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Comparative Critical Studies, Volume 3, Issue 3, 2006, pp. 347-369 (Article)

Published by Edinburgh University Press



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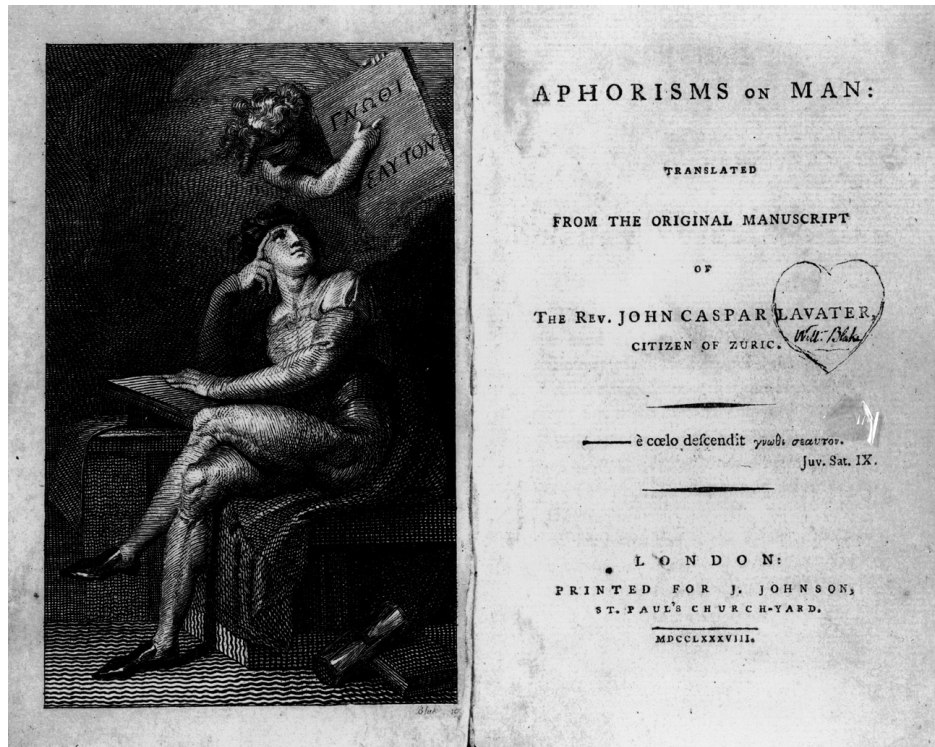
## Leaving Their Mark: Lavater, Fuseli and Blake's Imprint on *Aphorisms on Man*

SIBYLLE ERLE

*Aphorisms on Man*, like few other books of its size or content, has remained part of the scene of literary history owing to the combined efforts of three men, its Swiss author, Johann Caspar Lavater, its translator, Johann Heinrich Füssli, more commonly known in England as Henry Fuseli, and its illustrator and annotator William Blake. Johann Caspar Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man* (1788)<sup>1</sup> was published to prepare the British for his *Essays on Physiognomy* (1789–1798). As Marcia Allentuck has pointed out, it 'contained, in encapsulated form, some of the underlying theories of his physiognomical approach'.<sup>2</sup> Published in London by Joseph Johnson a few months after the first fascicles of *Essays on Physiognomy* were issued to subscribers and a year ahead of the book,<sup>3</sup> *Aphorisms on Man* was translated by Lavater's childhood friend, the Swiss-born painter and future Royal Academy Professor Henry Fuseli, who in all likelihood added the crucial final aphorism: 'If you mean to know yourself, interline such of these aphorisms as affected you agreeably in reading, and set a mark to such as left a sense of uneasiness with you; and then shew your copy to whom you please';<sup>4</sup> it was Fuseli, too, who provided the preliminary drawing on which William Blake based his frontispiece.<sup>5</sup> The main reason *Aphorisms on Man* is read today is that it was annotated by Blake.<sup>6</sup>

### LAVATER'S PHYSIOGNOMICAL PROJECTS, THEIR PRACTICES AND SOME OF THEIR OUTCOMES

By the standards of the day, *Aphorisms on Man* was enormously popular. This was only partly due to its association with *Essays on Physiognomy*. Its attraction was that it also claimed to be a guide to self-knowledge. A second and a third edition, published by Johnson, followed in 1789 and 1794, and by 1795 *Aphorisms on Man* had gone through five editions.



Johann Caspar Lavater, *Aphorisms on Man* (London: Joseph Johnson, 1788), frontispiece and title page. This item is reproduced by permission of *The Huntington Library, San Marino, California*.

This paper explores the relationships between the Greek inscription on the frontispiece (the Socratic ‘Know thyself’),<sup>7</sup> the heart drawn in ink by Blake onto the title-page around Lavater’s printed and Blake’s signed names, and that all-important final aphorism. Crucially, this aphorism has no precursor in either of the German sources, but it encourages readers to annotate and add yet another layer of significance to the already complex text.

Annotating books and sharing them with friends was common in the late eighteenth century, and Blake’s annotation and, hence, appropriation of Lavater’s text was not unusual.<sup>8</sup> In examining Blake’s annotations I hope to determine what this late-eighteenth century dialogue of texts can tell us about the early history of physiognomy in England, Lavater’s reception and his English connections.<sup>9</sup> This paper will also show how Fuseli’s editorial decisions, most importantly to render ‘rules’ as aphorisms,<sup>10</sup> encouraged Blake to annotate *Aphorisms on Man* the way he did. Blake’s language not only engages with Lavater’s in a

revealing manner, his annotations also reverberate with the discussions about Lavater and his views on body-soul relationships in contemporary reviews.

*Aphorisms on Man* was translated from a now lost manuscript especially prepared for Johnson and Fuseli. As it turns out, this manuscript was compiled from *Vermischte unphysiognomische Regeln zur Selbst- und Menschenkenntnis* (1787) and *Vermischte unphysiognomische Regeln zur Menschen- und Selbstkenntnis* (1788).<sup>11</sup> The publication of these two small volumes took place at the end of a long and intensive process of revising the so-called art of physiognomy. Physiognomy in its current state, Lavater explained, was really the science of human character in its infancy. To many of his contemporary's utter amazement, Lavater claimed that it was possible to accurately measure how body and soul interconnected once the common physiognomical feeling had been trained and developed into a reliable tool of rational analysis.<sup>12</sup> In his physiognomical practice Lavater mapped out how character could be read from the fixed parts of the human face. However, from the very start the publication of this physiognomy project was complicated by the fact that after the first German edition appeared in the 1770s Lavater was still accumulating new material. The several translations, published in Dutch, French and English, were in fact revised and expanded editions. Moreover, the first abridgement, appearing in a German edition of the early 1780s, became in turn another basis for translation. Particularly in England Lavater was so popular that five different editions, abridged as well as complete, were issued in the 1790s alone.<sup>13</sup> The reasons for this dispersed publication are twofold. On the one hand, the various translations and editions of Lavater's physiognomy project are simply evidence of its Europe-wide popularity. Lavater's collected data, his extensive collection of portraits of men and women, both dead and alive, had great aesthetic appeal; it helped to identify contemporary conceptions of human beauty and also to determine what might be regarded as morally subversive. On the other hand, even though Lavater was enthusiastically trying to convert his readers by offering them ever more evidence, rules and advice on what to look for in a human face, it proved difficult to bring his physiognomical research to a coherent conclusion.<sup>14</sup> Throughout, he seemed to be coaxing his readers into agreement – rather than presenting a substantial, definitive argument. The appearance of Lavater's smaller volumes with physiognomical rules during the late 1780s, including *Aphorisms on Man*, indicates that he eventually decided to tackle the

conceptualisation of his approach to physiognomy on a much smaller scale. These small volumes were a lot cheaper than any of the folio editions of Lavater's physiognomy project.

It was probably Prince Edward's visit to Switzerland in 1787 that encouraged Lavater to 'rapidly compose his *Aphorisms on Man*'. The impression of time-pressure is traditionally substantiated by Fuseli's advertisement: 'Notwithstanding the rapidity that attended this work, (and the world know [*sic*] that all this author's works are effusions), it will be found to contain what gives their value to maxims – verdicts of wisdom on the reports of experience'.<sup>15</sup> From the dedicatory letter, included at the beginning of *Aphorisms on Man*, it emerges that Lavater gave Fuseli a free hand both in translating and in editing the manuscript: 'I give you liberty not only to make improvements, but to omit what you think false or unimportant'.<sup>16</sup> In the advertisement, however, Fuseli writes: 'the reader is not to expect a set of maxims compiled from the author's own, or by him selected from the works of others; but an original, meditated and composed in the series here offered during the autumn of 1787, and transmitted in the author's own manuscript to the publisher'.<sup>17</sup> Even though we might expect from the dedicatory letter that Fuseli had edited Lavater's manuscript, the combination of the words 'original, meditated and composed in the series here offered' suggests not just a faithful translation but possibly a transformation of the German into an English text.

The first reference to Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man* appeared in *The London Chronicle* on 22 May 1788.<sup>18</sup> It is probable that Blake acquired an unbound copy sometime between May and July 1788. Already the mid-Victorian biographer Alexander Gilchrist argued that Blake must have followed the instructions of the final aphorism quite specifically, given that Fuseli said of his annotations that 'one could read their writer's character in *them*',<sup>19</sup> and hence it is hardly surprising that after Blake's death his so highly personalised copy was considered a treasured piece of memorabilia.<sup>20</sup> Gilchrist, in his Blake biography of 1863, interprets the heart as a 'naïve token of affection'; similarly Carol Louise Hall in *Blake and Fuseli* (1985) has argued that 'Blake's emotional comments in the margins show that he was truly touched by what he found there'. More recently, David Bindman claimed that Blake's annotations show how much Blake 'adored' Lavater.<sup>21</sup> However, Jason Snart in his important article on Blake marginalia emphasised that any attempt to search for Blake himself within the annotations is doomed because we cannot reconstruct with certainty how, when, how

often and with whom Blake annotated Lavater's text.<sup>22</sup> By contrast, the heart, Blake's symbol of affection, is part of a particular personal response to what can be considered a central physiognomical text.

But Blake not only annotated Lavater's *Aphorisms*, he also engraved four plates for the English edition of *Essays on Physiognomy* and worked repeatedly on a portrait of Lavater commissioned by Joseph Johnson.<sup>23</sup> Initially, this portrait was to have been part of the preparations for Johnson's own abridged but aborted translation of the French edition of the *Essays*.<sup>24</sup> An influence by Lavater on Blake was first suggested by S. Foster Damon in 1924.<sup>25</sup> Blake scholars have speculated ever since about possible traces of style and ideas not only in the early tractates, *All Religions are One* (ca. 1788) and *There is No Natural Religion* (ca. 1788), but also in Blake's early poetry *The Songs of Innocence* (1789) and the 'Proverbs of Hell' from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (ca. 1790).<sup>26</sup> Hall even claims that Blake's annotations to Lavater were the starting point for the uniquely challenging tone and confrontational attitude found in his other book annotations.<sup>27</sup> In one more instance the title-page has proved important. When Blake wrote in Edmund Malone's edition of *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (1797, 1798): 'This Man was Hired to Depress Art. This is the opinion of Will Blake my Proofs of this Opinion are given in the following Notes' (E635),<sup>28</sup> it signalled the launch of his attack on Reynolds, the Royal Academy and the institutionalised art education it stood for.<sup>29</sup> Of course, when Blake annotated *Aphorisms on Man*, he engaged with another Enlightenment thinker who, like Reynolds, believed in self-education. After all, Lavater preached physiognomy not least to 'promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind', a motto which he used as a subtitle for his *Essays on Physiognomy*. What this paper attempts to show is not what Lavater meant to Blake or how Lavater shaped Blake's thinking of 'man'. Blake's annotations are, first of all, evidence for his engagement with an aphoristic text. His annotations can be regarded as an exercise in interpretation because they produce ever new meanings rather than reveal a single truth. Even though a fragmentary text of the aphoristic kind may have appealed to Lavater, the mode of reading it initiated would have been highly problematic for him: he was convinced that ultimate truth existed and that it was difficult, but not impossible, to express that truth.

As mentioned above, in the late 1780s Lavater produced several small volumes similar in size to *Aphorisms on Man* containing more rules, which, at least initially, reached a small but crucially important

audience. A particularly interesting example of the smaller publication projects of Lavater is the *Handbibliothek für Freunde* (Reference Library for Friends) which he started in 1790. The reference library is unique in shedding light on Lavater's continuous struggle for better, more coherent texts. In the belief that he had finally been able to determine the rules which would lead anyone to success in friendship, life and society, he was careful to share his insights only with a select number of people. The extent to which he was convinced of the manipulative and creative power of his physiognomical rules emerges from a passage from the second volume of the reference library:

Ich wäre tausendfach geseegnet, wenn nur die freundschaftlichen Theilnehmer an der Handbibliothek diese Maxime in Saft und Blut verwandeln Güte des Herzens und Stärke des Geistes genug hätten.

(I would be blessed a thousandfold if only the friendly participants in the reference library would have enough goodness of heart and strength of spirit to transform these maxims into juice and blood.)<sup>30</sup>

The 'friendly participants in the reference library' are those who met Lavater half way, that is, those who shared his beliefs and were familiar with the philosophical and metaphysical debates of the time. Lavater read widely and struggled to fuse the different aspects of physiognomy into one self-reflective narrative about the history of physiognomy. Indeed, *Essays on Physiognomy* includes a collection of writings by authors other than Lavater – all of whom Lavater commented upon aggressively. It may be that *Essays on Physiognomy's* heterogeneous structure inspired Blake to use interlinear reading in order to produce similarly open intertexts. Tilottama Rajan has argued this with particular reference to Blake's early poems.<sup>31</sup> Building on Rajan's point, this example of heterogeneous structure may have motivated Blake to consider a comparably complex and layered poetic text for his *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, where the central voice is frequently interrupted and modified by other, more aggressive voices.

#### LAVATER AND FUSELI: FRIENDSHIP, COLLABORATION AND DISAGREEMENTS

Lavater's instructions to Fuseli about editing the *Aphorisms* manuscript were an invitation to help create a better text, and Fuseli may have used the final aphorism to continue Lavater's idea of a controlled textual interaction between author and reader. Fuseli may have decided

to translate ‘rules’ as aphorisms in order to bridge the cultural gap between Lavater and his new audience. ‘Aphorisms on Man’ is a less dogmatic and certainly more fetching title than ‘Miscellaneous physiognomical rules of self-knowledge’. By associating Lavater’s maxims with rapid, enthusiastic writing, Fuseli tried to make his text more accessible; and he may have decided to compose the final aphorism himself to compensate for the new, hardly didactic title. Fuseli’s decisions need to be interpreted against this background because, in the second volume of the *Handbibliothek* of 1792, Lavater sets down his thoughts on how he wants his works to be read:

Es ist mir ganz recht, dass ich unter den Theilnehmern der *Handbibliothek*, die zwote nur für Freunde schriebe ist, scharfe Kritiker habe. Ich mögte mir Alles sagen lassen, wie sie ihnen recht angenehm, und lehrreich, recht erwünscht und geniessbar machen könnte. Es sollte nur dann bey dem Schreiben und Mittheilen derselben recht wohl seyn, wenn ich denken darf: Allen Lesern damit recht wohl zu machen.<sup>32</sup>

(It is quite all right with me that I have sharp critics among the participants in the *Reference Library*, the second of which is written only for friends. I would like to be told everything, how it could be made really pleasant and instructive, really desirable and enjoyable for them. It should only then be really comfortable for me in writing and communicating this, if I am allowed to think it is truly satisfactory for all readers.)

Lavater was quite open to collaboration. The importance he attributed to revision is probably best exemplified in his use of the step-by-step publication of *Das menschliche Herz* (The Human Heart). It was first published as a private edition and as part of the reference library in 1790. It has two prefaces, both written as open letters. The first is addressed ‘An Freunde’ [*sic*] (To Friends) and the second is addressed to Queen Charlotte, for whom Lavater had originally composed this poem. This manuscript version of *Das menschliche Herz* was very dear to Lavater. He used the expression ‘Schooskind meines Herzens’ (pet of my heart) to suggest that he knew his text had some growing up to do; that is, it had further to be worked upon in the usual manner of continual and collaborative revision.<sup>33</sup> In the preface addressing his friends, Lavater explains that to bring his poem to perfection he needed his friends to read the manuscript with a list of twelve questions in mind. A comment such as ‘Bedarf einer erläuternden Erklärung’ (needs an explanatory clarification), so Lavater, would help to ensure the work’s overall clarity:



So, Freunde und Freundinnen, helfet mir, ein Werk zu vollenden, das uns allen und tausenden unseres gleichen – um so viel reineres, edleres, dauernderes Vergnügen gewähren wird, je mehr gute edle, reine Herzen sich in demselben gleichsam zusammengetragen, vereint, und verschwistert haben.

(So, friends, both men and women, help me to complete a work that – in order to grant so much purer, nobler, more lasting pleasure – will have gathered more good noble, pure hearts like ours, united us, and made brothers and sisters of all of us and thousands like us.)<sup>34</sup>

Lavater strove to eliminate from his manuscript-poem all that could be considered as untrue, unimportant, obscure, unexplained, trivial, superfluous and ineffective. Reading, on the other hand, had to be a guided process and Lavater, no doubt, tailored his manuscript-publications to his audiences. In the two editions of *Das menschliche Herz*, for example, he supplied different appendices glossing some of the expressions used. The first is subtitled ‘für meine Töchtern’ (for my daughters) and the second, slightly more extensive, is for ‘minder geübte Leser’ (less experienced readers).<sup>35</sup> In the 1798 second edition of *Das menschliche Herz*, Lavater still refers to the text as unfinished, but he expresses his satisfaction with what has been achieved because a description of the human heart can never be complete. Lavater concludes the preface by thanking all his friends:

Herzlich dank’ ich Allen, [...]. Wo ich nicht folgen konnte, war gewiss nicht Eigensinn die Schuld, sondern mein, mir hinlänglich begründet scheinendes, Gefühl.

(From my heart I thank everyone [...]. Where I could not follow, it was certainly not the fault of obstinacy but my [own] feeling, which seemed to me adequately founded.)

He is, however, content,

[w]enn hie und da mehrere Leser sich als in einem Spiegel schnell finden, und leicht anerkennen können ... .

(if a few readers here and there will find – and quickly acknowledge – themselves, as in a mirror ... .)<sup>36</sup>

This simile implies analogues between reader and text, and Lavater uses mirror imagery to suggest that during the reading process readers can expect to identify as well as recognise aspects of their inner selves.

The notion of a dialogue of texts, referring to both composition and editing, can also be applied to Fuseli’s approach to translation.

By the time he came to work on Lavater's manuscript he had already translated Winckelmann's *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* (1765) and published anonymously *Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J. J. Rousseau* (1767).<sup>37</sup> It is particularly interesting about Fuseli's preface to the *Remarks* – in view of the public argument between Hume and Rousseau of 1766 – that he admits to including material written by other people though specifically intended for the *Remarks*. The reason this is mentioned here will soon become clear:

the reader will do me the justice to believe me innocent of the following sheets – of maxims – [...] They are the effusions of a gentleman now on his travels – and were committed to my care as the editor only. [...] I was allowed to dissent, provided I would publish [...] on condition, however, that the *friend* should not smother the impartial man, nor the *editor* bribe the judge: – that I should be entitled to prefix to his ramble a kind of vindictory preface, and the following fragment of a letter written to him in remonstrance against his enterprize.<sup>38</sup>

Into the excerpt that follows Fuseli inserts footnotes, thus creating yet another layer of commentary to his translation. In this way he adds information about the popular context of this particular exchange and makes the argument accessible to the general reader. While Fuseli's footnotes and references to Rousseau are invaluable and enrich the text, they sometimes verge on scholarly excess.<sup>39</sup> But to return to *Aphorisms on Man*: Fuseli's translation of Lavater came after what seems to have been a break of over twenty years. The aphorism project, as it turns out, was not just a translation but a planned two-volume edition of aphorisms. At the end of his advertisement Fuseli announces a forthcoming second volume, one that would contain his own *Aphorisms on Art*: 'It is the intention of the editor to add another volume of Aphorisms on Art, with Characters and Examples, not indeed by the same author, which the reader may expect in the course of the year'.<sup>40</sup> Lavater's claim, formulated in the dedicatory letter about author and translator being equals, seems to have encouraged Fuseli to invest more time in his own literary ambitions. Fuseli's aphorisms, collated by his biographer John Knowles in his presence, were not published until 1831, when they appeared as part of a posthumous collection of his works.<sup>41</sup> The typescript of the original volume, announced in the 1788 advertisement, was destroyed in a fire at Joseph Johnson's.<sup>42</sup>

In the late 1780s, Fuseli did not abandon the project and annotated the remaining manuscript over several years, correcting and expanding it, even after having prepared a new typescript with Knowles in 1818.<sup>43</sup> Even though Fuseli's *Aphorisms on Art* deals mostly with aesthetic

questions, it clearly takes some of its momentum from his edition of Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man*. The following example is less about art than human nature, Lavater's main preoccupation: 'Organization is the mother of talent; practice its nurse; the senses its domination; but hearts alone can penetrate hearts'.<sup>44</sup> In addition to aphorisms, Fuseli used corollaries, printed in the Knowles edition just beneath the aphorisms, to express thoughts unachievable in the aphoristic mode. While Fuseli's aphorisms tend to be brief and sometimes very obscure, the weight of their argument is off-loaded to the corollaries. Appended, for example, to aphorisms 17 and 18, dealing with matters of artistic taste, are several glosses on how taste, and personal taste in particular, operate. The aphorism on artistic taste is: 'The immediate operation of taste is to ascertain the kind; the next, to appreciate the degrees of excellence'. Beneath it Fuseli wrote: 'Taste, founded on sense and elegance of mind, is reared by culture, invigorated by practice and comparison: scantiness stops short of it; fashion adulterates it: it is shackled by pedantry, and overwhelmed by luxuriance'.<sup>45</sup> What is interesting about the dialogue between aphorism and corollary here, is that the argument moves from the notion of an 'immediate' response to the idea that any response originated from a specific cultural context. Fuseli's reservations about 'immediate operation' are in stark contrast to Lavater's belief about his rationality being independent of social or cultural contexts. It is impossible to date Fuseli's corollaries but, as Eudo Mason has pointed out, *Aphorisms on Art* may be regarded as a testimony of the older Fuseli who had once again distanced himself from Lavater.<sup>46</sup>

Fuseli and Lavater had a longstanding and mostly close friendship. While preparing for the *Physiognomische Fragmente* in the 1770s, however, their relationship became tense. Lavater argued, for example, that engravings were crucial to understanding his physiognomical doctrines – they literally embodied his argument. He even tried to guide the artists working for him by supplying them with lengthy and detailed notes. Fuseli made only one drawing for the German edition, but once reconciled with Lavater was happy to supply a number of further designs for the second volume of the French translation published in 1783.<sup>47</sup> In the late 1780s and on the eve of the launch of the English translation, their relationship once again became tense: Lavater started to argue with Johnson and Fuseli about money.<sup>48</sup> In May 1788, just after the Hunter translation of *Essays on Physiognomy* had officially been launched, Lavater's friend Gottfried Heisch wrote to Lavater

from London that about 700 of the 1000 rules had been chosen.<sup>49</sup> In this letter Heisch referred to *Aphorisms on Man* as a ‘Zugabe’ (addition) to *Essays on Physiognomy* and explained that Fuseli’s intentions were totally altruistic; he was acting in Lavater’s best interests: ‘Er sagt, er habe dir Geld in die Hand spielen wollen’ (he says he wanted to put money into your hand). From a still unpublished passage of this letter it emerges that Fuseli was dissatisfied with what had been published about him in the French edition and expected Lavater to change this section for the English translation.<sup>50</sup> Fuseli’s concerns, probably occasioned by the expected impact of the *Essays* and fear of public opinion, did not seem to concern Lavater who refused to humour his friend. Fuseli’s subsequent refusal to publish *Aphorisms on Art* during his lifetime can be seen as a reluctance to collaborate further with Lavater and engage with the principal idea of the *Handbibliothek* about open and shared texts. His response is understandable: after all, Fuseli and Lavater had been in dialogue about the physiognomy project since the early 1770s, Fuseli had played an active role in the preparation of the Hunter translation, he had translated Lavater’s manuscript for *Aphorisms on Man*, had designed its frontispiece and had been determined to continue the aphorisms project by adding a second volume, a plan now put on hold. Discarding his brilliant marketing device of selling collections of aphorisms as guides to self-knowledge, he now preferred to withdraw and continue in private.

#### BLAKE’S ANNOTATIONS: RESPONSES, ARGUMENTS AND OBJECTIONS

Returning to Blake we need to remind ourselves, based on what I have just related, that his response to Lavater can in some ways be interpreted as much as a response to Fuseli as it was to Lavater himself – but also that we may never be able to determine the precise extent of the triangular relationship embedded in these texts. Either way, the notes Blake wrote in pen as well as pencil document that he engaged intensely with Lavater’s *Aphorisms on Man* over a prolonged period and long after his initial reading of the volume in 1788. As for Fuseli, Blake’s reading and annotating become an exercise in revisiting, recreating and retesting old as well as new ideas. *Aphorisms on Man* was ideally suited for this purpose because its aphoristic structure allowed readers to open the book on virtually any page. In the case of Blake’s annotations we have not just one, but two frames of reference; the

first is *Aphorisms on Man* and the other is *Essays on Physiognomy*. In theory, each frame produces a different kind of response, the one being more emotional or spontaneous and the other being more deliberate and considered. The first, prompted by the final aphorism, whose authorship remains uncertain, is a more personal experience, consisting essentially of the emotions triggered while reading. The second charts Blake's thoughts on physiognomy. To understand the spectrum of Blake's responses to Lavater's/Fuseli's text, we need to identify where and how the two kinds of readings intersect and what, in *Aphorisms on Man*, prompts this reader's agreement or disagreement. The intertextual relations between *Aphorisms on Man* and Blake's annotations provide a test case for the extent to which contemporary readers, if they followed the instructions of Lavater's/Fuseli's final aphorism, could expect to see, figuratively speaking, a reflection of themselves.

Theories of intertextuality help us to better appreciate the ongoing dialogue between *Aphorisms on Man* and Blake's annotations, not least because they allow us to read texts as collaborations between authors and readers. And, how better might this collaboration be expressed than through a quasi interlineated commentary! For example, while *Aphorisms on Man* is the intertext to *Essays on Physiognomy* and vice versa, Blake too engages in the experiment and shows himself ready to learn about himself; at the same time in the process, he cannot but respond to the contemporary debate about physiognomy.<sup>51</sup> In addition, Blake not only brings general assumptions about Lavater or physiognomy to the text, he evaluates Lavater's aphorisms which, according to Fuseli, compare to the famous aphorisms of Solomon and Hippocrates.<sup>52</sup> For example, Blake not only underlined 'Keep him at least three paces distant who hates bread, music, and the laugh of a child,' he also commented: 'the best in the book' (E590), and beside 'The smiles that encourage severity of judgment, hide malice and insincerity' he put an 'X' and 'Aphorisms should be universally true' (E585). It is unlikely that Blake wrote the bulk of his sometimes lengthy annotations spontaneously or in one sitting, as I indicated earlier. In view of the differences in ink and handwriting and the fact that he explicitly cross-references his comments it is safe to assume that Blake returned to *Aphorisms on Man* periodically throughout his life.<sup>53</sup>

Just as *Aphorisms on Man* explicitly invites its readers to annotate, Blake implicitly encourages us to read his annotations. Onto the first page he wrote: 'for the reason of these remarks see the last aphorism' (E583). It is reasonable to think that Blake wrote this line having read

*Aphorisms on Man* at least once. In other words, he was prepared to present his annotations as a record of a personal reading experience either to himself or to his fellow annotators. This begs the question of whether *Aphorisms on Man* was not generally intended to generate textual profiles of its readers' emotions. What *Aphorisms on Man* seems to offer is not what reason can achieve when fathoming the depths of human nature, but what the imagination brings to the surface when sounding out what is inside the human heart. Lavater for one – and his whole physiognomical project testifies to this – was convinced that the imagination played a crucial part in how character manifested itself on the body. In *Essays on Physiognomy*, in a section entitled 'Remarkable Singularities', he explains:

*Our imagination operates upon our physiognomy.* It assimilates the face, in some measure, to the object of our love or hatred. This object retraces itself before our eyes, becomes vivified, and thenceforward belongs immediately to the sphere of our activity. The physiognomy of a man very much in love, who did not think himself observed, will borrow, I am sure of it, some traits of the beloved object who employs all his thoughts, whom his imagination reproduces, whom his tenderness takes delight in embellishing, to whom he ascribes, perhaps, in absence, perfections which, present, he would not discover in her. [...] Our face is a mirror which reflects the objects for which we have a singular affection or aversion. [...] A very lively representation frequently affects us more than the reality.<sup>54</sup>

Using *Aphorisms on Man* as suggested in the final aphorism, reading, engaging with it, and trying to decide whether its aphorisms evoke agreement or disagreement requires a reader to become active in the Lavaterian sense. Like the observer of a beloved's face a reader needs to monitor how during the reading process feelings change and how they settle, how they make us either love or hate a book. Blake came to love *Aphorisms on Man* but just like a member of the 'friendly participants in the reference library' Blake commented on how Lavater's book could be improved. Towards the end he wrote: 'I hope no one will call what I have written cavilling because he may think my remarks of small consequence[.] For I write from the warmth of my heart. & cannot resist the impulse I feel to rectify what I think false in a book I love so much. & approve so generally' (E600). Blake claims to write from the heart and search for the truth with Lavater to establish any similarities between them. By annotating Lavater, Blake also actualises – if not creates – meanings which have not yet manifested themselves in Lavater's words. Blake, for example, underlines 'Avoid, like a serpent, him who writes impertinently, yet speaks politely' and adds,

‘a dog get a stick to him’ (E590). Blake agrees with Lavater and then goes on to question the humanity of the impostor.

Blake’s view of the limitations of *Aphorisms on Man* focuses on its prioritisation of the observed over the observer. Since *Essays on Physiognomy*, to a great extent, revolves around Lavater and how he perfected his ability to read human faces, it is significant to note how Blake seems less sure than Lavater about the ‘wise man’, who for Lavater is the skilled physiognomist. The first aphorism on wisdom Blake agreed with is aphorism 165:

Examine carefully whether a man is fonder of exceptions than of rules; as he makes use of exceptions he is sagacious; as he applies them against the rule he is wrongheaded. I heard in one day a man, who thought himself wise, produce thrice, as rules, the strangest half-proved exceptions against millions of demonstrated contrary examples, and thus obtained the most intuitive idea of the sophist’s character. [...] <sup>55</sup>

Seemingly following the instructions of the final aphorism, Blake drew a vertical line from ‘rules’ to ‘wise’ and thus acknowledged that Lavater was aware of the thin line between rule and exception.<sup>56</sup> Blake also put an ‘X’ next to aphorism 226 which reads: ‘There is no mortal truly wise and restless at once – wisdom is the repose of minds’ (E588). The next aphorism dealing with the concept of the wise man is aphorism 444; it too has an ‘X’ and reads: ‘Say what you please of your humanity, no wise man will ever believe a syllable while I and MINE are the two only gates at which you sally forth and enter, and through which alone all must pass who seek admittance’; Blake placed the comment ‘uneasy’ below it (E593). In fact, he disagreed so much that he felt induced to put his disapproval into words: below the ‘X’ to aphorism 226 he wrote ‘rather uneasy’ and below the ‘X’ to aphorism 444 ‘uneasy’. It might strike us, at first, as surprising that Blake felt ‘uneasy’ about these aphorisms, considering the well-known lines from *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: ‘If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is: infinite. For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things thro’ narrow chinks of his cavern’ (E39). However, while Lavater’s argument is that wisdom expresses itself as serene calmness and that physiognomical interpretation needs to be based on agreement with others, Blake’s take on the faculty of sight suggests that one person *can* indeed reach a wholesome understanding of another. There is reason to assume that when Blake was working on *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* around 1790, he was thinking of Lavater’s ego-centric explanations. Both ‘A fool sees

not the same tree that a wise man sees' (E35) as well as the sarcastic remark: 'If the fool would persist in his folly he would become wise' (E36) seem formulated in response to Lavater's celebrated but questionable success. Blake again and again and not one-sidedly measured his text against Lavater's and Lavater's against his. We can observe this for example in aphorism 624, besides which Blake placed an 'X' and below which he wrote: 'uneasy because I once thought otherwise but now know it is Truth' (E599).

Another cluster of aphorisms that revolve around the notion of the wise man are numbers 532 and 533; there Blake responds to Lavater's physiognomical axiom that true character is inscribed into the human face as if into an open book. One comment, 'Aphorism 47. speaks of the heterogeneous, which all extravagance is. but exuberance not' (E596), written on 532, is particularly noteworthy because it reveals how thoroughly familiar Blake was with Lavater's *Aphorisms on Man*. The next cluster confirms this. In aphorism 574 Lavater declares that the face-reader who learns to see beyond chosen poses will be able to decipher true character:

There are certain light characteristic momentary features of man, which, in spite of masks and all exterior mummery, represent him as he is and shall be. If once in an individual you have discovered one ennobling feature, let him debase it, let it at times shrink from him, no matter; he will, in the end, prove superior to thousands of his critics.<sup>57</sup>

The task of the physiognomist is a challenging one because he (or she) has to identify 'ennobling features' and speculate about their potential to then predict dormant virtue. Blake annotates this aphorism with 'the wise man falleth 7 times in a day & riseth again &<sup>c</sup>' (E597). The next but one, aphorism 576, is annotated with: 'this is most true but how does this agree with 451'. Without going into too much detail it is clear that Blake claims there is a contradiction in Lavater's argument; he cautions against the physiognomist of the narrowly Lavaterian type: that is, someone who again and again invokes divine wisdom while creating reductive portraits and producing prescriptive texts about human nature.

This argument about the qualities of the physiognomist pervades both Lavater's text and Blake's annotations. In his final assessment Blake retreats, with the wider context in mind, to mention a common 'strong objection' to Lavater: 'He makes every thing originate in its accident [;] he makes the vicious propensity »not only« a leading feature of the man but the stamina on which all his virtues grow'. Then Blake



attacks the point: 'Every mans »leading« propensity ought to be calld his leading Virtue & his good Angel [.] But the Philosophy of Causes & Consequences misled Lavater as it has all his cotemporaries [*sic*]. Each thing is its own cause & its own effect' (E600–601). Blake's criticism of Lavater essentially revolves around their different understanding of the role of the imagination. Lavater, according to Blake, does not really see man's essence, which Blake ascertains unfolds in its own time, because he is too obsessed with cause and effect, that is, himself and his interpretations. There is, incidentally, no evidence that Blake wrote his comments for Lavater who, as it turns out, never took much interest in *Aphorisms on Man*, which went into print in May 1788, the same month as *Vermischte unphysiognomische Regeln zur Menschen- und Selbstkenntnis*. The significance of Blake's comments and his argument with Lavater is that he treated *Aphorisms on Man* as an open text, adding his own comments and making connections to other texts.<sup>58</sup>

As mentioned above, Blake returned to *Aphorisms on Man* on a number of occasions and, given that he engraved the book's frontispiece and was working on a Lavater portrait, it is easy to picture him poring over a copper-plate thinking about the physiognomy project while reflecting about Lavater's real-life appearance. In fact, the decision not to use a portrait of Lavater for a frontispiece to *Aphorisms on Man* is curious, especially since the Swiss physiognomist believed that a good representation could easily substitute for physical presence.<sup>59</sup>

Fuseli and Blake were, of course, only two facets of the wider context of Lavater's reception in England. One of the first discussions of Lavater appeared in *The European Magazine* in January 1789. The opening paragraph summarises the extraordinary intellectual qualities Lavater embodied: 'Switzerland has had the honour of calling the very acute and ingenious subject of our present attention one of her children, and the felicity to boast of him as one of her distinguished ornaments'.<sup>60</sup> Similar comments on Lavater's character were made in connection with the reviews of *Aphorisms on Man*: 'The private character of Lavater is excellent', one critic remarks, 'he is mild, humble, modest, and good; yet his mind is impetuous; his ideas catch a sudden form, and start into sublime and often uncommon conceptions'; another notes: 'The well-known physiognomist of Zurich has here given us a collection of aphorisms or maxims, the result of his own observation and experience, which indicate a vigorous and discerning mind'.<sup>61</sup> Many of the early notices of *Aphorisms on Man* included selections or

lists of aphorisms, again testifying to the fact that these reviewers, like Blake, approached the book as prescribed by the final aphorism.<sup>62</sup>

*The Monthly Review* was full of praise about Lavater the philosopher and his science of physiognomy which promised, so the argument went, to become a regulator for human behaviour:

Nothing dignified with the name of Science is so entitled to our attention as that which analyzes the mind, developes [*sic*] the principles of human conduct, instructs us in the knowledge of ourselves, promotes the practice of virtue, and contributes to the truest enjoyment of life. [...] no one [...] has *looked* at man with more minute and steady attention than this physiognomical philosopher. He has surveyed him from *top to toe*, and so noted each variety of form and features.<sup>63</sup>

Lavater's talent for subtle physiognomical analysis was also emphasised in *The Analytical Review*: 'The author of these Aphorisms seems to have proceeded from the heart to the heart, or rather the study of one enabled him to trace the different forms the passions wear, and to discriminate many of their almost endless combinations'.<sup>64</sup> The contemporary reviewers also made numerous remarks on Lavater's style. *The English Review*, for example, discussed formal weaknesses: 'aphorisms should always be clear; the reader should never be forced to labour for a meaning; they should strike the mind at once', and *The Analytical Review* observed in a more general manner: 'Many of the aphorisms are so well expressed in the translation, that they have all the merit of an original thought almost intuitively struck off; whilst some certainly cannot be termed *effusions*, as the phrases are far-fetched, and the language being apparently tortured, renders the sense obscure'.<sup>65</sup> *The Analytical Review* refers here to Fuseli who, when using the word 'effusions' to characterise Lavater's style in his advertisement to *Aphorisms on Man*, quotes Lavater himself. Lavater used the concept of 'Ausguss' (effusion) to describe heart-felt thoughts that project a close connection, or immediacy, between what one wishes to express and what can possibly be expressed in words.<sup>66</sup>

There is no indication, however, that Blake struggled with the meaning of Lavater's aphorisms like the reviewer of the *Analytical Review*. While in a few instances he interferes with the language of the aphorisms, adding or crossing out, or even commenting on the quality of a given aphorism, he generally saw Lavater as guiding and regulating the exploratory process of increasing self-awareness: 'the name Lavater. is the amulet of those who purify the heart of man' (E600), he sums up his opinion. This statement is significant in that, while purifying means cleansing or ridding oneself of base or bad feelings,

the word amulet has both an occult and a medical meaning because it can be worn or applied for protection and against misfortune. Blake's notion that Lavater would help him to penetrate to the core of his being echoes Lavater's stance on the revision of texts as exemplified above for *Das menschliche Herz*, and it emphasises, once again, the presumed analogy between reader and text. Given Blake's closeness to the Johnson circle, the heart drawn around the names Lavater and Blake hence emerges as a metaphor for a specific annotator-author relationship: While the author is emptying his heart out on the page, Blake as an annotating reader moves these heart-felt pieces around, arranging and rearranging them according to like and dislike, in order then to step back and look at a sketch or list of what lies inside himself.

In the literary context of *Aphorisms on Man* Lavater's intention to establish direct communication, offered to the reader straight from his heart, draws on the idea that it had to be written quickly to escape the distortion of reason. With the decision to translate 'rules' as 'aphorisms' Fuseli tried to do justice to Lavater's notion of emotional wisdom. In other words, he sustained the effect of immediacy by negating the-text-on-the-page and ensuring that readers – like Blake – knew they had to get involved and work hard to come to grips with the content of the work. As we can see from Blake's example, readers did get involved: after all, while reading through the book Blake had to hold the aphorisms in his memory to be able to make comparisons and cross-references between them; thus at one point Blake annotates: 'Let me refer here, to a remark on aphorism 533 & another on. 630' (E584). At the same time, this manner of reading permitted Blake to sketch out potential counter-arguments. Aphorism 39, for example ('Who, without pressing temptation, tells a lie, will, without pressing temptation, act ignobly and meanly'), is annotated with 'uneasy false a man may lie for his own pleasure. but if any one is hurt by his lying will confess his lie see N 124' (E585).

#### CONCLUSION

When dealing with the Lavater episode in the 1860s Alexander Gilchrist was dismissive of both Lavater and *Aphorisms on Man*; he admitted, however, that Blake's annotations were 'mentally physiognomic'.<sup>67</sup> From today's perspective one and a half centuries after Gilchrist's dismissal, I doubt whether we can gain much insight from Blake's annotations into his character per se. The significance of *Aphorisms on*

*Man* and Blake's engagement with the book emerges rather only in connection with Fuseli's role in editing this volume and also the later and posthumously published *Aphorisms on Art*, because both Fuseli's editing work as well as the planned second volume indicate a shared concern for self-knowledge and self-experience and a willingness to explore the working of the human consciousness in a continuous process of rationalised self-discovery.

If *Aphorisms on Man* provided an opportunity for Fuseli to return to literature, for Blake it provided an opportunity to define and defy falsehood and dissemblance. Writing, translating and annotating *Aphorisms on Man* represented for all three 'authors', Lavater, Fuseli and Blake, an attempt to explore the dimensions of the self on the border of three texts in one, one written by the author, the second by the translator-cum-author and the third written by the annotator-cum-author. With the notion of like-heartedness it was possible to establish the physiognomical similarity between individuals as spiritual likeness, based on feelings of agreement or disagreement derived from readers' responses to expressions of human wisdom. Likeness, by definition, implies not a perfect match but rather some common ground. On the title-page of *Aphorisms on Man* this space in which mutual exchange can take place across time and space is denominated by the heart encapsulating the names of Lavater and Blake, author and annotator, and by extension, albeit less visibly, Fuseli, the translator and intermediary. When annotating *Aphorisms on Man*, Blake responded to Lavater's, but more likely to Fuseli's, explicit invitation to read and engage with the text by making his own selections; through them he would have felt better empowered to explore what was then seen as a new method of observing the workings of human consciousness as a reflection of human physiognomy. As I suggested, this is important for any assessment of Blake's annotations if only because it allows us to better situate the language of sensibility current at the time and to see Blake's notes as a mirror of the kind of engaged intellectual reading process encouraged by the Europe-wide movement of sensibility.

## NOTES

The author would like to thank Professor Robert Weninger, Dr Elinor Shaffer and Dr Mary Lynn Johnson for their support, inspiration and translation.

- 1 The original manuscript does not survive. The two German source texts are *Vermischte unphysiognomische Regeln zur Selbst- und Menschenkenntnis* (1787) and

- Vermischte unphysiognomische Regeln zur Menschen- und Selbstkenntnis* (1788).
- 2 Marcia Allentuck, 'Fuseli and Lavater: Physiognomical Theory and the Enlightenment', *Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 55 (1967), 89–112; this quote p. 97.
  - 3 Cp. Alexander Gilchrist, *The Life of William Blake*, edited with an introduction by W. Graham Robertson (1863; reprinted Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1998), pp. 92–94; G. E. Bentley, Jr, *Blake Books* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 593–594.
  - 4 Johann Caspar Lavater, *Aphorisms on Man* (London: Joseph Johnson, 1788), p. 224.
  - 5 David H. Weinglass, *Prints and Engraved Illustrations by and after Henry Fuseli: A Catalogue Raisonné* (Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1994), pp. 97–98.
  - 6 Extracts from Blake's annotations were first published in Gilchrist's biography. The annotations and selections from Lavater's text have been included into the various editions of Blake's works: Geoffrey Keynes's *Complete Poetry and Prose*, first published in 1927, his *The Complete Writings of William Blake*, first published in 1957 and David V. Erdman and Harold Bloom's *Complete Poetry and Prose*, first published in 1965. The newly revised edition of 1988 is also available online, [www.blakearchive.org](http://www.blakearchive.org). Selections from Blake's annotations are in the Norton critical edition by John E. Grant and Mary Lynn Johnson, first published in 1979.
  - 7 Robert N. Essick, *William Blake's Commercial Book Illustrations: A Catalogue and Study of the Plates Engraved by Blake after Designs by Other Artists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 40.
  - 8 H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (New York and London: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 44–80.
  - 9 For both Lavater's impact and the history of physiognomy see *Geschichten der Physiognomik: Text, Bild, Wissen*, edited by Rüdiger Campe and Manfred (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Schneider [Rombach Wissenschaft: Reihe Litterae; vol. 36], 1996); Richard T. Gray, *About Face: German Physiognomic Thought from Lavater to Auschwitz* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004); Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler, *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's Impact on European Culture* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005).
  - 10 In the dedicatory letter Lavater uses the word 'Regeln' (rules), Lavater, *Aphorisms*, iii–iv.
  - 11 Richard J. Shroyer has established that 65 of the 633 aphorisms have no matches in either of the two German volumes; among them is the final aphorism, 'APHORISMS ON MAN (1788)': *A Facsimile Reproduction of William Blake's Copy of the First English Edition*, edited by Richard J. Shroyer (Delmar, NY: Scholars Facsimiles & Reprints, 1980), xi–xv.
  - 12 Ellis Shookman, 'Wissenschaft, Mode, Wunder: Über die Popularität von Lavaters Physiognomik', in *Das Antlitz Gottes im Antlitz des Menschen: Zugänge zu Johann Caspar Lavater*, edited by Karl Pestalozzi and Horst Weigelt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1994), pp. 245–246.
  - 13 John Graham, *Lavater's Essays on Physiognomy: A Study in the History of Ideas* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1979), pp. 85–107; Mary Lynn Johnson, 'Blake's Engravings for Lavater's *Physiognomy*: Overdue Credit to Chodowiecki, Schellenberg, and Lips', *Blake/An Illustrated Quarterly* 38.2 (2004), 52–74; Robert E. Norton, *The*

- Beautiful Soul: Aesthetic Morality in the Eighteenth Century* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 176–209.
- 14 Michael Shortland, ‘The Power of a Thousand Eyes: Johann Caspar Lavater’s Science of Physiognomical Perception’, *Criticism* 28.4 (1986), 379–408.
- 15 Quoted in Shroyer (ed.), ‘*APHORISMS ON MAN (1788)*’, x, xi.
- 16 Lavater, *Aphorisms*, iv.
- 17 Lavater, *Aphorisms*, v.
- 18 G. P. Tyson, *Joseph Johnson: A Liberal Publisher* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1979), p. 62.
- 19 Gilchrist, *Life of Blake*, p. 63.
- 20 After Blake’s death his annotated copy went to Samuel Palmer, G. E. Bentley, Jr, *Blake Records*, second edition (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 473.
- 21 Gilchrist, *Life of Blake*, p. 63; Carol Louise Hall, *Blake and Fuseli: A Study in the Transmission of Ideas* (New York & London: Garland, 1985), p. 135; David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), p. 100.
- 22 Jason Snart, ‘Recentering Blake’s Marginalia’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 66.1/2 (2003), 135–153.
- 23 Robert N. Essick, *The Separate Plates of William Blake* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 150–157; Joan K. Stemmler, ‘The Physiognomical Portraits of Johann Caspar Lavater’, *The Art Bulletin: A Quarterly* 75.1 (1993), 151–168; Essick, *Commercial Book Illustrations*, p. 40.
- 24 Johnson, ‘Blake’s Engravings for Lavater’s *Physiognomy*’, p. 54.
- 25 S. Foster Damon, *William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols* (London: Constable and Co., 1924), pp. 37, 61, 64, 92.
- 26 David V. Erdman, *Blake: Prophet against the Empire*, third revised edition (1954; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 126–130, 139–146; Harold Bloom, *Blake’s Apocalypse: A Study in Poetic Argument* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1963), pp. 24–29, 38, 83–85; Anne K. Mellor, *Blake’s Human Form Divine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 12–15; Morton D. Paley, *Energy and the Imagination: A Study of the Development of Blake’s Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 10–15; G. E. Bentley, Jr, *The Stranger from Paradise: A Biography of William Blake* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 135.
- 27 Hall, *Blake and Fuseli*, p. 135.
- 28 *The Complete Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, newly revised edition, edited by David V. Erdman and Harold Bloom (1965; New York and London: Double Day Anchor Books, 1988), p. 635. Hereafter E plus page number.
- 29 Hazard Adams, ‘“Revisiting Reynolds”: Discourses and Blake’s Annotations’, in *Blake in His Time*, edited by Robert N. Essick and Donald Ross Pearce (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1978), pp. 128–144.
- 30 Johann Caspar Lavater, *Handbibliothek für Freunde: Manuscript, Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen*, 24 vols. (Zurich, 1790–1793), II, p. 304.
- 31 Tilottama Rajan, *The Supplement of Reading: Figures of Understanding in Romantic Theory and Practice* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 197–276.

- 32 Lavater, *Handbibliothek*, II, p. 303.
- 33 Lavater, *Das menschliche Herz: Sechs Gesänge* (Zurich: Handbibliothek, 1790), I, no page.
- 34 Lavater, *Das menschliche Herz* (1790), I, no page.
- 35 Lavater, *Das menschliche Herz*, I (1790), p. 231; second edition (Zurich: Orell, Füssli and Co., 1798), also p. 231.
- 36 Lavater, *Das menschliche Herz* (1798), p. xii.
- 37 Henry Fuseli, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, edited by John Knowles, 3 vols. (1831), I, pp. 44–45.
- 38 Henry Fuseli, *Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J. J. Rousseau* (1767), no page.
- 39 For the reception of Fuseli's *Remarks* see *The Collected English Letters of Henry Fuseli*, edited by David H. Weinglass (Millwood, New York: Kraus International, 1982), pp. 8–9, 508–509. Introduction to Henry Fuseli, *Remarks on the Writings and Conduct of J. J. Rousseau / Bemerkungen über J. J. Rousseaus Schriften und Verhalten*, mit Einführung, deutscher Übersetzung und Kommentar, edited by Eudo C. Mason (Zurich: Fetz & Wasmuth, 1962), pp. 11–60.
- 40 The announcement made in the last paragraph of Fuseli's advertisement is omitted in the 1790 Dublin third edition. It is, however, still included in Joseph Johnson's 1794 third edition.
- 41 Fuseli, *Life and Writings*, I, p. 323.
- 42 *Aphorisms on Art* was published posthumously in Henry Fuseli, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, edited by John Knowles, 3 vols. (London: 1831), I, p. 160, III, pp. 63–150.
- 43 Mason asserts that it is possible to identify about a quarter of the completed text in Fuseli's lectures; see Heinrich Füssli, *Aphorismen über die Kunst*, translated by Eudo C. Mason (Klosterberg, Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1944), p. 14–15.
- 44 For Fuseli's Aphorism 12, see *Life and Writings*, III, pp. 64–65.
- 45 Fuseli, *Life and Writings*, III, p. 66.
- 46 Füssli, *Aphorismen*, pp. 17–21.
- 47 Johnson, 'Blake's Engravings for Lavater's *Physiognomy*', pp. 56–57.
- 48 Gerd Schiff, *Johann Heinrich Füssli: 1741–1825: Text und Œuvrekatalog und Abbildungen*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Berichthaus; München: Prestel-Verlag, 1973), I, p. 223.
- 49 This letter was partly translated by Georg Finsler, 'Lavater in Amt und Privatleben', in *Johann Caspar Lavater 1741–1801, Denkschrift zur hundertsten Wiederkehr seines Todestages*, edited by Stiftung von Schnyder von Wartensee (Zurich: Commissionsverlag von Albert Müller, 1902), pp. 20–22.
- 50 Transcription of 1788 Heisch letter by Mary Lynn Johnson and Sibylle Erle; Zentralbibliothek Zurich, FA Lav MS 512.138.
- 51 Michael Riffaterre, 'Compulsory reader response: the intertextual drive', in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, edited by Michael Worton and Judith Still (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 56–78.
- 52 Lavater, *Aphorisms*, iii.
- 53 David Erdman writes: 'Blake obtained his copy unbound and made his notes so rapidly that the ink was blotted off on adjacent leaves, heaped out of proper order' (E883). G. E. Bentley argued 'the change from pencil to ink, and the change in

pen-points indicate that Blake went through the book making comments several times', *Blake Books*, p. 690. See also Hall, *Blake and Fuseli*, p. 135. Representing Blake's annotations as they appear on the page is difficult. The great weakness of Shroyer's facsimile edition is that he does not draw attention to notes written in pencil or different inks.

- 54 Johann Caspar Lavater, *Essays on Physiognomy, designed to promote the Knowledge and the Love of Mankind, Illustrated by more than Eight Hundred Engravings accurately Copied, and some duplicates copied from Originals, executed by or under the inspection of Thomas Holloway*, translated from the French by Henry Hunter, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, Henry Hunter; and Thomas Holloway, 1789–1798), III, p. 182.
- 55 Lavater, *Aphorisms*, p. 62.
- 56 In *Essays on Physiognomy* Lavater was more careful and less dogmatic, see *Essays*, I, no page.
- 57 Lavater, *Aphorisms*, pp. 195–196.
- 58 Blake frequently refers to God (E590, 595–599), books of the Bible (E594, 596). He mentions Christ (E984), Shakespeare (E591), George II (E596), and comments on physiognomy in response to aphorism 532 (E595–596).
- 59 Karin Althaus, 'Lavaters Begegnungen und die Formen seiner Kommunikation', in *Das Kunstkabinett des Johann Caspar Lavater*, edited by Gerda Mraz and Uwe Schlögl (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1999), p. 37.
- 60 *The European Magazine* 15 (1789), 5.
- 61 *The Critical Review* 66 (1788), 141; *The English Review* 13 (1789), 121.
- 62 *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* 82 (1788), 301–302; *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure* 83 (1788), 80; *The Scot's Magazine* 50 (1788), 341–343; *The European Magazine* 14 (1788), 160.
- 63 *The Monthly Review* 80 (1789), 526.
- 64 *The Analytical Review* 1 (1788), 287–289.
- 65 *The English Review* 13 (1789), 121–123; *The Analytical Review* 1 (1788), 287.
- 66 August Langen, *Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, <sup>2</sup>1968), pp. 435–436.
- 67 Gilchrist, *Life of Blake*, pp. 62, 68.