THE ART AND ARGUMENT OF "THE TYGER"

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THE ART AND ARGUMENT OF "THE TYGER"

By JOHN E. GRANT

I. THE POEM

Blake's "The Tyger" is both the most famous of his poems and one of the most enigmatic. It is remarkable, considering its popularity, that there is no single study of the poem which is not marred by inaccuracy or inattention to crucial details. Partly as a result, the two most recent popular interpretations of "The Tyger" are very uneven in quality.1 Another reason that the meaning of the poem has been only partially revealed is that the textual basis for interpretation is insecure. Even in his most recent edition, Keynes has found it necessary to punctuate the lines in his own way, not Blake's.2 And Nurmi's careful study of the manuscript revisions and of the probable movements of Blake's mind as he composed the poem is unaccountably erroneous, for what Nurmi gives as "The Final Form of Blake's 'The Tyger'" is the text with Keynes's punctuation rather than Blake's, a form too final to be useful. Blake's punctuation was sometimes too irregular to be effective and therefore the point may seem to be a small one, but it should remind us that neither Blake's notebook nor Keynes's texts contain the ripest version of "The Tyger" because the final text exists only in the illuminated design. In fact, this famous poem has never been accurately transcribed apart from facsimile texts. The closest approximation occurs in Wicksteed's study where it faces a reproduction of the Small copy, but even this version contains several errors.4 As a basis for discussion, then, an accurate text must be provided:

THE TYGER

Tyger Tyger, burning bright,
In the forests of the night:
What immortal hand or eye,
Could frame thy fearful symmetry?
In what distant deeps or skies,
Burnt the fire of thine eyes?

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3 Martin K. Nurmi, "Blake's Revisions of The Tyger," PMLA, LXXI (September, 1956), 685. Hereafter called "Revisions."
On what wings dare he aspire?
What the hand, dare seize the fire?

And what shoulder, & what art,
Could twist the sinews of thy heart?
And when thy heart began to beat,
What dread hand? & what dread feet?

What the hammer? what the chain,
In what furnace was thy brain?
What the anvil? what dread grasp,
Dare its deadly terrors clasp?

When the stars threw down their spears
And water'd heaven with their tears:
Did he smile his work to see?
Did he who made the Lamb make thee?

Tyger Tyger burning bright,
In the forests of the night:
What immortal hand or eye,
Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?

As a general interpretation of the final version of the poem, Nurmi asserts that it is "a complex but essentially positive statement affirming the dread tiger's divinity, and not a probing of good and evil, as it has sometimes been interpreted," and he cites a number of distinguished Blakeans as supporting this view against Damon and a less distinguished array of other critics. But however we punctuate the poem, it is not easy to convert its mighty questions into simple affirmation. Mr. Nurmi understands the poem too well to simplify it grossly and he recognizes the severe questioning contained in its first draft, but he is unwilling to admit that all the power in the final version does not come from positive thinking.

There is, in fact, a third force among interpreters of "The Tyger" which prefers to follow the rhetoric of the questions rather than to translate them into rhetorical questions. Both Kazin and Basler, who are concerned with expounding unorthodox or secular aspects of Blake's imagination, insist on the primacy of the questions. And recently,

5 It is evident that some of the periods, such as that at the caesura of the first line and the one at the end of the third, must be read as commas. But Wicksteed certainly erred in converting the colon at the end of line 2 into a semicolon. Robert T. Gleckner, The Piper and the Bard: A Study of William Blake (Detroit, 1959), pp. 22–23, makes the same error. This book will hereafter be called Piper.


7 Alfred Kazin, "Introduction" to The Portable Blake (New York, 1946), p. 43; and Roy P. Basler, Sex, Symbolism, and Psychology in Literature (New Bruns-
though his general view of Blake is quite different from theirs, Northrop Frye has expressed a similar opinion while registering a strong protest in behalf of the common reader:

Scholars will assert that the question in "The Tyger," "Did he who made the lamb make thee?" is to be answered with a confident yes or no: yes if Blake is believed to be a pantheist, no if he is believed to be a Gnostic. Most of those who love the poem are content to leave it a question, and they are right.\(^8\)

There can be no thought that the third force has loved the poem better than the more determinate Blakeans, to be sure, but in this respect they have loved it more wisely. Of course, a systematic interpretation of the poem can hardly rest content with the assertion that a question is a question. But the significance of the rhetoric cannot be explained apart from a consideration of other problems.

Consider the illustration which accompanies the poem. Few qualified critics have had the temerity to study the poem in the context of its design, though the picture of the Tyger has invited many of those who casually know it either to treat this work of England's greatest painter as a mere botch, or to use it as a point of departure for demonstrating the dichotomy between poetry and painting,\(^9\) a position which can hardly be supported by anything else Blake did.

Nothing, either in the illustration or the poem, is likely to strike the impartial reader as being obviously affirmative, except perhaps for the question about the creator: "Did he smile his work to see?" Almost everything else in the poem might be interpreted to be the work of an energetic god hostile to man, though such a being has no exact counterpart in Blake's developed system. Very relevant to the question of the ethical status of the Tyger is the intimate relationship indicated between creator and creature. Several critics have observed that in the heat of creation the creator is scarcely distinguished from his creature and therefore the ethical implications of either affect the other.

If we follow the poem through, interpreting it word for word, as Blake's heavy punctuation and powerful measured cadence invite us to do, we should be able to establish a basic reading against which to test any general interpretation. Since such a reading has never really been


\(^{9}\) See René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature* (New York, 1949), p. 128, who speak of the "grotesque little animal" depicted as though it were entirely irrelevant to the poem.
attempted before, I shall mention a number of quite obvious things. A speaker begins by addressing the Tyger, and in the heavy alliteration and primarily trochaic beat of his words the beast is envisioned as burning in the darkness of nocturnal forests. Flame is a clear symbol for passion and is set off by the blackness of the nocturnal forests. Forests per se are sinister symbols in Blake, corresponding to Dante's *selva oscura*, for they stand for the merely or triumphantly vegetable world he elsewhere calls the "stems of vegetation" at the bottom of the state of generation. A beast which would naturally dwell in such a place would therefore likewise be ominous. The contrast between fire and night, of course, corresponds to the contrast of yellow and black stripes ringing the Tyger itself.

At this point we must draw back from consideration of details for a moment to ask who the speaker in the poem may be. It should be clear that he is not the omniscient Bard of the *Introduction* to the *Songs of Experience* "who Present, Past, and Future sees," because he has too many questions. Nowhere in the poem is he able to provide even such enigmatic answers to his questions as are possible for the speaker of "The Fly." As will become more evident, the speaker's questions sometimes express outrage comparable to that felt by Earth in "Earth's Answer." Is not this awestruck voice in Experience that of an average but also imaginative man who is almost overwhelmed by the mysterious prodigy he sees as a Tyger? But we cannot quite suppose that the speaker has stumbled upon the Tyger in the midst of the forests of the night, because he would be much too busy to ask questions about the beast under those circumstances. The vision of the Tyger has some of the hair-raising quality of Eliphaz's vision in Job, but a more instructive analogy is provided by the conjured rough beast of Yeats's "Second

10 The nearest approach to this kind of study, except for Mr. Adams' accompanying essay, is contained in Stanley Gardner, *Infinity on the Anvil* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 123–130. Hereafter called *Infinity*. But even Gardner is more concerned with the resonances of the major symbols than in the poem as a developing whole.

11 A complete rhetorical analysis should be coordinated with a prosodic one and both should be combined with a semantic study. Among the things one would wish most to note is the subtle and brilliant organization of the words "In" and "What" in the initial position of the lines which follow their first introduction in lines 2 and 3.

12 "Nocturnal forests" does not, indeed, properly render the overtones of "forests of the night," though it is better than Bateson's other suggestion, "forests at night." (See *Selected*, p. 118). Bateson does well to comment on Blake's fondness for the construction 'of *plus abstract noun* (p. 117). But these paraphrases give priority to the forests, whereas the poem puts it the other way around. We get closer to the spirit of Blake's image by recalling that Miltonic void which is "the realm of Chaos and Old Night."

13 The clearest and most accurate account of Blake's basic symbols is Northrop
Coming,” for the conception of the general situation is influenced by Blake’s poem and also sharply diverges from it. Observe that Blake’s speaker is an ardent questioner about the origins of his beast in view, whereas Yeats’s is more reflective about the spectacle, its implications, and its identity. The questions of Blake’s speaker are more radical and likewise more emotional; in this state of mind he can never reach the philosophical (or theosophic) understanding potentially accessible to the Yeatsian visionary.\(^{14}\) It will become more clear later that what Blake’s speaker sees and reacts to is a compound of truth and error which produces mystery. For the reader who achieves prophetic perspective, the focus of interest in the poem itself is on the Tyger as percept, rather than as object, and on the speaker as subject.

As a paraphrase for the question Blake’s speaker puts to the Tyger about its origins, “What immortal made you?” is totally inadequate. Part of the force in the questioning of the first stanza derives from the fact that the fourth line is iambic. The movement from trochaic to iambic corresponds to the shift from vision to question. With this in mind we can better paraphrase the import of the question itself as follows: “What immortal organ could produce (by hand) or even conceive (with the eye), shape, or limit your fearful or terrifying balance or proportion?” The grammatical possibilities are: “How in the world did he have either the ability or the courage, etc., to do it?” or “Why did he presume against the Tyger’s nature—or transgress against man—to do so?” And “frame” means to form, contrive, or limit (like a picture or a prison). Even the modern argot sense of “doublecross” may not be wholly absent. Idealism is so pervasive in Blake’s thought that every incarnation can be considered in some sense a trap. Most readings seem to assume that the first alternatives for “could” and “frame” are the only relevant ones, but nothing in the poem necessitates such restricted interpretations. The speaker is too bemused to attain certainty.

Stanza two inquires first into the source of the material cause of the beast and then into the antecedent circumstances of its efficient cause or maker. Nurmi oversimplifies the first question by taking it to ask whether the fire in the Tyger’s eyes came from hell (“deeps”) or heaven (“skies”), whereas Bateson suggests that the “deeps” are “perhaps volcanoes rather than oceans.”\(^{15}\) Neither of Bateson’s suggestions is at all

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\(^{14}\) Hazard Adams hears another voice, that of the Blakean visionary who knows the answers, behind the bemused and baffled questioner. I suppose that no Blakean has doubted that Blake himself knew the answers, but I am not convinced that such a speaker is really “in” the poem.

\(^{15}\) “Revisions,” p. 676; cf. Selected, p. 118.
satisfactory, because the reader knows by this time that a metaphysical creature like the Tyger could never have had a merely physical place of origin. At the same time, "deeps or skies" has the exact combination of definiteness and suggestive vagueness which characterizes both the question and the questioner. The merely conceptual translation "hell or heaven" obscures the real significance implied by the question, namely, that the speaker doesn't know. It is also necessary to observe that the poem has moved from a concern with the creator's eye in the first stanza to that of the Tyger here, thus beginning to link the two.

The exact implication of the last two lines of the second stanza is even harder to spell out. "Did the creator go under his own power (wings) or that of another?" or "What remarkable wings would enable him—to aspire?" This word seems to mean "soar," "mount," or "tower" as in The Sunflower (though there it is clearly transitive) to some vaguely understood place up in the "skies" where the creator could get the fire of the Tyger's eyes. But if we follow Blake's punctuation, "aspire" is intransitive and thus it would indicate proud ambition, a state of mind very objectionable to the orthodox, though not in the same sense to Blake. And the word "dare" would also tend to reinforce the suggestion of a suspicious audacity, though it may only imply courage. The parallel structure of the fourth line also maintains this dual ambiguity; it asks "What kind of hand would have the courage or presumption to seize (i.e., grasp decisively, or steal) the fire (which is shown in the Tyger's eyes)." It should also be observed that "dare" is probably the present subjunctive tense of the verb, a fact which tends to bring these presumably past events into the imagination's present focus as the questioner meditates on them.

The sinister connotations of the creator's actions have been scarcely regarded by criticism, but there is nothing in the poem which rules them out. Since "All Religions are One," it is useful to observe parallels to the action of the poem in myth. Bateson recalls Prometheus, the fire bringer—and [co-] maker of man—who stole fire from heaven. A creative blacksmith reminds us of Hephaestus. Both had trouble with Zeus, a fact which becomes relevant to "The Tyger" when we begin to ask why the creator would have to "aspire," above himself. From this point of view, the creative fiat of the Deity of Genesis can hardly be what the speaker is referring to. Aspiring on wings, indeed, recalls Satan's journey out of Hellfire in Paradise Lost.

One passage from The Marriage of Heaven and Hell is particularly relevant here:

16 Selected, p. 118.
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It indeed appear'd to Reason as if Desire was cast out; but the Devil's account is, that the Messiah fell, & formed a heaven of what he stole from the Abyss . . . the Jehovah of the Bible being no other than he who dwells in flaming fire. Know that after Christ's death, he became Jehovah.17

The recent penetrating essay by Harold Bloom on the convoluted ironies of The Marriage makes clear why any brief interpretation of this passage must be both provisional and oversimplified.18 But what this passage implies, when juxtaposed with the second stanza of "The Tyger," is that the fire of the Tyger's eye came initially from the deeps of hell: that the Messiah creator stole it from the "Abyss." The trouble is that the "history" of the creation as given in The Marriage passage is only an important half-truth, for true energy is not devilish. But in "The Tyger" it is clear that the questioner is not able to engage in such complex rational speculations, because he is wholly engaged in his awesome vision. He does not know whether the creation is a good or a bad thing, though he suspects both, but he does know that the Tyger was not created to improve his lot in the world, and he feels a holy dread as he meditates on the divine power which went into its creation.

It is more important for the critic to be able to define the attitude and feelings of the questioner toward his vision of the Tyger and his intimations of the creator than to use "The Tyger" as an occasion to dilate on the status of the creation in Blake's developed thought. Nevertheless, there are at least three things to be gained by doing so. We can, first of all, more clearly understand what to make of the specific questions which the speaker asks; secondly, we can evaluate the significance of certain analogies to "The Tyger" which other critics have suggested; thirdly, the problem provides an occasion for characterizing the difference between the lyrics and the prophecies, for there is still a good deal of confusion on this point.

Hardly any major symbols or acts in Blake's system are considered unequivocally bad, but Blake usually chooses to regard the creation in its malign aspect. "[I think] the Creator of this World must be a very Cruel Being."19 Generally speaking, the creation and the fall are two aspects of the same thing; at best the creation is a measure to stop the gap in Eternity caused by the fall. Thus Adam and Satan are the human forms of the limits of contraction and opacity made to save the Divine Humanity from dropping into oblivion or "Non-Ens." There-

17 K, p. 150.
19 K, p. 617.
fore, when Wicksteed said that the proper illustration for “The Tyger” would be the picture called “The Ancient of Days,” which appears in one form as the frontispiece to Europe, he must have forgotten the sinister implications of the painting because he appears to think of the creation of the Tyger as being for the best.20 Also any scene of the creation in Blake must suggest the great picture of “Elohim Creating Adam,” as Bateson recognizes.21 But, in spite of their grandeur, the first painting presents at best a very dubious benefit, while the presence of the serpent in the second assures that no unmixed blessing is depicted.

Actually, an adept of Blake’s system has no great difficulty in identifying traces, not only of Prometheus, Hephaestus, Satan, and Elohim, but also of the distinctively Blakean characters Urizen, Orc, and Los, in the vision of creation conjured up by the questions of the speaker in “The Tyger.” From Blake’s point of view such a conglomeration is intellectually unintelligible, which is why he was concerned in the prophecies to distinguish these “states.” But if we look around us, we see that most imaginative average men are capable of experiencing the doubts and confusions of the speaker in “The Tyger.” Moreover, even the inspired reader must retain empathic powers great enough to be capable of feeling them too as though they were his own. The incompatibilities in the questioner’s vision are intellectually muddled, but they paradoxically represent a discordia concors because they are imaginatively and existentially real and therefore moving. The prophecies, “allegories addressed to the intellectual powers,” are rarely confused in this way; therefore they can provide a basis for judging the lyrics which primarily engage the emotions. Thus the prophecies are able satisfyingly to contain visions of Experience despite the fundamental incoherence of that state.

With the dramatic situation so defined, we may resume a detailed commentary with the third stanza—in the faith that the character of the speaker in this masterpiece is so crucial as to deserve the most thorough attention. In this stanza the focus is on the making of the Tyger’s heart. The dual subject of the first question here, “shoulder” and “art,” should be recognized as a modulation of the organs mentioned in line three of stanza one, “hand or eye,” but there is a progression in the process of creation indicated here. First we should notice that instead of the option, “or,” there is the conjunction “&.” Furthermore, the shift from “hand” to “shoulder” suggests how much more force is necessary, while the change from “eye” to “art” implies the


21 Selected, p. 118.
need for more practical activity in this stage of the design of the beast. Now the Tyger is coming off the drawing boards and is about to live. In this context the word "could" is less ambiguously a reference to ability than it was in the first stanza, while the word "twist" along with "shoulder" begins to suggest the image of a blacksmith which becomes manifest in the next stanza. The fact that the very heart of the Tyger is said to have "sinews" should suggest that this beast is made for violence rather than compassion. The reader is able to feel the etymology of "sinews," which emphasizes the binding rather than the connecting function, and thus the heart, the organ of pity, is bound by twisted cords in its very make-up. It is necessarily a Tyger of wrath.\footnote{The fact that Blake elsewhere condemns pity and praises wrath does not invalidate for this poem the more common attitudes toward these emotions.}

In the third line the Tyger comes to life. Then occurs one of the famous cruxes in the poem, for the syntax of the fourth line is incomplete despite Blake's two question marks. Everybody knows that Blake originally wrote next "Could fetch it from the furnace deep." But on a formal level such a continuation is impossible because either the stanza would be too long or the sentence would run on into the next stanza. Neither effect was what Blake wanted. Among the other things, either possibility would disturb the effect of precise stage-by-stage progression which the final poem creates. And, of course, explicitly to locate the source of the Tyger's heart in the deep furnace of hell would be to betray the brilliant indeterminacy of origin established in the "deeps or skies" of the second stanza. The revisions indicate that it took Blake himself some time to realize that the speaker in the poem could not know as much as the Bard should know.

There are two emendations for the printed version of this line, "What dread hand? & what dread feet?", which have some authority: Malkin's "forged thy," which has been praised by some critics, and Blake's own "Formed thy" written in ink in one copy of the \textit{Songs}.\footnote{See "Revisions," p. 678–679. Blake's altered version is reproduced to accompany this essay.} One objection to "forged" is that it too explicitly anticipates the blacksmith who is revealed in the next stanza. But Blake's own emendation, especially because it is capitalized, deserves some consideration even though it was an afterthought. It is important to understand that Blake's plates were not easy to change, so that the whole plate might have had to be redone if a major emendation were to be neatly integrated into the text. As it is, Blake rather poorly erased the engraved text and simply penned in the change. Note that he capitalized this word, thus making it the only word in the poem, except "Tyger" or "Lamb," which is capitalized
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when it is not the first in a line. Blake capitalized for emphasis with great freedom in other places, but it is impossible to imagine that he wished to call attention to the Tyger's feet! On the other hand, it is easy to suppose that the capitalized “Formed” indicates exasperation. It may be that some stickler complained to him and that Blake thus said, in effect, “There now, does that make you happy?”

Whatever the circumstances of the emendation, there are several things to be observed about the printed wording. In the unpunctuated second draft, which omits stanzas two and four, Blake allowed the first draft of this stanza to stand unchanged, though the line in question is even more obviously syntactically incomplete in this version than in the final one. It is true, however, that by straining one can integrate this line into its stanza in one of two ways: either, “What dread hand and what dread feet twisted your heart after it began to beat?” or, by changing Blake’s question marks to exclamation points, “What dread hands and feet appeared on the Tyger as it came alive!” But it is obvious that neither of these will really do; each reading is feeble in its own way. We should note that both the hand and the feet were those of the creator in the original version, while the feet belong to the Tyger in the Blakean emendation. But, as we have shown, the Tyger’s feet are not so remarkable as to deserve special attention. Adam’s feet of clay are the last part of him to be formed by the creator in “Elohim Creating Adam,” but such attention to the Tyger’s feet in this poem would be almost as bad as the “ankle” and “knee” of the creator which wandered into Blake’s vision during the first draft. As a matter of fact, the loose syntax of Blake’s printed text is the kind of thing one encounters frequently in his prophecies. It is a distinctive part of his art and idiom which usually justifies itself in context. This device is not to be confused with the indefinite in art which Blake hated; generally it expresses mutuality or indeterminacy and a proper reading will recognize this to be a rhetorical device, not the result of carelessness. In “The Tyger” we should observe that the indeterminate syntax intimately relates the creator and his creature. Any sharp division would constitute a “cloven fiction,” like the assertion that a good God can create evil, and the questioner is too imaginative to rest content with this kind of fallacy. The mutuality of the creator and the Tyger is like that implied in Yeats’s famous question, “How can we tell the dancer from the dance?”

There is one further point to be made concerning the line. Even if we should accept the emendation, weak as it is, the dread hand, at

24 Bateson, Selected, p. 118, correctly judges that the emendation does not help.
least, belongs to the creator. That is, both creator and creature inspire dread, and a dreadful creator is Nobodaddy, Urizen, or Satan. It is true that Blake had no use for creeping Jesus, but from Blake's point of view "Christ the tiger" is the creation of the Church of Caesar and a little old man.

In stanza four, the already living Tyger is completed by the addition of his brain. A prosaic account would suppose merely that the questioner has shifted his attention from the Tyger's heart to its brain, but the imaginative reader recognizes that creation has reached a climax. The meter suggests that now the creator has caught the full rhythm of his work, and the questions come thick and fast as the speaker conjures up the movement of creation by his questions. In this stanza suggestions of the previous stanzas, like "fire" and "shoulder," are more manifestly combined with the "hammer" and the "anvil," thus presenting the image of a smith in his smithy. Notice too that the what the formula of stanza two line four here recurs in lines one and three. But the sense is slightly different in each case. "What the hammer?" refers to a shaping instrument; i.e., "What kind of tool could hammer out this archetypal Tyger?" But "what the chain" has different connotations, and part of the evidence is that Blake did not choose to put a question mark after the phrase as Keynes does in his text. A chain, after all, is not a shaping instrument, though it is a limiting one. The chain is one of Blake's primary symbols for tyranny; it is an instrument which keeps the fallen world from rising, and it has the famous "mind-forg'd manacles" hanging from it. Those in chains are usually portrayed sympathetically by Blake, to be sure, but on idealist premises — "mind-forg'd manacles" mean both the compliance of the victim and the scheming of the tyrant. The rhyme of "chain" and "brain" in this stanza, together with the fact that there is no full stop at the end of the first line, links the two inevitably together.

In the second line of stanza four, the questioner in effect gives the fire of previous stanzas a more definite place of origin, a furnace. Briefly we can say that the furnace is another ambivalent symbol which is usually presented in its malign aspect in the earlier work. It represents the natural body which imprisons, limits, and therefore torments the energy characteristic of life. In its benign aspect, however, the tormenting fire is seen to be the energy itself. There is nothing basically

25 As mentioned before, however, every symbol of evil may be seen as potentially redemptive. The great painting of Michael binding the Dragon Satan is a case in point. The illustration of Los's smithy on plate six of Jerusalem shows the bellows bound down by a chain. However, the binding of Orc by Los in the earlier prophecies is a more ambiguous case.

The Tyger

Tiger, Tiger, burning bright,
In the forests of the night;
What immortal hand or eye
Could frame thy fearful symmetry?

In what distant deeps or skies
Burnt the fire of thine eyes?
On what wings dare he aspire?
What the hand, dare Osborne see?

And what shoulder, and what art,
Could twist the sinews of thy heart?
And when thy heart began to beat,
What dread hand bade formal thy dread feet?

What the hammer? what the chisel
In what priests were thy brains?
What the coin? what dread grapple
Left its deadly terrors deep?

When the stars threw down their spears
And water'd heaven with their tears:
Did he smile his work to see?
Did he who made the Lamb make thee?

Tyger, Tyger, burning bright
In the forests of the night;
What immortal hand or eye
Dare frame thy fearful symmetry?

The Little Girl Found

All the night in one
Lucas parents go
Over valleys deep
While the deserts sleep
Tired and weary play
Stooped with making men
How in arms seven days
They back the desert ways

Seven nights they sleep
Among shadows deep
And dream they see their child
Stared in desert wild

Pule than pathless ways
The fancied image sports

Found
In the fifth chamber were shining forms, which cast the metals into the expanse. Where they were received by Man, who occupied the sixth chamber; and took the forms of books and were arranged in libraries.
peculiar in Blake's ambivalent fire: the three fires of the three regions in Dante give us a clear example of how the significance of the symbol may be modified by its context. But we saw earlier how the source of the Tyger's heart in the first draft was the infernal "furnace deep." Even though Blake suppressed this because it is discordant with the state of mind of his speaker, the reader probably feels the infernal associations of "furnace" in the completed poem more strongly than any heavenly ones. Part of the reason for this is that the "sinews" of the heart in stanza three correspond to the association of "chain" and "brain" here, thus suggesting that the Tyger's creation is netted in the iron web of materialism, which is Blake's version of evil. If these speculations seem too subtle, we should at least recognize some kind of imaginative hiatus between the organic and the inorganic in this stanza. It is horrifying, as well as awesome, to think of an animate thing being hammered into shape in a smithy.

The last two lines of the stanza bear out these implications. The "anvil" of the third line is the other half of the shaping instrument, along with the "hammer" of the first line. They, as it were, spatially bracket the chain-brain forged between them. Then the "dread grasp" of the creator, the act of his "dread hand" of stanza three line four, "dares"—as he dared to aspire and seize the fire in stanza two, lines three and four—to "clasp" (again a bracketing) the "deadly terrors" of the Tyger's brain. Can the phrase "deadly terrors" also be explained away as a mere kenning for energy? The feeling of the final question in this stanza is not—as it was in the first stanza—that the creator was presumptuous or audacious; it is that the relationship between creator and creature is one of irresistible force and immovable object. The Tyger appears to be a Frankenstein monster, but its creator must also be quite monstrous to retain control of it.

The fifth stanza represents a distinct shift of thought. The very fact that none of these lines contains a heavy caesura, as do at least some lines in all the other stanzas, helps to communicate a sense of release and relief after the labor of the preceding stanzas. Nevertheless, this is the most difficult stanza in the poem, and thus it demands the most careful attention. Notice first of all that the stanza breaks into halves according to Blake's punctuation (as opposed to Keynes's comma), which puts a colon after the second line. Blake's punctuation makes interpretation slightly more open-ended than the simpler climactic order suggested by the punctuation of his editors. But before we can attempt to interpret the meaning of the action described in the stanza, we must

27 Nurmi, "Revisions," p. 680, tries to discount the feeling of dread here as being, paradoxically, one of mere awe.
have before us the several possibilities of action which are grammatically implied by Blake's words.

It is noteworthy that Blake has no mark of punctuation after the first line of the stanza:

When the stars threw down their spears
And water'd heaven with their tears:
Did he smile his work to see?
Did he who made the Lamb make thee?

Thus the defeat of the stars and their evident repentance is conceived of as being a single action. Blake's colon does make it possible, however, that "his work" in line three refers to the defeat of the stars by the creator. But the preceding stanzas have devoted so much attention to the creator's work in making the Tyger that the reader probably supposes him to be smiling at the finished beast. Or we can combine the two and read the lines as though the Tyger were created earlier and that later the beast defeated the stars, causing the creator to smile his approval. A fourth possibility would be not to try to work out any causal relationship between the two events, but simply to suppose that the stars capitulated when the creator smiled with satisfaction at his created Tyger.

This is one of the cruxes in the poem where it is most essential to recognize that the poem asks questions rather than makes assertions. Here the state of mind of the awestruck questioner is such, as indicated by his ambiguous questions, that he does not know whether there is a definite relationship between the two events and, for all the reader can tell from the questioner, he may never be able to decide.

Mr. Nurmi has drawn our attention to the fact that in the early drafts Blake entertained the possibility that the creator "laughed" to see his work, a wording which would suggest a joyous occasion.28 But he does not discuss the contrary fact (though he properly transcribes it), that Blake also considered "Dare" instead of "Did" as the first word for both of the last two lines of this stanza. One clear implication of the "Dare" wording is that the creator had his nerve to do so. How dare he smile (or laugh, for that matter) to see the Tyger (or, less likely, the defeat of the stars) that he made, and how dare he who made the Lamb make the Tyger? This phrasing tends to make the insolence of the creator seem more prominent than his courage. But Blake did not want his speaker to be so violently rebellious, and therefore he settled for the

28 Gardner, Infinity, pp. 129-130, gives a particularly effective explanation of the poetic superiority of the final wording.
more neutral repeated "Did," which also makes the tense of the questions a more definite past.

As for the famous question about the Lamb and the Tyger, the grammatical possibilities are roughly these: "Did he who made the Lamb (first?) next make the Tyger, or was the creation of both simultaneous with the defeat of the stars?" Or the question may be a relatively independent afterthought, a speculation which arises from all the previous implications of the poem: "How could the same creator make both the Lamb and the Tyger (and if he could, where is the justice of heaven?)." For Blakean scholars who have supposed that Blake is asking the question, the answer is obviously yes, though a few recent interpreters have thought the answer to be as obviously no. The poetic answer, I must assert again, is that for the speaker the question is a question. In this connection, one should observe that the form of the question in the third line suggests that of line four, thus making it appear as a kind of afterthought, although it cannot be decided on a purely rhetorical level whether the last question is less important than the first, even more important, or of equal importance.

But while from certain points of view the question is not central to the primary concerns of the poem, it represents the climax of the poem for many readers. The whole stanza, of course, is a kind of glorious digression from the primary point of attention in the poem and thus the line in question is only the final leap in a series. According to narrowly formalist standards, the sudden increase in scope provided by the stanza makes it a technical excrescence, but from an imaginative point of view it assures the triumph of the poem. On the other hand, symbolic foreshadowing such as that traced by Gardner is not enough to guarantee specific poetic excellence. It is a cause, but not a sufficient cause.

If the ambiguities of the stanza have been traced with some completeness, we must next consider the complex problem of interpreting it in relation to Blake's whole symbolic system. Nurmi makes a concise statement about the assumptions behind the first two lines:

In [Blake's] work in general, stars and heavens symbolize the rigidly categorical restrictions imposed upon man by laws derived from abstract reason, and the weeping of stars symbolizes at the cosmic level an apocalyptic melting or breaking down of these barriers separating man from his own humanity, a return of man from the "forests of night."

This is an accurate account of Blake's symbolism and thought, and yet there are several problems which arise when we try to apply it directly

29 Ibid., p. 128.
30 "Revisions," p. 672.
to "The Tyger." For example, Nurmi footnotes a page in *Europe* for "forests of night," but the point about that passage is that there man goes into the forests of night as a result of the general disorder attendant on the Fall. In other words, the point is not at all illustrated by the reference. More important, if the defeat of the stars is invariably a part of the final apocalypse, why is it treated in the past tense in this stanza of "The Tyger"? The apocalypse must be an event in the future, or at best the present, from the perspective available to the questioner. Man does not return from the forests of night until the Last Judgment is at hand. If the defeat of the stars is a stage of the apocalypse, then the questioner must be asking his questions from "Eden" or Eternity after Doomsday. But no questions would be necessary in the day of revelation and, furthermore, it is necessary to recall that the Tyger is at present still in the forests of the night, which is why he is so awesome. As Nurmi himself notes in another place, the Tygers themselves return from the forests as part of the apocalypse in Night Nine of *The Four Zoas*. Can the questioner have mistaken the apocalypse as Enitharmon did in *Europe*? This too is clearly unsatisfactory. Another hypothesis is required.

This hypothesis appears in Wicksteed's reading of the stanza, though it must be said that his purple prose tends to obscure the point almost as much as it reveals its meaning. For Wicksteed the stanza deals with the Incarnation:

The stars are the broken and scattered lights of eternity which night itself cannot quench, but which melt into dawn with the dewy return of day. They symbolize the hard cold realm of Reason and War before compassion came with Christ... But the tears symbolise generation and birth [and are connected with] the entrance of the Deity into earth's watery vale by his incarnation in the Virgin's womb.

Are the Lamb and the Tyger alike the offspring of that Divine event? Does God smile equally upon the two? Are both expressions of His very mind and being? There is some meaning even deeper than that, I think, in Blake's question. It does not merely mean, "Did God make both?" It means to ask whether when the morning breaks upon the forests of the night, we shall then see that in making the Lamb God had made the Tyger—in making the Tyger, had made the Lamb?

The stanza, then, refers not to the end of time, but to the center of it


\[32\] "Revisions," p. 674.


\[34\] Wicksteed, p. 198.

\[35\] There is, of course, a persistent attempt to relate this stanza to the War in
in the Christian idea of history, which Blake accepted, as always, with qualifications. Two poems of Milton which Blake illustrated are particularly relevant here: “On the Morning of Christ’s Nativity” and “Paradise Regained.” At the Advent, the night of time in the fallen world begins to turn toward the dewy morning which will follow the blood-red apocalypse of dawn. Both the Lamb and the Tyger will have their parts in this apocalypse, but their natures cannot be harmonized until after Armageddon during the Millennium.

So detailed a commentary on the stanza can only be made from the perspective offered by the later prophecies. But the ability to recognize the differences as well as the similarities between the various phases of Blake’s work is also important for criticism; consequently, some other apparent analogies should be evaluated. On plate ninety-one of Jerusalem, for example, a battle takes place between Los and his Spectre in which Los “reads the Stars” while “forming Leviathan / And Behemoth,” which are Blake’s final reinterpretation of the Tyger symbol. These beasts in turn consolidate into Antichrist, the epitome of Error. The final question of the fifth stanza of “The Tyger” thus eventually becomes translated into the assertion that Los made the way for the Lamb while his Spectre abetted the progress of Antichrist.

But the analytic assertions of Jerusalem can only paraphrase, and thus somewhat distort, the mighty questions of “The Tyger.” Antichrist is a makeshift conglomeration of error and the “rejected corse of death,” Conrad’s “flabby devil,” while the Tyger is fiery energy bound and limited by the fallen world, Melville’s Moby Dick. If he who made the Lamb also made the Tyger, it is because the two beasts are contraries. On one hand, Antichrist, the epitome of error and “negative,” is transcended and cast out, while the Tyger, as Nurmi says, is redeemable. “For every thing that lives is Holy,” concludes the final chorus of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. But everything that lives in the fallen world, lives in error, and if it lives in the forests of the night, it lives by the law of the jungle. If the creator smiles because he sees that in the end the Tyger will leave the forest along with man, a man may feel justified in asking why it is his lot now to be cast among savage beasts. This question cannot be removed from “The Tyger,” and, in spite of assertions to the contrary, it was one of the questions which continued to occupy Blake throughout his life.

Heaven in Milton’s Paradise Lost and thus to the beginning of Christian history. See Bateson, Selected, p. 118. Actually such an interpretation is quite impossible, because we hear nothing of weeping rebel Angels in Milton’s authoritative account, the reason being that they are frustrated rather than repentant.

The only variation in wording between the last stanza of "The Tyger" and the first is the shift from "Could" in line four to "Dare" in the final line. This change has been widely noticed and frequently explained. The foregoing discussion here, however, should prepare the reader to feel the full force of "Dare" in the final line as an expression of indignity. Together with the accumulation of questions which lead up to the smile of the creator and the reference to the Lamb, the word seems to indicate that outrage is the strongest implication of the line. "Dare" may still indicate courage on the part of the creator, but since the speaker continues to the end of the poem preoccupied by a vision of the forests of the night, having more promise than evidence that day will dawn, he must be more struck by the Tyger's fearful aspect than by its symmetry. On the other hand, the symmetry of the poem which ends in a manner so like its beginning must surely impress the reader. The fact that in the last stanza the poem comes full cycle, as it were, with its speaker having achieved only one word more of insight than he possessed at the onset—and this in spite of the wide perspective taken in during the whole poem—should serve to relate this poem to such later poems as "The Mental Traveller" which study the tragic "Orc" cycle of life in a more analytic manner. Events at the end of Jerusalem, Blake's last prophecy, also come full cycle, but that poem is a cycle to end all cycles, and the events are brought to an epic resolution.

II. THE ILLUSTRATION

No account of the meaning of "The Tyger" can pretend to completeness unless it contains a study of the details of Blake's illustration. Yet only two critics have made any serious effort to deal with the total meaning of the design. Wicksteed, who can be a most painstaking and valuable exegete of Blake's pictorial symbolism, says merely:

We know that he had never seen a tiger in the forests, and one would almost say, if one judged by the illustration, that he had never seen one, where they were in those days kept, at the Tower. As one looks at the quaint creature in the design, one almost wishes that Blake had chosen to paint its purely spiritual form as he painted the ghost of a flea. But he had tried to portray the smile of the Deity on its lips, and to show the ultimate "humanity divine" of Nature's most terrific beast—unless it is best to regard the whole design as a mask, deriding those who expect upon a mortal page the picture of the Deity at work.38

38 Wicksteed, p. 193.
Wicksteed's reading of the poem itself, however, shows no influence of these observations. More integrated are the remarks of Erdman:

"The Tyger" raises the cosmic question: How can the tiger of experience and the lamb of innocence be grasped as the contraries of a single "fearful symmetry"? The answer, suggested in the question form, is that the very process of the creation of the tiger brings about the condition of freedom in which his enemies (his prey) become his friends, as angels, become devils in The Marriage. The tiger in Blake's illustration of this poem is notoriously lacking in ferocity, and critics have sometimes concluded that Blake was unable to "seize the fire" required to draw a fearful tiger. He could at least have tried, but he is showing us the final tiger, who has attained the state of organized innocence as have the adjacent lions and tigers of "The Little Girl Lost" and "The Little Girl Found" who demonstrated that "wolvish howl" and "lion's growl" and "tygers wild" are not to be feared. Blake had no difficulty drawing a fearful were-wolf... or for that matter a fearful flea. But his tiger is not even baring its fangs.39

What Wicksteed and Erdman certainly establish is that the depicted Tyger is no accident and that it deliberately does not exist on the same level as the Tyger envisioned in the poem. Wicksteed's initial suggestions are not very convincing, however; the Tyger's mouth is not smiling, in fact its lined face suggests worry, and there is certainly nothing depicted which resembles the enigmatic smile the creator may have smiled, according to the poem.40 As for the Tyger's depicting the "humanity divine," strictly speaking, the Tyger would have to be even more heroic, as well as human, than the one suggested by the poem in order to reflect the Edenic state; possibly Wicksteed had in mind something like Erdman's organized innocence, however. Wicksteed's final suggestion, that

40 At least there is no trace of a smile in the British Museum Small version he reproduces on p. 192c. Like Blake's other designs, the "Tyger" plate varies considerably from one version to another because Blake seems to have approached the problem freshly each time he painted it in water colors. The standard bibliographical study of the Songs is contained in Geoffrey Keynes and Edwin Wolf 2nd, William Blake's Illuminated Books: A Census (New York, 1953), esp. pp. 50-69; their letter designations of the twenty-six known original copies supersede the earlier codes of Sampson and Keynes. I have examined four original versions of the "Tyger" plate: copies I (Weidner), K (Pierpont Morgan), O (Harvard), and P (formerly Emerson). The photographic reproduction in Wicksteed is evidently from Copy T, a color-printed page, which differs considerably in character from the engraved versions. Except for Wicksteed's reproduction, the most accessible version is the Albion-United Book Guild facsimile (1947), evidently of copy O. More accurate is the photographic reproduction in Keynes and Wolf, plate 2, p. 53a, of copy P. It is a photograph of this version which accompanies this article.
Erdman's attempt to see the Tyger as an expression of organized innocence, on the other hand, had more initially to recommend it and his reference to "The Little Girl Found" does give us a valuable perspective on the Tyger design. There is, for example, a more powerful (though possibly less formidable) looking tyger depicted on the first page of "The Little Girl Found." It should be observed, however, that this beast stands in darkness under a dead tree whose limbs become entangled in a serpentine vegetation growing up in the left margin. And on the second page of the poem a baby is depicted riding an animal which is perhaps a tyger minus its stripes ("Among tygers wild"), though it could also be a lioness. On this page, however, the tree in the right margin is a double-entwined living tree—expressing the union of love—which does not overarch the figures of animals and children. In the left margin there is a delicate tree entwined with a vine. Here the stripeless tyger with the rider is going in the same direction as the Tyger, but it is significantly looking back to the right toward the vital Tree of Life.41 There is no doubt that the situation depicted on this second page is "organized innocence,"42 but I suggest that the term should be applied to Blake's pictorial symbolism only when there is a rider on the beast. Thus even the Tyger on the first page of "The Little Girl Found" is a tyger of experience, as the sinister vegetable setting makes clear. Some further ramifications of the organized innocence symbolism will be examined below. But I wish to make still more clear the basis of my disagreement with Mr. Erdman's general interpretation of "The Tyger." His assertion that the mere creation of the Tyger brings about a condition of freedom in which enemies become friends seems to oversimplify Blake's conception of history. As I suggested earlier, this is the final result of the action implied by the fifth stanza of the poem, but what the poem itself is primarily concerned with is the condition prior to the reversal. The Tyger and the Lamb do not lie down together in the forests of the night.

One picture ought to be worth a thousand words in these matters, but if we have studied Blake carefully, and also his interpreters, we are aware that people see what they want to see and sometimes nothing

41 The illustrations accompanying this article for "The Little Girl Found" are based on copy B (1794), as in Wicksteed. In the Blake Trust facsimile of copy Z, the mild Tyger depicted on the first page has stripes hardly more distinct than the thin lines on the ostensible lioness shown on the second page.

42 For an explanation of the term, see Prophet, pp. 115–118. The basic idea for this state was first suggested by Thomas Wright, The Life of William Blake (Olney, Bucks, 1929) I, 25, and plate 12. Gleckner, Piper, pp. 46 and passim, discusses the concept effectively, though he usually calls it simply "higher innocence."
else. The only way, therefore, to be certain that the design is being properly discussed is for the critic to enumerate every potentially significant detail. The Tyger is going toward the left with its front foot forward and its hind foot pushing. Thus it is in exactly the opposite position to the Lamb in the foreground of the Song of Innocence. Wicksteed's brilliant theory about the general meaning of right and left in Blake's pictorial symbolism has been challenged by several recent critics, but it would be hard to deny that contraries are being depicted by this device. We have commented previously on the lined and rather worried (or possibly pathetic) look on the Tyger's face. In the left margin in front of the Tyger is an indefinite object which is evidently a seven- or eight-pronged bush. One stem goes up the left side of the page and ties in on the loop of the T in the title of the page. This should be compared with the above-mentioned serpentine stem in the left margin of the first illustration of "The Little Girl Found." Underneath the loop a bird flies to the left. The title of the poem occupies the top of the page. In the right margin is the large mottled and striped tree which leans slightly to the left at the top of the page and curves down until it spreads out at its base and blends with the hindquarters of the Tyger. Three dead branches proceed from the tree: two shoots from the top branch bracket the last three letters of the title and the third underlines the last two words of the first stanza, thus setting it off from the second stanza. The second branch has only one distinct shoot which crosses the entire page in most copies, thus splitting the text of the poem in half. The bottom branch also has three distinct stems, two of which are short. The first short one points to the word "make" in the last line of the fifth stanza; the second underlines primarily "made of Lamb" of that line and functions as a separation between the last two stanzas; the lower short stem points to the word "eye" in the last stanza. Two more devices in the design should also be mentioned. The tails on the letter Y of the word "thy" in the fourth and last lines of the poem are very prominent, especially the latter one which points to the Tyger's head. Note that the letter has no such flamboyant tail in such a word as "deadly" in stanza four. The tails on the letter are even more exuberant in the word "symmetry" in the final line. The first has a triple serpentine squiggle which underlines the last three letters of "fearful" and corresponds to the torso of the beast, while the final Y points to its hindquarters. The three areas of the Tyger which are thus picked out correspond to the head, heart, and loins that assume considerable importance in Blake's symbolic system.\(^{43}\) As a partial summary of the total effect of the design, note that the depicted

\(^{43}\) For unmistakable evidence that even the shapes of letters may be meaningful in Blake's work see, for example, plate seventeen of The Marriage of Heaven and
Tyger is first framed by a band of color beneath the poem, and that then the stanzas themselves, together with the shoots, especially the one that bisects the poem, successively box in the animal from above. An examination of the intermingled lines of the branches and title at the top of the page will confirm the fact that this is a deliberate effect.

This enumeration of the "minute particulars of the design" should by itself indicate the kind of meaning which this symbolic structure must communicate. Though the colors in some versions of the poem lighten the effect, the symbolic function of the lines is to communicate tyranny and repression. As in the first page of "The Little Girl Found," the huge dead tree is the tree of mystery, which Blake identified with the Biblical tree of knowledge of good and evil, and its twigs circumscribe the text of the poem itself. The fact that the tree is distinctly striped in some versions shows that it is the vegetable equivalent of the Tyger. This Tree of Death epitomizes the fallen or "vegetable" world; it represents the forests of the night which begin at the lower limit of the state Blake elsewhere calls Generation, where spiritual energy is imprisoned and almost dissipated in conflicting cross-purposes. It is no accident that the Tyger's loins are set against this tree so as, in the color-printed copy T version, to be almost indistinguishable from it. All the weary and distinctly un-heroic features of the bedraggled little Tyger are consistent with the doubtless modern folklore notion that only old decrepit tigers are dangerous.

There is a sense too in which the illustration is a joke, but it is a joke (pace Mr. Wicksteed) not so much on "those who expect upon a mortal page the picture of the Deity at work," as it is on the awestruck questioner, on the Tyger, and perhaps on the creator himself. "Did he smile his work to see?" Is this the best that fallen world can show? When immortal energy is hammered into merely mortal form, what else can appear but a parody of eternal vitality? Note how these questions emerge from the contrapuntal irony contained in the relation between the last line of the poem and the depicted shabby beast. "Dare" appears over the toothless muzzle of the Tyger; "frame" over its limited head and brain; "thy" over the shoulder, but, as said, the long-tailed Y points again to the head; "fearful" over the unimpressive torso; and "symmetry" (along with the blackest question mark in the poem) over that part of the loins which emerge from the overwhelming background of the tree. Perhaps the final meaning of the serpentine squiggle on the first Y of the word is that the depicted beast is in fact a travesty of symmetry, and it certainly corresponds to the episode in The Marriage of Heaven

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Hall: Reproduced in Facsimile with a Note by Max Plowman (London, 1927). The penultimate word "twisted" has a triple squiggle on the letter "d."
and Hell where the fearful aspect of the Tyger is identified with the serpent Leviathan.

If we now study the details at the top of the page, from which the depicted Tyger is successively cut off, we see that the maze of serpentine branches and letters has only one exit, the winding one between the two words of the title. This is the final confirmation that the Tyger is closed in from above, tied down to this fallen world, framed. Indeed, the gratuitous loop on the tail of the letter Y in the title may remind us that the name of the beast is pronounced as though it were spelled “Tie/ger”! But what of the tiny bird winging its way to the left under the serpentine vegetation? Surely it is mentioned in the “Proverbs of Hell”: “When thou seest an Eagle, thou seest a portion of Genius; lift up thy head!” or in the motto to the first “Memorable Fancy” which precedes the “Proverbs”:

How do you know but ev’ry Bird that cuts the airy way,  
Is an immense world of delight, clos’d by your senses five?44

The bird in “The Tyger” plate has entered into the fallen world, but it is still far from the Tyger. In Milton this bird will be the lark who flies to the gate of heaven to bring back news of the Apocalypse when Eternity will again embrace the productions of time. Here the bird expresses the tiny portion of the Tyger’s genius which is least circumscribed, least imprisoned in the forests of the night. The fact that the Tyger’s head, as opposed to his loins, is outlined against the light, shows that the dawn may after all not be far off and that the Tyger will soon cast off the rags of its fallen state and reassume the lineaments of its original glory.45 Thus all three times, Creation, Advent, and Apocalypse, are suggested in this mammoth little poem-design, and the whole spectrum of attitudes from heroic to mock-heroic, vision to question, is contained within its scope.

We can say with more certainty now that Mr. Erdman’s suggestion that the depicted Tyger represents organized innocence is premature; this state will only follow the final emergence of the Tyger on the great day from the forests of the night. If we wish to see an animal version of this state, we must turn to plate fifteen of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, where a drunken eagle carries off a smiling serpent in what is the best emblem in the book for its title. The mutual ecstasy is more com-

44 The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, K, plate 9, no. 15, p. 152 and plate 7, p. 150.
45 This is particularly evident in copy Z where the Tyger’s head and left front leg are outlined in pink. But the perspective achieved in the illustration is both more optimistic and more comprehensive—more prophetic—than that attained by the speaker of the poem.
plete than in the organized innocence illustrations in "America" and 
*The Book of Thel*,46 because the vehicular power is provided by the 
 rider, not by the mount. If the "devils" have usurped the energy, it is 
because the "angels" have deserted their own nature. The balance will 
be restored on Judgment Day. But the illustration to "The Tyger" pri-
marily depicts the divorce of heaven and hell, the split between the 
Eagle and the Tyger, which is the most important fact about the world 
we live and die in.

46 See America, plate 11, both the upper and lower illustrations, *The Book of 
Thel*, plate 6, and *Prophet*, p. 107. The illustration from *The Marriage of Heaven 
and Hell* accompanying this article is from the Dent facsimile (1927) of copy I.

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