

CHAPTER 6

THE RECEPTION OF WILLIAM BLAKE IN SPAIN

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Introduction

Spain's acquaintance with William Blake began rather late and his work is probably less well known than that of other British Romantic poets, especially Lord Byron and S. T. Coleridge, each of whom has received considerably more attention.¹ Blake's presence is traceable from the early nineteenth century onwards, and his influence has been significant in the works of some important Spanish authors – poets, painters, musicians and visual artists – in the twentieth and twentieth-first centuries.

There are two main circumstances that can explain the late reception of Blake in Spain. Firstly, scant attention was paid to his work in his own country before the end of the nineteenth century. As is well known, the first edition of Blake's collected poetry and prose was not published until 1925, by Geoffrey Keynes (*The Writings of William Blake*). Secondly, the reception of any author or work is indissolubly linked with the ideological and socio-political circumstances of the country in question. In the case of Blake's reception in Spain, long periods of conservatism and censorship, such as those of the absolutist reign of Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) and the Francoist dictatorship a century later (1939–75), mark the almost complete disappearance of a poet who was generally considered a radical and a visionary. There are, however, two periods in which Blake's presence is more evident: the first is the turn of the twentieth century and the two decades that followed, a period that saw the demand of a poetic renewal by the authors of the Generation of '98; the second period, the 1970s, was a time marked by a political and cultural liberation resulting from the end of Franco's dictatorship. At the turn of the twentieth century a group of poets and intellectuals, led by Miguel de Unamuno, turned against the bombastic style of contemporary verse. The group proposed a regeneration of Spanish poetry in the light of the tenets and style of European Romanticism. The 1970s was a crucial turning point in the reception of Blake in Spain, as it was for many other Anglophone authors, due to the end of Franco's regime, the birth of English studies as part of the university curriculum and the foundation of the Spanish Asociación Española de Estudios Anglo-Norteamericanos (AEDEAN) in 1976.² One of the results of these developments is that from the 1970s onwards a wealth of translations of Blake's verse has been published and scholarship has flourished as a consequence. In delving into the reception of Blake in Spain, this chapter will consider translations, criticism and literary influence, visual art, music and popular culture in order to provide a comprehensive overview of his presence in the country.

Translations and the Creation of the Canon

André Lefevere has highlighted the central role of translations in the creation of literary fame, that is, in 'the general reception and survival of works of literature among non-professional readers' (1992, 1). Through translations, the image of an author is shaped and projected in different national, historical and cultural contexts. Analysis of the selection of poems translated, and the introduction, notes and annotations that usually accompany those translations, can provide us with a preliminary overview of the presence of an author in a specific country of reception. This is especially true in the case of Blake's reception in Spain. The part played by translations, especially the earliest ones, is remarkable because not only did some make Blake's work available to a Spanish readership but they also provided long introductions which constituted the first and, for a long time, the only critical approaches to the poet in Spanish.

Blake's poems first appeared in Spain in anthologies of verse in translation. The nature of this type of anthology implies a double process: first selection and then translation. It is thus interesting for our purposes to observe the space the English author is given in these collections, since it shows the importance given to him by editors among English poets and in the history of English poetry in general.³

As far as I know, the first poem by Blake to be published in Spanish translation was 'Ah! Sun-flower' ('El girasol') from *Songs of Experience*. It was translated by Antonio Balbín de Unquera (1842–1919)⁴ and included in *Antología de líricos ingleses y angloamericanos* (Anthology of English and Anglo-American lyrical poets) in 1915. Edited by the Venezuelan poet and essayist Miguel Sánchez Pesquera (1851–1920), this anthology is a two-volume compilation of English poems previously translated into Spanish by different hands and ordered alphabetically by author. Blake's presence in this collection is rather minor, compared with other Romantic authors. When covering the Romantic period in his introduction, Sánchez Pesquera discusses Southey, Scott, P. B. Shelley, Byron, Wordsworth and Keats, but he makes only one reference to Coleridge and does not mention Blake at all.

In 1918 Fernando Maristany (1883–1924) published translations of eighty of the hundred poems included in Adam L. Gowans's *The Hundred Best English Poems* (1904) and chose twenty others to complete *Las cien mejores poesías líricas de la lengua inglesa* (The hundred best English lyric poems). In neither Gowans's anthology nor Maristany's translations is there any place for Blake's verse. However, in the prologue to the Spanish volume, written by the critic and translator Enrique Díez-Canedo (1879–1944), Blake is mentioned as one of the precursors of Romanticism and is described as 'an extravagant painter, delirious too, William Blake, who found purity and innocence on the way back from his apocalyptic visions.'⁵ This short statement is probably the first critical note published in Spanish about the English poet.

The following two years witnessed the appearance of two more anthologies featuring a few of Blake's poems. In 1919 *Manojo de poesías inglesas puestas en verso castellano* (A handful of English poems in Spanish verse), edited and translated by Salvador de Madariaga,⁶ included Blake's 'Never seek to tell thy Love' ('El secreto del amor') and a

fragment from 'The Everlasting Gospel' ('El evangelio eterno'). In 1920 *Sones de la lira inglesa* (Songs of English lyrics) was published by the Cuban-born poet Gabriel de Zéndegui (1851–1922). In this volume, the first bilingual anthology, Zéndegui translates Blake's poem 'Ah! Sun-flower' ('Al girasol') and, quite freely, the first four lines of 'Auguries of Innocence', which is given the English title 'To see the world in a grain of sand' and the Spanish 'Nada es pequeño ni vano' ('Nothing is small or vain').

Nada es pequeño . . . Si un grano
de arena suma a la tierra
y una flor al cielo encierra,
a lo infinito en la mano
podrás tener . . . Nada es vano . . .

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Zéndegui adds 'Nada es pequeño' (Nothing is small) at the beginning and 'Nada es vano' (Nothing is vain) at the end of the passage, as though he wanted to bring his own interpretation to Blake's poem. He joined these two lines of his own composition to create a title for the translation: 'Nada es pequeño ni vano' (Nothing is small or vain).

Quite remarkable is the case of the first volume entirely devoted to Blake's poetry in translation (Blake 1928b). Published by Edmundo González-Blanco in 1928, *La boda del Cielo y el Infierno: Primeros libros proféticos* (The marriage of heaven and hell: First prophetic books) includes a representative and large selection of Blake's poems as well as a substantial introduction. The poems are classified under different categories: 'Dogmas and Principles' ('Dogmas y principios'), 'Symbolic Legends' ('Leyendas simbólicas'), 'Contemporary Events' ('Los acontecimientos contemporáneos') and 'Cosmogony and Great Symbols' ('La cosmogonía y los grandes símbolos'). Under 'Dogmas and Principles' are collected *La boda del cielo y el infierno* (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*), *Todas las religiones no forman más que una sola* (*All Religions are One*), *No existe religión natural* (*There is No Natural Religion*), *Entonces ella trajo al mundo el deseo pálido* ('Then She bore Pale desire') and *El evangelio eterno*, a fragment from 'The Everlasting Gospel'. 'Symbolic Legends' includes *El libro de Tiriél* (*The book of Tiriél*), *El libro de Thel* (*The Book of Thel*), *Visiones de las hijas de Albión* (*Visions of the Daughters of Albion*), *El canto de la libertad* ('A Song of Liberty'), *América* (*America*) and *La revolución francesa* (*The French Revolution*) belong to 'Contemporary Events'. Under 'Cosmogony and Great Symbols' are gathered *El primer libro de Urizen* (*The First Book of Urizen*), *El libro de Ahania* (*The Book of Ahania*), *El libro de Los* (*The Book of Los*), *El canto de Los* (*The Song of Los*) and *Europa* (*Europe*).

Although González-Blanco claims at the very outset of his introduction that his translation is faithful to the original,⁷ in fact he drew mainly upon the work of Pierre Berger, who in 1927 published *Premier Livres Prophétiques* (The first prophetic books) with a long introduction.⁸ The titles of Blake's poems and paintings mentioned in the introduction present so many mistakes that they cast doubt on González-Blanco's competence in English. It seems clear that the translation was mediated through Berger's

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French rather than from the original English, since most of the references to previous scholarship and translations are French, and indeed every poem selected by González-Blanco for translation appears in Berger's publication. An analysis of the translations confirms that they are a literal rendering into Spanish of Berger's French version; moreover, González-Blanco follows Berger's punctuation rather than that of the original English in the Keynes edition.

However, despite the fact that González-Blanco's translation is evidently mediated, it is necessary to acknowledge its significant contribution to the reception of Blake in Spain. Not only does it make available for the first time much of the poet's work to a Spanish readership, but it also provides a substantial body of critical scholarship. In the introduction, after several pages devoted to Blake's life and personality, González-Blanco explores his philosophical influences, discovering connections with mystical traditions and claiming for Blake a superior intellectual position: 'Blake's standing is much more elevated than that of Boehme and Swedenborg. He has much higher delicacy and depth and a broader imaginative horizon than that of the German mystic and the Swedish visionary.'⁹ González-Blanco also attempts to systematize Blake's thought, which, he admits, the poet himself did not view as a unity; hence his notion of Blake's 'dogmas and principles'.¹⁰ The introduction finishes with a critical analysis in which most of Blake's literary production, including the three longest poems is discussed, including verse omitted from the volume, such as *Poetical Sketches*, *An Island in the Moon* and *Songs*, which the translator labels 'poemas profanos' ('profane poems', Blake 1928b, 111).

In 1934 Pablo Neruda published his translations of *Visions* and *The Mental Traveller*, thereby adding to the catalogue of poems available in Spanish at that time. His sources were *Poetry and Prose of William Blake* edited by Keynes (1927) and the French translations by Berger (1927) and André Gide (1923).¹¹ He also notes the existence of a Spanish version of Gide's translation of *Marriage* published in the Mexican journal *Contemporáneos* (Contemporaries) by the poet Javier Villaurrutia.¹² As a sort of prologue, Neruda translates two paragraphs from the concluding pages of G. K. Chesterton's *William Blake* (1910). Since Chesterton's work was not translated into Spanish until 2010, we must assume that these passages are Neruda's own version of the original. It must be noted that Neruda's translation appeared in *Cruz y Raya* (vol. 20, November 1934), a journal with a well-defined Catholic strain. This fact would explain the selection of passages from Chesterton's work, in which Blake's supposed Catholicism and inclination towards certain Christian doctrines are emphasized (Chesterton 1910, 208–9, 209–10). The translation is accompanied by three images in colour, taken, as Neruda informs us, from reproductions of Blake's originals published in 1927 by the British Museum in *Coloured Prints by William Blake (1757–1827)*. The images are the title-page of *Visions*, the lower half of 'The Argument' (without the text) and the coloured print 'Albion Rose'. It is important to note that these are the first Blake reproductions to be published in Spain.

These translations by González-Blanco and Neruda may be the source of certain Blakean influences in Spanish authors who at the time were still unfamiliar with the

English language, notably Juan Ramón Jiménez (1881–1958) and Luis Cernuda (1902–63), both major figures in Spanish literature.

During the period of the Civil War (1936–39) and Franco's dictatorship (1939–75), only two references to Blake can be traced, both of them in the 1940s. The first appears in an anthology of Romantic and Victorian poetry by the Catalan author Marià Manent, first published in 1945 and reprinted five times thereafter. This was the first volume of a series entitled *Poesía Inglesa* (English poetry) published between 1945 and 1948, which the editor José Janés had commissioned from Manent.¹³ In this bilingual volume, Manent provided translations of 'The Sick Rose', 'Eternity', the first stanza of the short poem 'And this those feet in ancient time' from the preface to *Milton*, (*M I*: 1–4; *E* 95) and *The*. The collection constituted the most complete anthology of English verse in the forties and became highly influential for Spanish poetry of that decade and the following. Pascual Garrido has suggested that Manent could have based his Spanish translations on his previous volume of English poetry in Catalan, *Versions de l'angles* (Versions from the English, 1938) since there is an almost entire coincidence of authors and poems in the two volumes (2001, 190).

Pascual Garrido also notes that certain contemporary factors favoured the publication of *Poesía Inglesa* (2001, 189). In 1940 the British Institute was founded in Madrid, directed by Walter Starkie (1894–1976), who made a great effort to disseminate British culture in Spain, in conjunction with certain intellectuals, including Manent and Janés, who sought to internationalize Cataluña by promoting knowledge of foreign literature through translation, even if this had to be into Castilian Spanish.¹⁴ As advocates of Catalan nationalism and the Catalan language, both these authors supported the earliest translations of Blake's verse into Catalan. The first, *Les noces del cel i de l'infern* (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*), by Agustí Esclasans was published in Janés's series *Quaderns literaris* (Literary notebooks) in 1935, a year before the outbreak of the Civil War.¹⁵ For obvious political reasons, the second had to wait until the end of Franco's regime to see the light of day. This was Manent's *Libres profètics de William Blake* (William Blake's prophetic books, Blake 1976). A year earlier, Antoni Turull had published *Cançons d'innocència i d'experiència: Mostrant els dos estats contraris de l'ànima humana* (Songs of innocence and of experience: showing the two opposite states of the human soul, Blake 1975), and in 1977 Segimon Serralonga published a translation of Blake's *Marriage* (Blake 1977c). Two more translations into Catalan have since been produced: *Libres profètics de Lambeth: profecies polítiques* (Lambeth prophetic books: Political prophecies), translated in two volumes by Miquel Desclot (Blake 1987c and 1989) and more recently, *Milton: un poema* (*Milton: A Poem*) translated by Enric Casasses (Blake 2004) and published in a bilingual edition by Quaderns Crema (Cream notebooks). Curiously, *Milton* was translated into Catalan before any Spanish translation had appeared.

In 1947 a curious anonymous Spanish translation of *Urizen* was published in San Sebastián, with a very short introduction. The influence of González-Blanco's translation is clear: the author characterizes *Urizen* as one of Blake's 'Cosmological and Symbolic Legends' ('Leyendas cosmológicas y simbólicas', Blake 1947, 5), which echoes González-

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Blanco's classification of Blake's poems. Over just five pages the translator offers a brief and somewhat reductionist explanation of the symbolic meaning of Urizen, Los, Eternity, Enitharmon and Orc; his avowed purpose is to make the poem's inner meaning accessible to readers unfamiliar with Blake's cosmology.

After a gap of more than two decades there followed an outburst of translations which coincided with the birth of English studies in Spanish universities and the end of the Franco regime in the mid-1970s. Since then an abundance of translations has been published and, as a result, all of Blake's work is today accessible in Spanish. It is clear that there is a preference for certain works, notably *Songs of Experience* (Blake 2000a), *Songs* (Blake 1977; Blake 1987) and *Marriage* (Blake 2000b; Blake 2002b; Blake 2007). Soledad Capurro published translations of both *Marriage* and *Songs* in a single volume (Blake 1979).

Special mention should be made of Pablo Mañé Garzón's two-volume *William Blake: Poesía Completa* (William Blake: Complete poetry), which was published in 1980 and reprinted several times thereafter (Blake 1980). The title is rather misleading, since the volume omits *Four Zoas*, *Milton* and *Jerusalem* – a curious fact, since this is still the most popular volume of Blake's poetry sold in Spain.

In recent decades, Jordi Doce,¹⁶ poet, literary critic and translator, has played a noteworthy role in the dissemination of English poetry, especially of the Romantic period, in Spain. His magnificent work *Imán y desafío: Presencia del romanticismo inglés en la poesía Española contemporánea* (Attraction and challenge: The presence of English romanticism in contemporary Spanish poetry, 2005) is a good place to start any serious study of the modern reception of British Romantic poetry in Spain. Doce shows his deep understanding of English Romanticism, acquired in his activity as a translator, and Spanish contemporary verse. As regards this book, he estates: '[it] is the indirect product of my work as a translator of English-language poetry, and as such it attempts to formalize and structure, as far as possible, certain intuitions and convictions arising in the course of my work.'¹⁷ Doce is also responsible for two bilingual anthologies of Blake's verse. The first, (Blake 2001), is entitled *Los bosques de la noche: poemas, canciones y epigramas* (The forests of the night: Poems, songs and epigrams), with an obvious reference to 'The Tyger'. Doce explains the principle behind his selection: his purpose is to 'recover for the reader those sections of Blake's oeuvre that express in the clearest and most succinct way his view of existence.'¹⁸ Paradoxically, his intention is to depict through specific examples a more comprehensive view of Blake's thought, which, he himself admits, is essentially a criticism of the holistic character of the Blake's literary universe. Doce selects poems and passages from *Poetical Sketches*, *Songs*, the Rossetti MS, *Notebook*, and *Milton*. He chooses those poems and passages that 'condense in only a few lines his hatreds and obsessions, his judgments and humours [...], those that enclose in a handful of words a symbol or an emblematic image.'¹⁹ He also includes a selection of letters written by Blake and contemporaries who met him or knew his work, among them Coleridge, Charles Lamb and Henry Crabb Robinson.²⁰

In his insightful introduction to *Los bosques de la noche*, Doce concedes the danger that 'in highlighting [Blake's] short poems, his songs, his epigrams [...] we show scorn

for his long poems.²¹ That he himself avoided this possibility is attested by his later publication, *Ver un mundo en un grano de arena* (To see the world in a grain of sand), in which Doce translated most of Blake's so-called prophetic poems (Blake 2009). In an interview coinciding with the volume's publication, Doce explains why he took his time to translate these texts: 'And, finally, there is the Blake of his long and visionary poems, whom I reached later and did not understand fully, I realize now, until some years ago. To read a great poet such as Blake is a long-life task.'²² The book also includes a good number of illustrations that permit the reader to enjoy Blake's skill as a printmaker and engraver.

We have seen that it is only Neruda's translation (Blake 1934) that provides concrete evidence of Blake's talent as a visual artist by including a small selection of his paintings and illustrations. However, Blake's poems are indissolubly linked with the designs that accompanied them; they are 'illuminated books' and, consequently, if we are to fully appreciate Blake's artistry, it is necessary to read the verse in its original physical context. In this sense, a quite remarkable effort has recently been made by the publisher Ediciones Atalanta, which brought out in 2014 a splendid bilingual two-volume edition of the complete *Prophetic Books*, with all images in colour (Blake 2014a). In order to provide a more comprehensive view of Blake's work, they also published a volume of eight essays by Kathleen Raine, translated by Carla Carmona (Raine 2014). The same year saw the appearance of a bilingual edition of *An Island in the Moon*, translated and edited by Fernando Castanedo and produced by the prestigious Spanish publishing house Cátedra (Blake 2014b). The translation is preceded by an introduction which provides not only a discerning critical study of the text but also a detailed philological analysis of the Fitzwilliam manuscript, fully reproduced in the last pages. This is the first time that the work has been available in Spanish and it completes the catalogue of translated texts, unveiling for Spanish readers a generally unknown facet of the English author, that of the satirical, scatological and humorous Blake.

Critical Scholarship

The remarkable increase in translations of Blake's work during the last four decades has not been accompanied by a significant body of literary commentary. The criticism in Spanish which has been available has often been translated from Anglophone studies (for example, Bloom 1974 and Bindman 1989). As Gimeno Suances has noted (2003b, 38), this lack of critical work on Blake has meant that Spanish readers seeking to acquaint themselves with the poet have been obliged to turn to whatever commentary has been included in the translations. More recently, three books have been translated: as well as the aforementioned volume of essays by Kathleen Raine (2014), there have appeared Judy Cox's *William Blake: Flagelo de tiranos* (William Blake: The scourge of tyrants, 2004) and G. K. Chesterton's *William Blake* (2010).

It should be noted that Blake was almost entirely overlooked by Spanish critics and scholars until the 1930s. For example, in his well-known *Historia de las ideas estéticas*

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(History of aesthetics, 1883–91), Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo devotes most of his discussion of English Romanticism to Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey and Byron, and omits to mention Blake. As far as I know, Blake's first appearance in a critical work by a Spanish scholar can be dated to 1920, when Salvador de Madariaga published in London *Shelley and Calderón, and Other Essays on English and Spanish Poetry*, which he himself translated in 1922 as *Ensayos anglo-españoles*. In the original English essay, 'Spanish Popular Poetry', Madariaga compares Spanish popular poetry with Blake's lyrics, and finds close resemblances:

In his pure and innocent individualism, in his courageous and lofty amorality, in his disinterestedness and utter lack of meanness, in that virility of his idea of love, so free and so chaste, and lastly in his almost mystic feeling of reality, William Blake is the poet whose spirit is in closest sympathy with the spirit of Spain and her people. He sang of innocence and experience, and his poetry is thus rich in songs and proverbs. [. . .] Blake's world is the same as that of the Spanish coplas [ballads], midway between the human soul and nature.

1920, 117

To illustrate his comparison, Madariaga quotes Blake's 'My Pretty Rose-Tree' and 'Never seek to tell thy love' (117, 118), which are translated in the Spanish edition; he also mentions 'The Clod and the Pebble' (120) and 'Auguries of Innocence' (120).²³

Some thirty years later, Luis Cernuda (1902–63), a prolific poet and literary critic, would show his admiration for Blake in *Pensamiento poético en la lírica inglesa: Siglo XIX* (Poetic thought in the English lyric: The nineteenth century). This systematic study of English poetry was first published in Mexico in 1958, and then in Spain in 1986. However, Cernuda's interest in Blake was born much earlier. He owned several editions of Blake's works, a 1911 edition of *Songs of Innocence* and Pierre Berger's French translations of the prophetic books (Ruiz Casanova 2011, 251). In his collection *Invocaciones* (1935), Cernuda cites Blake as an influence on his poem 'La Gloria del poeta' (The Glory of the poet) which was inspired, he says, by Blake's 'Satan Smiting Job with Boils', plate 6 of *Illustrations of the Book of Job* (1826).²⁴ Indeed, Cernuda renders in verse a description of the demon that shows an undeniable resemblance to Blake's pictorial version of Satan. At the time this engraving had never been reproduced in Spain, so Cernuda must have come across it in a French or English publication.

Cernuda's interest in Blake grew during his exile in Great Britain. He fled from Spain in the spring of 1938, at the time of the Spanish Civil War, and remained in Britain until 1947, working as a lecturer at the Universities of Glasgow and Cambridge, and at the Spanish Institute in London.²⁵ In the year of his arrival Cernuda observed in a letter: 'Now I like England and I think that I will become a good friend of this land. The language is already familiar to me. To read Shakespeare, Blake, Keats in their own language is a big thing for me.'²⁶ One of Cernuda's major influences during his exile was Salvador de Madariaga, whom Cernuda met frequently during his summer holidays in Oxford. They shared a zest for the English Romantic poets, among whom must have

been Blake; we have seen how Madariaga praised him in his essay from *Shelley and Calderon*. One of Cernuda's projects after his arrival in Britain was to translate *Marriage*, but this never was published. However, in 1940 he published a translation of 'The Little Black Boy' in the Mexican journal *Romance*, and during the period he spent in the United States, from 1947 to 1952, he translated seven more poems by Blake. Published posthumously in 1993 in *Poesía completa* (Complete poetry), these are: 'El pastor' ('The Shepherd'), 'No es más dulce el gozo al alba' ('Are not the joys of morning sweeter'), 'Puesto que acaso sean las riquezas del mundo' ('Since all the Riches of this World'), 'El lirio' ('The Lily'), 'A Thomas Butts' ('O why was I born with a different face', from a letter to Thomas Butts, 16 August 1803), 'No intentes decir tu amor' ('Never pain to tell thy love') and 'Me ofrecieron una flor' ('A flower was offered to me', [from 'My Pretty Rose Tree']) (Cernuda 1993, 1: 763–65).

Thus, Cernuda was already a connoisseur of English Romantic poetry and poetics when he undertook the task of writing *Pensamiento poético en la lírica inglesa* in 1958. His intention was to present the ideas of poetry defended by Romantic authors, but he admitted to facing serious difficulties in finding any previous work in Spanish on the topic.²⁷ According to Cernuda, the main contribution of the 'romantic revival' to the history of literature was its proponents' defence of a new concept of imagination, which Blake viewed as 'a divine power from which everything derives.'²⁸ In terms that recall M. H. Abrams's *The Mirror and the Lamp* (1953), Cernuda concludes: 'the task of the poet, according to [the Romantics], was to create, and by means of this creation, illuminate man's conscience.'²⁹ He maintains that Blake and Coleridge were the two Romantics who contributed most to a new concept of imagination (although he was also aware of their differences). In his pages on Blake, Cernuda seeks to explain 'the key ideas about poetic philosophy and mysticism that derive from [Blake's] work.'³⁰ He emphasizes the challenge involved in reading Blake by observing that Blake creates his own personal mythology, which changes from work to work.

Cernuda then delves briefly into Blake's main religious, literary and philosophical influences, before eventually focusing on Blake's concept of imagination. To illustrate his discussion of Blake's imagination, the Spanish author frequently quotes the poet's own words, thereby allowing the reader a direct view of Blake's thought. Cernuda's essay also tackles other central topics in Blake's poetics, such as his dialectical thought and his concept of vision and prophecy. Cernuda reconsiders Blake's 'mysticism' in a new light, responding to what was proposed by Frye some years earlier in *Fearful Symmetry* (1947). Cernuda's discussion can be seen as the most influential piece of criticism on Blake in twentieth-century Spain: he incorporates his insights based on attentive readings of Blake's verse and his experience as a translator. He also includes recent anglophone reinterpretations of Blake and Romanticism.³¹

With the birth of English studies in Spain in the late 1970s, Blake became part of the university curriculum and he received due attention in textbooks, academic journals and conferences. However, it is also true that there is not a strong tradition in the study of British Romanticism in Spain. One will only find two book-length studies by Spanish scholars: Aquilino Sánchez Pérez's *Blake's Graphic Work and the Emblematic Tradition*

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(1982) and Cristóbal Sierra's *Pequeño diccionario de William Blake* (Little dictionary of William Blake, 1992), the latter an extended version of his introductory notes to *Poemas proféticos y prosas* (Prophetic poems and prose, Blake 1971a). Apart from these volumes, two recent PhD theses have dealt with the origins, development and intricacies of Blake's thought. In 1999 José Luis Palomares defended his work 'La génesis del pensamiento radical en William Blake' (The genesis of radical thought in William Blake), which became the introduction to his translation of *Marriage* (Blake 2000b). One of the main purposes of Francisco Gimeno Suances's 'Imaginación, deseo y libertad en William Blake' (Imagination, desire and freedom in William Blake, 2004) was to create 'a framework for different interpretative approaches to Blake',³² since, as he argues, there was – and still is – a notable lack of Spanish studies on Blake beyond the critical introductions to translations of his verse.

Poetic Influences and 'Elective Affinities'

Although the presence of Blake in Spain grew significantly at the beginning of the twentieth century, some minor signs of his influence can be traced back to the first decades of the nineteenth century. The role played in the transmission of British Romantic poetry and poetics by the Spanish liberals forced to migrate to Great Britain during the absolutist reign of Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) is well known (Llorens 1968; Perojo Arronte 2007; González and Rodríguez 2008). This group of eminent intellectuals, among them José Alcalá Galiano (1789–1865) and José Joaquín de Mora (1785–1864), found in the Romantic writers a new model for Spanish literature.

Curiously enough, José Joaquín de Mora encountered his poetic model in Blake's visual art rather than in his verse. De Mora's masterpiece *Meditaciones Poéticas* (Poetic meditations), published in London in 1826, was strongly influenced by the illustrations Blake provided for the 1808 edition of Blair's *Grave* (1743). Blake was commissioned by Robert H. Cromek to illustrate Blair's poem; however, although he designed the drawings, it was Luigi Schiavonetti who finally engraved them.³³ In the preface to *Meditaciones*, de Mora acknowledges that his prime source of inspiration was not Blair's verse but rather Blake's images, his purpose being to interpret in his own way the designs of 'Guillermo Black':

The poetic compositions in this volume are included solely as illustrations of the engravings. They concern the true poetry of the work, which is no more admirable for the correctness of the drawing and the merit of its execution than for the achievement of the design and the sublime intelligence which reigns in the allegories.³⁴

According to de Mora, Blake and Schiavonetti were 'true poets who knew the secret of inspiration, and in their productions aspired to a higher sphere than that which is contained in the mere external representation of objects'.³⁵ The frontispiece of *Meditaciones Poéticas* is an engraving of the portrait of Blake by Thomas Phillips (National Portrait Gallery), while the title page reproduces the title-page design for the

Grave. Each of de Mora's eleven poems is accompanied by the illustration from *Grave* that inspired it, and their titles are mostly very similar to those of the illustrations.³⁶ The As Mora explains in the 'Advertisement' ('Advertencia') to the 1826 edition, English titles were deleted from the plate and substituted by the Spanish titles (de Mora 1826, ii). The publisher, Rudolph Ackermann, commissioned the work from de Mora as part of his attempt to familiarize the reading public in Latin America with European literature: *Meditaciones* was also published in México, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Guatemala.³⁷ It is difficult to judge the influence exerted by this work among Spanish authors, since it was published in England and Latin America but not in Spain itself. It should also be emphasized that de Mora's *Meditaciones* showcases Blake's visual art, rather than his thought or verse. Expressing a strong neoclassical strain, de Mora's poems bear little resemblance to Blake's poetry. We must conclude, therefore, that although this is a highly interesting case of influence in itself, its importance as a vehicle for the circulation of Blake's work in Spain is rather limited.

Although their acquaintance with other English Romantic authors is evident, the Spanish émigrés seem to have totally overlooked Blake's poetry. An example of this can be found in Antonio Alcalá Galiano's preface to the Duke of Rivas's *El moro expósito* (The orphan moor, 1834), a text widely considered the manifesto of Spanish Romanticism. Alcalá Galiano reflects on how European literature highlights the decadence of Spanish poetry by comparison, and proposes new ways to improve Spanish literature in the light of British poetry, 'the best among the modern ones.'³⁸ He refers to Scott, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Byron and Southey, but makes no mention of Blake.

With the exception of de Mora's *Meditaciones* and some possible Blakean notes in the works of the best-known Spanish Romantic author, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836–70), there are no further references to the poet in nineteenth-century Spain. The Romantic movement in Spain was relatively late, short and less intense than in England or Germany. Spanish Romantic authors had little contact with idealistic philosophy; theirs was a conservative movement based upon traditional values such as the defence of Christianity and the notion of nationhood. However, the figure of Bécquer is a recognized exception. In contrast to the grandiloquent narrative style of most Spanish Romantic verse, Bécquer's *Rimas* (Rhymes), published posthumously in 1871, are lyrical, intimate and restrained; in his essays *Cartas literarias a una mujer* (Literary letters addressed to a lady, 1860–61), he defends a certain conception of the world and poetic principles that echo the tenets of German and British Romanticism. One critic has argued that, in Spain, 'no author's conception of the world is as clearly representative of the essential qualities of Romanticism as is Bécquer's' (Bynum 1993, 14). His concern with exploring the self as the first step towards an ultimate reality, his belief in the duality of existence and his confidence in the imagination as a mediating force between the two sides of reality, make Bécquer the most Romantic, in the European sense, of our Spanish Romantic authors. Critics have noticed parallels between the poetic theories expressed by Bécquer in his *Cartas literarias* and some of Coleridge and Wordsworth's ideas, such as the definition of poetry as a 'spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings', the need to unite feeling and thought in poetry and the integrating power of the imagination (Bynum 1993; Perojo Arronte 2007). Some of

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Bécquer's lyrics have been thought to echo the famous idea in 'Auguries of Innocence' of the interpenetration of the immense and the infinitesimal (Bynum 1993, 47–48). However, there is no concrete evidence that Bécquer read the British Romantic poets, and there is not a single reference to them in his works. Therefore, these similarities can hardly be considered the result of influence, but rather a sort of confluence or congeniality.

We must wait until the turn of the twentieth century before we find specific references to Blake, which coincide with a moment of renewal in Spanish literature. Some critics have suggested that genuine Romanticism did not reach Spain until the Generation of '98 (Silver 1996; Cardwell 2006) and they have interpreted this regeneration of Spanish poetry as a restitution of an earlier European Romanticism. Reacting against the pomposity and vacuity of contemporary Spanish verse, Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936), a leading member of the Generation of '98, defined his poetic project as 'the same Old Romanticism that is reborn'.³⁹ Several critics have highlighted the influential role played by English Romantic poets, especially Coleridge and Wordsworth, in Unamuno's quest for a renewal of Spanish poetry at the beginning of the twentieth century (Flores 2008, 2010a, 2010b; García Blanco 1959, 1965; Perojo Arronte 2007). The specific influence of Blake on Unamuno has also been explored. For example, Mario J. Valdés (1972) considered a possible link between the two poets, pointing out similarities in the use of symbolic synthesis in *Jerusalem* and *San Manuel Bueno Martir* (Saint Emmanuel the good martyr, 1931). Valdés argued that rather than exercising a direct influence, Blake's dialectical symbolism merely reinforced for Unamuno a pattern he had already established. However, as I have discussed elsewhere (Flores 2011), Blake's influence on Unamuno's mature thought and verse was more significant than Valdés has suggested. Unamuno was well acquainted with Blake's poetry. We know for certain that he owned W. B. Yeats's edition of *Poems of William Blake* (1907) and John Sampson's edition of *The Poetical Works of William Blake* (1914). These books were presents. The dedications inscribed by hand on the title-page of both volumes show that the first was given to Unamuno in 1907 and the second in 1925. The numerous marks and annotations in both volumes, which have survived in his private library in Salamanca, testify to Unamuno's attentive perusal of Blake's verse.

Blake's influence on Unamuno is evident at two different points in the latter's career, at the beginning and end of the 1920s. His first reference to 'that exquisite poet' ('aquel exquisito poeta') and 'mystic visionary' ('místico visionario'), appeared in the short essay 'The Song of Light' ('El canto de la luz', 1920).⁴⁰ Here Unamuno includes a prose translation of some lines from *Milton*, where Blake describes the wondrous song of a lark provoked by divine inspiration (*M* 34: 28–45; *E* 130–31). This passage supported Unamuno's theory of contemplative poetry, according to which the poet's exposure to nature implied the reception of its spiritual forces: 'Poetry is the translation of the spirit of Nature'.⁴¹ In 1920 Unamuno translated a passage from 'A Vision of the Last Judgment' in an article on Blake which was published in the journal *El liberal* (The liberal).⁴² The central passage of Blake's text translated by Unamuno reads as follows in the original:

The treasures of heaven are not negations of passion, but realities of intellect, from which the passions emanate, uncurbed in their eternal glory. [...] Those who are

cast out are all those who, having no passions of their own, because no intellect, have spent their lives in curbing and governing other people's by the various arts of poverty and cruelty of all kinds.

*Blake 1907, 252*⁴³

In the brief commentary that follows the translation, Unamuno shows his evident agreement with Blake's ideas: 'Admirable Blake! [...] Passions of his own! He had them, and great and tragic they were. [...] Yes, those who lack intelligence do not have their own passions.'⁴⁴ Unamuno may have found this particular idea appealing since he had always believed that the source of all good poetry was the union of feeling and thought: 'Think the feeling, feel the thought' was his poetic motto.⁴⁵ At the end of the decade, in 1929, Unamuno published a volume of poems entitled *Cancionero* (Songbook), which includes a poem entitled 'Al volver a escuchar a William Blake' (On listening again to William Blake). The opening lines suggest that Unamuno has acquired a better understanding of Blake's thought on a second reading of his verse:

Y yo que no sabía, Blake mío,
lo que me ibas diciendo [...]
vidente de este cielo, pues no hay otro,
señor de tu sendero.⁴⁶

'Goce mental, salud mental, amigos
mentales' – verdaderos –
'mujer que quiero y que me quiere' 'llena
La inmensidad un solo pensamiento'
'el gozo empreña, los pesares paren'
Blake, mi compañero!

'Courage, my Lord, proceeds from selfdependence.'
William Blake, *King Edward the Third*.

Unamuno 1996, 6: 1154

The second stanza is a pastiche of different quotations from Blake's works, which Unamuno translates into Spanish, while the third is a direct quotation in English from the third scene of Blake's *King Edward the Third* (E 431). The lines translated from Blake are the following:

I have Mental Joy & Mental Health
And Mental Friends & Mental wealth
Ive a Wife I love & that loves me
Ive all But Riches Bodily.

from Notebook; E 481

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One thought. fills immensity.

MHH 8: 36; E 36

Joys impregnate. Sorrows bring forth.

MHH 8: 29; E 36

The topics dealt with here include the importance of the spiritual versus the material world, the contraries underlying existence, and the importance of thought. These motifs are mirrored in Unamuno's poetics and verse. Further, an analysis of his annotations in his two copies of Blake's poetry reveals the profound attraction that works such as *Songs* and *Marriage* had for Unamuno. The influence of *Songs* in Unamuno's thought is decisive, particularly in relation to his view of infancy, which is central to his poetics. Childhood is represented by Unamuno as a pure view of the world that is acquired during infancy; it is a spiritual state close to nature and eternity that allows the entrance to the sublime through every single object. It is the only possible state for the poet: 'The true poet is the one who is a child in his soul.'⁴⁷ Like Blake, Unamuno represented the naivety and purity of vision of childhood in his poems, especially in *Cancionero* (Songs), a collection whose poems were composed in 1928–29, coinciding with his second reading of Blake's collected works.

Like Blake, Unamuno also understands the perils of experience and its repressive power. The line 'Every Harlot was a Virgin once' (FS 5; E 269), which Unamuno has underlined in his copy, is the basis for two poems composed soon after 'Al volver a escuchar a William Blake'. Both deal with this paradox and open with quotations from Blake's verse. The first, describing a pious prostitute who holds a cross, begins: 'That pale religious, lechery seeking Virginité / May find it in a harlot' (A 8; E 54), and refers to 'William Blake, América' (Unamuno 1966, 4: 1157). The second, which opens with 'Golden Spain, burst the barriers of old home!' (MHH 25: 9–10; E 44), followed by 'William Blake: A Song of Liberty' (Unamuno 1996, 6: 1157), deals with a prostitute who is going on a religious pilgrimage to Rome. The synthesis of innocence and experience is reached in the last two lines of Unamuno's poem: 'pilgrimage and prostitution / are already married in a shared destiny'.⁴⁸ We should note the use of the term 'marry' ('casar') in this line.

Blake's *Marriage* was also highly influential in shaping Unamuno's dialectical thought. In his view the poetic act consists in a synthesis of opposites, the material and the spiritual, the temporal and the eternal: 'a whole century you created, poet / in an instant of eternity'.⁴⁹ Unamuno reached some understanding of Blake at a late stage in his career and Blake's thought and imagery pervades his mature literary production. Thus it was partly due to Unamuno that the works of the British Romantics, including Blake, found their way into the sensibility and verses of other major twentieth-century poets, notably Luis Cernuda and the Nobel laureate Juan Ramón Jiménez (1881–1958).

Cernuda has been already mentioned as a translator and critic of Blake's work. The influence of English Romantic thought on Cernuda's poetics is well known and has already been thoroughly studied (Insausti 2000; Doce 2005): indeed, Harold Bloom even described him as an 'English romantic poet'.⁵⁰ In *Historial de un libro* (History of a book), Cernuda explains:

My stay in England corrected and completed something that in my verses required such correction and completion. I learnt much about English poetry; had I not read and studied them, my verses would be different, better or worse, I do not know, but certainly different.⁵¹

Cernuda's verses certainly reflect a view of the world and the poetic act that could be described as Romantic. Images of childhood relating to eternity and creativity are frequent, such as in his poem 'Niño tras un cristal' (Child behind a window), where a child is said to 'live in the bosom of his tender power/ still without desire, without memory'.⁵² He once wrote: 'Since I was a child, as far as my memory works, I have always looked for the immutable, I have longed for eternity. [...] But childhood ended and I fell down to earth.'⁵³ This recalls Blake's lines in *Los*: 'Falling, falling! Los fell & fell / Sank precipitant, heavy, down, down, / Times on Times' (*BL* 4: 27–29; E 92).

Juan Ramón Jiménez, contemporary with Luis Cernuda, acknowledged that Cernuda's poetry was different from that produced by other Spanish poets at the time: 'Among the young contemporary authors, I like repeating the one who is saved from Latinism is Luis Cernuda, who is so close to Bécquer.'⁵⁴ This statement comes from an article entitled 'Dos formas de la lírica' (Two forms of poetry), in which Ramón contrasted the verse cultivated in Spain (*latinismo*) with that produced 'in the North' (England and the US). His inclination is towards the latter, which is 'simple, natural, human, with its foot on the ground and hand in the deep height; full of psychological observation and inner music.'⁵⁵ Among English authors, Juan Ramón was particularly attracted by the Romantic poets especially Shelley and Blake, whose verse reflected all these features. In a letter to Cernuda in July 1943, Juan Ramón wrote that since 1916 he had been translating poems by Blake, who was one of his most abiding influences.⁵⁶ In *The Line in the Margin: Juan Ramón Jiménez and His Readings in Blake, Shelley and Yeats* (1980) Howard T. Young has provided an exhaustive and insightful study Juan Ramón's readings of Blake's works as well as the latter's influence on Juan Ramón's work. Apart from the evidence of the letter to Cernuda, Young notes that Ramón must have been acquainted with Blake's verse by 1916 since he had annotated the ten poems by Blake included in his copy of *The Oxford Book of Verse* (1912).⁵⁷ In the absence of any Spanish translation, the poet would later buy Gide's French translation of *Marriage* (1923). In 1927, he received Keynes's edition of Blake's complete works as a gift from his friend J. B. Trend and, after copiously annotating it,⁵⁸ he affirmed in a public letter to Trend that reading Blake's poetry had moved him profoundly.⁵⁹ Ramón also owned a copy of Chesterton's *William Blake* (1910) and was acquainted with Madariaga's essays in *Shelley and Calderón* (1920).

Ramón's devotion to Blake's poetry led him to translate in 1920 'The Tyger' and 'The Little Black Boy', both of which he had come across in *The Oxford Book of Verse*. However, the translation of 'The Tyger' was not published until 1928 (Blake 1928a), in *Diario poético* (Poetic journal), while 'El niño negro' ('The Little Black Boy') first appeared in 1930 in *La Gaceta Literaria* (The literary gazette). Also in 1930, two more poems were published in translation in *La Gaceta Literaria*: 'Árbol de veneno' ('A Poison Tree') and 'La rosa enferma' ('The Sick Rose') (Blake 1930). A year later, Ramón published 'A las musas' ('To the Muses') in *Heraldo de Madrid* (Madrid herald, Blake 1931). In 1933, his

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translations 'El niño negro', 'Árbol de veneno' and 'La rosa enferma' were reprinted in a section entirely devoted to Blake in the journal *Presente* (The present), under the title 'De William Blake' (By William Blake, Blake 1933).

Both Young and González (2005) have suggested that Juan Ramón Jiménez may have translated more poems; a note dated 1930 seems to imply the existence of translations of twenty-three poems from *Songs*. There also exists a letter to Trend, from 1927, in which Ramón encloses translations of 'Eternity' and 'The Angel', with the comment, 'I would like to translate all of Blake.'⁶⁰ However, these translations have never been found, so their existence is seriously in doubt.

Two poems by Juan Ramón himself are worth mentioning here, since their titles refer explicitly to Blake: 'William Blake', included in *Poesía* (Poetry) and 'El pajarito verde, William Blake' (The little green birdie, William Blake), in *Belleza* (Beauty), both published in 1923.⁶¹ The conceptual background of 'William Blake' is built upon the attraction and repulsion of opposites, day and night, heaven and earth, body and soul; the poem culminates in their ultimate reconciliation. The other poem shows the imaginative process by means of which a view of the sun evolves into an apocalyptic vision.

Juan Ramón was attracted by Blake's idealism and his defence of the imagination; his view of eternity (one of Ramón's works is entitled *Eternidades* (Eternities, 1916–17)); the importance of nature as a vehicle for sensing infinity; and Blake's notion of the unfallen state of children. The appearance of these Blakean topics in Ramón's literary works has also been noted by Carmen Pérez Romero, who compares the symbolism in both authors, such as the bird–poet identification, the poetic associations of the colour green and the roots–wings opposition (Pérez Romero 1992).

Later in the twentieth century, the award-winning poet Claudio Rodríguez (1934–99) worked as a lecturer at the universities of Nottingham and Cambridge from 1958 to 1964, and could have come into contact with Blake's poetry during the period he lived in England. In the 1950s, his poems differed from the social realism that characterized contemporary Spanish verse. Beyond the apparent realism of his verses, there is a constant and decisive search for the transcendental that takes his poetry towards the universal. He has been described as a 'mystic of immediacy, metaphysician of matter',⁶² and his literary position has been defined as 'transcendent realism'.⁶³ Rodríguez considered himself a visionary poet: 'The "visionary" is the man who has passed through sight into vision' (Frye 1947, 26). One of his most celebrated poems, the first in *Don de la ebriedad* (Gift of inebriation, 1953), begins:

Clarity always comes from the sky;
it is a gift: it is not found among things
but very high up, and it occupies them
making of this its own life and labours.

Rodríguez 2008, 32⁶⁴

Some of Rodríguez's poems recall the contemplative poetry of Wordsworth and Coleridge; however, he has characterized his sources as 'elective affinities' ('afinidades

electivas') rather than influences. For example, 'the theories of Coleridge and Bécquer,' said Rodríguez, 'have not influenced me, rather, they have made me see the poetic act very clearly.'⁶⁵ Similarly, when his translator, J. M. Cohen, suggested that his poetry was highly influenced by Wordsworth, Rodríguez's response was: 'I had not read a single line. When I read them [Wordsworth's poems] [...] I had to agree with him [Cohen]. I certainly recognized myself in them, above all in their tone, very close to my early verse. Incredible affinities, elective affinities arise.'⁶⁶ As critics have noted (García Jambrina 1999; Mezquita Fernández 2006), Blake could also have belonged to Rodríguez's catalogue of 'elective affinities.' There is no proof of a direct influence, but the Spanish poet owned a volume of Blake's *Selected Poems* (1995), which he could have read in the last years of his life. However, there are certain references in his poetry, as well as coincidences or affinities, that suggest that Rodríguez could have read Blake earlier. Rodríguez constructed some of his poems upon a dialectic structure and classified poetry as two types representing opposite poles: one that represents knowledge acquired in life and one that represents purity and innocence. This has led some critics to call them, in a clear allusion to Blake, 'cantos de experiencia' (*Songs of Experience*) and 'cantos de inocencia' (*Songs of Innocence*), (García Jambrina and Ramos de la Torre 1988, 84–85). This is seen especially in *Alianza y condena* (Alliance and condemnation), a collection of poems published in 1964, a year after Rodríguez's return from England. Rodríguez explains the title thus: 'Within alliance, condemnation exists, as condemnation exists within alliance. This is a [...] dialectical process.'⁶⁷ As Mezquita has noted (2006, 63), one of the poems in the volume is entitled 'Girasol' (Sunflower). However, the clearest reference to Blake appears in a poem that was published posthumously, 'El canto de Los' (*The Song of Los*), which opens with this line from *Milton*: 'But Los dispersd the clouds' (*M* 23[25]: 31; *E* 119). Given Rodríguez's view of the poetic act, it is no surprise that he felt attracted to Blake's Los, 'a creative energy which, though serving Urizen's world, could still assert itself against the intellectual tyranny of the analytic reason' (Beer 1969, 78). Moreover, there are some significant resemblances in the two authors' concepts of innocence, experience and infancy. The terms 'inocencia' ('innocence'), 'infancia' ('infancy'), 'niñez' ('childhood') appear frequently in Rodríguez's verse; they relate to creativity, vision and happiness, as can be seen in poems such as 'Oda a la niñez' (Ode to childhood) published in 1965, in dialectical connection with adulthood and knowledge.

In 1973 Leopoldo María Panero (1948–2014),⁶⁸ a major figure in Spanish contemporary poetry, dedicated a poem to his friend and fellow visionary Claudio Rodríguez (Panero 2001, 153). Panero was a writer who always tried to 'situate himself in the territory of excess.'⁶⁹ His life was marked by alcohol, drugs and insanity and, as a result, he spent part of his life in prison and most of it in different psychiatric hospitals. He died in a mental institution in Las Palmas, Canary Islands, where he had committed himself some three decades before. From his early childhood Panero had visions that haunted him all his life: 'The hallucinations of the madman are in the infant the natural form of perception,' he wrote.⁷⁰ In his study on Leopoldo María's mental illness in relation to his literary production, Sergio A. Sánchez concludes that both Panero and Blake suffered from the

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same type of visions (2012, 87–89). Hence it is no surprise that the Spanish author found in Blake a kindred soul. He grew up in a domestic context favourable for the reception of Romantic poetry, since his father Leopoldo Panero was a well-known poet who translated, among others, Wordsworth and Shelley.⁷¹ Leopoldo María was most attracted by Blake, whose works would be a pervading life-long presence in his thought and verse. In the preface to *El último hombre* (The last man, 1984), Panero points to Blake, Nerval and Poe as his main influences, ‘supreme epitomes of the *disturbing strangeness*, of madness “taken to” the verse: because art, after all, as Deleuze would say, only consists in giving madness a third sense: pushing the limits of madness, standing on its borders, playing with it [...] a dangerous profession, delightfully dangerous.’⁷²

Panero aligned himself with *les poètes maudits* and became a reference point for contemporary literary *malditismo*. Obscurity, madness and hallucinations are the main elements of his poetry, which is at times fragmentary and incoherent, and always provocative. References to Blake and Blakean motifs are numerous in Panero’s work. His last collection of poems, published posthumously in 2014, is entitled *Rosa enferma* (Sick rose), in explicit homage to one of his favourite poets. The volume’s preface opens with Blake’s eponymous poem (Panero 2014, 9) and continues with Panero’s famous lines from ‘Heroina’ (Heroine): ‘When the venom enters my blood / my brain is a rose.’⁷³ The image of the sick rose appears frequently in Panero’s verse as a powerful symbol of his illness, his hopelessness and the recognition of a life which is inevitably empty and destroyed. He feels ‘sick as a rose’ (‘enfermo como una rosa’), for him life is ‘a burnt rose’ (‘una rosa quemada’, Panero 2014, 81, 43). As the editor of *Rosa Enferma* observes, Panero’s verse is indeed the ‘poetry of experience’ (‘poesía de la experiencia’, Panero 2014, 9). The poet lives in a personal hell and he recognizes himself to be on the devil’s side. The devil is also a recurrent motif in Panero’s poetry. In *Sombra* (Shadow, 2008) he writes: ‘And only the devil is the lord of the page “Every real poet is in love with the devil” Blake said worshipping the wind.’⁷⁴ Here the poet is probably recalling Blake’s well-known comment on Milton in *Marriage*: ‘he was a true Poet and of the Devil’s party without knowing it’ (*MHH* 6: 12–13; E 35). Moreover, Panero identifies himself with the Devil and the tiger simultaneously, as can be seen in the poem ‘Al Infierno’ (To hell): ‘I am the tiger / The most beautiful animal in the night: I am the Devil.’⁷⁵ These lines clearly parallel Blake’s tiger ‘burning bright, / In the forest of the night’ (*SE* 42: 2–3; E 24). The tiger is another recurrent motif in Panero’s verse, for example in ‘En el ojo del huracán’ (In the eye of the storm): ‘The rain-forest, trapped in the tiger’s eye / shines in the perfect symmetry of the poem/ In the tiger of my eyes.’⁷⁶

From the above discussion, we can conclude that the works and ideas of Blake were in constant circulation and had a significant effect on some of the most important poets in twentieth-century Spain.

‘The English Goya’: Visual Blake

With regard to Blake’s pictorial work, it is important to note that the editions of his verse in Spanish included few illustrations before Atalanta’s edition of *Libros Proféticos* (Blake

2014a). Given that the first exhibition of Blake's paintings in Spain took place in 1996, we can say that the reception of Blake's visual art is relatively recent.

As Calvo has noted, it was Blake's engravings for Young's *Night Thoughts* (1742–45) that 'enjoyed rather wide dissemination among Spanish men of learning' (1996, 232), and they might have had an influence on Francisco de Goya (1746–1828).⁷⁷ Along with Fuseli and Flaxman, Blake could have had direct or indirect influence on the formation of Goya's 'own imaginative universe in the artist's mature period, which was ultimately responsible for the greatness attributed to Goya in the contemporary world' (Calvo 1996, 230). Goya may have seen these artists as the best exponents of the aesthetic creed of the sublime, which he knew from Spanish translations of the treatises by Longinus and Burke. But it is difficult to determine how the Spanish painter could have had direct experience of his contemporaries in London; although he travelled to Italy and France, Goya never visited England.

Nevertheless, Certain resemblances have been pointed out between Blake's drawings for Young's *Night Thoughts* and Goya's works, notably *Saturno* (Saturn, 1819–23), some of the grotesque etchings in *Disparates* (The follies, 1815–23) and *No te escaparás* (You will not escape, 1797–98) from *Caprichos* (The caprices, 1797–98). Calvo concedes, however, that it is unclear whether Goya ever had the chance to see Blake's illustrations, since the printing of the edition was halted by a lack of funds, and only the first volume appeared (1996, 232). More recently, other comparisons between Blake and Goya have been suggested. Their use of light to represent the sublime (Muñoz Amo 2010) and the 'phantasmagoric' character of their late drawings and prints give rise to an 'ambiguous and incongruous imagery' in both artists (Broeke 2011, 143). In 2012, works by Blake and Goya shared space in the Museum Städel in Frankfurt in an exhibition entitled *Schwarze Romantik* (Black romanticism).⁷⁸ Some resemblances seem clear, but it is rather difficult to ascertain whether they are the result of direct influence.

Further possible connections emerge between Blake and two major Spanish artists in the context of Surrealism: Salvador Dalí (1904–89) and Joan Miró (1893–1983). In 2015, an exhibition at the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art (Modern two) in Edinburgh, *Surreal Roots: From William Blake to André Breton*, showed rare books and artworks by Blake, Lewis Carroll, Max Ernst and Dalí, in order to illustrate the roots and evolution of the Surrealist movement. At the beginning of the twentieth century Surrealism began to emerge in a Spanish circle that, as Young has noted, looked favourably on certain Romantic authors, such as Hölderlin, Novalis and Blake (1980, 179). Dalí, who belonged to this group, travelled to Paris several times in the 1920s, where he met André Breton, who openly admitted his debt to Blake. Apart from common themes and styles in their work, it should be noted that both Blake and Dalí were commissioned to illustrate Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In 1957 Dalí was commissioned by the Italian government to create a hundred paintings based on Dante's masterpiece in order to celebrate the poet's seven-hundredth anniversary. Although the Italian government broke the contract, Dalí continued with the work, illustrating Dante's poem canto by canto with one hundred coloured woodblock prints, completing the project in 1964.

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The Spanish painter, sculptor and engraver Joan Miró also lived for some years in Paris in the 1920s and 1930s, where he became acquainted and collaborated with a group of artists closely associated with Surrealism. Among these were Dalí and André Breton. Both Dalí and Miró exhibited some of their works in *The International Surrealist Exhibition* held in London in 1936, which was opened by André Breton. A year later, Miró could admire Blake's visual art in an exhibition, *Aquarelles de Turner – Œuvres de Blake* (Watercolors by Turner – Works by Blake), organized by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1937.⁷⁹ As a result Blake became one of Miró's first pictorial influences. The Spanish artist was also interested in Blake's verse, as he acknowledged in an interview for the journal *Possibilities* in 1947: 'My favourites? The poets, the pure poets, Rimbaud, Jarry, Blake and the mystics.'⁸⁰

It has been pointed out that, given the fact that Miró visited the Paris exhibition, it is no surprise that his *Autorretrato I* (Self-Portrait I), a major work painted in late 1937, presents certain formal resemblances with some of Blake's paintings (Balsach 2007, 209). In particular, common elements have been pinpointed in Miró's *Self-Portrait I* and Blake's 'The Man who Taught Blake Painting in his Dreams' (c. 1819, Butlin 1981, #753), a picture assumed to be a self-portrait, in which the subject's hair resembles flames, symbolic of inspiration (Sung 2012, 104). Mei Ying Sung has noted that Miró had the opportunity to see this image at the Paris exhibition (2009, 33). If we take into account one of his working notes on *Self-Portrait I*, 'Think about William Blake when doing the self-portrait',⁸¹ these formal similarities cannot be considered mere coincidences. But beyond its formal features, *Self-Portrait I* also represents a new tendency in Miró's aesthetic; in his own words, the painting features 'a movement from realism [...] to poetry: to painting full of symbols and signs'.⁸² In 1937, he wrote: 'Now I am trying to extract the profound and poetic reality of things.'⁸³ Thus Miró is frequently described as 'a visionary, who reveals inner universes beyond the visible'⁸⁴ and his *Self-Portrait I* a 'visionary' work of art. For example, Maria Josep Balsach (2007, 209) maintains that the form and features of the face in Miró's painting represent the transformation of the visible into the visionary; the face is translucent and is transfigured into blazing flames and multiple incandescent stars. The painting bears such a strong resemblance to 'The Man who Taught Blake Painting in his Dreams' that Blake's influence is indisputable.

In the summer of 1947 in New York, Miró joined other Surrealist artists in an experimental project to reconstruct Blake's method of relief-etching, combining text and image on the same plate. The plates were composed around poems specially written for the occasion by the Scottish poet Ruthven Todd (1914–78), an editor of Blake's works. The project, known as *The Ruthven Todd Portfolio*, stemmed from research undertaken by Todd himself in collaboration with Stanley William Hayter. It was to include thirty prints by fifteen artists, but it was never completed; of the fifteen finished plates, five were by Miró. Unfortunately, the collection was never published, although it was printed in eight to ten proof-sets at Atelier 17 under the title *Fifteen Poems, a Collaboration using the Printing Methods of William Blake*.

It was not until the late twentieth century that Blake's paintings became accessible to the general public in Spain, thanks to an exhibition of some 180 of his works in Madrid

and Barcelona, organized by Fundación La Caixa in 1996, entitled *William Blake (1757–1827): Visions of Eternal Worlds (William Blake (1757–1827): Visiones de mundos eternos)*;⁸⁵ and, more recently, another exhibition in 2012 in Madrid entitled *William Blake (1757–1827): Visiones en el arte británico (William Blake (1757–1827): Visions in British Art)*.⁸⁶ In some of the reviews of the exhibition in 2012, Blake is described as ‘the English Goya’. Before 1996, Blake’s visual art had never been included in any Spanish museum or collection. The earliest exhibition was followed by the publication of a volume of articles on different aspects of Blake’s art, followed by full-page reproductions of the paintings, engravings and illustrations shown in the exhibition (Fundación la Caixa 1996).

Attention should be drawn to Blake’s influence on the work of the leading contemporary Spanish artist Jaume Plensa.⁸⁷ Born in Barcelona in 1955, Plensa lives between Barcelona and Paris; his works have been exhibited in many of the most important contemporary art institutions in the US and Japan as well as Europe.

Obsessed by the poetic dimension of sculpture, Plensa frequently points to Blake as one of his most powerful influences. Blake was, he says, a great teacher to him,⁸⁸ his spiritual father (Plensa 2011). Elsewhere he states: ‘Goethe, Shakespeare, Baudelaire, Dante, T. S. Eliot and, above all, Blake are among my great travel companions. A small light in the great darkness.’⁸⁹ Plensa shares with the English poet a view of visual art as being inseparable from poetry and language. In fact, an abundance of letters and words forming the outline or shell of a human body is a characteristic motif in his sculptures and drawings. Plensa also frequently uses text in relief. Literature, poetry in particular, fascinates him and is his main source of inspiration. Blake is one of his favourite poets as he has averred several times:

I love his modernity. There are so many parallels to our time. He too grew up in difficult times and lived through the end of a century two hundred years ago. He too was a loner without the help of schools, ideologies and parties. I feel very close to him. [...] I appreciate his poetry in which he artfully combines popular and elaborate elements and where he develops a convincing philosophical pragmatism.

Plensa 1999, 8

Plensa shows a clear preference for Blake’s *Marriage*, particularly the ‘Proverbs of Hell’. In interviews, the Spanish artist often refers to these. The following is but one example:

Blake became very important for me after I became familiar with his *Proverbs of Hell*. They are a brilliant combination of high culture and low, of tradition and progress, matter and spirit, body and soul. And I feel close to Blake because he, too, was born midcentury: Blake in the middle of the 18th century, while I was born in the middle of the 20th. Thus we both function as bridges between different times, forces, and energies. Besides, I’m obsessed with the idea that art itself is something in-between. It has to take up and assimilate a wide range of influences, experiences, and strengths and make a whole out of them.

Plensa 2006

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The 'Proverbs of Hell' pervade Plensa's work. For example, *Blake in Gateshead* (1996) is a permanent artwork at the Baltic Centre of Contemporary Art in Gateshead. It is a light-beam piece and at its base can be read 'No bird soars too high if he soars with his own wings' (*MHH* 7: 15; E 36); and which shines a beam of light up to two kilometres into the sky. This is how Plensa describes the origin of the piece:

Walking near the Tyne and thinking of Blake, I thought a new bridge was needed, a vertical bridge to bring us towards another kind of landscape. That landscape is above our heads and underneath our feet and maybe because it is too close or too far it is unattainable.

To build a bridge, a bridge of light in Gateshead, near the Tyne and thinking of Blake.⁹⁰

Elsewhere Plensa has remarked that *Blake in Gateshead* was one of 'my vertical bridges connecting heaven and hell. Obviously, this is reminiscent of Blake' (Plensa 2006, 42).⁹¹ Blake's idea of the synthesis of opposites as an indispensable condition for the attainment of organic unity became a central idea for the Spanish artist.

Some lines from 'Proverbs of Hell' are engraved in Plensa's *Blake Baltic Blue* (Baltic Centre for Contemporary Art, 2002),⁹² and in *Wispern* (1998–), which consists of drops of water falling slowly from the ceiling on to a number of cymbals, each producing a different sound and each engraved with one of Blake's 'Proverbs of Hell':

When you saw *Wispern* for the first time, it had only seven cymbals. Now it has been extended to include 41. I'm currently preparing an exhibition for the new museum in Malaga, where the installation will have 44 elements. The work is growing to fit each space. I hope that one day it will encompass 73 elements, exactly the number of Blake's *Proverbs of Hell*.

Plensa 2006, 45

Plensa is particularly attracted by the line 'One thought. fills immensity' (*MHH* 8: 36; E 36), which has appeared several times in his artworks and has become his motto. In 2014, Plensa concluded an interview stating: 'William Blake said that a thought fills immensity. This is an extraordinary definition of sculpture.'⁹³ To the Spanish artist, sculpture means the spiritualization of matter, an interaction between mind and material (Plensa 2006, 39).

Two of Plensa's etchings from 1997 quote 'Proverbs from Hell'. The first is entitled 'Who is Blake? I, One thought fills immensity' and the second 'Who is Blake? II, Exuberance is Beauty'. These works are lithographs printed on aluminium and engravings on polymer, showing the silhouette of a man over whose head Blake's words wind in capital letters. The former could be seen as the basis for a sculpture from his work *Silhouettes (Blake-Canetti-Valente)*, first exhibited at Yorkshire Sculpture Park in 2011. Suspended in the space above visitors' heads, Plensa's work comprises a number of

silhouettes of male figures, each holding in his hand metal-sculpted lines of poetry. Over the head of the first figure rise the words 'One thought fills immensity'. Plensa had previously used this line in relief in a sculpture in polyester resin and plastic, entitled 'Proverbs of Hell 32. One thought fills immensity' (1995).

Plensa defines his art as 'romantic': 'What Blake said is true: everything that can be imagined is an image of reality. My attitude towards art has always been very romantic.'⁹⁴ Alluding to a permanent outdoor artwork illuminated from the inside, Plensa observes: 'during the night, the piece is illuminated from the inside. As if it illuminated life. It is a very romantic attitude, because I think that art illuminates life and not the other way round.'⁹⁵ As Abrams argued in *The Mirror and the Lamp*, the Romantic writers' favourite analogy for the activity of the perceiving mind is that of a lamp projecting light (1971, 60); Romantic authors not only receive from the outside, but also project something through their works, creating something different and new out of reality. Their works are a source of light in the world. Following Blake, Plensa creates in his works bridges to connect opposites, heaven and hell, the material and the abstract; he believes in the interaction of mind and matter, and proclaims the illuminating power of his art. Given that his works can be found all over the world, his importance as a diffuser of Blake's poetry and art reaches well beyond Spain.

Blake and Popular Culture: Magazines and Music

William Blake has also found other ways to reach the general public in Spain. His presence in the first issues of the monthly magazine *Ajoblanco* (White garlic, 1974–80; 1987–99) founded by José Ribas, a law student, is a rather interesting case. The magazine was born in the context of a crumbling dictatorship and a new cultural movement which, with the imminent death of Franco (he would die on 20 November 1975), demanded intellectual as well as political freedom. It was a student movement that broke out in Barcelona and promoted a counterculture which reached its peak between 1976 and 1978. It is no wonder that Blake's dictum 'I must Create a System or be enslav'd by another Mans' (*J* 10: 20; *E* 153) became the motto for *Ajoblanco*. The editorial of its first number in October 1974 is entitled 'Why this new magazine?' The unnamed editor announces that the journal's aim is to prompt a new 'creative culture' by means of the imagination; a manifesto which is illustrated by a passage from Blake's preface to *Milton*:

Rouze up, O Young Men of the New Age! set your foreheads against the ignorant Hirelings! For we have Hirelings in the Camp, the Court, & the University: who would, if they could, for ever depress Mental & prolong Corporeal War. This is what William Blake heard.⁹⁶

Ajoblanco was intended 'to be in tune with all those who fight for a new culture.'⁹⁷

The journal's second number in December 1974 featured an article entitled 'William Blake y la revolución cultural' (William Blake and the cultural revolution) by Luis

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Racionero,⁹⁸ which includes examples of Blake's verse, both in the original English and in translation. Opening with the statement that 'in the West a cultural rebellion is yet to be done',⁹⁹ the article presents Blake as the epitome of rebellion and freedom, and consequently as a model for the new generation to follow. Blake is reinterpreted in the political and social context in which the magazine was created:

The Romantics saw clearly that things not directly related to politics, such as industry, science, bureaucracy, were impregnating the culture of an authoritarianism which was taking root at all levels, and they declared that the origin of this cultural fascism was the mentality and view of the world of scientific rationalism. [...] Uniformity, the removal of diversity, spontaneity, eroticism and individualism, lack of imagination, abstraction, they are all mental causes of fascism; the Romantics knew that. Blake knew that very well, and he said so.¹⁰⁰

The first poem cited by Racionero is mis-titled 'The Angel'; in fact, it is 'I asked a thief to steal me a peach' and it is quoted again later in the article (9). Next to appear is 'The Crystal Cabinet', which incorporates a reproduction of the plate of 'A Cradle Song' (without a translation of the text). 'The Crystal Cabinet' is followed by the first stanza of 'The Tyger' and 'The Sick Rose' in full, both given without a title. At the top of the page, the plate of 'The Divine Image' is reproduced, but not translated.

After citing these poems, Racionero resumes his discussion, in which he advocates imitating Blake in order to provoke a new culture. He translates lines from Blake's *Jerusalem* and makes them his own: 'I must Create a System or be enslav'd by another Mans / I will not Reason & Compare: my business is to Create' (*J* 10: 20–21; E 153)¹⁰¹ and 'For everything that lives is Holy' (*MHH* 27: 22; E 45).¹⁰² The article concludes with a translation of lines from *Marriage*: '2. Energy is the only life and is from the Body and Reason is The bound or outward circumference of Energy. / 3. Energy is Eternal Delight' (*MHH* 4: 16–18; E 34).¹⁰³ A reproduction of the painting *Jacob's Ladder* (1805) completes the puzzle.

Given that each issue of *Ajoblanco* sold 100,000 copies during the 1970s, Blake evidently gained some visibility with the Spanish public. During the preceding decades, Blake had been silenced because his heterodox character was ill-suited to the dominant morality of Franco's regime (Gimeno Suances 2003a, 38). Upon Franco's death, it was precisely its heterodoxy that led to his words being spoken aloud in support of the new culture.

Paulo Coelho published an article 'William Blake, the Visionary'¹⁰⁴ in his weekly column in *El Semanal* (Weekly, 5 July 2012), a Sunday magazine that accompanies the highest-selling serious Spanish newspapers, and thus has a large readership. It opens with the famous lines from 'Auguries of Innocence':

To see a World in a Grain of Sand
And a Heaven in a Wild Flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
And Eternity in an hour.

AI 1–4; E 490

Coelho believes that Blake could be seen as the precursor of the 'new conscience: the capacity to understand that everything is connected, that magical moments occur in daily life and that we are able to change our reality by eliminating all the things that provoke our dissatisfaction'.¹⁰⁵ To illustrate his argument, Coelho quotes some of the 'Proverbs of Hell' from *Marriage*.

In the field of Spanish music, the influence of William Blake is recognizable in the songs of the rock band *Héroes del silencio* (Heroes of silence), which was formed in the 1980s and split in 1996. It was very successful in Spain and South America. Their major literary influences were Blake and Baudelaire, and the band leader Enrique Bunbury was particularly touched by Blake's work. The poet's presence is evident in the song 'El Camino del Exceso' (The road of excess), whose title echoes 'The road of excess leads to the palace of wisdom' (*MHH* 7: 8; E 35). 'El Camino del Exceso' was also the title the band gave to the international tour promoting their album *El espíritu del vino* (The spirit of wine) in 1993 and 1994.

As I have tried to show, Blake found his way into Spain through different channels: translation, influence, scholarship, painting and popular culture. His complex character and challenging ideas have sometimes been a handicap for his reception, especially during more conservative periods, but they have also attracted much attention at those moments in which a literary or political renewal was needed. His presence in Spain is traceable at different times and in a variety of media, in the works of Nobel laureates as well as in subversive journals.

Notes

1. See the chapters on the Spanish reception of these authors in Cardwell (2004) and Shaffer and Zucato (2007).
2. This association has held an annual international conference since 1977. Today it has a membership of about 1,200, and around 150 members attend the annual conference each year. AEDEAN also publishes one of the most prestigious Spanish academic journals on English and American literature, *Atlantis*. Further information can be found on the association's website, http://aedean.org/?page_id=7 [accessed 12 October 2017].
3. For an overview of anthologies of English Romantic poetry in translation from 1915 to 2002, see Enríquez Aranda (2004).
4. Antonio Balbín de Unquera was a Spanish journalist and writer who collaborated on national and international journals. Little is known about his life and works, but he probably translated Blake's poem considerably earlier than the year of its publication.
5. 'un pintor extravagante y desvariado también, William Blake, encontrándose con la pureza y la ingenuidad a la vuelta de sus visiones apocalípticas' (Maristany 1918, xi).
6. Salvador de Madariaga (1886–1978) was an important Spanish politician, historian and author. He was university educated in France, where he lived from 1900 to 1911. He married the Scottish author Constance Archibald and lived in London during World War I, working for the Foreign Office. Later, in 1928, he became a lecturer in Oxford for three years. His interest in British literature grew during this period and later during his exile in England after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Apart from the two pieces by Blake, the

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anthology includes three Shakespeare sonnets, two poems by Milton, two by Shelley, and one each by Burns, Wordsworth, Byron, Tennyson and Christina Rossetti. Salvador de Madariaga wrote for the *Times Literary Supplement* and the *Manchester Guardian*.

7. 'The author, whose book I present here faithfully translated for the readers in Spain and South America, was one of the strangest, most singular and extraordinary spirits born in eighteenth-century England' ('El autor, cuyo libro presento fielmente traducido a los lectores de España e Hispanoamérica, fue uno de los espíritus más raros, singulares y extraordinarios que la Inglaterra del siglo XVIII haya producido', Blake 1928b, 5).
8. Berger had used Geoffrey Keynes's *The Writings of William Blake* (1925) as the basis of his translations (1927, 42). For Berger see also Chapter 3 by Gilles Soubigou and Yann Tholoniati.
9. 'El rango de Blake es mucho más elevado que el de Boehme y Swedenborg. Posee mucha más delicadeza y profundidad y un horizonte imaginativo más amplio del que era posible el místico alemán y al visionario sueco' (Blake 1928b, 82).
10. 'Moved by a universal curiosity, he dug into every ideology, and renewed almost all of them, but he did not set out anywhere his own complete ideology. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to gather all its important parts, and make its unity visible' ('Llevado de su curiosidad universal, removió todas las ideologías, y las renovó casi todas, pero no expuso en parte alguna por completo su propia ideología. Con todo, no es difícil recoger las partes más importantes de ella, y hacer ver su unidad', Blake 1928b, 37).
11. For Gide see also Chapter 3 by Gilles Soubigou and Yann Tholoniati.
12. This translation was not available in Spain until 2007, when it was re-edited in both Mexico and Madrid (Blake 2007).
13. *Románticos y victorianos* (1945), *De los primitivos a los neoclásicos* (1947), *Los contemporáneos* (1948). The separate volumes were reprinted in a single edition in 1958.
14. See Hurltley (1992) and (2013) for more information about the role of José Janés and Walter Starkie in the promotion of British literature in Spain.
15. Agustí Esclasans i Folch (1895–1967) was a poet, journalist, translator and critic. He was imprisoned during the Spanish Civil War from 1939 to 1941. *Quaderns Literaris*, the series in which he published his translation of *Marriage*, was edited by José Janés between 1934 and 1938; it published selections of verse and prose by Catalan writers and foreign authors translated into the Catalan language.
16. Born in Gijón in 1967, Jordi Doce has translated works by Blake, T. S. Eliot, Ted Hughes, Charles Simic and Charles Tomlinson.
17. 'Este libro es el producto colateral de mi trabajo como traductor de poesía en lengua inglesa, y como tal intentar formalizar y sistematizar, en la medida de lo posible, ciertas intuiciones y convicciones originadas en el transcurso de mi tarea' (Doce 2005, 9).
18. 'recuperar para el lector aquellas secciones de la obra de Blake que de forma más clara y sucinta expresan su visión de la existencia' (Blake 2001, 9).
19. 'condensan en apenas unas líneas, sus odios y obsesiones, sus juicios y humores [...] los que encierran en un puñado de palabras un símbolo o una imagen emblemática' (Blake 2001, 9, 13).
20. Most of the letters by Blake and his contemporaries chosen by Doce can be found in *Blake's Poetry and Design* (Blake 1979).
21. 'Al destacar sus piezas breves, sus canciones, sus epigramas [...] incurrimos en un gesto de menosprecio a sus poemas extensos' (Blake 2001, 12).

22. 'Y, por último, está el Blake de los poemas extensos y visionarios, al que llegué más tarde y que no entendí cabalmente, ahora me doy cuenta, hasta hace unos años. Leer a un gran poeta como Blake es labor de toda una vida' (Agudo 2012 [n. p.]).
23. 'There is a wealth and an extravagance of imagination worthy of the Blake of the "Auguries of Innocence"' (Madariaga 1920, 120).
24. See Harris (1992, 109, fn. 18).
25. For more about Cernuda's experiences in England, see Insausti Herrero-Velarde (2002).
26. 'Inglaterra me está gustando ahora y creo que me quedará buen amigo de esta tierra. Ya el idioma me es familiar. Leer a Shakespeare, a Blake, a Keats en su propio idioma es gran cosa para mí' (quoted in Rivero Taravillo 2006, 106).
27. 'The main difficulty, or one of the main difficulties that the author had to face in elaborating this book, was the lack of works in Spanish dealing with similar topics, so he had to dive into a field that has not been studied among us' ('La dificultad principal, o una de las dificultades principales que el autor ha tenido para la composición de este libro, fue la carencia de obras que trataran en español de temas análogos o relacionados con el suyo, debiendo adentrarse por un campo no cultivado entre nosotros' (Cernuda 1975, 487–88).
28. 'Blake [...] consideraba la imaginación como un poder divino del cual todo procede' (1975, 505).
29. 'la tarea del poeta, según ellos, era crear y, por medio de esa creación, iluminar la consciencia del hombre' (Cernuda 1975, 506). Given its date of publication, it is possible that Cernuda was acquainted with Abrams's ground-breaking work.
30. 'tratar de exponer en líneas esenciales la filosofía poética y mística que de ella se desprende' (Cernuda 1975, 508).
31. Contrary to what Insausti suggests (2000, 26), I think it is possible that Cernuda was acquainted with the work of Frye and Abrams, even though he does not mention them. According to Insausti (2000, 26–27), Cernuda did read C. M. Bowra's *The Romantic Imagination* (1950) and I. A. Richards's *Coleridge on Imagination* (1934).
32. 'un marco de referencia donde situar las diferentes corrientes interpretativas de Blake' (Gimeno Suances 2004, 34).
33. See Essick and Paley (1982), which includes a study of the poem and a facsimile.
34. 'Las composiciones poéticas contenidas en este volumen deben considerarse solamente como ilustraciones de las estampas. Ellas encierran la verdadera poesía de la obra, pues no son menos admirables por la corrección del dibujo, y por el mérito de la ejecución, que por el atrevimiento del diseño, y por la sublime inteligencia que reina en las alegorías' (de Mora 1826, ii).
35. 'verdaderos poetas que conocieron el secreto de la inspiración, y que en sus producciones aspiraron a una esfera más alta que la que se contiene en la mera representación exterior de los objetos' (de Mora 1826, ii).
36. The poem 'La eternidad y el espacio' (Eternity and space) is accompanied by the illustration entitled 'Christ Descending into the Grave'; 'El sepulcro' (The tomb) illustrates Blake's 'The Counsellor, King, Warrior, Mother & Child, in the Tomb'; 'La muerte del impío' (The death of the impious man) is adorned by 'Death of the Strong Wicked Man'; 'La muerte del justo' (The death of the fair man) is inspired by 'The Death of the Good Old Man'; the poem 'La separación' (The separation) comes next to Blake's 'The Soul Hovering over the Body'; 'La puerta del sepulcro' (The tomb's door) accompanies the illustration entitled 'Death's Door'; 'El valle de la muerte' (The valley of death) comes along 'The Descent of man into the Vale of

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Death'; 'La caverna' (The cavern) is preceded by 'The Soul Exploring the Recesses of the Grave'; 'La resurrección' (Resurrection) illustrates Blake's 'The Reunion of the Soul & the Body'; 'El juicio' (The judgment) is accompanied by 'The Day of Judgment'; and, finally, the poem 'La reunión' (The meeting) is accompanied by Blake's 'The Meeting of a Family in Heaven'.

37. Born in Germany, Rudolph Ackermann (1764–1834) was a famous bookseller, printer and editor who lived in London, where he met Spanish émigrés and promoted the publication of their works. In the 1820s, he also opened outlets in Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Argentina and Peru.
38. 'la más rica entre las modernas' (Alcalá Galiano 2007, 43).
39. 'el mismo Viejo romanticismo que renace' (Unamuno 1966, 3: 1297).
40. Quoted in García (1959, 159).
41. 'La poesía es una traducción de la Naturaleza en espíritu' (Unamuno 1951, 37).
42. 'Blake, William Blake, that prodigious painter and mystic poet you may have heard of – if not, what a pity – Blake, who joined the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – was born in 1757, died in 1827, a life of seventy years! . . . he was a mystic!' ('Blake, William Blake, aquel prodigioso dibujante y poeta místico de quien habréis oído – y si no, es lástima – Blake que unió el siglo XVIII al XIX – nació en 1757, murió en 1827, ¡setenta años de vida! . . . ¡era un místico! –', quoted in Urrutia León 2006, 261).
43. I have quoted from the edition owned by Unamuno, which is surely the original source. The version in Erdman's edition is different (E 564).
44. '¡Admirable Blake! [. . .] ¡Pasiones propias! Las tuvo y grandes y trágicas. [. . .] Sí, los que carecen de inteligencia no tienen pasiones propias' (Unamuno 1951, 262)
45. 'Piensa el sentimiento, siente el pensamiento' (Unamuno 1966, 6: 168).
46. 'And I did not know, my Blake, / what you were telling me [. . .] / visionary of this heaven, since no other exists / lord of your path.'
47. 'el verdadero poeta es el que es niño del alma' (Unamuno 1966, 6: 45).
48. 'romería y ramería / casan ya en común destino' (Unamuno 1966, 6: 1157).
49. 'todo un siglo creastes, poeta/ en un instante de eternidad' (Unamuno 1966, 6: 1163).
50. Quoted in Rivero Taravillo (2006, 59).
51. 'La estancia en Inglaterra corrigió y completo algo de lo que en mis versos requería dicha corrección y compleción. Aprendí mucho de la poesía inglesa, sin cuya lectura y estudio mis versos serían otra cosa, no sé si mejor o peor, pero sin duda, otra cosa' (Cernuda 1994, 2: 645).
52. 'vive en el seno de su fuerza tierna / Todavía sin deseo, sin memoria' (Cernuda 1993, 492).
53. 'Desde niño, tan lejos como vaya mi recuerdo, he buscado siempre lo que no cambia, he deseado la eternidad. [. . .] Pero terminó la niñez y caí en el mundo' (quoted in Insausti 2000, 73).
54. 'Entre los jóvenes actuales, me gusta repetir, el que se salva más del ambiente del latinismo es Luis Cernuda, tan cercano a Bécquer' (quoted in Young 1980, 13).
55. 'sencilla, natural, humana, con pie contra la tierra, y mano en lo profundo de la altura; cargada de observación psicológica y con música interior' (quoted in Young 1980, 12).
56. 'Si yo, Luis Cernuda, publiqué todavía, después de 1916, algunas traducciones de los simbolistas mayores (Mallarmé, por ejemplo), William Blake, Emily Dickinson, Robert Browning, A. E. Robert Frost, William Butler Yeats, etc, fueron mis tentadores más constantes'

- (quoted in Young 1980, xii).
57. The poems by Blake in this anthology are: 'To the Muses,' 'To Spring,' 'Song,' 'Reeds of Innocence' (i.e. 'Introduction' to *Songs of Innocence*), 'The Little Black Boy,' 'Hear the Voice' ('Introduction' to *Songs of Experience*), 'The Tyger,' 'Cradle Song,' 'Night' and 'Love's Secret'.
 58. For a detailed analysis of these annotations see Young (1980).
 59. Quoted in Young (1980, 181).
 60. 'Todo B[lake] me gustaría traducir' (quoted in Young 1980, 182 and González 2005, 70).
 61. Both poems were reprinted in *Canción* (Song, 1936), with new titles: 'De noche y de día (y William Blake)' (At night and day (and William Blake)) and 'El pájaro poniente (Sol rojo y William Blake)' (The setting bird (red sun and William Blake)).
 62. 'místico de la inmediatez, metafísico de la materia' (Cañas 1984, 140).
 63. 'Realismo trascendente' (García Jambrina 1999, 29).
 64. 'Siempre la claridad viene del cielo; / Es un don: no se halla entre las cosas / Sino muy por encima, y las ocupa / Haciendo de ello vida y labor propias' (Rodríguez 2000, 7).
 65. 'las teorías de Coleridge. Y de Bécquer. No es que me hayan influido, sino que me han hecho ver muy claro el fenómeno poético' (quoted in García Jambrina 1999, 19).
 66. 'yo no había leído ni una línea. Cuando lo leí [...] tuve que darle la razón. Ciertamente me reconocí, sobretodo en el tono, muy próximo al de mis primeros versos. Se producen afinidades increíbles, afinidades electivas' (quoted in García Jambrina 1999, 21).
 67. 'Dentro de la alianza existe la condena, igual que dentro de la condena existe la alianza. Es un proceso [...] dialéctico' (quoted in Campbell 1971, 230).
 68. I would like to thank María Eugenia Perojo Arronte for drawing my attention to Leopoldo María Panero.
 69. 'busca situarse en el territorio del exceso' (Panero 1992, 48).
 70. 'Las alucinaciones del loco son en el niño una forma natural de la percepción' (quoted in Blesa 1995, 9).
 71. Some of his translations can be found in the best known anthology of English Romantic verse in Spain (Valverde 1989).
 72. 'Blake, Nerval o Poe serán mis fuentes, como emblemas que son al máximo de la *inquietante extrañeza*, de la locura llevada al verso: porque el arte en definitiva, como diría Deluze, no consiste sino en dar a la locura un tercer sentido: en rozar la locura, ubicarse en sus bordes, jugar con ella [...] un oficio peligroso, deliciosamente peligroso' (Panero 2001, 287).
 73. Cuando el veneno entra en sangre/mi cerebro es una rosa' (Panero 2001, 415).
 74. 'Y sólo el diablo es el señor de la página "Todo verdadero poeta está enamorado del diablo" Blake lo dijo adorándole al viento' (quoted in Sánchez 2012, 89).
 75. 'Yo soy el tigre / El animal más bello de la noche: yo soy el Diablo' (Panero 1998, 39, ll. 6-7).
 76. 'La selva, atrapada en el ojo del tigre, / Resplandece en la perfecta simetría del poema / En el tigre de mis ojos' (Panero 1998, 13).
 77. See Muñoz Amo (2010) for a comparison of the use of light in Goya and Blake.
 78. For this exhibition see Sibylle Erle's Chapter 11.
 79. For this exhibition see Chapter 3 by Gilles Soubigou and Yann Tholoniati.
 80. '¿mis favoritos? Los poetas, los poetas puros, Rimbaud, Jarry, Blake y los místicos' (Miró 2002, 286).

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81. 'Al hacer el autorretrato pensar en William Blake' (Miró 2002, 271).
82. 'un paso del realismo [...] hacia la poesía: pintura llena de símbolos y signos' (Miró 2002, 261).
83. 'Ahora voy a intentar extraer la realidad profunda y poética de las cosas' (Miró 2002, 209).
84. 'un visionario que revelaba universos interiores más allá de lo visible' (Vidal Oliveras 2016 [n. p.]).
85. In Madrid: Sala de Exposiciones de la Fundación 'La Caixa' (2 February–7 April 1996); in Barcelona: Centre Cultural de la Fundació 'La Caixa' (17 April–2 June 1996).
86. This exhibition was shown at the CaixaForum in Madrid (2 July–21 October 2012).
87. I am very grateful to Sibylle Erle for drawing my attention to Jaume Plensa.
88. 'Shakespeare, Blake o Estelles me han ayudado a formarme. Han sido grandísimos profesores' (Plensa 2007).
89. 'Goethe, Shakespeare, Baudelaire, Dante, T. S. Eliot y, sobre todo, Blake están entre mis grandes compañeros de viaje. Una pequeña luz en la gran oscuridad' (Plensa 1999, 41).
90. See Jaume Plensa's official website, jaumeplensa.com [accessed 31 October 2017].
91. Other of Plensa's 'vertical bridges' now exhibited permanently in Gateshead are *The Star of David* (Stockholm 1998), *Bridge of Light* (Jerusalem 1998) and *Breathing* (London, BBC building 2008).
92. 'To create a little flower is the labour of ages', 'The best wine is the oldest' (*MHH* 9: 56, 58; E 37), 'Bring out number weight & measure in a year of dearth' (*MHH* 7: 14; E 36), 'The eyes of fire, the nostrils of air, the mouth of water, the beard of earth' (*MHH* 9: 48; E 37).
93. 'William Blake decía que un pensamiento llena la inmensidad. Esa es una extraordinaria definición de la escultura' (Plensa 2011).
94. 'Es verdad lo que decía Blake: cualquier cosa imaginable es una imagen de la realidad. Mi actitud con el arte siempre ha sido muy romántica' (Plensa 2011). This could be a paraphrase of 'everything possible to be believ'd is an image of truth' (*MHH* 8: 25; E 37).
95. 'Y por la noche se ilumina desde dentro. Como si iluminara la vida. Es una actitud muy romántica, porque pienso que es el arte el que ha de iluminar la vida y no al revés. Procuero que las piezas tengan su luz' (Plensa 2011).
96. 'Despertad jóvenes de la nueva era! ¡Desplegad vuestras inteligencias contra los mercenarios ignorantes! Pues llenos están los campamentos, los tribunales y las universidades de mercenarios que si pudieran prolongarían para siempre la guerra de los cuerpos y arruinarían la lucha de la inteligencia. Esto oyó William Blake' (Anon. 1974, 3). The passage translated here belongs to the Preface to *Milton* (*MI*; E 95–96).
97. 'quiere sintonizar con todos los que luchan por una nueva cultura' (Anon. 1974, 3).
98. Luis Racionero Grau (b. 1940) is a Spanish writer and intellectual, and was Director of the Spanish National Library from 2001 to 2004. He has collaborated on some important newspapers, such as *El País* and *La Vanguardia*.
99. 'En occidente hay pendiente una revolución cultural' (Racionero Grau 1974, 8).
100. 'Los Románticos vieron claramente que cosas no directamente políticas como la fábrica, la ciencia, la burocracia estaban impregnando la cultura de un autoritarismo que se iba enraizando a todos los niveles, y declararon que el origen de ese fascismo cultural estaba en la visión del mundo y mentalidad del racionalismo científico. [...] La uniformización, la eliminación de la diversidad, espontaneidad, erotismo e individualismo, la falta de

imaginación, la abstracción, son las causas mentales del fascismo; los Románticos sabían esto. Blake lo supo muy bien y lo dijo' (Racionero Grau 1974, 8).

101. 'Debo crear un sistema o ser esclavizado por el de otro hombre. No me interesa Razonar o Comparar: lo mío es Crear' (Racionero Grau 1974, 10).
102. 'Todo lo que vive es santo' (Racionero Grau 1974, 10).
103. 'La energía es la única vida, y es del Cuerpo, la Razón es el límite o circunferencia exterior de la Energía, y la Energía es Gozo Eterno' (Racionero Grau 1974, 10).
104. Paulo Coelho has frequently acknowledged his admiration of Blake; for example, there is a direct reference to the poet in the Preface to his novel *The Alchemist* where he affirms to have 'tried to pay homage to great writers who managed to achieve the Universal Language. Hemingway, Blake, Borges [...] Malba, Tahan, among others.' (Coelho 2002, viii).
105. 'la nueva conciencia: la capacidad de entender que todo está interconectado, que los instantes mágicos forman parte de la vida cotidiana y que basta un poco de apertura interior para reconocer que somos capaces de cambiar por completo nuestra realidad, eliminando casi todas las cosas que nos provocan insatisfacción' (Coelho 2012).

