The Social Hell of William Blake: the Impact of the Industrial Revolution on Blake's
Illustrations of Dante's Inforno

Myat Aung Art History Senior Showcase April 19, 2016 In 1824, the British landscape painter John Linell commissioned the poet and artist William Blake to illustrate the *Divine Comedy*, an epic poem by Dante Alighieri, written during the fourteenth century CE. Though they were painted five centuries after the poem was written, Blake's one hundred and two water color illustrations resonated well with Dante's late medieval ideas of hell and the journey of the soul. The civic anxieties of the medieval period had an affinity with those of nineteenth century London— the time of great social and political change. I argue that this is because Blake retold the *Divine Comedy* – specifically the *Inferno* – in a way that was inspired by the Industrial Revolution. In this essay, I will be exploring the history of the Industrial Revolution and the context of Dante's *Inferno* to identify a sociopolitical discourse that Blake created through his illustrations.

Born in 1757 to a prosperous hosier in London, William Blake was brought up in a conventional atmosphere of a small English middle class family. Growing up misperceived as a lunatic, Blake distrusted systems and considered himself a prophet. He was a mystic, who believed that he encountered the divine¹ and who lived a highly imaginative visionary existence. However, Blake's immersion in mysticism was common in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century London. Indeed, this was a time of London's growing reputation as a center of the world, producing great artists, authors, scientists, and thinkers, which encouraged men of strong, individualistic character to stand out amongst all.² This was a time when the people of London

¹ G. K. Chesterton, *William Blake* (London: Duckworth & Co. , 1920), 7-8. Chesterton describes William Blake's accounts of his visionary experience as a child and the artist's fascination with the supernatural.

² Helen Constance White, *The Mysticism of William Blake* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1927), 128.

were drawn both to mysticism and Swedenborg's divine revelations³ that suggest the existence of correspondence between natural and spiritual worlds. Blake came of age in this countercultural environment, composed mainly of Swedenborgian ideas. And thus, his spiritual experience was incorporated into his practical experience as an engraver at local print-shops and later into his own works.

Blake's career as an engraver of fine art prints began in the 1770s when he received instruction in life drawing at the then-recently-established Royal Academy of Arts in London. However, Blake remained an outcast at the Academy, disapproving its pedagogical restrictions and exhibition policies. Blake later became an apprentice to engraver James Basire in 1772, and produced drawings of tombs at Westminster Abbey. Through this experience and his interest in mysticism, Blake came to believe that secular and spiritual imagery was inseparable. Breaking away from the confinements of traditional drawings from life, Blake invented his own artistic style, rejecting the traditional norms of romantic picturesque art, to which he was frequently exposed. It was during the 1790s that he developed his unique approach relief etching, embellishing printed works of literature with decorative, emblematic, and narrative motifs.

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³ Clarke Garrett, "Swedenborg and Mystical Enlightenment in England," Journal of the History of Ideas 45, no. 1 (1984): 67-81. Emanuel Swedenborg, born in Sweden in 1688, was a trained mathematician and engineer. He was also a philosopher and theologist who combined a diverse body of familiar concepts by claiming to have received spiritual knowledge directly from God. Many Methodists in England were drawn to mysticism.

⁴ Kathleen Raine, William Blake (New York: Longmans, 1951).

⁵ His stylistic development during the time was rather ironic since Basire's apprentices were not encouraged to create their own aesthetic identity.

As a poet and an artist, Blake brought words to life using his artistic imagination and careful engagement between image and text.⁶ His art, far from simply illustrating the literature, amplified and often contradicted the content of the text; the dynamic relationship between word and image that he created would often undermine the viewers' epistemological assumptions about the process of reading, seeing, and interpreting. Although Blake usually drew a clean line between text and imagery for his ideas to stand out, he approached Dante's *Inferno* differently, using subtle parallels between Dante's story and his experiences, which were distinguishable on both visual and psychological levels.

Dante wrote the *Divine Comedy* while in exile from Florence in the early 1300s. Since 1215, there had been conflicts between two political factions in Florence—the Guelfs, who were the followers of the popes, and the Ghibellines, who followed the Holy Roman emperors. The Guelfs were subdivided into Black and White—groups that favored the nobles and the merchant class who had a hostile relationship with the each other. In 1301, Pope Boniface VIII connived with the Black Guelfs, who thus executed the Whites and confiscated their property. As a member of the White Guelfs, Dante was accused of opposing the Pope, stripped of his property, and condemned to be burnt at the stake if captured. The is in this underlying political context that the *Divine Comedy* was written, describing three different realms of the deceased—Hell (*Inferno*), Purgatory (*Purgatorio*), and Heaven (*Paradiso*). The poems recount the story of Dante himself passing through the depths of hell, guided by the first-century Roman poet Virgil. In the text, Dante's goal is to reach the heaven to reunite with the love of his life, Beatrice. The poet

⁶ Milton Klonsky, *Blake's Dante: the Complete Illustrations to the Divine Comedy* (New York: Harmony Books, 1980).

⁷ Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 6-9.

travels through hell—a despotic place composed of nine circles—where he encounters the sinners especially those notorious for their bad moral character. Once he successfully exits hell, Dante comes upon the Mountain of Purgatory with terraces that represent seven deadly sins. Finally, in *Paradiso*, he explores the nine celestial spheres of heaven and the poem ends with Dante's meeting the Triune God. On its surface, the *Divine Comedy* is about the ultimate salvation of a human soul, but for Dante, it was clearly a critical commentary on the sociopolitical problem of his time.

I argue that for William Blake, receiving the commission to illustrate the *Divine Comedy* in the early 1800s was convenient as it enabled him to demonstrate his disapproval for the Industrial Revolution. Vast industrialization had already begun in London in 1760, causing massive changes in England's social and economic structure. Work evolved with expanded coal mining and transition from manual labor to the use of automated machines. Transportation and communication also became easier as railroads were built. Despite improvements in people's way of living, industrialization brought with it major problems such as hunger, overpopulation, and child labor. London became more urbanized and many citizens were employed in new factories and the mines. As a result, the city became enshrouded in smoke and people hardly ever saw daylight (Fig.1). Strong religious faith declined, and consequently, the majority of people were detached from God and prayers. The Industrial Revolution was thus a major turning point in history that stimulated the minds of artists, writers, and poets including William Blake to demonstrate a different outlook on life.

⁸ Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967)

Before the Industrial Revolution, artists and men of letters were interested in Neoclassicism, glorifying idealistic myths and the beauty of ancient Greece and Rome as the people desired to escape their monotonous daily lives. This philosophy emerged alongside the rediscovery of Greek and Roman artifacts in the Mediterranean region. Supporters of classical antiquity toured archaeological sites, artists painted ruins of ancient monuments, and the interested majority were engaged in the ancient past through artistic and literary sources. But as the Industrial Revolution reached its peak at the turn of the nineteenth century, art and literature transitioned into a more robust celebration of reality.

As a writer, Blake engaged with the Industrial Revolution through his poetry. He criticized the living and working conditions of young children in *The Chimney Sweeper*, "could scarcely cry 'weep 'weep' So your chimneys I sweep, and in soot, I sleep." In his poem *London*, he describes the city as chartered by commercial interests with its citizens wearing faces of woe emphasizing on "every cry of every man" and "every infant's cry of fear." Especially in his poem *And did those feet in ancient time*, Heliake mentioned "dark Satanic mills," inspired from the burned building of Albion Flour Mills which contained steam-powered machinery and water-powered mills before it burned down. The phrase "Satanic mills" is thus often interpreted as the poet's reaction to the Industrial Revolution and its destruction of nature and relationships. Furthermore, Blake saw the natural world of God's creation being consumed on a daily basis, and I argue that his resentment towards this situation was repeatedly portrayed in his illustrations of the *Inferno*. By deconstructing Blake's illustrations of the *Inferno*, I highlight Blake's

⁹ William Blake, *The Selected Poems of William Blake* (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 2000)

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

recurring references to the Industrial Revolution in his imagery in four different categories: smokestacks as clouds, work versus religion, the separation of the created world and the divine world, and the city of London as hell.

Blake chose to illustrate scenes from the *Inferno* in a manner that was not usually done so by other artists during and before his time. For instance, when illustrating the mission of Virgil in Canto II, Blake deviated from the text that describes Virgil's encounter with Beatrice. In the text, Virgil claims to have met Beatrice while he was in limbo and continues to praise the lady's beauty and grace. Throughout this canto, Beatrice is portrayed as an authority figure, who commanded Virgil to guide Dante through his journey. However, Blake's illustration of the canto put emphasis on God and the crowned Peter on the top half of Blake's image serve as a focal point while two large human figures on fire were placed on each side at the bottom.

Beatrice was only given a small space on the left of the picture plane, seated passively before a mirror (Fig.2). This composition diminished the main idea of this canto—Dante's acknowledgement of and overcoming his cowardice. Thus, reading Dante's *Inferno* alone would not be enough to completely understand Blake's reinvention of the text through his philosophy and artistic style.

Blake illustrated human figures by synchronizing them with the surrounding environment and thus he created an image influx—one which was in a perpetual state of transmutation.

Because the images of people and landscape occupy the same space, the generative nature of Blake's symbolism is even more pronounced than the content of the text. The illustrations were dictated by Dante's narrative, but Blake superimposed one set of imagery over another and as a

¹² Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). 43.

result, foreshadows his own ideas about hell. In Blake's art, hell existed as an enclosed world, which was not part of a larger religious structure. He saw London as the source of suffering in a world without divine providence to offer any alternative to its communal existence. Thus, hell being presented in the *Inferno* as a place of eternal punishment was what drew William Blake to portray damnation as an authentically urban experience.

In the poem, Dante's experience in hell is described in a similar fashion to a person's interaction with the people residing in a city and its environment. Dante did so through the identification of the lower levels of hell—from Circles VI to IX—as *la citta ch'ha nome Dite* (the city whose name is Dis), and the description of its architectural features, such as towers, gates, and walls and a vast crowd of grave citizens. Moreover, the rings that subdivide this realm function as walls or structures that partition the place. Even the Malebolge is subdivided into ten concentric ditches, which is subjected to the perversity of Dis as an actual city (Fig. 4 and 5). In a way, Dante's *Inferno* is structured like a medieval city with walls, streets, and landmarks, continuously expanding due to overpopulation. 14

In Canto III of the *Inferno*, the entrance to hell contains an inscription above it which reads, "Through me the way into the grieving city: Through me the way into eternal sorrow: Through me the way among the lost people." (Fig. 3)¹⁵ The concept of the grieving city was

¹³ Ibid., 8.

¹⁴ Isabel Moreira and Margaret Merrill Toscano. *Hell and its Afterlife: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010). Dante was very much involved in the architecture and urban planning of Florence, which have influenced his anatomy of Hell.

¹⁵ Ibid., 3.1-3

derived from the biblical personification of Jerusalem, mourning its destruction in 586 BCE. 16

Dante used to refer to this event in his writings, such as *La Vita Nuova*, especially when describing earthy and heavenly cities. The distinction between a city of saved souls and one of the damned can be traced back to St. Augustine's *City of God*, 17 in which Augustine's theory of heaven and hell described the two entities as empty, abstract categories, almost impossible to visualize. 18 While Dante followed Augustine's belief that evil is not itself a separate entity, his imagery in the *Inferno* presents damnation in visceral and concrete terms since, in many ways, the damned souls act alive as they interact with Dante throughout his journey. 19 Modelling London based on Dante's vision of hell allowed Blake to put the city in a new context, depicting it as a metaphorical hell. In other words, Blake's hell is a modern city above Dante's subterranean underworld, implying that the Londoners' moral position was falling while they were still alive above the ground.

Dante's journey through hell is an extremely painful, yet necessary act to reach the salvation of human soul. Dante especially described it through the Malebolge—the heart of hell, a field of pain and ugly anguish²⁰, a damned-growing countryside, or an evil farm. The device which regulated the structure of the Malebolge was conceived as a measure of urban intervention

¹⁶ Ibid., 62.

¹⁷ St. Augustine of Hippo was a bishop who wrote Christian doctrines, including the *City of God* in the fifth century. His written work addresses profound questions of theology, especially the existence of evil and the concept of the original sin.

¹⁸ Isabel Moreira and Margaret Merrill Toscano. *Hell and its Afterlife: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).

¹⁹ Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 55. The canto opens with the words on the hell gate, which puts an emphasis on Dante's opinion about hell as a city.

²⁰ Ibid., 8.4

with each pit designed like an enclosed fortified unit.²¹ Thus, Dante's hell was a doleful and painful medieval city that was rigorously geometric and minutely controlled in every detail, whereas Blake's hell was a modern, industrialized, contaminated, deadly, and technologically advanced, and chaotic contemporary London.

My analysis of Blake's imagery further suggests that Blake expressed his resentment towards London's massive industrialization evidently. In Canto IV of the *Inferno* Blake depicts Dante and Virgil standing at the edge of a cliff and looking down into the woods where ancient poets Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan remain in limbo (Fig. 6).²² In the text, these four ancient writers approach Dante as he stands in awe. He then places himself among them and later approaches the light to a castle and a beautiful meadow beyond it²³.

In contrast, Blake's illustration of this scene focused on the structure of limbo instead of on the interaction between Dante and the deceased. The environment is covered in dark clouds and trees, which evoke unpleasant smoke and chimneys in contemporary London. Blake's placement of the characters on opposite ends of the picture plane suggests his physical seclusion from the chaos, thus making him an observer—the one who felt bitter about the situation, but did not place himself on the same level as the others. I bring this idea further to claim that the souls residing beneath the clouds also represent the civilization suffering from population expansion and economic depression under the abyss of industrialization. Blake presents the separation of life from death through heavy clouds that float in the valley diagonally, going westward above

²¹ Ibid.

²² Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 4.64-105

²³ Ibid.

vertical trees. These clouds have a visual affinity to smoke from the columnar chimneys of factories in London, which further attests that Blake was depicting his daily environment.

Beyond visual similarities to industrial smoke, Blake's clouds are symbols of the division between the created and the spiritual worlds. I further argue that such division also applies to the separation between materiality of the industries and Blake's tendency to live a spiritual life without widespread mechanization. Blake illustrated this in Canto VII, envisioning a sequestered place among the chaos. The context of the poem was followed quite literally in this image as Dante and Virgil approached the City of Dis. The two characters were depicted standing under the tower on the edge of the Stygian Lake. Massive space, the mysterious darkness of the city, and the remoteness of the mountains in the background competed with the light from the tower (Fig. 7). A similar theme is portrayed in Canto XII, in which Dante and Virgil meet the Minotaur. The clouds across the image separate the Minotaur and the two characters, which suggests the division between the industrialized world—represented by the burning city in the background—and God's eternal world in which Blake desired to live. This separation represents the clash between the animosity of the created world and the power of spiritual faith.²⁴ The clouds that divide the two characters and the Minotaur reflect Blake's desire to escape from the monstrosity of the industrialized city on fire (Fig. 8).

Both in literature and in art throughout history, fire is a common theme in various depictions of hell. Since flames of hell were associated with torments and desires, which beset those without spiritual faith, those burning *Inferno*'s City of Dis were integral in Blake's

²⁴ Alfred S. Roe, *Blake's Illustrations to the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 77.

illustrations.²⁵ For example, Dante depicts Farinata Degli Uberti, a Ghibelline leader, rising from his tomb in Canto X (Fig. 9). This scene was often depicted in art with Farinata's rising as a central focus, but Blake's illustration emphasizes the burning city in the background. The entire picture plane is covered in raging fire, which connotes to the idea of the nineteenth-century industries using coal fire to run factories. Farinata was responsible for slaughtering the Florentines in his coalition against the city in 1260, and was posthumously condemned for his bad deeds. As he rises from his grave in Canto X, he raises his hand to reach Dante, which symbolizes men's chance at escaping from the torments of mortal life.²⁶ In lines 97-108, Farinata tells Dante that he "can see the future, but not the present," which, I argue, have captured Blake's attention in comparing this scene to the nineteenth-century London, in which Blake only saw hope for the better future but little to none for the present.

During the Industrial Revolution, families grew, and work became crucial in everyday life. Consequently, religiousness had lessened, churches were abandoned, and people became secularized. This idea was echoed in Canto VII when Blake depicted a large figure of Capaneus the Blasphemer, one of the seven kings who besieged Thebes and opposed Zeus. Dante depicted him as "condemned to lie supine on sand while fire rains down on him." However, in Blake's

²⁵ Ibid., 81. Roe refers this idea to Blake's strong belief in Urizen, who finds himself in a world of flames.

²⁶ Ibid., 77.

²⁷ Robert M. Durling, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Inferno* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 10.

²⁸ Ibid.

version, he is covered in fire and is struck repeatedly by thunder²⁹ as Dante and Virgil stand and observe (Fig. 10). Blake specifically chose to portray Capaneus this way for various reasons other than his interaction with Dante. As described in the text, Capaneus remains oblivious to the torments and stares steadily into the distance. This imagery perfectly echoes the lives of Londoners during the Industrial Revolution as they detached themselves from religious rituals. Capaneus's physique could also be compared to Blake's belief about Satan, whom he believed possesses a powerful, antique torso. Blake also depicted a similar figure in his illustration for Robert Blair's poem *The Grave* in which the soul departed the dead body in flames. ³⁰ Blake's illustration of Capaneus thus stresses the secularization in contemporary London because despite his suffering, Capaneus is persistent in defying God.

Blake's art required viewers to look through one image after another as he engaged his illustrations with the concept of death and afterlife. His pictorial transparency visualized a world beyond the grave, amplifying his own conviction that death was not a barrier but a door through which one moved from one room to the other. In Blake's mind, an artist and a spiritualist coexisted on a continuum. Thus, the spiritualism that he claimed to have experienced exceeded biblical descriptions and left much of his activity without cultural precedent. Blake's spiritualism was not a coincidence in his system of thought, but the ultimate objective of his deconstruction of aesthetic binaries of the natural and the conventional, the general and the particular, and the literal and the figurative.

²⁹ Capaneus was a strong and arrogant warrior; he was struck by Zeus's thunderbolt because he attempted to invade Thebes without the god's will.

³⁰ Alfred S. Roe, *Blake's Illustrations to the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 82

Blake's perverse and powerful interpretation of hell arose from his own psychological depths.³¹ Unlike Dante – or even Milton, whose poem the *Paradise Lost* ³² that Blake illustrated in 1807 – Blake's hell is a source of uncontrolled, Dionysian energy, opposed to the authoritarian and regulated perception of heaven. Blake adapted Dante's medieval ideas of damnation to his vision of London in an unrepressed state during the time of despair. Blake's adaptations to the *Inferno* illustrate his evident integration of his own imagery to represent the effects of the Industrial Revolution. For instance, in Blake's design for Canto I, the roots and trees symbolized the error of the world; they blindly concealed everything as they grew and resisted all attempts to be eradicated.³³ The brambles near Dante's feet as he ran from the beasts demonstrate Blake's life, which bound him down to the material world and prevented him from gaining the spiritual freedom for which his soul desired (Fig 11).³⁴

The impact of the Industrial Revolution on William Blake was immense, but it also had a similar effect on various artists who received and responded to the upheaval in myriad ways; some even shared Blake's attitude towards the industrialized cities. One example is John Martin (1789-1854), an English artist who regarded this era as an apocalypse, and created images of disasters in history which implied a living hell (Fig. 12). Circuitously reiterating Blake's idea, Martin identified the powers of industry with Lucifer and portrayed his attitudes towards the movement. Coal Mines were also depicted in his art as similar to the deep and dark pits of hell,

³¹ Jean H. Hagrstrum. William Blake, Poet and Painter: an Introduction to the Illuminated Verse (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 92

³² John Milton's *Paradise Lost* is about the fall of Lucifer from heaven.

³³ Alfred S. Roe, *Blake's Illustrations to the Divine Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 48.

³⁴ Jerusalem 14.8-9

inspired by the descriptions in the Old Testament.³⁵ Martin's violent landscapes reflected his doubt in progress and his terror over the chaos surrounding him. Contemporaries of Martin also regarded the effects of industrialization as hell on earth. Philip James de Loutherbourg (1740-1812) painted *Coalbrookdale by Night* in which industrial flames from a factory overpower a small rural town (Fig. 13). Later in the nineteenth century, artists such as Edwin Butler Bayliss and Constantin Emile Meunier painted the landscape of the Black Country, which was named after dark smoke produced from factories.³⁶ However these artists portrayed industrialization, a common theme in their works was that the city of London was in a deep dark pit of despair.

There are striking similarities between the ideas of William Blake and those of Dante, especially their unfavorable views towards their respective governing bodies. The *Inferno* manifested from Dante's frustration and resentment towards the political system of Florence in the early fourteenth century. Similarly, dislike for Blake's British imperialism, taxation, and industrialization are reflected in his illustrations of Dante's poem.

However, mysticism was a strong element in Blake's work, and he described his own paintings as "Visions of Eternity." His art cannot be categorized as purely religious, philosophical, or political since Blake believed that a deep and immediate consciousness of the spirit was inevitable, and a logical outcome of such consciousness was to look at the world as a

³⁵ Francis Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1968).

³⁶ What is a Black Country?

³⁷ Martin Butlin, *William Blake*, 1757-1827: a Catalogue of the Works of William Blake in the Tate Gallery (London: Distributed by W. Heinemann, 1957), 7.

whole.³⁸ Since Blake's concept of God did not possess a physical form, he believed that human beings were God's absolute outline.³⁹ Therefore, by comparing Londoners to the sinners being punished in hell, Blake presented his belief that humans would suffer from the consequences of the "adversity" that they had created among themselves. Blake's preoccupation with the conflicting powers of revolution and oppression was inseparable from his views on Christian religious mysticism, and thus he had constant recourse to the otherworldly in his struggles against the prevailing structures of society and art. His nonconformist religious and mystical interpretations of great literary works, such as Dante's *Inferno*, make him all the more fascinating and compelling to some, while others see him as irrelevant and senseless.

William Blake is not an artist an observer might admire at first glance, but his imagery and dedication towards revolutionary art cannot be neglected. Despite his desire to be isolated, Blake immersed himself in the teeming metropolis of London at a time of great social and political change, which profoundly influenced his art. Blake did not finish his illustrations of the *Divine Comedy*, yet his visions that articulated the parallels between religious and social imagery speak to a viewer today. The social hell of Blake reflected his personality, his recalcitrance, and his resentment towards the excessive industrialization over time. Thus, I ultimately assert that through Dante's *Inferno*, Blake executed his interpretation of the Industrial Revolutions which requires viewers to look through his method of pictorial transparency that signaled a world beyond imagination.

³⁸ Helen Constance White, *The Mysticism of William Blake* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1927), 57.

³⁹ Ibid., 31.

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Images









Fig. 1. Industrial Revolution (1760-1840)



Fig, 2. The Mission of Virgil William Blake, 1824-7



Fig. 3. The Inscription over Hell-Gate William Blake, 1824-7



Fig. 4. The Map of Hell Sandro Boticelli, 1480

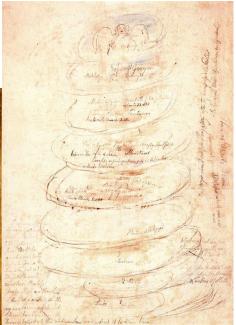


Fig. 5. The Map of Hell William Blake, 1824-27





Fig. 6. Homer and the Ancient Poets William Blake, 1824-27

Fig. 7. Dante and Virgil about to pass the Stygian Lake, William Blake, 1824-27



Fig. 8. The Minotaur William Blake, 1824-27



Fig. 9. Dante conversing with Farinata degli Uberti William Blake, 1824-27



Fig. 10. Capaneus the Blasphemer William Blake, 1824-27



Fig. 12. The Great Day of His Wrath John Martin, 1851-53



Fig. 11. Dante running from the Three Beasts William Blake, 1824-27



Fig. 13. Coalbrookdale by Night Philip James Loutherbourg, 1801