

Blake's *Vala/The Four Zoas*:
the Myths of Fall and Creation in Two Nights I

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During the earliest stage of the manuscript of *Vala/The Four Zoas* the present Night II used to be labelled Night I.¹ It has already been argued that during this stage the present Night I had not yet taken a form of a Night but that it still remained the text of about 72 lines which extended on pages 3-7.² The erased copperplate hand text on those pages which showed a self-contained myth of the Fall of Tharmas by Enion is considered to be a Preludium of *Vala*. This paper first deals with the transitional process by which the *Vala* Preludium loses its autonomy to be converted into a Night I of 211 lines. In this transitional process focus is also on how the fundamental mythological structure of *Jerusalem* occurred to Blake while he was expanding the *Vala* Preludium. The rest of the paper highlights how the newly created Night I repeated the myth of Fall and Creation in the original Night I (the present Night II). When the stage during which the present Night I remained the *Vala* Preludium is identified as stage 1 of the regenerative process of *Vala/The Four Zoas*, the subsequent stage which is dealt with in this paper is called stage 2. The end of stage 2 is marked by Blake's line-numbering of the first two Nights alone in pencil by hundreds.

I

When the fragments on pages 141-2 were composed has never been seriously discussed in terms of the evolution of the remaining manuscript.³ H.M. Margoliouth regarded them as earlier than any other remaining part of the manuscript.⁴ His comments on the fragments seem to have misled Kathleen Raine into believing that they were written in the early 1790's.⁵ In light of the evolution of Night I, however, there is ample reason to believe that they were composed during the time when the autonomous myth of the Fall as a Preludium was being developed into the Night I of 211 lines. In other words those fragments were not the earliest text but were preceded by the lost copperplate hand text on pages 3-7, part of which was recovered by Erdman by means of infra-red photography. A strong indication that the fragments in question were transitional between stage 1 and stage 2 can be seen in the fact that page 141 begins with the scene where Tharmas metamorphoses under Enion's woof, exactly where the *Vala*

Preludium comes to an end:

Beneath the veil of [?Enion] <Vala> rose Tharmas from dewy tears
The [ancient] <eternal> man bowd his bright head & Urizen prince of light

.

Astonished lookd from his bright portals. Luvah king of Love
Awakend Vala. Ariston ran forth with bright ?Onana
And dark Urthona rouzd his shady bride from her deep den

.

Pitying they viewd the new born demon. for they could not love. (141.1-9; E,845)

The germ of many significant ideas which contributed to the expansion of the Preludium into Night I can be found in this short passage. First, an archetypal figure called Tharmas in the Preludium is degraded into Tharmas with a monstrous nature: the sharp contrast between his former innocence and the same figure's monstrosity indicates that this is the earliest occurrence of the Spectre, although he is simply referred to at this time as the 'new born demon'. Secondly, the appearance of the names of the four Zoas with their Emanations, and an ancient Man (as well as other names such as Ariston and Onana), indicates that the concept of the four Zoas was becoming clear to Blake. Finally, in 'Beneath the veil of [?Enion] <Vala>' the renewal of Vala's image takes place from the lost soul to the Nature Goddess who is crucially responsible for the Fall of Man.⁶ Vala's image can be seen polarized between the *America* Preludium and the *Vala* Preludium (including its extended study on page 141): in the former the shadowy daughter of Urthona (Vala's generated form) finally awakens to her prelapsarian memory with her divine Lord (Luvah) in her earthly reunion with Orc (2.1-9; E,52): in the latter, however, her image is transformed into an aggressive Enion who brings down the Eternal Man to the world of oblivion by veiling him with her watery veil. It is clear that in 'the veil of [?Enion] <Vala>' Vala's image overlaps with Enion's: the veil is attributed to Vala, although in the context it belongs to Enion since she is responsible for Tharmas's generation.

This drastic shift in Vala's image could explain when and why Blake started having two main different, though not contradictory, myths of the Fall of Man, after the earliest myth which was structured around the separation between the soul (Vala) and her divine Lord (Luvah) collapsed: one is inherited from the early account of a power struggle between Urizen and Luvah; the other from the seduction of Man by Vala. The latter rests on Blake's conviction that the archetypal vision of the Fall of Man in the *Vala* Preludium should in fact be concerned with Man and Vala. While during stage 2 Blake lets Enitharmon unfold a vision of Man succumbing to Vala's irresistible charm (10.15-21; E,305-6),⁷ he was already looking towards *Jerusalem*, the poem structured around the plot of the *Vala* Preludium, the chief protagonists of which are Albion (Man) and Vala. Although enriched by other elements — at times almost overwhelmed by them — the earliest mythological structure of *Jerusalem* can be still traced as follows. Chapter I begins in Beulah, the land of shadows (4.6; E,146), where Albion turns his back on the

divine vision (which takes a concrete form in his hiding Jerusalem from Jesus). Jerusalem is, for Albion, the embodiment of sin because she was born when he yielded to Vala's beauty and embraced her (20.32-7; E,165). Also, Jerusalem, who at her birth redounded from Albion's bosom to become the bride of the Lamb of God (20.38-41; E,165-6), is shown as a sinful daughter in a patriarchal society: she brings sin to her family by becoming pregnant and giving birth to illegitimate children against her father's will. Suffering from the disease of shame, Albion speaks to Vala:

All is Eternal Death unless you can weave a chaste
Body over an unchaste Mind! (21.11-12; E,166)

Being sought thus, Vala spreads 'her scarlet Veil over Albion'. That Vala overlaps with the figure of Enion, who generates Tharmas by weaving him a fleshly garment, is clear because one of her speeches (*Jerusalem*, 22.1,10-15; E,167) is exactly repeated by Enion (*Vala/The Four Zoas*, 4.17-20, 26-7; E,301).⁸ In *Jerusalem*, however, Albion's generation as well as his corresponding fall from Beulah to Ulro take place slowly. Albion, who initiates religion by worshipping his externalized Spectre and Emanation in chapter II, is still considered to be in what in *Milton* is called Alla or Al-Ulro (34 [38].8-16; E,134), the locations between Beulah and Or-Ulro (non-entity).⁹ Albion's generation is not completed until Vala veils everything in (intelligible) heaven and earth (45 [31].67-70, 46 [32].1-2; E,194-5) since heaven and earth are, as in a Jewish tradition which Blake later embraced, all contained in Albion's mighty limbs.¹⁰ While Albion rests his body on the rock of ages (48.1-4; E,196), his Spectre, who rises over him like 'a hoar frost & a Mildew' (54.15; E,203), takes Vala into his bosom where they stand, 'A dark Hermaphrodite' (64.25-31; E,215). The Hermetic, alchemical and Neoplatonic structure of Jerusalem, which corresponds to the archetypal myth of the Fall of Man in the *Vala Preludium*, is briefly summarized in *The Gates of the Paradise*:

My Eternal Man set in Repose
The Female from his darkness rose
And She found me beneath a Tree
A Mandrake & in her Veil hid me
.
A dark Hermaphrodite We stood. (1-4,15; E,268)

The possibility that the mythological structure of *Jerusalem* occurred to Blake while he was tentatively expanding the *Vala Preludium* is strong, as (except for a single case on page 141 of *Vala/The Four Zoas*) the phrase 'the veil of Vala' is found in *Jerusalem* alone.¹¹

Returning to the fragments on page 141, a detailed description of Tharmas, or the 'new born demon', follows immediately after the previous quotation from page 141:

Male form'd the demon mild athletic force his shoulders spread
 And his bright feet firm as a brazen altar. but. the parts
 To love devoted. female, all astonish'd stood the hosts
 Of heaven, while Tharmas with wing'd speed flew to the sandy shore. (141.11-14; E,845)

In these fragments the nature which Blake could have given to Tharmas after he was veiled by the veil of Vala is shown. The form which naturally occurred to Blake was that of the hermaphrodite. As Raine pointed out, in Tharmas's metamorphosis the fate of Ovid's Hermaphroditus is clearly traced.¹² On the other hand, what Blake tentatively invented deviates from Ovid's myth in that not only a female-male but also a male-female is created. In addition to Tharmas's metamorphosis, an equivalent metamorphosis on Enion's side is also indicated:

With printless feet scorning the concave of the joyful sky
 Female her form bright as the summer but the parts of love
 Male & her brow radiant as day. darted a lovely scorn. (141.18-20; E,845)

Blake is not following Ovid's myth only. The behavioral pattern of fallen Tharmas and Enion overlaps with that of Adam and Eve after they eat the forbidden fruit in *Paradise Lost*. Tharmas and Enion are drunk with self-admiration just as Adam and Eve are 'As with new Wine intoxicated' (IX.108). The fallen condition of Tharmas and Enion is more clearly marked by their overt sexuality. Just as Adam and Eve communicate their inflamed desire by casting lascivious eyes each other (IX.1013-15, 1034-6), so Enion darts 'a lovely scorn' at Tharmas and her message is clearly understood. A bizarre text on page 142, which testifies that Blake is not allowing only one form of hermaphroditism but that two are essential, unfolds a strange picture of their next action:

From Enion pours the seed of life & death in all her limbs
 Frozen in the womb of Tharmas rush the rivers of Enions pain
 Trembling he lay swelld with the deluge stifling in the anguish. (142.8-10; E,846)

It is obvious that the sexes are exchanged by Tharmas and Enion and they are mingled in the hermaphroditic state. On the other hand, Blake still keeps in mind the possibility that Tharmas alone is metamorphosed and Enion becomes pregnant by their sexual union (142.6; E, 845).

Blake had to give up the brilliant idea of giving Tharmas a hermaphroditic form because by the time he had decided to make a Preludium integrated into the whole poem, Tharmas was meant to be equal to Urizen, Luvah and Urthona. Tharmas's conversion into a hermaphrodite would have spoiled the more important poetic scheme of the four Zoas, due to the imbalanced relationship between Tharmas and the other Zoas. Blake apparently avoided the confusion of paternity and maternity between Tharmas and Enion, together with the strange result that their

offspring come from Tharmas's womb, because they are located at the beginning of the successive generations of other Zoas. Raine pointed out that the idea of hermaphroditism, which Blake could not ascribe to fallen Tharmas, passed onto the figure of Vala:¹³ indeed the image of Vala enshrined in the Synagogue of Satan at the end of Night VIII of *Vala/The Four Zoas* associates her with the hermaphroditic state (111.10-16; E,386). Its more explicit form is found in *Milton*, where Vala appears as Rahab Babylon in Satan's bosom: 'A Female hidden in a Male, Religion hidden in War' (40[46].20; E,141).¹⁴ Yet, as previously discussed, the idea that Man becomes a hermaphrodite covered by the veil of Vala is crucially kept for the fundamental mythological structure of *Jerusalem*: it is Albion (or his fallen state, Albion's Spectre) who draws Vala into his bosom to be a 'dark Hermaphrodite' (64.25-31; E, 215).

II

The concept of the four Zoas becomes complete when Tharmas joins the other major characters. At the same time, the power struggle between Urizen and Luvah begins to draw in the other two Zoas. The result is a loss of balance between the Zoas, which causes the Fall of Man. When the Preludium was expanded to be the Night I of 211 lines the Tharmas-Enion myth was also embedded in the wider context of Man's Fall, and given a much reduced responsibility for the Fall while being helplessly involved in the dire result.

The following is concerned with what was transcribed during stage 2. During this stage Blake kept to copperplate hand. The completion of this stage is marked by his line-numbering in pencil by hundreds. Accordingly, focus is on the lines which satisfy those conditions in the first two Nights. The lines transcribed and numbered during stage 2 were to a considerable extent retained, apart from a small number of lines and parts of the text erased and replaced by late additions. While the copperplate hand lines included in the 216 lines of the original Night I are distinguishable from the later additions written in pencil or the much smaller usual hand, the lines of the new Night I, particularly the first one hundred lines on pages 3-9, are difficult to identify. It is difficult to be definite about whether certain lines were transcribed during stage 2; which lines are later additions and should not be regarded as part of the text of this period; which lines (among deleted lines in the remaining manuscript) were deleted during this stage and excluded from the text. As for the first point, Bentley and Erdman's detailed studies, distinguishing lines of the second stratum from the first, offer great help in establishing the basic text as it stood during stage 2.¹⁵ As for the second point, there are clues which serve to determine the margins of the text during stage 2. While the lower margins are identifiable due to the designs which were drawn by this stage, it is also certain that lines had not yet spilt into right or left margins during this stage. The upper margins, which are obscured by Blake's later additions, are marked by his page-numbering during stage 2. Although some figures are indistinct they are still visible on the manuscript and lines were almost certainly not written above the numeration.¹⁶ The third point is the most difficult to settle: that is whether presently deleted lines on pages 6, 7 and 8¹⁷ (except diagonally stroked and circled lines on pages 6 and

7) were included or excluded from the line-numbering during stage 2. While the basic text on pages 6-8 was certainly transcribed during this stage, there is also reason to believe that the deleted lines were cancelled when the new Night I was finally collated with the old Night I. Why this should have been so will be made clear when the structural resemblance between them is discussed.

The expansion of the Preludium of Vala (or a self-contained myth of the Fall which was concluded on page 7 during stage 1) began when a mythological gap between the last two lines was filled. The lines in question are:

So saying he . . . ? fell . . . into the restless sea
Round rolld? the . . . globe self balanc'd. (E,822)

The first line is concerned with Tharmas's Fall by being immersed in watery nature. What is glimpsed next is the result, the Creation, the watery globe 'self balanc'd' which derives from the Creation scene in *Paradise Lost* (VII.242).¹⁸ Between the last two lines concerning the transition from the Fall to the Creation Enion is actively involved in weaving a woof of terror for nine days and nights. What she finally produces is given multiple images:

. . . the Circle of Destiny Complete
Round rolld the Sea Englobing in a watry Globe self balancd
A Frowning Continent appeard Where Enion in the Desart
Terrified in her own Creation viewing her woven shadow. (5.24-7; E,302-3)

The emergence of the Spectre is interwoven with the formation of the watery globe and also the subsequent appearance of the continent in the ocean. This image of a rock remaining above the ocean later becomes the symbolic image of the fallen Man (Albion), or the Spectre. This is an image of despair, in that the previously glorious human form becomes now shrunk and opaque,¹⁹ hardened against the divine vision. On the other hand, the image still gives a minimal hope, in that a rock's remaining above the ocean without being swallowed by the waves indicates that existence is not yet lost. Probably Blake's association of the earth and rocks with the diabolic derives from Jacob Boehme's unique view on the nature of stones and earth, the harshness of which is to him alien to the spiritual world.²⁰ According to Boehme, after Lucifer fought with Michael he was spewed out of his habitation and it was simultaneously enkindled and coagulated into earth and stones.²¹ Blake depicts with a similar image Enion's inner landscape after she comes to herself from what is comparable to a hypnotic state. She soliloquizes how things within her soul were externalized and lost their splendor: the phrase, 'Seas of Doubt [Trouble] & rocks of Repentance [sorrow]' (5.49; E,303) shows a strange mixture of a turbulent mind suffering a sense of the Fall alongside a vision of the desolate world into which the mind is plunged.

Enion's awareness of the fallen condition makes sharp contrast to Tharmas's euphoria about his beauty and also about his inborn knowledge of his power over the external world (1-6; E,820).²² As Blake has already indicated on page 141 (where the behaviour of fallen Tharmas and Enion resembles that of Adam and Eve after they eat the forbidden fruit in *Paradise Lost*), a sequence of Tharmas's actions (here Enion is exempted from the parallel) shows him as a distorted version of Adam: he is intoxicated with self-admiration, reproaches Enion about her sin, and rapes her. (Adam becomes drunk with the fruit [IX,1008-11], has sexual intercourse with Eve [IX,1017-45] and upbraids her when he realizes that the paradisaical state is completely lost [IX,1134-42; X,867-908]). Thus, Adam becomes, in terms of his behaviour pattern after the Fall, the model for the fallen Tharmas during stage 2. As for Enion, accused of sin and sexually assaulted, her metamorphosis, which has been held in check so far, also takes place. As Raine pointed out,²³ the 'Half Woman and half Spectre [Serpent]' (7.10; E,304) who soars above the ocean combines the images of the serpent carried off by the king of birds and Hermaphroditus entwined with Salmacis. However, Enion's more direct association is with Milton's Sin, who is also both woman and serpent (*Paradise Lost*, II. 650-9). Enion's plight of being expelled to non-entity is the fate of anyone who is branded sinful.

Los and Enitharmon are born as the children of Tharmas and Enion in Night I, whereas in the original Night I they were probably originally introduced into the poem as spirits snared and generated into Urizen's newly created world (30.53-5, 34.1-2; E,320,322). That the creation myth still continues in the birth of Los and Enitharmon in Night I can be traced in the identities of Time and Space (or the sun and the moon) given to them respectively (9.27-8; E,305). In Genesis the lights also appear in the firmament after the waters are gathered in one place and the dry land appears (the image of land which appears from the water overlaps with the emergence of the Spectrous Tharmas in Blake). A further parallel with Genesis can be traced in Enion's letting the rough rocks put forth plants, birds and animals after the birth of Los and Enitharmon (5-13; E,824). Regeneration in the poem had to begin with the expansion of the *Vala* Preludium, since this part, which was first composed after the collapse of the earliest version of poem, contained Blake's new perception in a concentrated form. The enormous driving force in the Preludium which began regenerating the poem is conspicuous in Blake's extended study of it in the fragments on pages 141-2, where many important ideas such as the veil of *Vala*, the four Zoas, the Spectre and hermaphroditism germinated. It was indeed a prolific stage in the composition, during which the various versions of the Fall of Man were conceived. Blake necessarily began to rework the poem by interweaving the Creation myth into the previously autonomous myth of the Fall of Tharmas and Enion. What must be discussed next, however, is how the myth of the Fall coincided with the Creation in the original version of Night I, since Blake initially began the poem with this Night.

The original version of Night I shows the transition from the Fall to the Creation more clearly. As many critics have pointed out,²⁴ light is thrown upon it by its distinct echo with *Paradise Lost*, the Creation myth in Book VII in particular. The divine image of the Creator in

Paradise Lost, however, is reversed (or his nature exposed according to Blake's view which is made clear in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* [5; E,34-5]) to that of Urizen in *Vala/The Four Zoas*. The parallel between the action of the son of God and that of Urizen is seen from the very beginning of the original Night I: fallen Man's giving the sceptre to Urizen to create the world (23.2-10; E,313) is reminiscent of the son of God being ordained by his father to speak the omnific word in *Paradise Lost* (VII,163-73). Also, much like the Creator in *Paradise Lost* (VII, 210-31), Urizen stands on the verge of non-existence and surveys the abyss (23.14-24.3; E,313-4), speaks the all-creating word (24.4-7; E,314) and divides the deep with golden compasses (28.31-2; E,318).²⁵ Blake's reversing Milton's holy image of the Creator to Urizen highlights the discrepancy between the two poets concerning how the Creation itself is perceived. In fact they share the more fundamental ground of how the Creation is located in the mythological perspective. Repugnant to both is the materialistic view that before the Creation all was chaos, the idea of which Blake regards as most pernicious (Blake's *Notebook*, 91; E,563). Before the difference in view on the Creation between Blake and Milton (particularly Blake's view on the Creation) is made clear, the simultaneity between the Fall and the Creation in the original Night I must be briefly reviewed. It reflects Blake's earliest view on the Fall of Man which is built upon his critical but imaginative interpretation of *Paradise Lost*.

In the original Night I of *Vala* the simultaneity between the Fall and the Creation is not only seen in the ways in which the Creation is preceded by Man's falling into the sleep of death but can also be glimpsed in a vision of the Fall contained in the Creation myth itself. Luvah cast into Urizen's furnaces to be melted and become subservient for the Creation (25.44, 28.3-10, 25-30; E,317-18) is a mythologized account of the psycho-dynamic battle between Reason and Desire, the idea of which was first articulated in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*:

Those who restrain desire, do so because theirs is weak enough to be restrained; and the restrainer or reason usurps its place & governs the unwilling.

And being restrained it by degrees becomes passive till it is only the shadow of desire.

The history of this is written in *Paradise Lost*. (5; E,34-5)

Blake perceived in the battle between God/his Son and Satan in *Paradise Lost* the process by which Desire was cast out by Reason and damned as Sin until it was confined in Hell, which caused disorder on both a macrocosmic and microcosmic scale. The narrative in *Paradise Lost*, however, is not concluded here but continues until the banished Satan (Desire), metamorphosed into a furious serpent, brings down Man (Reason). Similarly in *Vala*, although Luvah is entirely suppressed by Urizen, he is generated to become fiery Orc. The expected scenario was that Orc, although destined to be chained down on a rock, should break his chains in due course and triumph over Urizen.

The Creation is, for Blake, part of the process of the Fall, whereas it is for Milton, all the more for its being preceded by Satan's Fall and expulsion from Heaven, the manifestation of the

glory of God. Blake's ambivalent view on the Creation can be traced in the progressive images of Urizen's newly created universe. While Urizen's creation is equated with a golden chain which 'bind(s) the body of Man to heaven from falling into the abyss' (33.16-17; E,322), Luvah (Prince of Love — although fallen) is sacrificed to its formation, his human proportion transformed into mathematical proportion. Blake apparently associated Urizen's world with Egypt (the starry globes into which Luvah is transformed are seen as pyramids [28.25-29.2; E,318-19]; Vala appears as an Israelite female slave whose back is furrowed with whips for harsh labour [31.1-16; E,320-1]). This land of exile and suffering for the generated souls is later called Ulro (25.39; E,317). Urizen's created world is called (the title is a later addition) the Mundane Shell (24.8, 32.15; E,314, 321). This has both positive and negative connotations: for the individuals who are enclosed within it, it is a barrier to any adequate vision of the Eternity. Blake's later addition makes this point clear: the direct impact of Urizen's forming the shell is seen in people losing power of vision and starting to measure 'the course of that sulphur orb' (28.17-18; E,318). On the other hand, the regenerative potentiality of the Mundane Shell remains: in it captives can be hatched towards the world of eternity. In later additions, the negative effect of the Creation is stressed, all the more because of Urizen's increased responsibility for the Fall of Man: the Creation becomes the equivalent of generating Man (Albion), since the process of Creation involves drawing sun, moon, stars, peoples, and nations out of his mighty limbs (25.8-12; E,314).

The original Night I is further illuminated by another important parallel with the Creation myth in *Paradise Lost*: that is what is deliberately excluded from the Creation. In *Paradise Lost* the earth becomes globular while Satan is strictly confined in Hell and the 'black tartareous cold Infernal dregs' are also purged to the same place (VII.237-8). During stage 2 in the original Night I fallen Luvah is, instead of being banished, imprisoned in the created substance itself; Tharmas, fallen and threatening to Urizen's mathematical universe because of his immeasurability, is also kept outside of it (33.6-7; E,321); Enion, who is awakened from the fallen condition, is ironically the most typical exclusion of Urizen's creation. She is driven down to the non-entity, as punishment for having caused the Fall of Tharmas, the image of the archetypal Man. Just as the immaculate state of Paradise is brought down by Satan (the most conspicuous exclusion from Creation), so Urizen's golden heavens are also destined to be ruined by an external force. What turns out to be most threatening is Enion's laments from the abyss against the tyranny of Heaven/Head/Reason which preaches patience and prudence to the afflicted (35.16-19, 36.1-2; E,325) and God of which is a punisher and revenger (36.3-13; E,325). That her lament estranges Ahania from Urizen — an estrangement which results in the collapse of Urizen's created world — is made clear in the additions made during the next stage (36.14-19; E,325-6). When Urizen casts out Ahania, Tharmas billows over Urizen's created world and Luvah later issues forth as Orc.

The closeness of the first two Nights can be glimpsed in the fact that these Nights alone were numbered during stage 2 as well as that they were both labelled Night I. Both unfold parallel

myths of Fall and Creation. While entirely accepting the concurrence between them, Blake reworks in these Nights I the Creation myth of Book VII of *Paradise Lost*, not as the manifestation of the glory of God as Milton presented it, but as an essential part of the Fall itself. The newly expanded myth of Fall and Creation in Night I would have made the already existing version of Night I almost redundant, unless focus on different Zoas in each Night were to make both Nights essential to the poem (Tharmas and Los/Urthona in the former; Urizen and Luvah in the latter).²⁶ A sense that no substantial progress has been made from Night I to Night II can be attributed to the fundamentally parallel myths between them. When Blake numbered the lines in the first two Nights he also had to decide which lines should be finally admitted to the poem in order to make the new Night I compatible with the old one. Blake redressed the repeated pattern of Fall to Creation in these Nights by removing from the new Night I the concrete images of the Creation which cannot be taken in a symbolic sense. Those images, such as the sea, the earth, the sky and the vegetations, are conspicuous in the deleted lines on pages 6 and 8.

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Notes

All quotations from Blake are taken from *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, edited by David V. Erdman, commentary by Harold Bloom, New York, Anchor Press, 1965, revised edition, 1982. Quotations are identified by the title of the poem, followed by page (or plate) and line number, and page number in Erdman, thus: *Vala/The Four Zoas*, 4.3-5; E,301.

1. Erdman reports that Night II was twice named 'Night the First' but never labelled 'Night the Second' by Blake (E,828), although Blake's intention of converting it into Night II is made clear by 'End of the Second Night' on page 36 (E,830). A sense of the existence of two Nights I in the poem is best conveyed in G.E.Bentley's transcript (*William Blake. 'Vala or The Four Zoas', A Facsimile of the Manuscript, a*

Transcript of the Poem and a Study of its Growth and Significance, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, p.24).

There Night II is still labelled 'Night the First'.

2. See A.Wada, 'Blake's *Vala/The Four Zoas*: the Genesis of Night I as a Preludium', *Essays in English Romanticism*, 19-20 (1996), pp.5-14.
3. Erdman says, 'The "1797" in the title may mark the beginning of a first fair copy, while pages 141-142 represent a fragment of a preliminary draft' (E,817).
4. H.M.Margoliouth, *Blake's 'Vala'. Blake's Numbered Text*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1956, p.156.
5. Kathleen Raine, *Blake and Tradition*, 2 vols., Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1968, vol.1, p.271.
6. Margoliouth thought that the genesis of the figure of Vala could be found in the phrase 'Beneath the veil of Vala' (Margoliouth, op.cit., p.xix). This indeed shows the 'genesis' of Vala in the sense that she has here sloughed off her initial image to acquire some of her late qualities. It is certain that Vala existed in the poem from the very beginning as her name appears in the most beautiful copperplate hand text on page 42, where the crucial separation between Vala and Luvah, the image of the soul losing the divine vision, is shown.
7. Such a vision appears in Enitharmon's 'Dirge of Death (or Vala)'. During stage 2 this vision was concerned with Man and Vala, whereas during the next stage Blake let Enitharmon appropriate it to the story of Man's relationship with herself. For Blake's exact revision of the names from Vala to Enitharmon on page 10 of *Vala/The Four Zoas*, see Erdman's textual notes (E,825).
8. It is difficult to be definite about which was composed first. Bentley thought that the traffic went from *Jerusalem* to *Vala/The Four Zoas* (Bentley, op.cit., p.165). Erdman is not convinced by Bentley's contention, but hints that in his view the traffic was the other way round (E,817). In my view, the speech 'thy fear has made me tremble; thy terrors have surrounded me' flows more naturally in *Jerusalem* than in *Vala/The Four Zoas*. First, it is certainly not Tharmas but Albion who is sufficiently fearful and terrific to make Vala or Enion tremble. By the time this speech was given to Enion, Tharmas had become piteous enough to shelter Enitharmon. Secondly, it is Vala, not Enion, who is capable of being responsible for the archetypal Man's Fall. The speech is naturally assignable to Vala, whereas it comes unnaturally from Enion, because by it she becomes disproportionately fearsome, as though she were temporarily possessed by evil power.
9. These minute divisions between Beulah and Ulro are introduced in *Milton*, and reference is made in *Jerusalem* alone (89.58; E,249). Thus they can be used to help us understand the cosmology of *Jerusalem*, particularly where Albion is to be located after he leaves Beulah and before he reaches Ulro.
10. Compare Blake's expression of Albion's completely fallen condition: 'The Starry Heavens all were fled from the mighty limbs of Albion' (70.32; E,224).
11. The phrase is found in *Jerusalem*: 42.81; E,191/47.12; E,196/59.2; E,208.
12. Raine, op.cit., vol.1, p.280.
13. Ibid., pp.288-9.
14. Rahab is clearly identified with Vala in *Jerusalem* (70.31; E,224).
15. For details, see Bentley's notes to the transcript, Bentley, op.cit., pp.3-10 and Erdman's textual notes, E,819-24.

16. According to this criterion, upper margins of pages 5-7 during stage 2 become clear: particularly those of pages 5 and 6, which retain the text transcribed during this stage, are supposed to have begun with (respectively) 'Weeping, then [and] bending from his Clouds he stooped his innocent [holy] head' (5.9; E,302) and 'Searching for glory wishing that the heavens had eyes to See' (E,820). Although Bentley succeeds in identifying lines of one period from the later additions, his transcript shows that lines above the page-numeration on pages 5 and 6 (three and four lines respectively) are regarded as of the same period as the main text transcribed during stage 2. Probably Bentley relied upon catch words on pages 4 and 5, which in my view were updated during stage 3. Blake's sporadic use of catchwords during the next stage is confirmed in their appearance on pages 15-16 which were inserted during that stage.
17. The exact lines which I regard as excluded from Blake's line-numbering on these pages are: seventeen deleted lines from 'Searching for glory wishing that the heavens had eyes to See' on page 6; six deleted lines after 'Thus they contended all the day among the Caves of Tharmas' on page 7; and eight deleted lines from 'Enion brooded, oer the rocks, the rough rocks [?vegetating] <groaning vegetate>' on page 8.
18. W.H.Stevenson has already pointed out Blake's borrowing of the image from *Paradise Lost* (Blake. *The Complete Poems*, ed. W.H.Stevenson, text by D.V.Erdman, London, Longman, 1971, second edn., 1989, p.297).
19. Adam and Satan are the extremities of these conditions (*Milton*, 13[14].20-1). Similar lines were later added to *Vala/The Four Zoas* (56.19-21; E,338).
20. *Mysterium Magnum or An Exposition of the First Book of Moses called Genesis*, 1654, trans. John Sparrow, ed.C.J.Barker, 2 vols., London, John M. Watkins, 1924, vol.1, pp.55-6.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 78.
22. In accusing Enion, Tharmas says to her, 'This world is Thine [Mine]' (6.13; E,303). Blake first put 'Mine' and later replaced it with 'Thine'. The revision is possibly to emphasize the Spectre's fallacy, which Blake lets Enion correct as she speaks of 'this thy world not mine tho dark I feel my world within' (7.7; E,304).
23. Raine, *op.cit.*, vol.1, pp.283-4.
24. See Milton O. Percival, *William Blake's Circle of Destiny*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp.59-60; Harold Bloom, E,952-3; Stevenson, *op.cit.*, p.316.
25. In *Vala/The Four Zoas* the compasses are assigned to the sons of Urizen. An image of Urizen circumscribing the world with a compass forms the frontispiece to *Europe*.
26. This is the general view of the acceptability of the otherwise redundant Nights I and II. See Brian Wilkie, and Mary Lynn Johnson, *Blake's 'Four Zoas'. The Design of a Dream*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1978, p.38.