely resonant way, the promise of apocalyptic renovation that Behrendt suggests remains vague.

The argument of this thesis is that literary humanism grounds an interpretation of *Jerusalem*, concretising Blake's mythos as an allegory of human understanding and development through the practice of literature. This human understanding and development couples with literary practice through *Jerusalem*'s recurrent idea that words and humanity merge in the highest potential of genius. Upon awakening, Albion speaks "the Words of Eternity in Human Forms," meaning that his words of Poetic Genius are human (*J*95:9, E255). Following this, "the Words of the Mutual Covenant Divine [Blake's ideal mutual awakening

of creative imagination between living beings]" humanises all things in the universe (*J*98:41, E258; my addition). In a similar vein, Frye writes that "Jesus is not a Nous but a Logos, a compelling Word who continually recreates an unconscious floundering universe into something with beauty and intelligence" (*Fearful Symmetry* 52). Here, Frye is describing Blake's Jesus, the archetypal daimonic human who sings humanely to his sleeping "members" at the opening of *Jerusalem*, "Awake! awake O sleeper of the land of shadows, wake! expand! / I am in you and you in me, mutual in love divine" (*J*4:21, E146; *J*4:6-7, E146).

However, pace Frye, *logos* as an ordering principle is inappropriate for Blake. In both classical and Christian tradition, *logos* is the universal logic that has the power to organise humanity out of unconscious chaos into a cosmic harmony. But Blake considers logic and reason antithetical to awakening. We can better equate his daimonic awakening with *poesis* (creativity) and *mythos* (story), both of which essentialise a figurative approach to truth (the Word) that relies fundamentally upon the creative imagination, Blake's God and true human (*L*, E273). Therefore, if Blake's Jesus—the archetypal daimonic human—is the Word, then the Word becomes words of imagination, of poetry and story, not logic. Consequently, the numerous humans in various states and stages of awakening that Blake's Jesus—the daimon—contains become words unrealised, words (and by extension, stories of individuals) whose meaning requires understanding and whose potential calls for development. Therefore, Blake's daimon is a symbol of literary-humanistic development and understanding and a major key to reading *Jerusalem* as an allegory of literary humanism.

Blake's vision is not prescriptive, but a myth of the restoration of all individuals to their own genius, as one diverse but concerted harmony of the universal aliveness inherent in creative imagination. But there can be no purely universal work of literature, simply because

literature must be expressed through particulars.[1] This, however, does not mean that literature cannot find points of universal resonance within the local, through what Mousley terms "poetic universals" (*Literature and the Human* 83-84). Mousley clarifies the poetic element of these universals: "A particular that *resonates* with universal meaning is not the same as a particular that straightforwardly and unequivocally instantiates a universal" (83). Similarly, in much visionary and religious art, including that found within Moravian and Gothic culture, a particular image is contemplated as a way to awaken the imagination to something universal, beyond the image itself, through poetic resonance. Blake replicates such practices. *Jerusalem* is a work attempting similar resonance through reflection upon the contents of its imaginary vision, whose central symbols are the human and the word. These symbols fuse in Poetic Genius, Blake's daimon.

Nevertheless, the content of *Jerusalem* will resonate differently with different readers. Albion's awakening, when understood as a symbol of the individual awakening of genius, provides a point of universal poetic resonance, because—we can assume—every reader is an individual with a deeper unrealised potential in their capacity for both being human and using language. This does not mean every reader will recognise this symbol of awakening, but that the symbol has the potential to apply to every individual. Blake does not straightforwardly instantiate this awakening as universal but presents it through resonant poetry. Arguably, *Jerusalem*'s conclusion (Albion's awakening, plates 94-100) is the most universally resonant point of the whole work, much like the central symbol of any religious or visionary artwork. The preceding narrative (plates 1-93), which is neither entirely coherent nor continuous, is preliminary, like the walking of a labyrinth to its more significant centre: *Jerusalem*'s transcendent climax. *Jerusalem* then closes by returning to the daimonic process between

[1] Mousley's chapter 'Universals and particulars' in *Literature and the Human* addresses many concerns around these concepts (see 72-103).

mortality and immortality, with "all / Human Forms identified, living going forth & returning wearied / … And then Awaking into his [Albion's] Bosom in the Life of Immortality," making the entire narrative effectively circular, another common quality of sacred art (*J*99:1-4, E259; my addition). After reading of Albion's awakening, this circularity is recognised as integral to Blake's daimonic cosmos. End and beginning, finite and infinite, time and eternity, spirit and matter, conscious and unconscious: all these polarities are mythically encompassed in Blake's humanistic allegory.

Blake's daimon is therefore further recognised as a pivot for reading Blake as an allegory for literary-humanistic practice. In his terminology, all approaches to knowledge "are derived from" Poetic Genius (*ARO*, E1). Reading this idea allegorically, each approach to literature is an attempt, however obvious or obscure, to derive from a work some facet of human understanding. Improvising his own language towards such allegory, "every thing is Human, mighty! sublime! / In every [literary] bosom a Universe [of words] expands," a universe which may be read, in turn, for its specific perspective on humanity (*J*34:48-49, E180; my additions). *Jerusalem* is meta-reflexive in this regard when recognised as a humanistic allegory, since it provides its own humanistic universe of words. That the daimon is a key to recognising this conclusion, as I have shown, answers my primary thesis question in the affirmative: *Can* Jerusalem *be read as an allegory of Blake's humanism?* Yes. The daimon provides the means for reading *Jerusalem* in this humanistic, allegorical manner, since it is the mythical agent for—and outcome of—humanistic awakening within *Jerusalem*.

Yet this humanistic manner of reading, articulated within *Jerusalem*, is not limited only to reading *Jerusalem*. Blake's humanism can also be directed towards other works. In chapter two, I defined humanism as a human-wide, trans-cultural, trans-historical concern, manifesting pluralistically yet inflected according to context. From this vantage, many critical approaches, literary oeuvres, and even self-styled antagonists to humanism remain under the rubric of the

all-inclusive human quest for self-knowledge and development, all being part of the search for human wisdom. Every literary endeavour is the product of one or more human minds, therefore, in the very least, presents the potential for humanistic enquiry. The aim of literary humanism is to skilfully pursue this enquiry. *Jerusalem* similarly allegorises this literary inclusiveness, since everything within Blake's mythical world may be restored to the wholeness of human potential through recognition of its own infinite within; its own humanity as part of "The Eternal Great Humanity Divine" (*J*39:27, E140). Albion attempts as much when he enquires into human nature, "O what is Life & what is Man. O what is Death?" although he fails to awaken his full humanity at this early point in the narrative (*J*24:12, E169). By recognising how Blake links humanity and literature, *Jerusalem* may be read as an allegory of broad human enquiry into literature that includes every variety of literary work, reader, and reading.

Literary inclusivity also is found allegorically in Golgonooza. All stories of human existence are present in Los's Halls at the heart of Golgonooza:

> All things acted on Earth are seen in the bright Sculptures of
> Los's Halls & every Age renews its powers from these Works
> With every pathetic story possible to happen from Hate or
> Wayward Love & every sorrow & distress is carved here
> Every Affinity of Parents Marriages & Friendships are here
> In all their various combinations wrought with wondrous Art
> All that can happen to Man in his pilgrimage of seventy years. (*J*16:61-67, E161)

The Halls' contents represent an idea similar to Plato's theory of Ideas, only here accessible through inspired imagination rather than reason. Furthermore, if words have human forms in Blake's mythos, these sculptures may be read allegorically as Blakean components of literature

developed through words: sentences, works, narrative content, characters and their dialogues; literary devices such as tropes, themes, forms, styles; creative methods, editing processes, and so on. As an allegory for literature, Golgonooza becomes the city of literature, containing the tools and inspiration for the highest mastery of language, up to the most brilliant expressions of genius.

Golgonooza is the Blakean contrary to the Tower of Babel myth. Blake describes how Babylon is built "in the Waste, founded in Human desolation," misery, groans, destruction, and "ever-hardening Despair squard & polishd with cruel skill" (*J*24:25-35, E169). His Babylon dissects human stories (*mythos*) through rational, moralising language, as "Babylon, the Rational Morality deluding to death the little ones / In strong temptations of stolen beauty" (*J*74:32-33, E230). In contrast, Golgonooza also contains images of human suffering but presents them as humanised stories, integrating into the wisdom of Eternity "[a]ll that can happen to Man in his pilgrimage of seventy years" (*J*16:67, E161; my adjustment).

Los builds Golgonooza after he has prepared a more humane space in human consciousness for its creation.[2] This space comes with the arrival of Erin and the daughters of Beulah, which may be read allegorically. Just as their arrival brings a space of higher sympathetic and relational consciousness beyond animalistic drives, so literature may be considered as fostering this higher consciousness through its exploration of human subjectivity and intersubjective relationships in a variety of imaginary settings and circumstances. Literature transposes our primal drives into an imaginary space for their exploration, sublimating their devastating, real-world implications. Following Erin's and the daughters of Beulah's arrival, golden builders construct Golgonooza out of gentle human emotions: pity, compassion, love, mercy, humility, devotion. These humane traits present Golgonooza as a

[2] As discussed in section 5.1.

symbol of the cultivated writer or reader. Just as Golgonooza provides a daimonic gateway to Eternity for sleeping humanity, so works of literature are presented through allegory as providing a transformative gateway of human culture.

Further allegorical interpretation arises from Blake's trope of the daimon. Within *Jerusalem*, the daimon mediates between polarities such as divine and mundane, heaven and earth, body and soul, subject and object, eternity and time, infinite and finite. Literature similarly has a mediating capacity, primarily between author and reader, but also between object (literary work) and subject (reader), mediating different cultures, times, and perspectives as experience, emotions, and ideas in the reader's imagination. Language is the medium for literature's mediation, and in Blake, language and the daimon are closely integrated via their mutual origin in Poetic Genius. Through the daimon's mediating capacity in *Jerusalem*, humanity is restored to their innate potential in Poetic Genius. Thus, in reading *Jerusalem* as a literary-humanistic allegory, Blake's trope of the daimon forms associations with literature in general, which has the capacity to meditate with the human reader, and the potential to restore a reader's humanity through literary-humanistic enquiry.

Blake's daimon also works to integrate the various human faculties, namely, reason, emotion/energy, imagination, and the body/senses—represented by Blake's Four Zoas. Los as the daimon is central here, as the temporal, embodied imagination who facilitates this process in Blake's mythic world. Similarly, literature works with the same human faculties: sensual imagery, rationale, and emotive language, all rendered by the reader's imagination into a synergistic whole. As awakened consciousness is the key to Albion's restoration to wholeness, so readerly absorption is at its best when there is keen, attentive interest given to literature's synergistic language. Mousley describes this as reading "with the whole of our 'selves,' rather than with disaggregated bits of them" ('The New Literary Humanism' 835). This experience of integration reaches its heights in literature that is widely considered the product of creative

genius, in writing that is inspiring, profound, moving, or gripping. Such human integration through literature is mirrored in *Jerusalem*'s narrative of humanity restored to its own innate genius through the influence of genius (the daimon). *Jerusalem* therefore allegorises the idea that works of creative genius have the potential to elevate readers to similar vantages through literature's mediatory capacity.

Combining literature's mediatory capacity with Blake's pluralistic sense of genius extends this allegory of literature to describe a diverse array of literary works that strive for the highest quality, each in their own particular way. While in Blake's view there are many fallen works of literature,[3] fallenness is not innate to the work. Rather, fallenness is the shadow or distortion of the true work, corrupting its "Eternal Image & Individuality" (*VLJ*69, E555). Like all living beings in Blake's mythos, a work in its lower state must be restored to its original genius. Los the daimonic artist builds Golgonooza, representing the cultivated reader or writer, for this purpose. Consequently, once Albion awakens, the renowned writers of Blake's age, both his enemies and role models alike, "Bacon & Newton & Locke, & Milton & Shakspear & Chaucer," surround, or appear in, Heaven (*J*98:9, E257). Their return to Heaven symbolises the restoration of the innate genius in each writer and their works, reflecting Blake's maxim that "every thing that lives is Holy" (*MHH*27, E45). In this way, literature is not presented as a canonical hierarchy defined by outer power structures, as it may be in Ulro, but as the exaltation of each work's intrinsic quality, as in Blake's Eden. Just as there can be, and indeed are, many kinds of genius, so in Blake's vision, literary works reach their pinnacle as an inscription of Poetic Genius, a work refined and perfected through its own uniqueness. His humanistic allegory therefore presents literary works as daimonic windows into an infinite exploration of humanity. This exploration satisfies the creative quality of literature while

[3] This is evidenced by a brief survey of Blake's marginalia, which contain many dismissive annotations within certain works (see E583-670).

simultaneously encouraging the best writing of all varieties to emerge in the world through a culture of creative genius.

Such a culture is supported by a number of ideas about literary practice that arise from an allegorical reading of *Jerusalem*. When Los struggles with and eventually gains command over his Spectre,[4] he survives this encounter because his awareness is strongly anchored in divine vision. Los then builds Golgonooza. Reading these events as an allegory of literary humanism emphasises the integration of one's psychological shadow (the Spectre) as beneficial for self-reflective, creative literary practice. Liliane Frey-Rohn corroborates this psychoanalytical idea, writing that awareness of the shadow leads to a greater capacity for creativity and a more positive relationship towards others (Frey-Rohn 175-6). Throughout *Jerusalem*, Los exemplifies the heightened creativity that arises from an integrated shadow. This heightened creativity is also described in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* as "energy" and the "Prolific" (*MHH*4,16, E34,40).

Integration of the shadow is valuable for the writer of both fiction and non-fiction. Writers may need to solve a variety of psychological challenges through their writing practice, including facing their own limitations, unresolved emotions, repressed memories, or other aspects of their shadow. They may also explore human darkness or other difficult topics within imaginary or factual written worlds. By reconciling shadowy consciousness, the literary-humanistic writer grows inwardly through self-awareness as their writing practice develops. They come to understand themselves and other human beings more completely, which in turn feeds back into their writing. Such reciprocal development of both writer and written work has significant pedagogic implications. Furthermore, the psychological equilibrium attained through integration of the shadow is beneficial for literary practice. The writer may explore a

[4] This scene was discussed in chapter five.

greater range of topics and imaginary experiences, including difficult ones, with equipoise rather than habituated reaction or inhibition. Likewise, the critic may critique in a more impartial manner.

Another allegorical idea for literary practice relates to exercising the imagination through literature. As I discussed in chapter four, humans in Blake's psycho-cosmos are originally eternal but risk falling into their own or others' imagined worlds. Allegorically, this raises the idea that the writer must remain capable of both immersion and detachment when writing imaginary worlds. Immersion is necessary for vivid depiction of imaginary realities, but detachment is necessary when editing such work. This writerly exploration is allegorised in *Jerusalem*, where various expanded or contracted states, beings and experiences are explored. Like Blake's Eternals, the skilful writer can articulate widely diverse realities, characters, experiences, and events without being possessed by them. Imagination and creativity are exercised by such practice, yet so is critical discernment. Blake's understanding of imagination becomes a writerly tool for creatively and openly exploring a variety of worlds, events, and living beings. Just as Albion awakens to his creative power, so the writer transcends the "same dull round," writing "new Expanses, creating exemplars of Memory and of Intellect / Creating Space, Creating Time," detailing with minute particularity the imaginative ideas, scenes, characters, and events explored within literature (*NNR*b, E2; *J*98:30-31, E258). These ideas of immersion, exploration, and detachment also apply, in some ways, to the reader. Thus, *Jerusalem* is further shown as an allegory of literary humanism.

A further example of this allegorical reading is Los's forming of "the spiritual sword / That lays open the hidden heart,"[5] an act Los performs to establish a culture of creative genius (*J*9:18-19, E152). Harrison's third claim about literature's ability for "renewing and renovating

[5] Los's spiritual sword is discussed in chapter five.

the 'language of the tribe'" through its refined, scrutinised use of language connects Los's spiritual sword with the (figurative) pen of literature (*What Is Fiction For?* 13). The attentive skill by which literary writers apply language precisely, penetrates, like Los's sword, into the human collective unconscious ("the hidden heart"), producing literary works that better articulate the human experience into collective consciousness (*J*9:19, E152). Literary language is decisively articulate, and so refines the unarticulated, ignorant, or unexamined language, ideas, and culture of the unconscious, much of which may be operating among humankind thoughtlessly. Los's forming of the spiritual sword is part of a daimonic process for mediating between the conscious and unconscious worlds, and presents, allegorically, a further step towards literary culture.

Finally, reading allegorically Los's mission to awaken Albion provides an example of the development of literary culture in *Jerusalem*. Los may be seen to represent the pioneering writer and Albion human culture or civilisation. Jerusalem, when united with Albion following his awakening, represents liberty and loving relationships. Albion's awakening and reunion with Jerusalem, assisted by Los the daimonic artist (writer), therefore allegorises the restoration of Blake's ideal golden-age culture where liberty of thought—the free range of ideas and imagination—and human kindness are present in the creation and reception of literature. For literature to flourish, Blake suggests, freedom must exist both within the individual and among collective society, as is depicted in Blake's Eden. Free expression in literature promotes a state of mind open to creative exploration, from which may arise what Harrison describes as "[i]maginative literature of the highest order" (*What Is Fiction For?* 13). To establish a culture capable of receiving the full range of literary thought (symbolised by Blake's Infinity), the same creative openness is necessary in the reader, the critic, and the wider society (Albion). As history attests, totalitarian regimes (Blake's Ulro) are often quick to censor literature containing heterodox viewpoints, which in turn asphyxiates creative expression. Where stagnant

worldviews, ideological narrowness, censorship, or other anti-literary modes of thought exist, literature will not flourish within wider society. And to the degree literary humanism is important, humanity (in both senses of the term) will suffer from a paucity of literature. Against such consequences, *Jerusalem*'s conclusion allegorically presents a society where literary writers (and orators) may freely practise their profession and thereby contribute valuable works of literature to that society. Of course, such practice is not so open as to be undiscerning. Each literary expression must be tested and refined through the culture of genius previously outlined.

The above synthesis marks the culmination of my literary-humanistic study of Blake pursued throughout this thesis and therefore concludes my answer to the tertiary question for this thesis:[6] *In what ways does my study of the daimon in Blake's* Jerusalem *contribute to literary humanism?* To summarise, the trope of the daimon in *Jerusalem* foregrounds genius and creative inspiration as a path of individual and collective development. *Jerusalem*'s conclusion is a vision of liberty for the individual and humanity. This liberty is not presented as libertine indulgence but as a loving, creative, relational individuality in harmony with the collective. Blake's liberated individual is depicted as embodying the creative power, love, and wisdom of primordial humanistic genius and strives to establish within the created world an eternal civilisation of this genius in its diverse forms (the city of Jerusalem). The daimonic human of Blake's mythos is the archetypal agent of this work. *Jerusalem* therefore presents a collective myth for the awakening of a golden age culture, and this myth provides various ideas about human nature, reading and writing practices, and cultural development through allegorisation. The trope of the daimon plays a key role in articulating these allegorical ideas. Consequently, *Jerusalem* provides an allegory of literary humanism that encourages literary

[6] First stated in section 1.1.

practitioners to engage with literature in a self-aware manner towards human understanding and development.

8.2 Blake's Consonance with New Literary Humanism

This allegorical reading transposes Blake's concrete literary and artistic expression into abstract ideas that can inform literary-humanistic practice. Blake was against "Abstraction opposed to the Visions of Imagination," so may not have endorsed this reading (*J*74:26, E229). But he opposed abstraction because he saw it as dehumanising. The difference, as far as this thesis is concerned, is that abstract ideas about literary humanism serve as seeds for theoretical discussion and methodological application, by which they may expand into specific literary contexts and associated human experiences. The ideas may be abstract, but their usage becomes humanistic. In any case, I have sought to preserve Blake's central focus on creativity and imagination as an important part of literary practice, to accommodate his "Visions of Imagination" (*J*74:26, E229). Abstraction—distillation is a better word—seems a necessary step in making his ideas theoretically relevant today.

Yet the shift from mythopoetic literature to allegorical literary humanism is not entirely smooth. Tensions are apparent between Blake and new literary humanism that reveal the limitations of this project. The first point of tension is in genre differences. In sharp contrast to academic discourse, *Jerusalem* is a mythopoetic work. Mythopoetry—at least the kind Blake employs—is rich in multivalence, symbolism, and fantasy. The genre difference between his work and academic discourse is easy to detect, although this does not prevent points of similarity. A critical, allegorical reading of literary-humanistic ideas in *Jerusalem* mitigates this genre difference to a degree, but also reveals the limits in reading him for his contributions to academic discourse. The methodology is the bridge here. I make no claim, however, that

Blake can contribute directly to academic discourse. Rather, it is the task of the literary-humanist critic to develop a literary-humanistic critique of his work.

A second point of tension between Blake and new literary humanism is in contextual differences, largely of time, but also of culture, to varying degrees, depending on the reader's background. I have previously discussed the importance of prioritising human relevance over historical or cultural contexts in a literary-humanistic reading,[7] but such prioritisation is neither absolute nor oppositional. Literary humanism can promote human understanding by exploring humanness from a variety of perspectives, cultures, and time periods. In *Literature and the Human*, Mousley describes how literature can humanise history. He writes about "the *literary* historian who makes the past vividly present by bringing human emotions, vulnerabilities, needs, desires and capacities, such as the capacity to reflect, to bear upon it [the past]" (*Literature and the Human* 70; his emphasis). Similarly, vivifying Blake's historical, cultural, and biographical context can aid in informing the human reality of his work. But his mythopoetry is extraordinarily imaginative and riddled with symbolism and metaphor, and to read too much of his external world into his mythos undermines its broader, humanistic meaning. Following from Harrison's doctrine of universal address, if a literary-humanistic reading of Blake is to recognise literature's capacity to potentially be relevant to all human beings, then there is a need to read *Jerusalem* in a way that extends its meaning across various contexts (*What is Fiction For?* 13).

This thesis has attempted to address this need by coupling the psychological and philosophical—more so than the historical—with the literary to bridge contextual differences between Blake and new literary humanism. A focus on human internality, and less on external context, not only suits the mythical style of *Jerusalem* but also aids the extraction of enduring

[7] See section 2.2.

ideas from *Jerusalem*'s content. The tension, or difficulty, here is in finding a balance between human particulars and human universals that preserves communicability across contexts, without detracting from *Jerusalem*'s contents. Mousley addresses the problem of particulars and universals by observing that various particulars resonate with larger significance in literary works through metaphor (*Literature and the Human* 82). Similarly, an allegorical reading of Blake invites shifts in scale from particularisation to universalisation, from particular mythic narrative to wide-reaching abstract idea. Provided such abstract ideas find contemporary application, they serve, to a degree, to resolve the tensions between Blake and new literary humanism that arise when reading him in new contexts.

But *Jerusalem* is art and not instruction, so its contemporary applicability, if this is to align with Blake's ideas, must be inferred from his ideas about art. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake asserts that vigorous spontaneity is better than regulation: "The tygers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction" (*MHH*23-24, E43). Furthermore, Jesus, Blake's daimonic artist, is spontaneous like the "tygers": "Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse: not from rules" (*MHH*23-24, E43; *MHH*9:44, E37). Combining these ideas with Blake's emphasis in *The Laocoön* on un-calculating, honest, prayerful, imaginative art, we can recognise how he thought literature should be practiced (*L*, E256-7). But this application is problematic as a methodology of his ideas, since it clashes with his vision in *Jerusalem* for all humans to act according to *their own* genius, not Blake's idea of genius. Such differences between Blake's practice and his vision are exposed when examined closely. Therefore, to articulate his literary humanism effectively requires choices in what exactly to emphasise and what to overlook in his writing. To suppose that Blake's every word fits perfectly into a model of literary humanism is asking too much.

The third tension between Blake and new literary humanism is that of language. This tension partly arises with the genre and contextual differences discussed above, through

Blake's Romantic-period London dialect written in a mythic register. Differences in language are further exacerbated by his highly idiosyncratic style. The conversion of his writing into scholarly literary-humanistic ideas often requires reframing Blakean idiom into more conventional language, which comes with the loss of various literary aspects of his poetic expression, including prosody, mood, and tone. My reading of a literary-humanistic allegory in *Jerusalem* cuts obliquely at the language he intended. However, literary-humanistic extraction from a work is necessary. Both Mousley and Harrison extract literary-humanistic ideas from literary works and discuss these ideas critically and theoretically within their own work.[8] Literary-humanistic reading creates a tension between the theory and experience of literature, which can result in a loss of literariness. Still, this loss is likely to be far less than what may arise when applying non-literary theories to reading literature. As a stylistic solution, Mousley encourages critics and theorists "to emulate something of literature's own engaging *liveliness*" in their writing, rather than writing in an excessively technical, abstract style (*Literature and the Human* 7).[9] At the same time, we can recognise that literary criticism

[8] Mousley's *Literature and the Human* is permeated with illustrative examples of how his key terms and important issues for literary humanism are illustrated within literary works. Harrison's *What is Fiction For?* is similar.

[9] An example of the lively style Mousley refers to comes from Terry Eagleton's *The Event of Literature* (2012): "If we can cuff Nature into whatever baroque shapes we fancy, a perilous hubris is likely to follow, as Man comes to fantasize that his powers are divinely inexhaustible" (Eagleton 5). An example of unlively style comes from Cary Wolfe's nine-line-long sentence in *What is Posthumanism?* (2010): "If we believe, and I think we must, the contention that, neurophysiologically, different autopoietic life-forms … then … 'the body', becomes unavoidably a virtual, multi-dimensional space produced and stabilized by the recursive enactions and structural couplings of autopoietic beings …" (xiii). To be fair, Mousley respectfully notes it is unfair to quote out of context and I have also cut short this quote with ellipses. Furthermore, I, the author of this thesis, also fall short of the kind of lively language Mousley encourages, yet see value in working towards such, to make writing more human.

necessitates a clear distinction between a work and its critical discussion. Therefore, this tension between Blake's language and the language of literary humanism is unavoidable, even favourable, since it brings his ideas into more general understanding. However, a literary-humanistic reading of Blake needs to direct the reader to the humanness in his writing, so should favour a livelier humanised style over excessive technical abstraction.

I have sought to navigate the above tensions by being flexible with methodology, as well as sensitive towards any methodological cues that Blake's work may offer its reader. This approach allows a literary-humanistic reading to follow the human contours of a literary work with more precision and reflexivity, where rigid principles might otherwise invite overlayed meaning, or worse, dogmatic interpretation. F. R Leavis reflects a similar idea in *Valuation in Criticism and Other Essays* (1986), noting that "by the study of the precisions created by poetic genius we advance our knowledge of ourselves" (299).

My approach assumes Harrison's first claim that "Literature can reveal to us profound truths concerning reality (or 'life,' or 'the human condition' or 'the human world')" (*What Is Fiction For?* 13). In this claim, Harrison defends the long-held humanistic idea that a literary work contains something worth reading by human beings. Aligned with this notion, Blake's mythos is also focused upon truths of the human condition. *Jerusalem* explores the polarities between reduced, inhumane consciousness and the expansive, creative, humane exploration of life, pertaining to both the individual and collective humanity. Blake certainly viewed his own work as humanly relevant. Readers may not agree with his assessment that *Jerusalem* is "the Grandest Poem that This World Contains," of which he is merely "the Secretary" (*LE*, E730). However, readers can at least infer that he viewed literature as containing "profound truths concerning … the human condition" (Harrison, *What is Fiction For?* 13).

How do Harrison's other claims square with Blake's literary humanism? Harrison's second and third claims focus on literature in terms of its language. His second claim describes

literature as "'creative' in the sense that it is, in some important though not easily definable way, active in the creation or renovation of 'culture' or 'civilisation,'" (*What Is Fiction For?* 13). In accord with such, Blake's mythos applies itself to the creation and renovation of culture and human civilisation, to restore a golden age of creative genius. Harrison's third claim holds that literature works to renew and renovate "the 'language of the tribe' by constantly sharpening and refining our sense of its [language's] implications and possibilities" (13). Likewise, Blake's mythos is itself a product of language, specifically poetic language, but also the language of visual art, through which he mythologises the restoration of the language of humanity (or the tribe). He narrates how language awakens "Visionary forms dramatic" through expressions of Poetic Genius, to renew and refine memory, intellect, and ultimately human civilisation (*J*98:28, E257). Such awakened language is daimonic, a transformative bridge between the spiritual and material worlds, between human actuality and human potential, and is therefore intrinsic to human possibility. *Jerusalem* therefore finds commonality with both Harrison's second and third claims, about literature's role in renovating culture and refining language, respectively. *Jerusalem* presents an allegory that culminates in the exploration of new possibilities of humanistic language.

Harrison's fourth claim of literary humanism is: "Literary criticism at its best is an intellectually serious pursuit, involving processes of thought as comparable in logical rigor and productive of results as important as any pursued or achieved in other disciplines" (*What Is Fiction For?* 13). Because Blake lacked formal scholarly training, we cannot say that he valued the intellectual qualities of academic literary criticism to which Harrison alludes. However, in terms of writing, Blake certainly approached his literary work with the utmost seriousness. He describes the rigour applied to *Jerusalem*, where "Every word and every letter is studied and put into its fit place" (*J*3, E146). He also persevered with great discipline in his work despite

many obstacles, including poverty, defamation, duplicity, isolation, and old age.[10] In a letter to John Flaxman (19 October 1801), Blake recognises the wider, cultural importance of literature, describing "The Reign of Literature & the Arts" by which "The Kingdoms of this World are now become the Kingdoms of God & his Christ" (*LE*, E717). While we need not take Blake's imperial and religious metaphor to heart, we can garner from this expression the level of significance he attributed to literature. In such ways, he demonstrates meticulousness in literary practice and advocates for the cultural value of literature, despite appearing a zealot. Yet his context is different to that mentioned in Harrison's principle. By focusing on literary criticism, Harrison overlooks creative literary writing in this claim, even though he discusses many creative literary works elsewhere in *What is Fiction For?*[11] Harrison is squarely concerned with the academic humanities, while Blake's practice is artistic and cultural.

To complement his fourth claim, Harrison's fifth claim supports a literary approach to understanding literature. He describes imaginative literature as "unmediated by the discursive, constative procedures of history, biography, anthropology, sociology, or any study founded upon the painstaking collection of facts" (*What is Fiction For?* 13). He observes that literary studies as an academic discipline has become dominated by recent theorists whose "central concerns are more philosophical or social-theoretical than literary" (1). Similarly, historicism is centrally concerned with literature's historical context. Harrison consequently advocates for

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[10] Two incidents illustrate Blake's devotion to his work. Four months before his death, in his final, seventieth year, he wrote in a letter to John Linnell (25 April 1827), "I am too much attachd to Dante to think much of any thing else" (*LE*, E784). And Alexander Gilchrist writes that Blake is said to have continued his work to his dying day, colouring "to the upmost point" a copy of *Europe: A Prophecy* (1794) for Frederick Tatham (Gilchrist 379-80).

[11] Harrison's argument is a defence of the human value of fiction, after all. In particular, parts 2 and 3 of *What is Fiction For?* examine a variety of literary works.

literary studies to recognise that it is capable of providing its own disciplinary framework for understanding literature and the human truths therein (1).

Blake would likely be appalled at the idea that a third-party theory should shape the interpretation of his poetry.[12] Somewhat resembling Harrison's fifth claim, Blake's *Descriptive Catalogue* shows his disfavour towards discursive reasoning within historical works:

> Acts themselves alone are history, and these are neither the exclusive property of Hume, Gibbon nor Voltaire, Echard, Rapin, Plutarch, nor Herodotus. Tell me the Acts, O historian, and leave me to reason upon them as I please; away with your reasoning and your rubbish. All that is not action is not worth reading. (*DC*44, E544)

Furthermore, he writes in a letter to Reverend John Trusler (23 August 1799):

> What is it sets Homer Virgil & Milton in so high a rank of Art. Why is the Bible more Entertaining & Instructive than any other book. Is it not because they are addressed to the Imagination which is Spiritual Sensation & but mediately to the Understanding or Reason. (*LE*, E702-3)

The best literature, according to Blake, speaks directly to the imagination and the human soul. Reasoning upon such literature is "not worth reading" (*DC*44, E544). He advocates for an entirely unmediated reading of literature, which is far simpler than Harrison's idea that literature as a discipline contains sufficient resources for understanding itself. Blake's unmediated reading would likely also raise many counterarguments from Critical Theorists.

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[12] With unavoidable irony, this thesis does just that. To my defence, I have sought to make a clear distinction between Blake's original text and my allegorical interpretation of it.

But to him, the best works are revelatory. And while reading literature for revelation does not contradict literary humanism in its aim of deriving human meaning from a work, since a human reader can have meaningful experiences from directly reading literature, it remains an uncritical mode of reading.

Blake's preference for revelatory literature proves insufficient for literary discussion, since some amount of discursive discussion serves to deepen insight into a work. The same applies to a lesser degree to Harrison's fifth claim. While we need to recognise literature qua literature, there is also much to gain from understanding literature through various theories and disciplines. When done excessively, however, literature may lose itself in theorisation, or qualitative or quantitative datasets, which, although resonating with one part of the human mind, fail to resonate in the way literature is commonly designed, as a holistic human experience involving the body, senses, mind, and emotions all composited within the imagination through reading. A balanced, holistic reading is vital for literary humanism, according to Mousley, and is centrally important to literary studies ('The New Literary Humanism' 835). However, this does not mean literary humanism needs a monopoly on interpretation or that it cannot work alongside other theoretical models, as Mousley demonstrates ('The New Literary Humanism' 820).

This brings us to Harrison's final, sixth claim, "Imaginative literature of the highest order possesses value of a kind solely dependent upon—inhering solely in—its employment of language. Value of this kind is what makes the difference between run-of-the-mill literary writing and 'great' or 'canonical' literature" (13-14).[13] While Blake's skill with language may

[13] Harrison's sixth claim is certainly problematic from a postmodern and postcolonial perspective although understandable from a traditional humanist position. This is a tangential topic, so here a few points will suffice. While quality of language is a key to good literature, Harrison does not mention that an audience will inevitably also value literature according to its own preconceptions, taste, and breadth of understanding, as well

fall short of greatness in comparison to other writers (though this point is debatable), his ideas about language align with Harrison's. For Blake, language is the essence of Poetic Genius, which is the living fount of creative knowledge, mythologised as the original divine language of Eden. This Edenic language is contrasted with Blake's lower states of Ulro and Generation, where language is fractured, violent, dark, confused, painful, and meaningless, to which he applies the leitmotif of Babylon (*J*24:25, E169). By alluding to the mythic tower of Babel throughout *Jerusalem*, Blake alludes to the disintegration of language—and hence cultural works, and culture itself—into a chaos of miscommunication. Thus, his cosmology inherently values certain qualities of literary language, such as coherence, eloquence, illumination, clarity, pleasurability, and meaningfulness.

The daimon is the force behind such language for Blake. Traditionally, the daimon is synonymous with creative genius and its influence is believed to enhance the literary mind, much like the traditional Muse. In this view, a daimonically inspired intelligence approaches supra-human creativity, granting greater facility in language and literary creation. Similarly, in *Jerusalem*, Los as daimon rescues language from fragmentation by restoring humanity to the

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as its extra-literary purposes, whether postmodern, postcolonial, traditional-humanistic, or other ends to reading. Ideally, a critical evaluation of a work would eliminate any distortion from these factors. But realistically, the best we might hope for in valuing works of literature is that over greater cycles of time, among widening, diversified, critical audiences, works of literary greatness would arise and endure through recognition of value as part of a natural democratic process. The establishment of canons seems an inevitable consequence of humans reading, but this is a different matter from selecting reading lists for students. Selection based on some value system must exist, for the notion that all works are equal in value is uncritical and unnatural. A better solution may be a pluralistic canonicity, where works are clustered and valued according to specific purposes—of which there are many in human society—and these purposes are openly acknowledged. In any case, the chief point Harrison is making here is that literature's value remains in its language. Harrison asserts that literature's value is not the result of external, non-literary factors, but results from it being an art-form of language, *as literature*.

wholeness of Poetic Genius: "Los built the stubborn structure of the [English] Language, acting against / Albions melancholy" (*J*36:59-60, E183; my addition). Thus, the best literature is daimonically inspired, according to Blake. He writes in a letter to Reverend John Trusler (16 August 1799) that he is "compelld by [his] Genius or Angel" in his designs (*LE*, E701; my adjustment). The Bard of *Milton* also declares, "I am Inspired! I know it is Truth! for I Sing / According to the inspiration of the Poetic Genius" (*M*13:51-14:1, E107-8). Blake values literary language as the work of inspired genius and a source of humanly relevant meaning. While Harrison touches upon this deeply Romantic way of understanding literature through Wittgenstein's "picture" of how readers and critics should approach literary works, he does not elaborate upon genius in relation to literature (*What Is Fiction For?* 4). In contrast, Blake contributes an exploration of the relationship between genius, language, creativity, and culture to literary humanism. Nonetheless, although his allegorical narrative is but one (especially Romantic) approach to language, it coheres with Harrison's sixth claim about literature's value inhering in language.

There are nuanced differences between Blake and Harrison in the above six claims, as would be expected. Yet there is also a sufficient degree of agreement between these two thinkers to conclude that Blake provides a literary-humanistic perspective consonant with Harrison's claims of literary humanism. We can now examine Blake in light of Mousley's principles of literary humanism.

Blake's endeavour to restore a golden age, his "Reign of Literature & the Arts," where "The Kingdoms of this World are now become the Kingdoms of God & his Christ," may be recognised as a daimonic motif of world-transfiguration through literature and art (*LE*, E717). In describing this endeavour, he alludes to the potentials of creative genius within literary practice. *Jerusalem* as an allegory of the humanistic awakening of genius therefore speaks to the highest literary potentialities within humanity. For Blake, genius is a source of love,

wisdom, and creative power that facilitates the production of great works and brings success in endeavours beyond mundane human achievements. However, his idea of genius raises issues because for him it represents human normality. This normality marks a clear distinction between Blake's and Mousley's literary humanism. Mousley makes explicit what new literary humanism should not become, which encapsulates much of what humanism has been accused of by recent Critical Theory: it should not become a fundamentalist humanist 'religion,' with

> an inflated, god-like conception of 'man' at its centre, vested in an overly optimistic faith in human agency, progress, and capabilities, whether these capabilities are located in rationality (for Enlightenment humanists), in the imagination (for Romantic humanists) or in the innate humaneness of humanity (for a range of ethical humanists). (*Towards a New Literary Humanism* 6)

Mousley seems to hit Blake dead between the eyes here. Yet his suggestion addresses only part of Blake's mythic portrayal of humanity. For while Blake appears to evoke a triumphant humanist ideal, he also explores the human reality and its failings with vivid depth and perspicacity. His envisioned "god-like conception of 'man'" whose "capabilities are located in … the imagination" is complemented by an extensive exploration of the underbelly of humanity, the human failings, inhumanity, and the mess that the confused or malicious human imagination can bring (Mousley, *Towards a New Literary Humanism* 6). After all, geniuses have failings and revelation can be false. Rather than settling only on Blake's liberated human, like some critics do, I have delineated a more rounded idea of his humanism through the daimon, which contains both triumphant and fallen humanity.

Furthermore, Blake's humanism also rallies against ideology. *Jerusalem* narrates an overcoming of the rigid ideological mind (Ulro) through awakening humanity to the

spontaneity of creative imagination (Eden). For Blake, this distinction rests upon how the imagination is used—selfishly or selflessly. His emphasis on the evils of selfhood and the value of loving relationships between "All Human Forms identified even Tree Metal Earth & Stone" provides an ethical framework towards all existence that guides the application of the creative imagination (*J*99:1, E258). Still, humans have been known to commit atrocities even in the name of love. Thus, his highly Romanticised view needs to be read critically.

A devotion to human ideals—making humanity a religion—tends to gloss over the real human, including human psychological depth. Literary humanism ought to discern humanness in literature critically, in a way that deepens our understanding of humanity beneficially, rather than producing a maligned perspective of human nature. Mousley rightly describes his approach as "not a triumphal humanism, but a humanism nonetheless" (*Literature and the Human* 9). But, does this mean ideal images of the human cannot be examined through literary humanism? After all, every work of literature presents a concept of the human that is always (at the very least to some degree) different from human reality. Equally problematic to inflated god-like humans are deflated, miserly or miserable humans. Where then do we draw the lines for what is human reality and what is ideal? What can we take as human normality? Many different norms, whether cultural, religious, political, or other kinds, arise in examining humanness in literature. Yet postmodernism has effectively pluralised norms, so that all grounds for normality become relative.

We may therefore have to rest upon the phenomenological human response—the actual evaluation of biologically human readers, writers, and critics—as to the bounds, norms, and potential extensions of humanness within literature. Harrison describes how a natural process shapes literature, "not from the top down, but from the bottom up" (*What Is Fiction For?* 551). Literary humanism is democratic in this sense; every human has a human point of view to contribute. Harrison continues:

> In the long debate of human nature with itself, the long history of its endless makings and remakings of itself in its own shifting image, a history conducted by and through many engines of inquiry, including literature, along with philosophy, natural science, politics, and social innovation, nothing is ever concluded. But why then should anything ever be concluded? (*What Is Fiction For?* 552)

In practice, however, conclusions are made. Yet like Blake's eternal human, they resist finality.

Our restless species is unlikely to dwell upon conclusions of postmodern relativism, since these are already being subjected to critical refinement. Equally, the democratisation of literary humanism must undergo continual critical refinement, to prevent it from sinking into inhumane practices. Literary humanism encourages critical discernment around ideas of humanness, which includes not losing the human to dehumanising theories or fundamentalist views. Mousley is correct in rejecting fundamentalist humanism, which typically skews interpretations of humanness towards some other, often limited end. Arguably, we do not yet fully know ourselves; humanity does not know the limits of the human, although we could say that experience gives us a fairly measured sense of ourselves. While an exploration of all literary ideas of our humanness ought to be encouraged, this should be tempered with experience and critique.

Mousley's first principle of new literary humanism holds that "[r]eading can be an *immersive experience*. Books can thereby become *objects of attachment* and function as an antidote to the alienation characteristic of modernity, of subjects from objects" ('The New Literary Humanism' 820; his emphasis). In agreement with this principle, *Jerusalem* is similarly designed as an immersive book that serves as an antidote to modern alienation. Blake's Ulro symbolises the mythos at the heart of modernity, the Cartesian divisiveness and

Newtonian mechanisation that contributed to the modern view that humanity is ultimately alone in a vast, cold, detached, and meaningless universe. Blake's daimon restores this alienating paradigm (Ulro) to a rehumanised, interconnected, creative worldview (Eden), which represents the ideal to be imbibed by Blake's reader. *Jerusalem* therefore encapsulates and encourages humanistic possibilities through "*immersive experience*," which Mousley describes as an antidote to modern alienation (820; his emphasis).

Mousley's second principle states:

> The attachment-encouraging difference between a literary text and a fact- or concept-based discourse is, to borrow a phrase of Charles Altieri's, its '*affectively charged sensuousness'*, its *incarnation* or *embodiment* of facts or ideas in characters who simulate rudimentary human feelings/sensations/urges (pain, pleasure, joy, sadness, anger, attachment). ('The New Literary Humanism' 820; his emphasis)

Jerusalem also accords with this principle. As mythic literature, *Jerusalem* presents characters as multivalent symbols that embody various human faculties or facets, including primal human emotions, urges, and sensations. Blake's complex archetypes invite readers to recognise a character's intellectual symbolism through affective, sensuous, personal, and social traits, rather than abstract facts and disengaged concepts. In this way, his mythic narrative demonstrates embodied meaning and promotes the harmonisation of aesthetic, affective, and intellectual consciousness. His writing exercises the mythological imagination (*mythos*) while subsuming logical thought (*logos*). He therefore resonates strongly with Mousley's second principle about literature's affective embodiment of ideas.

Mousley's third principle affirms the innateness of primary human emotions and sensations:

> Although emotions and bodily sensations are subject to changing cultural perceptions, expressions, and evaluations, certain *primary emotions/sensations* have a long evolutionary history and seem to be innate. However, this does not mean that what comes 'naturally' cannot be forgotten, lost, or transformed. ('The New Literary Humanism' 820)

Blake resonates with Mousley's third principle by regularly communicating primary emotions and sensations in *Jerusalem*. Yet he also explores the transformation of the natural (primary) human to a state of infinite creative vision, beyond ordinary sensation and emotion. Even so, his fantastic, awakened state is made understandable to his readers through emotive and sensual language. This fantastic vision occurs in a fictional, mythical space, making its humanistic utility better understood allegorically. In contrast to Blake's mythic allegory of humanity, Mousley's third principle describes a more literal view of humanity and humanism.

Mousley's fourth principle builds upon the third:

> Alongside the universality of primary emotions/sensations, it is possible and usefully nuanced to speak of the '*near-universality*' of certain human needs, urges and anxieties whose claim to universality is partly the product of literature's deployment of *resonating particulars*. ('The New Literary Humanism' 820; his emphasis)

Similarly, Blake deploys resonating particulars. *Jerusalem*'s narrative immerses in a range of specific "human needs, urges, and anxieties" that can be considered near-universal in Mousley's sense (820). Many of these have been discussed in previous chapters: the urge to avoid suffering, to grow, to relate meaningfully with others, to love, the longing for experience

and transcendence, the anxieties of aloneness and the need for community, the anxieties of creativity, the urge for freedom, the urge to be ethical, and the anxieties of not being so. He explores these primary psychological and spiritual human needs through allegory, although his characters are no less corporeal through such exploration: they tremble, weep, rage and stamp on the earth, labour, recoil, repose, embrace and so on.[14] Connolly recognises this mode of expression, describing Blake's symbolic characters as "allegories whose bodies are mere vehicles for meaning" (vii). Blake's visceral expression of deep psychological needs and urges presents a daimonic motif, the expression of the spiritual through the physical that blurs the distinction between body and psyche without limiting this duality to a materialistic monad. In this way, he demonstrates Mousley's fourth principle of near-universal resonating particulars in *Jerusalem* by conveying specific daimonic expressions to his readers.

This daimonic expression is also reflected in Mousley's fifth principle, which outlines the complexity of emotions in literature:

> Literature constitutes an *advanced form of emotional and sensuous immersion* because it represents complex and often conflicting emotional states/urges. Thus, if literature's mimesis of 'life' is a *condensation*, then this condensation does not equate to a reduction, because of literature's creative impulse to explore all the facets of an emotion, theme, or subject. It is this impulse which gives literature its riches and depth, thereby provoking thought, debate, and commentary. ('The New Literary Humanism' 820-1)

[14] Some examples of this embodied expression can be found at *J*5:16, E147; *J*12:24, E155; *J*23:20, E168; *J*37:21, E183.

That "*all* facets of an emotion, theme, or subject" are explored seems an overstatement for any single work of literature, so this statement is better framed within the scope of all literature, including that yet to be written (820; my emphasis). Nonetheless, in *Jerusalem*, many facets of life are explored. However, Blake does not ultimately seek a "mimesis of 'life'" as Mousley states, but "Art deliverd from Nature & Imitation" (Mousley 820; *L*, E274). Thus, *Jerusalem* is a Romantic re-envisioning of humanness, not an imitation of it. *Jerusalem* is directed at the "complex and often conflicting emotional states/urges" of humanity and aims to transform these into a vision of the integrated human psyche (Mousley 820). Again, the trope of the daimon provides the transformative focus here. Yet Blake's daimon—the fully awakened human—cannot be entirely represented, only alluded to, which he does most fully on plate 98 of *Jerusalem*. Infinite potential transcends all representations while containing them, "each in each & clearly seen / And seeing: according to fitness & order" (*J*98:39-40, E258). While *Jerusalem* also explores human life in various limited states, these explorations are typically intertwined in the figurative language of mythology and symbolism rather than more literal mimetic language. Mousley's idea of literature's condensation of life therefore partially meets Blake's mythic representation of life in *Jerusalem*, although *Jerusalem* also describes an imagined greater human potential beyond ordinary representations of life.

Finally, Mousley's sixth principle describes the wholeness of literary experience:

> The combination of 'heart' and 'head', emotion and intellect, concrete and abstract constitutes literature as an *experience* (in the specific sense described by Raymond Williams …), meaning that literature is, as Valentine Cunningham puts it, a form of '*whole-person engagement*.' ('The New Literary Humanism' 821; his emphasis)

Raymond Williams's description of experience mentioned here "involves an appeal to the whole consciousness, the whole being, as against reliance on more specialised or more limited states or faculties" (R. Williams 127). But the idea of whole-person engagement with literature becomes problematic when considering human consciousness as potentially vaster than what we ordinarily associate with consciousness. What constitutes the whole person? Wholeness can include faculties that may be currently unconscious or inactive but able to be activated, faculties that both depth psychology and Blake explore. Blake's mythos explores the drama of conflicting human faculties—emotion, intellect, sensation, and imagination, all represented by the Four Zoas—and concludes with their daimonic integration, which brings direct experience of a more complete reality. The result is that his liberated individuals engage as a unified, whole person towards one another, all within one greater, unified humanity. Individuals engage similarly towards "every Word & Every Character" (*J*98:35, E258). He therefore presents an ideal of human wholeness and relates this back to written language, thus providing a metanarrative of profound human transformation towards wholeness through literary practice. He invites us to trace sublime experience of a given form to its origin in the formless potentialities of genius, to restore the Poetic Genius of the one who traces. A similar restoration of the poetic ontology of the human is presented in Hamann's understanding that the universe is *poesy* and its creator, a poet (Regier, 'Johann Georg Hamann' 183; Bayer 164).[15] Therefore, *Jerusalem* is an allegory of literary-humanistic practice that extols the engagement of the whole person with literature, so resonates well with Mousley's sixth principle of literature as an experience of human wholeness

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[15] Regier describes this idea of the universe as poetry, along with a number of Hamann's other main ideas, as "tremendously important for European Romanticism and its reception" ('Johann Georg Hamann' 165). As a founding figure of European Romanticism, Hamann may have influenced Blake through such ideas, although it is difficult to trace this directly. See section 3.1 of this thesis.

After any profound experience, an individual is likely to engage in self-reflective enquiry because such experience interrupts one's ordinary life-narrative. As humans, we function best with a coherent worldview, which is achieved most fully, according to Hirsch et al. through a coherent personal narrative (216). Similar self-reflection upon sublime narrative may be exercised when reading literature in a literary-humanistic manner. After all, Blake's work is intended to expand the reader beyond an ordinary sense of humanity to a state of sublime primordially-active imagination. However, such readerly transformation is difficult to ascertain.[16] Mousley concludes safely within more ordinary experience by stating that literature promotes holistic experience by involving "body and mind, heart and head," but there is no guarantee the reader will arrive at such ('The New Literary Humanism' 835). Following suit, I conclude that *Jerusalem* narrates a transformative literary experience that may, for some readers, bring some kind of personal transformation, although this depends on a variety of conditions, and neither is it guaranteed.

Overall, Blake demonstrates through *Jerusalem* much that is expressed within Mousley's principles. He differs from Mousley primarily by envisioning greater possibilities for human development. As well as providing material for self-reflective human understanding, *Jerusalem* emphasises human potential through literature. This is in alignment with the argument made throughout this thesis, that Blake's literary humanism provides a source of both human understanding and human development, actual and potential, which are mythically focused in the trope of the daimon.

In chapter one, I raised the quaternary question for this thesis: *What does new literary humanism contribute to Blake's* Jerusalem *and Blake studies?* The answer follows from my reading of Blake in part II, and, in particular, the above synthesis of his ideas and their analysis

[16] A thorough exploration of this topic would involve psychological studies of literature's (including *Jerusalem*'s) effect upon readers, which goes beyond the scope of this research.

in light of Harrison's and Mousley's literary humanism. Blake offers a range of humanistic ideas that appear to prefigure new literary humanism, yet to take these as he intended remains uncritical. His ideas are, as Jung writes, "an artistic production," containing much "half- or undigested knowledge" (513). Furthermore, *Jerusalem*'s genre, mythic allegory, ensures that interpretation and application of Blake's ideas is always somewhat conjectural. Therefore, delineating allegorical ideas within *Jerusalem* requires creativity and critical discernment. I have applied a new-literary-humanistic approach to this end, to delineate and critique Blake's daimonic concept of the human in *Jerusalem*. The result is that a strong, basic resonance with both Harrison's and Mousley's literary humanism has been demonstrated in Blake. Additionally, I have shown differences between Blake and these scholars, further revealing the defining qualities of his literary humanism as well as its limitations. My argument—that the trope of the daimon in *Jerusalem* provides a source of literary-humanistic understanding—is strengthened by this resonance and sharpened by these limitations. Therefore, to answer the above question, new literary humanism provides theoretical and methodological tools for refining Blake's humanistic ideas in *Jerusalem* in a way that is humanly meaningful for present-day readers.

8.3 The Implications of Reading Blake this Way

Some may consider the seeking of meaningfulness in literature as using literature as a surrogate for theology, especially where a writer such as Blake is involved, whose style immerses in religious zealotry at times. In *Towards a New Literary Humanism*, Mousley distinguishes two kinds of literature as "ersatz theology": "one inflates humanity by making a religion of it; the other engages us in a 'non-inflated' way with meaning-of-life questions" (10). This distinction might also be seen as the difference between genuine enquiry into an aspect of human life and adopting a dogmatic approach to life in place of enquiry. Blake outlines a similar distinction in

Jerusalem between Eden's creative exploration of meaningfulness in life versus Ulro's controlling reduction of life to rigid laws and doctrines. Additionally, we might recognise the application of each of these approaches in various literary theories, both recently and historically. One thing Blake shows is that the danger of automatic thinking is always present. One person may apply a given theory as a surrogate for religion whereas another may apply the same theory with creative, critical attention to literature's (and life's) complexity.

Mousley settles on literature as meaningful human enquiry in a subtly thoughtful manner, but states that if literature is ersatz theology, then it is "*non-conformist* in orientation" (*Towards a New Literary Humanism* 10; his emphasis). Blake's work certainly assaults conformity, but in developing a model of literary humanism only from him, there remains a risk of fixed thought. To combat habitual human inertia, I have sought to emphasise literary humanism as self-reflective (for the reader or critic), so that enquiry into a work is simultaneously enquiry into one's own humanity and humankind at large, and self-reflexive (upon literary humanism), so that literary humanism is applied with alertness to its own practice. Rita Felski describes a similar use of literature: "As selfhood becomes self-reflexive, literature comes to assume a crucial role in exploring what it means to be a person" (*Uses of Literature* 25). Similarly, Blake proposes that we open ourselves within to discover our humanity, rather than be possessed by external states, ideas, or systems. Self-reflection breeds originality of thought, the counterpoint to all dogma, and provides a creative basis for the critical examination of ideas, including ideas of human nature. Self-reflection also invites personal involvement in what the work explores, which means that literary works hold the potential to change their reader. However, this change need not be uncritical. Change is the result of individual critical reflection upon a literary work. Literary self-reflection both requires and promotes consciousness.

Taking a different angle to the same idea, Harrison's argument is that the language of literature is what makes it most valuable (*What is Fiction For?* 13-14). As conceived in the humanist tradition, Harrison considers literature's benefit to derive from imaginary experiences developed through language that discloses "aspects of the human condition" for the reader's critical self-cultivation (*What Is Fiction For?* 2). In other words, literature provides a practice for personal and cultural edification, or *Bildung*. Blake's writing is similarly directed to the human reader. Certainly, it is possible to study Blake through non-literary disciplines, such as history, politics, sociology, philosophy, or theology. However, if we are unable to read Blake as a literary experience, if we must always overlook the personal experience of reading (the content) for an understanding of its context, then it is the container we are studying and not the contained, the shell and not the yolk. By reading literature as incidental, as only relevant to something other than ourselves, a specific opportunity for *Bildung* is lost. This does not mean we should swallow Blake uncritically. Rather, I am suggesting that in Blake's work—as in other works—is the possibility for specific, critical conversations between the author's understanding of humanness and our own. Through such reading, each work of literature becomes a unique mirror for understanding and developing our humanity, not ideologically but critically and creatively.

What these ideas imply is that there is no one right way to study literature as a source of human enquiry. Literature may engage us in the big meaning-of-life questions, the minute facets and everyday curiosities of what it is to be human, or somewhere in-between. As a record of collective human subjectivity, literature is fundamentally diverse, and to read it theologically or ideologically is to read less of it, no matter how many works are read. With the recognition that each new work is an undiscovered land, variegated reading lessens staid critical practice. This is reading as Blake's living form, rather than the ossified and recurring recognition of the "same dull" human in literary works (*NNR*b, E3). It is a living conversation with a work, what

Jones refers to as *Jerusalem*'s "dialogic inspiration" (176). This endeavour is meant not only for the individual reader, but for the whole community of humankind, so that literature, and language more generally, may be written and read humanistically—as Jones states, "to build a dialogic community in the ruins of Albion's lands" (180).

The human and humanity are among the most central and significant motifs in Blake's oeuvre. However, Blake studies over the past few decades rarely place the human as central; they tend to deal with the human incidentally, if at all, apart from a few exceptions. Perhaps this is because the human as a topic has been viewed as too complex, too large, too problematic, or too much of an oppressive bourgeois construct. Still, Blake attempted it, as have many other writers of all variety of persuasions. If the human is so pervasive in Blake, and also depicted in most other literary works, can this human-in-the-room continue to be walked around? Arguably not.

In chapter two, I defined two aspects of the human, the phenomenological and the conceptual. While we are always fundamentally phenomenological human beings, our concepts of humanity deeply shape our individual and collective lives. It is therefore important that we articulate these concepts consciously and critically. In this light, I have sought to delineate a methodology of literary humanism from Blake's *Jerusalem*. However, methodologies are best understood as works in progress, requiring ongoing revision and refinement upon wider application. Just as we human beings are always (it is hoped) refining our understanding, practices, and conclusions, so literary humanism—if it is to reflect human discovery—should do similarly. There are limitations to Blake's humanism, as is the case for any literary model of the human. But in the process of mapping such limits, we also come to understand the limits of our own understanding of being human. This recognition encourages the growth of wisdom. No single work or author can encompass the entire human experience, yet in studying the collective plethora of human literature, we are presented with a much more

complete, intersubjective knowledge of humanity, one that is ongoing in its development and able to be driven by intelligently aware, self-reflexive studies. Among such a culture, we might understand the limits of literary humanism as a methodology, and thereby further refine its practice. This refinement ensures that literary humanism remains a living process of ongoing human understanding and development.

Along with refinement of theory and methodology is the need for adaptivity to change. Mousley rehumanises literary humanism by presenting it as an innovative, eclectic, and broad practice. He draws from other theories—psychoanalysis and Marxism for instance—to develop his theory of literary humanism ('The New Literary Humanism' 820). These theories, Mousley writes, "despite the anti-humanist rhetoric in which they have sometimes been couched, express humanist ideas that can be used on behalf of the literary humanism proposed" (820). Following Mousley, I have drawn from cognitive methods and psychoanalytical terminology to make Blake's humanism more accessible for current times. Mousley also recognises that a "typology of humanism is perhaps needed, one which conceives of humanism less as a singular term with pre-determined ideological effects, than as a diverse body of thought that folds in and over itself, provoking a series of questions and problems" ('Humanising Contemporary Theory' par. 2). This approach brings academic utility to literary humanism and moves it forward into the twenty-first century. Literary humanism becomes a methodology for exploring and solving our human problems, which includes the problems around adopted images of the human in conflict with actual humans, both individuals and collectives. By becoming clearer on the differences between concepts of the human and human actuality, we may better navigate our complex, heterogeneous human world. We may also better understand how to wisely apply various concepts of the human to real world problems.

Within the realm of literature, this approach to literary humanism can also be applied to reading other Romantics. Just as I have examined Blake for his ideas of literary humanism,

so other Romantics might be read similarly. Percy and Mary Shelley, Keats, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Goethe, Radcliffe, Tighe, Lewis, and Taylor are just some of the Romantic-period writers I have mentioned at various points in this reading of Blake. A literary-humanistic reading of these writers may serve not only to produce new angles on their work but also new contemporary relevance for their ideas. Moreover, it may be possible to develop a clearer understanding of Romantic humanism through a literary-humanistic comparison of such writers.

Blake's literary humanism might also serve as a model for contemporary literary practice. As has been detailed above,[17] *Jerusalem* allegorises humanistic practices of reading and writing literature: exercising the imagination, delving into the human unconscious, integrating the shadow, harmonising human faculties, cultivating a humane consciousness, recognising the particular genius of literary works, envisioning greater human potential, and developing literary culture more widely. Clearly, there remains much work to do in order to formalise a Blakean practice of literature from these examples. However, formalisation might increase the distance between Blake and such practice. True to Blake's mythos, a Blakean practice of literary humanism ought to be inspired by him, rather than systematised from the poet and painter's work. After all, he called for the spontaneity of Poetic Genius rather than rules.

For this reason, it seems better to keep any methodologies developed from Blake's work adaptable. His ideas continue to raise problems not only about how we interpret ourselves but also how we read literature. What, for example, does it mean when he writes that "every Word & Every Character / Was Human" (*J*98:35-36, E258). Is our answer—however deeply studied—what he wants it to mean? Can we ever truly arrive at his meaning in any tangible

[17] See section 8.1.

way? It seems not, for Blake and tangibility are regular contraries. Eventually resigned to this verity, we must settle on something of our own making, a critical interpretation of him that is always partly a product of our own creative imagination. A creative-critical understanding seems more aligned to *Jerusalem*'s *telos* than the supposition that Blake has something definite to contribute. He shows us that we must settle midway between author and reader, for he wants the reader to awaken *their own* imagination.

This midway position is basic to literary interpretation on one level. But for literary humanism, it also raises personal questions about ourselves as human beings reading words. Blake is a literary humanist because he opens enquiry into the relationship between words and our humanness as readers. His work is, after all, designed for creative contemplation, not ideological conclusion. Thus, to read him through the lens of literary humanism is to read as Mousley invites us for literary-humanistic reading in general: to provoke "a series of questions and problems" ('Humanising Contemporary Theory' par. 2).

Behrendt supposes that Blake's ideal readers will be moved enough by *Jerusalem*'s myth to act it out in the world (*Reading William Blake* 167). This seems unlikely. *Jerusalem* is a fragmentated narrative, which limits the possibilities of acting it out coherently. Blake's writing tends to filter into general society in fragments, brief quotes, short poems, or inspirational maxims. But *Jerusalem* is a lengthy, convoluted epic that requires a deeper, more coherent, commonly accessible exegesis to make it fully sensible to a wider audience. Such an exegesis is undesirable on two accounts. Firstly, because attempting to cohere what seems a purposefully fragmented narrative would change the effect of the overall work. And secondly, doing so would likely produce an ossified Blakean doctrine that is, once again, a degree removed from Blake, since his epistemology is fundamentally opposed to doctrinal orthodoxy. His mythopoetic vision seems to recede from reality the more we attempt to concretise it. As the history of Blake scholarship shows, his mythos defies systematic literary application.

However, where his “Grand Poem” is more applicable is in critical literary-humanistic reflection upon its mythopoetic content, as I have demonstrated throughout this thesis (*LE*, E730). *Jerusalem* is, as Blake writes, a “Sublime Allegory … addressd to the Intellectual powers” (*LE*, E730).

9. Conclusion

> **Socrates**: Don't you suppose that if anyone of our day is good, Hesiod would say he was of that golden race?
>
> **Hermogenes**: Quite likely.
>
> **Socrates**: But the good are the wise, are they not?
>
> **Hermogenes**: Yes, they are the wise.
>
> **Socrates**: This, then, I think, is what he certainly means to say of the spirits: because they were wise and knowing [daímones] he called them spirits [daímonas] and in the old form of our language the two words are the same.
>
> – Plato (*Plato in Twelve Volumes* 12: *Cratylus* 398a-b)

> … if on Earth neglected I am in heaven a Prince among Princes & even on Earth beloved by the Good as a Good Man … but at certain periods a blaze of reputation arises round me in which I am considerd as one distinguishd by some mental perfection but the flame soon dies again & I am left stupified & astonishd.
>
> – William Blake in a letter to William Hayley, 7 October 1803 (*LE*, E736-7)

9.1 The Significance of this Research

This thesis has shown that William Blake's *Jerusalem* can be read as an allegory of Blake's humanism by focusing on the trope of the daimon therein. Furthermore, by showing that Blake's humanistic ideas are consonant with new literary humanism, and critically refining these ideas through comparison to recent scholarship on new literary humanism, this thesis

presents Blake's contribution to new literary humanism. This research therefore offers an original contribution to knowledge within Blake studies and literary humanism.

In order to evaluate the significance of this contribution, it is necessary to further position Blake's literary humanism within contemporary times. An assessment of Blake's relevance today will serve as a preliminary step for some later suggestions on what Blake's literary humanism has to offer new literary humanism and contemporary literary studies. While literary humanism seeks to understand the timeless human in literature, it also engages in a timely manner with contemporary concepts of the human. The junction of the timeless and timely human is a key point of enquiry within literary humanism, and, coincidently, is reflected in Blake's own ideas of the daimonic link between eternity and the temporal world. Even while literature is always a human practice, it is also always couched within its larger socio-historical context. Therefore, to substantiate the value of Blake's contribution to new literary humanism within a broad but current context, we must ask: What value has Blake in the twenty-first century?

A reader may be surprised with the idea that a work two centuries old could speak to us today, given the radical changes humanity has recently experienced, which only seem to be increasing. But it may be argued that many of these changes can be traced to their origin in dramatic shifts occurring around Blake's time. The Enlightenment Romanticism Contemporary Culture (ERCC) Research Unit at the University of Melbourne maintains that these earlier periods are foundational to our current, complex, changing world ('Overview'). The ERCC states that the Enlightenment and Romantic periods brought new paradigms in art, science, individuality, democracy, economics, politics, and human rights, and new understandings of ourselves and our environment ('Overview'). Among great change, an idealised stability may be sought. Many Romantics, including Blake, yearned for the ancient past, while simultaneously envisioning possibilities for the future, often in response to perceived

contemporary social, cultural, and political limitations. The result was a fervent, somewhat problematic mixture of progress and longing, producing a deep creative tension and discomfort between established understanding and new thought, which subsequent eras of modernism, postmodernism, and hypermodernism have incorporated. These observations suggest that history is not linear, moving transitorily from moment to moment, but is built upon earlier, potentially seismic foundations. Through literary humanism, we can analyse intersubjective human perspectives on these foundations within past works of literature and make enquiries into their contemporary human relevance.

This thesis has pursued such enquiry within Blake's *Jerusalem*. My aim has not been to show that Blake is a present-day thinker, but that his work addresses present-day literary-humanistic concerns—even if he was not precisely aware of them—because it finds human resonance in the intellectual and cultural foundations of the present. These present literary-humanistic concerns might be described as post-postmodern, or better, reconstructive.[1] Harrison writes that, traditionally, humanistic literary criticism "took it for granted that major creative literature constitutes one of our main resources for critical reflection on the human condition" and observes that such tradition has for the past half-century been under attack by those who might loosely be classed as postmodernists (*What is Fiction For?* 1). Having largely succeeded in unravelling traditional approaches to literature, this postmodern turn has almost gone full circle, with postmodernism becoming somewhat an establishment in itself. As the pendulum again swings, scholars—Rita Felski, for instance—are questioning the tenets of postmodern critique. New literary humanism comes as a response to this shift from favouring tradition to undermining tradition to wondering what to do next. With a critical perspective on both traditional and postmodern literary studies, new literary humanism may approach both in

[1] See chapter two, n33.

a more nuanced and measured manner, at times informed by postmodern contributions, and at other times looking to more traditional criticism. All things considered, it appears traditional humanism needed to be deconstructed so that humanism could be reconstructed in a more pluralistic manner. New literary humanism furthers this reconstruction, opening new possibilities for studies of our humanness in both old and new literature.

These concerns of literary humanism are entwined with broader changes humankind is presently experiencing. The world has entered an incredibly global period in history, following from an age of (largely British) colonialism coupled with widespread industrial and technological advancement. Blake observed the stirrings of this great change while living in London, the heart of the British Empire, during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, when the British Empire was dramatically increasing in power. The globalisation we presently experience has developed partly through invention, enterprise, and industry; partly through conquest, authoritarianism, and revolution; and partly through legal, democratic, and humanitarian advances, along with a host of other human practices. It presents an unprecedented transformation for human society, and we are still grappling with its impact today.

The pragmatic gains of science have been a huge contributor towards this globalised world, driving revolutionary technological advancements in travel and communication: trains, automobiles, airplanes, radio, television, the internet, smartphones, and so on. The utility of such advancement seems self-evident. Moreover, the evidence that human living conditions have vastly improved worldwide through science is substantial. Steven Pinker's *Enlightenment Now: The Case for Reason, Science, Humanism, and Progress* (2018) and Oxford University economist Max Roser's 'The short history of global living conditions and why it matters that we know it,' evidently advocate the underlying paradigm of the scientific Enlightenment.

However, unparalleled success can be blinding, concealing an underbelly of myopic progress. Transcultural proliferation of the scientific paradigm ultimately promotes a more or less homogeneous global practice of perceiving truth through a reduction to scientific empiricism, the "single vision" Blake warned against two centuries prior (*J*53:11, E202). Blake's work suggests that human culture either thrives by or is strained by its underlying paradigm. In this view, we can examine the prevailing mythology (the underlying story-symbols, or *mythos*) of the developing global civilisation to understand its particular practices (its logic, or *logos*).

Yet an obstacle to such examination is that the global spread of reductionistic culture, to a large degree, invalidates myth as a mode of cultural understanding. To the degree that global progress is unrecognised as a secular myth,[2] it disregards modes of mythological self-enquiry that might allow a deeper contextualisation and critique of its own workings. This mythic blindness mirrors Blake's Ulro, which reduces humankind to a state of rationalisation towards their own and others' existence. The modern invalidation of myth is evidenced by the word *myth* having gained the negative meaning of a falsehood through the scientific, secular worldview that gained prominence from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (Segal 1561-2; *OED Online*, 'myth, n.2'). Such a view of myth further contributes to the failure to acknowledge the mythic and theistic roots of the Enlightenment.

As a result, the legacy of the Enlightenment, with its one-eyed God of reason, unwittingly echoes monotheistic epistemology (resembling Blake's hyper-rational Ulro) as it continues progressing towards a single system of truth as *the* global world-myth—the Truth. However, this narrow Enlightenment myth is problematised by the fact that any engaged understanding of its own mythology remains outside the purview of its logocentric cultural

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[2] I use *myth* here in the narrative sense, as a collective story, rather than in the dismissive sense, as a false belief.

grammar, thus making it unable to be understood mythically from within its own frame of reference.[3] At the other extreme, postmodernism has challenged the grand narrative of Enlightenment logocentrism by advancing the supremacy of relativistic truth, which is simply many smaller narratives—mythoi. Ironically (since irony often defines the postmodern age), postmodernism has contradicted itself by positing relative truth as the singular absolute Truth, confining all smaller narratives within a grand nihilism. Consequently, postmodern relativism has undermined the value of story through irony, so that meaning is reduced to whatever one wants it to mean, hence having no intrinsic truth; a meaningless void resembling Blake's solipsistic Ulro.[4] Blake would likely recognise the Enlightenment quest for rational Truth and the postmodern relativisation of infinite truths as two sides of the same coin: Ulro. As extremes of *logos* and *mythos* respectively, each side resists understanding the other.

Currently, these conflicting paradigms of Enlightenment Truth and postmodern relativism persist, although their admixture seems to be coming to a head. While the world has advanced quite rapidly on one level (the techno-scientific) with increasing consciousness, shared, meaningful, mythological (story-focused) consciousness has receded and more or less become relegated to the unconscious, leaving many smaller, fragmented truths (mythoi) within a larger mythos of nihilism. To Blake, this would certainly be a problem; a repetition of the challenges he witnessed during his own time, which he mythologises in *Jerusalem*. In his view,

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[3] I mention logocentrism in its general meaning, neutrally as the central prioritisation of logic (first coined by Ludwig Klage in 1900), rather than in specific reference to post-structuralist theory, which tends to decry the term (Josephson-Storm 373n81).

[4] Some may argue that this is an overly simplified representation of postmodernism. Indeed, postmodern thought is much more complex, yet this tends to occur only in specialised enclaves and is typically not understood in the wider world. What is adopted more generally, however, is what we might call postmodern culture, which includes notions such as relativistic truth. This general culture is the focus here.

humanity was being reduced through the dominant solipsistic paradigms of the age. Today, with the globalisation of a reductionistic *logos* and increasing technological power, spread among innumerable solipsistic mythoi, the consequences for humanity are potentially more extreme.

Because our present homogenous, techno-logical culture became global mainly due to Western colonialism, it has largely been associated with Western culture as a whole. But it could be argued that this is not an accurate representation of Western culture or the Western mythos, since this global expansion has displaced many aspects of localised Western cultural traditions in favour of a specifically narrow but broadly dominant paradigm—equally as it sidelines or standardises non-Western minority cultures to the same hyper-modernism. In *A Vision of The Last Judgment*, Blake makes early observations against such generalised knowledge and homogeneous culture: "General Knowledge is Remote Knowledge it is in Particulars that Wisdom consists & Happiness too. Both in Art & in Life General Masses are as Much Art as a Pasteboard Man is Human" (*VLJ*82, E560). Blake's pasteboard man alludes to the dehumanising effect of homogeneity.

Equally, Western culture is more than merely an advanced industrial-capitalistic society and resultant mass-culture; it is also a tale of a multitude of interacting localised currents among religions, philosophies, sciences, arts, politics, folklores, places, people, and events—as diverse as found in any non-Western culture. Narratives of life's richness and of human experience of all kinds are amply reflected in a pluralistic body of Western literature that spans several millennia and dozens of languages—of which Blake is one example. Any thorough study in the humanities will reveal this richness, unfolding a multitudinous human narrative that can never be entirely known in a single lifetime, a narrative that furthermore has a rich history of literary exchange with non-Western cultures. This endless variety is mythologised in Blake's Golgonooza as the storehouse of all human experience and alluded to in Mousley's fifth

principle, which describes literature as a rich, deep, and thought-provoking condensation of life's heterogeneity ('The New Literary Humanism' 820-1).

The rich array of Western literature is always more complex than an ideology that seeks to encompass it. Similarly, Blake recognises in an annotation to *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (1798) that creative genius is contrary to any given *Zeitgeist*: "Genius is Always Above The Age" (*AtJR*71, E649). He advocates for a non-hierarchical, pluralistic culture of originality through human genius. Literature reflects this culture, as a meshing of many human perspectives. It is both evidence for a multitude of views and a means for understanding them, not definitively nor hierarchically, but through language that creatively extends the human imagination. Literature opens the infinite world without ever exhausting it.

Through current globalism, there is a mixing of cultural mythologies occurring. Culture (Western and non-Western) is at the heart of this confluence. Amid the risk of global homogeneity muddying the many unique cultural narratives are opportunities for clarifying these narratives within a more enriching global conversation. Literature can play a key role in this clarification. And here too Blake is highly relevant. The central narrative of *Jerusalem* is the renewal of Albion, who represents the cultural mythos of Britain. Through this narrative, Blake presents a detailed and psychologically profound myth of the renewal of creative imagination within humanity. He writes creatively from a British Romantic perspective, rather than through dogmatic adherence to the static memory of past tradition. He attempts to rouse anew the collective British mythos *as art*, in the broadest sense of creative living. Once humanity is roused to creative liberty, Blake's ideal is not to bind humankind to doctrinal particulars but to allow humanity to breathe creatively as life itself, shown by *Jerusalem* ending with an underspecified emphasis on individual liberty for all beings. It is through Blake's emphasis on art as a liberating practice of the imagination that he recreates the collective British mythos in this non-authoritarian way.

Some scholars believe Blake's later work presents a more conservative epistemology than his earlier work, especially because of his overtly political prophecies such as *America*, *Europe*, and *The French Revolution*. But to read Blake in this way is to overlook the development of depth in his later work. *Jerusalem*, as I have mentioned previously,[5] grows from the archetypal patterns of Blake's earlier prophecies to shape a mythological cosmos that is far more epistemologically radical than any of his earlier works, although it contains the seeds of these. In *Jerusalem*, Blake presents a mythology exploring the deepest possible revolution of human nature: a return to human existence as primordial infinite imagination. Within this Edenic sphere, *Jerusalem* narrates humanity's perpetual tendency to fall into forgetfulness of our full potential, which results in the rise and fall of epochs of humanity, with kings "Permanently Creating to be in Time Reveald & Demolishd" (*J*73:34, E228). This grand vision is conservative only in the sense of it seeking to conserve an awareness of Eternity among these rises and falls of the temporal world. Yet in another sense *Jerusalem* is deeply revolutionary, for it details a daimonic process that transcends all human limitation. While conservative thought would constrain itself to the wisdom of limits, in *Jerusalem,* Blake radically sublimates the limits of human nature within the infinite creative imagination.

This is not to say that Blake's work has no political consequences, only that the origin of his politics is in art. Blake places cultural creativity as more fundamental than worldly politics, just as Eternity encompasses and originates the temporal world in his mythos. In this way, Blake's art provokes a more primordial understanding of human nature, in comparison to the surface debates of the political world. He writes in his notebook:

[5] See pp. 86, 94.

> I am really sorry to see my Countrymen trouble themselves about Politics. If Men were Wise the Most arbitrary Princes could not hurt them If they are not Wise the Freest Government is compelld to be a Tyranny. Princes appear to me to be Fools Houses of Commons & Houses of Lords appear to me to be fools they seem to me to be something Else besides Human Life. (*CCP*18, E580)

Blake speaks to humanity beneath much of the worldly veneer, and risks being misconstrued for doing so. Like the daimon Los, his work is an attempt to strive "with Systems to deliver Individuals from those Systems" (*J*11:5, E154). He insists that we recognise how we view ourselves and act towards others is intrinsically linked to how we see the world: "As a man is So he Sees," writes Blake to Reverend Trusler (23 August 1799) (*LE*, E702). By depicting reductionistic paradigms from a daimonic perspective, he reveals the underlying mythic patterns of these paradigms, in the hope that readers will awaken to a different way of being. His intended outcome from *Jerusalem* is not the replacing of one myth with another, but the deliverance from all such systems, which is symbolised by Albion awakening his creative imagination within Eternity. But as much as the contents of Blake's work alludes to this freedom, *Jerusalem* inevitably presents its own (Romantic) mythos, one that as critics we need not subscribe too. Therefore, by reading Blake's representation of the underlying reductionistic, solipsistic patterns of our age in *Jerusalem* self-reflectively through literary humanism, we might instead enter into critical dialogue with these patterns, and their Romantic solutions, as they present themselves to our current context.

The daimonic nature of Blake's mythos—as liminal, creative, and imaginative—enables it to be transposed into a variety of cultural contexts. By creating mythopoetry of the human imagination's boundless creative possibilities, Blake preserves the view that art, rather than politics, is the genesis of human cultures. He recognises art as both deeply primal and the

pinnacle of cultural heights, and thus one of the greatest practices for renewing culture—"Nations are Destroy'd, or Flourish, in proportion as Their Poetry Painting and Music, are Destroy'd or Flourish!" writes Blake in *Jerusalem* (*J*3, E146). Furthermore, he demonstrates in his own life and work that culture is not a fixed form that should be obeyed, but the living practice of art arising from the local mythologies of the land and the personal imaginations of its inhabitants. Just as his daimon is a dynamic mediator between two states, rather than a singular, authoritative state, so culture is rendered as a relational, creative practice, rather than authoritative rules or static doctrine. Blake's daimon serves as an agent of individual and cultural inspiration, while preserving an original state of openness and mutuality among human differences, symbolised by Eden. Through the trope of the daimon, *Jerusalem* stages the idea that imaginative art can renew cultural and personal mythoi in a way that empowers individuals and collectives from within. Blake's cultural mythopoetry therefore presents the tools for restoring a living culture within various contexts through daimonic mediation, so may serve as a template for the renewal of other cultural mythoi that may be strangled by a reductionistic, abstracted, non-localised consciousness. In short, the daimon is potentially an agent for non-authoritarian cultural renewal.

The tradition of daimonic writers that Blake continues (discussed in chapter three) traces Western culture from antiquity to the current day in a manner quite different from historically dominant paradigms. This daimonic tradition has always been more or less marginalised, the province of a few. Blake evokes one particular strand of this tradition, mythopoetising the daimon within the British cultural mythos. This strand has significant relevance in the current global mixing of cultures in the twenty-first century because it engages with ideas at the foundations of the Western mythos. In doing such, Blake's work raises the question of the role of the British cultural mythos in contributing towards a diverse, global humanity. To the degree that global cultural homogenisation began through Britain's colonial

expansion, then it must ultimately be mended by re-envisioning this same culture at its root, by restoring a myth of non-authoritarian, inclusive human wholeness to the foundations of British culture.

In *Jerusalem*, Blake presents the British cultural mythos in its daimonic mode, which is a suitable contribution to the current global mixing of cultures for two reasons. Firstly, this daimonic myth avoids leaving the British mythos in the past, relegated to a memory, which would leave nihilism in its place. And secondly, Blake's daimonic mythos avoids the other extreme of standing for nationalistic dominance, by undermining authoritarianism and absolutism that would take Blake's myth literally. Ulro represents both these extremes, which the daimon seeks to wake to Eden. Blake's daimonic myth of sleeping Albion awakening to liberated, creative imagination offers one possible story for the renewal of the British cultural mythos in the globalised twenty-first century. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, it is very unlikely this myth will be embraced and acted upon collectively. In any case, literary humanism offers a methodology to critique the human relevance of this myth for individual readers, to draw comparisons between Blake's model of the human and a reader's own humanness, or ideas about humanness. This critique can occur across times and cultures because of the underlying human commonality. The result is not the triumph of Blake's myth, as he may have intended, but a critical dialogue with it, to facilitate human understanding and development in ways that are mutual, discerning, and creatively restorative.

The widely influential critique of Western logocentrism by Foucault and other postmodernists in the late twentieth century now appears to be fading into the past. We seem to have entered a period of post-postmodernism, where reason and imagination, *logos* and *mythos*, might share a more equal, and possibly integrated role in evolving human thought. Rather than mutual exclusivity between *logos* and *mythos*, their complementarity seems a better

solution to the question of Truth. Such an approach may be described as post-postmodern.[6] In our present era, Blake's humanism, which is centred on the daimon and advocates for the reconstruction of a pluralistic, integrative vision of humanity, now appears on fertile ground for acknowledgement and further critical study, with implications for both literary humanism and contemporary literary studies.

The significance of this research for literary humanism

By studying Blake through new literary humanism, this thesis has in turn consolidated ideas for an approach to new literary humanism. This approach aims to understand and develop our humanity through literature, in meaningful, nuanced, personal ways. It involves a self-reflective process of *Bildung*, by way of intellectual, artistic, and moral self-cultivation of the whole person, rather than merely mechanised knowledge in the form of abstract theories and ideological conclusions. It aims to cultivate the present, living person through creative enquiry and critical reflection upon humanness within literary works. Being explorative and experiential, it may therefore empower the individual to read, write, and critique literature as a way to develop their own humanity, and through this, potentially develop humanity in the wider world.

These ideas are discernible in Blake's literary humanism, yet he is merely one example for study. By studying other works of literature similarly, the question of what humanity is—in both the ontological and ethical senses of the term—remains open and continuously enriched through creative exploration and critical refinement, whereby new facets of literary humanism may be recognised. These new facets can be both timely and timeless. They are timely when a reader's enquiry into literature facilitates engagement with present-day contexts, endeavours, and problems. Yet they are timeless when the reader discerns what is near-universally human

[6] See chapter two, n33.

within literature, thereby bringing a sense of stability, proportion, and continuity to the present moment. Ideally, these practices can combine into a balanced approach for the cultivation of intersubjective wisdom within a diversity of contexts. Yet literary humanism must not become only a response to current cultural contexts, as though the present represents all that is human. While we act precisely at the juncture of the present moment, we carry both a deep momentum from the past and a creative freedom for the future.

Literary humanism acknowledges this paradoxically inherited yet creative reality. Therefore, its practitioner must critically examine the currents of trans-temporality as they manifest in a variety of temporal settings within literary works to discern what is lastingly and significantly human within our ever-changing cultures. The practitioner should seek perspective on the present within the context of the enduring, to restore a sense of what it means to be human as a stable, unifying factor for our often divisive, short-sighted, and conflicted species. This sense of humanness ultimately rests upon phenomenological humanity, actual psychophysiological people,[7] while engaging in inclusive, critical dialogue with the numerous concepts of humanness within literature. Such practice recognises multiplicity within unity, true to the paradox of our species and in accord with my reading of Blake. By approaching literature in this way, literary humanism might further humanise literary readings and thereby nourish the humanity of readers within the present, ever-changing world.

This thesis is not intended only to provide a conclusion, but, like *Jerusalem*, is a struggle towards the beginning of something, however small; a renovation, both critical and creative, in literature's capacity to address the richness of human potential, with Blake as one such literary example. *Jerusalem* explores how as individuals and as a collective, we are continually changing, remembering and forgetting, re-envisioning and refining what it means

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[7] See my definition of *human* in section 2.2.

to be human. Likewise, literary humanism must adjust to the ongoing changes among humanity for it to remain contemporary. While literature reflects our humanness, it also informs our humanness, and both processes need consideration in the practice of literary humanism. Therefore, like any other literary-humanistic reading of a work, my reading of Blake can be read back into the tenets of literary humanism, as part of the ongoing process of refinement that is new literary humanism. Rather than literary humanism sedimenting into a theoretical entity, abstracted from literature and its reader, this process of renewal, of feeding works back into theory, will ensure that literary humanism remains a lively, relevant, and enduringly human process that enriches our own understanding and development.

The significance of this research for contemporary literary studies

A consistent theme throughout this research is that the practice of literary humanism draws literary studies within the traditions of edification, reflecting the German idea of *Bildung*. *Jerusalem* narrates Blake's daimonic process of actualising human potential, which, read allegorically, presents a practice of literary-humanistic edification, as I have outlined in the previous chapter. While Blake's particular idea of *Bildung* has had little influence, another Romantic-period approach to *Bildung*, that of Wilhelm von Humboldt, has been foundational to the development of the late modern university.[8] Consequently, *Bildung* continues to be an important practice for the present-day academy. This thesis recognises the historically important connection between literary humanism and the university, broadly within the humanities and specifically within literary studies, by offering a study that advances ideas of *Bildung* that are—and this point is most crucial—revised for the context of a post-postmodern,

[8] For an outline of Humboldt's ideas for the modern university, see Tomislav Zelić, 'Bildung and the Historical and Genealogical Critique of Contemporary Culture.'

or reconstructive, literary studies.[9] My research is therefore significant because it endeavours to restore the importance of *Bildung* within contemporary literary studies, following its postmodern displacement.

In the previous chapter, I alluded to the possibility of repeating similar literary-humanistic approaches towards other writers and works. This thesis provides but one study of one writer, and much more work is needed to round—and iron-out the creases of—this research for it to be broadly applicable within contemporary pedagogical and scholarly contexts. A study of the history of *Bildung* as it pertains to academic literary studies, beginning from Humboldt's founding ideas for the university, would clarify the context for such work. With this broader historical context in mind, new-literary-humanistic studies of other historical or contemporary literature may prove fruitful in reviving and revising a literary practice of *Bildung* within a current-day context. Such research could follow from this thesis. It may serve to better position new literary humanism within contemporary literary studies. At the least, it will shed light upon the issues and obstacles that might complicate this aim.

Should new literary humanism as a way of individual *Bildung* take root within contemporary literary studies, new questions, problems, and (hopefully) solutions to human concerns will arise, which can in turn refine and expand new literary humanism within the academy. More importantly, this expansion may then foster a culture of pluralistic human understanding and personal and cultural development through literature. Such a culture has the potential to clarify our understanding of ourselves and others *as humans* and thereby beneficially impact the wider world. Furthermore, by engaging in critical and creative literary-humanistic studies of literature, a culture of *Bildung* within literary studies has the potential to

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[9] In such a context, a plurality of concepts of the human, as explored within all works of literature, may exist inclusively within the actual, experiential reality of being human (the phenomenological human being). For earlier methodological discussion of these two aspects of humanness, see section 2.2.

nourish the humanity and human gifts within every individual, each according to their own nature. Through such culture, cultivated with much effort, self-reflexivity, and patience, we may begin to see more hints of human wisdom within the wider world.

9.2 Epilogue: Humanity within the Fourth Industrial Revolution

The above may sound an ideal way to rehumanise contemporary literary studies. However, the practice of understanding and developing ourselves as humans through literature, which I have advanced throughout this thesis, might appear to some too broad to be relevant, or the details of this aim may bring scrutinous suspicion. The question, Do we need to develop our humanity? appears either obvious or loaded. A literary-humanistic practice within literary studies may indeed bring about the development of individual and collective humanity, but so what? Why does this matter in today's world? The question of why such practice matters leads into the broader question of why literature matters.

In the coming years, issues around the dehumanisation of society may become much more pressing, less theoretical, and extremely problematic. Discussion is building around an approaching Fourth Industrial Revolution, which Klaus Schwab, Founder and Executive Chairman of the World Economic Forum, defines as "characterized by a fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres" (par. 2). With such blurring, the need for clearly understanding our humanity from within ourselves, subjectively and intersubjectively, may become ever more necessary.

Schwab describes the impact of the Fourth Industrial Revolution:

> We stand on the brink of a technological revolution that will fundamentally alter the way we live, work, and relate to one another. In its scale, scope, and complexity, the transformation will be unlike anything humankind has experienced before. We do not

> yet know just how it will unfold, but one thing is clear: the response to it must be integrated and comprehensive, involving all stakeholders of the global polity, from the public and private sectors to academia and civil society. (Schwab par. 1)

Schwab's rhetoric is bold, but the future may indeed present considerable challenges. There is the risk (enthusiasts might say opportunity) that technology may eclipse many hitherto human-operated functions in developed society: everything from driverless cars, to court cases decided by artificial intelligence, to algorithms determining what news you see, to social and romantic relationships being largely online.

Indeed, it appears we must increasingly exercise our humanity to address looming issues around technological advancement. Twenty-first-century literature does—and can continue to—explore our humanness in light of these issues. Similarly, older works also contain profound and enduring ideas of our humanity for contemporary times—as I have argued is the case for Blake. But how we read these works matters, for many of the same reasons that literature matters. In light of the approaching Fourth Industrial Revolution, new literary humanism provides a methodology for critically and creatively reinvigorating our humanity.

Whether or not one agrees with the future described as the Fourth Industrial Revolution, there remains much to be considered. Schwab's conclusion is that human nature is vitally important in the upcoming changes:

> In the end, it all comes down to people and values. We need to shape a future that works for all of us by putting people first and empowering them. In its most pessimistic, dehumanized form, the Fourth Industrial Revolution may indeed have the potential to "robotize" humanity and thus to deprive us of our heart and soul. But as a complement to the best parts of human nature—creativity, empathy, stewardship—it can also lift

> humanity into a new collective and moral consciousness based on a shared sense of destiny. It is incumbent on us all to make sure the latter prevails. (Schwab par. 31)

Plainly, the challenge presented to humanity by the Fourth Industrial Revolution (and subsequent Revolutions) is a central concern for literary humanism. For without a clear, ethically responsible sense of ourselves as human beings at the centre of our own lives we will most certainly lose touch with our humanity, and the same in others. Such is Blake's argument. In the wake of unprecedented technological advancement, we must not forget the species that gives rise to all our technologies and the sciences supporting them: *Homo sapiens*. We need not avoid technology, but we must approach it wisely. Richer dimensions of subjectivity and humane culture may be nourished through the practice of literary humanism, contributing to the wisdom that is essential for our responsible and intelligent action as human beings within twenty-first-century global society. Within this present context, literary studies as a discipline has the opportunity to critique, refine, develop, and further articulate new literary humanism in order to improve it. New literary humanism may then expand as a cultural practice within the wider world.

Such a culture may not resemble what Blake had in mind in his vision that came "without Premeditation" during his "three years Slumber on the banks of the Ocean" at Felpham, which was intended "to speak to future generations by a Sublime Allegory" (*LE*, E728, 729, 730). His "Endeavour to Restore what the Ancients calld the Golden Age," where "The Primeval State of Man, was Wisdom, Art, and Science," may similarly be lost (*VLJ*72, E555; *J*3, E146). Or, perhaps Blake's daimonic vision does offer a sliver of allegorical relevance towards our own collective human future.

In any case, as this thesis has shown, Blake's vision can continue to inspire critical enquiry into the humanity of present and future readers. Reading Blake in this way is one

example of how literature may be practised as a way of understanding and developing ourselves. Without such ways of reading, the potentials of humanity may well remain the silent background to conversations within literary furrows.

> Silence remaind & every one resumd his Human Majesty
> And many conversed on these things as they labourd at the furrow. (*J*55:47-48, E205)

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References to William Blake's main works are almost entirely from Erdman's *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, cited as an abbreviation of the title of Blake's work followed by E[page number]. For full details on abbreviations used, see 'Abbreviations and General Notes,' pp. iv-v of this thesis.

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