FRAMING EVE IN PARADISE LOST

A Dissertation
Presented to
The School of Graduate Studies
Drake University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Arts

by
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May 1989
FRAMING EVE IN PARADISE LOST

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**Framing Eve in Paradise Lost**

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Although John Milton's *Paradise Lost* presses readers towards fashioning Eve as a temptress, the text simultaneously invites an interpretation of Eve as a composition of active goodness. Readers, however, tend to accept inherited cultural stereotypes and ideological constructs of Eve as a temptress because those stereotype visual and verbal constructs feed what readers have always "known."

Chapter One, "Eve in Art," describes and analyzes selected features of the iconographic milieu from which John Milton composed his Eve. Not surprisingly, the pictorial tradition of Eve as temptress shaped Milton's verbal construction of her.

Chapter Two, "The Art of Eve," explores how the text problematizes readers' traditional perception of Eve as temptress by manipulating epic similes. Readers compare and contrast Eve to other temptresses; the contradictions are exploited, and readers are forced to make choices about Eve. Here, psychoanalysis can help explore how readings of Eve represent male systems of sexuality which position her firmly within patriarchal
codes. Indeed, even Eve's choices about reading herself are preempted in the awakening as she becomes looked upon, no longer a subject but one subjected to a series of male gazes.

Finally, Eve awakens to find something already discovered by the reader—the inescapability of being a creature of culture steeped in the myths of male primacy.

Chapter Three, "Sharing Satan's Gaze," focuses on how the text sets up rhetorical obstacles, chiefly by positioning readers in alignment with Satan's gaze especially at moments when they are looking at Eve. Here again, psychoanalytic theory demonstrates the way the patriarchal unconscious has structured, even predetermined, ways of seeing women. The theory advances the reader's understanding of the patriarchal order in which women, including Eve are caught. Readers share Satan's gaze, a flawed and inaccurate picture of Eve that reveals the iconographic tradition as diabolical.

Finally, my thesis suggests a view of Paradise Lost as constructed so that readers are put to the test; they are forced to deal with calculated contradictions, rhetorical confusions, and perspectives which keep expectations in flux—all imbedded for instructive purpose—
to teach the reader to choose, and to teach the inevitability of choice.
Chapter One

Eve in Art

From the twelfth century iconographic tradition of constructing the serpent as Eve's mirror image, to Joel-Peter Witkin's 1980's futuristic photograph of Eve pulling a powerless Adam out of Paradise, the "framing" of Eve has been validated by history (Fig. 1). Contemporary readers, in a progressively visual society, see similar images of Eve as Milton might have seen during his lifetime, art forms which construct Eve as attractively wicked, provocative, and innately perverse. In 1989, the mother of mankind continues to be viewed as the traditional temptress; college boys, for example, frame Eve on the walls of their dormitory rooms in the form of Richard Avedon's popular photo poster of nude Nastassja Kinski in complicity with the foreboding serpent which wraps itself around her body (Fig. 2).

Some readers believe that Milton was different from other artists and poets who have constructed Eve. They perceive him as having resisted iconographic tradition and fashioned an Eve who in all the prelapsarian scenes, is not only sufficient to stand and able to grow but who, while standing and growing, is a pattern and composition of active goodness and a speaking picture of the recreative power of poetry itself. The challenge for Milton, in the face of almost universal assertion that frailty's name is woman, was to
create an Eve who would be Adam's meet companion. The familiar myth of Eve as attractively wicked, innately perverse, and the one who caused the Fall of man, however, has never been displaced. In part, the inability to dislodge this familiar myth is because centuries of Christian art have focused on the scene of the temptation. The following account of the iconographic milieu from which Milton's Eve emerges should assist the reader in further understanding how the image of Eve in the text of *Paradise Lost* is predetermined by the iconographical associations.

In the sixteenth-century altar triptych known as *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, Hieronymus Bosch's *Marriage of Adam and Eve* depicts a benign though wary Creator presenting a winsomely innocent, modest, simple, and pliant Eve to a naively delighted Adam (Fig. 3). At their feet, misjoined creatures struggle, and a haughty cat dispatches a paralyzed mouse in an unmistakable prefiguration of the Fall. A rabbit, the symbol of procreation, turns his back. In the center of the triptych, proliferations of lithe and golden-tressed Eves cavort in a fountain among emblems of lasciviousness and seduction, and, in the third panel, the occupants of hell which are parodies of Eve, display the perversities of lust (Fig. 4). Here, Bosch's Eve seems the prime example of the innocent--perhaps
the deceptively innocent source of sin and death.

Within the Renaissance pictorial tradition, one finds a rich variety of Eves, ranging in predominant attributes from wanton frailty to tragic dignity, but none which emphasize virtue. Above all, for the Renaissance artist, Eve embodies an overpowering physical beauty that is both a glory and a snare. Visual depictions of the Temptation (Figs. 5,6) are often implicitly sexual. Floris and Tintoretto explicitly link beauty and sexuality directly to an immediate Fall thus suggesting that beauty and passion are inherently corrupting, and therefore to be avoided (McColley 4-7).

During the Renaissance, artists increasingly concentrated the story of Adam and Eve in a single scene; they almost invariably selected the moment of Adam's choice. Durer's 1504 engraving of Titian's painting portrays a seductive Eve taking the fruit while an anxious Adam looks on perplexed and tries to restrain her (Fig. 7). The paintings of Rubens (Fig. 8), Tintoretto (Fig. 6), Salviati (Fig. 9), Durer (Fig. 7), Cranach (10), the Medici tapestries (11), and van Linge's chapel window at Oxford (Fig. 12) show Eve tempting Adam; Eve takes the fruit from the serpent's mouth with one hand and offers it to Adam with the other. The pictorial tradition constructs Eve either dangerously innocent or attractively wicked.
The Renaissance imagination was heavily stocked with images of Eve from which Milton drew heavily. Consequently, although he could not rely on any direct inspection in shaping his poetic description of Eve, Milton was not describing the undescribed; Eve had been a subject in Western art for centuries. No intelligent man living in the seventeenth century—even one who went blind in his forties—could have avoided the surrounding impressions of how Eve was imaged in art. For those cultivated Englishmen who took a continental tour, there was also the great treasury of European images of the first mother seen at first hand. This was available to that "fit audience though few" for which Milton wrote, and provided a vast reservoir of images upon which readers could draw in reading Paradise Lost (Parker 400-401). Although, Milton's Eve may not have been finally constructed until nearly thirty years after his journey, indeed, one could argue that the fifteen months Milton spent abroad, including a year in Italy, in 1638-39, appear to have been immensely formative in formulating his construction of Eve.

Eighteenth-century painters William Hogarth, Henry Fuseli, and William Blake regarded Milton's verbal descriptions as remarkably and memorably pictorial (Spencer 12). Milton's visual imagination indeed is
memorably pictorial; one might, however, rephrase that concept and say that Milton remembers well the pictorial tradition--especially when constructing his Eve. Milton's Eve could well be viewed like Bosch's painting, an image to be read synchronically--Eve as temptress past, present, and future. One could conclude that Eve has been literally "framed" by iconographic tradition.

Milton associated painters with poets on the same high level of human endeavor. In The First Defense, published in 1561, he writes that the power of kings, when exercised apart from righteousness, is comparable to that of highway robbers and below that of painters and poets. Indeed, Milton is often characterized as both a poet and a painter. In 1932, the painter and editor Jonathan Richardson even wrote that "Milton's pictures are more sublimely great, divine, and lovely than Homer's, or Virgil's, or those of any other poet, or of all poets, ancient or modern," and he favorably compared Milton's verbal landscapes, portraits, and history paintings to the words of the greatest Renaissance and baroque artists (Richardson 154-155). Thus, if Milton were to obey his own calling to "assert Eternal Providence, / And justify the ways of God to men" (I. 25-26), his task would be to create poetically
such an Eve as a just and provident God must be supposed to have created. Indeed, some feminist critics contend that Milton intended to extricate Eve from a reductive iconographic and literary tradition by constructing her as imaginative, rational, intelligent, chaste, sensuous, free and responsible--as fruitfully tempering the ingredients of virtue in all her actions until the moment when Satan's lies "Into her heart too easy entrance won" (IX. 734). However, cultural artifacts of Eve which surrounded the poet compared to the text's construction of her, demonstrate that Milton followed iconographic tradition and, thus, contributed to the framing of Eve as a temptress either consciously, semiconsciously or even subconsciously in Paradise Lost.

Diane McColley supports the concept that Eve is "framed" by pictorial tradition. That construct of Eve as "crooked by nature" grows out of a tradition seemingly impossible to abandon by exclusively rational means. McColley contends that painters and poets alike usually depict the first woman as "inherently deficient in virtuous enterprise; the mother of mankind in art and verse is weak, vain, useless, mindless, trifling, grasping, vacillating, wanton, obstinate, presumptuous, and (nonetheless) fatally seductive. At her most appealing, she embodies passion subjugating reason; at
her worst she is the apt and willing instrument of evil" (McColley 1-2).

The iconographic tradition shaping the Renaissance image of Eve, for example, offered almost no representations which suggest that her prelapsarian life was innocent after God married her to Adam and instructed them. Throughout the centuries of Christian art, representations of the first three chapters of Genesis have focused on temptation: Adam, Eve, Serpent, Tree. Pictorial narratives regularly proceed from either the creation of Eve, the marriage, or the prohibition directly to the first sin, with no depiction of original righteousness in between. Since the text of Genesis offers no actual demonstration of original virtue, Bible illustrations follow this program as do medieval church and book decorations, and Renaissance cycles (Figs. 13-18). Cranach's narrative painting (Fig. 19), the Limbourg Brothers' Story of Adam and Eve (Fig. 45), and Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes also proceed from creation directly to the Fall (McColley 6). J. B. Trapp points out that the Genesis cycle appears in surroundings that emphasize the process of redemption (226). Michelangelo's is atypical in stressing powerful conclusions of agony and woe. The climax of an iconographic program is most often the Incarnation or the Celestial Paradise, and the sequence contrasts,
often by visual parallels or oppositions, Eve as the instrument of evil with Mary as the vessel of grace—a contrast summed up in the recurrent topos of the Annunciation with the Expulsion. Whether or not the effects of the Fall are regarded as remediable, or even fortunate, however, Eve is primarily a temptress (McColley 6).

Eve was not particularly distinguished in paintings by her associations with flowers, but in a study entitled "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," Julius Held has pointed out that the artistic representations of Flora not only represent the increasing popularity of gardening; more importantly, his analysis demonstrates how Milton's allusion to Flora connects her with Eve. And that link between Eve and Flora has strong suggestions of a frame. The comparison of Adam's awakening to "when Zephyrus on Flora breathes" (V. 16) is a typically Miltonic adaptation of a mythological theme, and one which has a revealing parallel in representational art. Flora acquired an unmistakably erotic character both in literature and in painting because of her amorous union with Zephyrus. Thus, it was inevitable that in pictorial representations of the nymph of spring, the bride of Zephyrus and the goddess of flowers, the erotic appeal of the figure would be emphasized in various ways (Held 203-204). Frequently Flora
is treated in art and literature as a harlot, with "all the hallmarks of a portrait of a cortigiana" (Held 217). Of such interpretations, Titian's Flora is the most famous (Fig. 47). Suggestions of the courtesan Flora might have lent visual support to Milton's sometimes ironical treatment of Eve. Certainly, Eve is associated with the erotically attractive floral goddess the morning she relates her troublesome dream to Adam. Even though Eve's association with Flora occurs within the authorized freedom of pure married love long before she eats the fruit, such strong undertones are established by this link that Eve is viewed as a harlot.

Because pictorial representations inevitably focus on the Fall, and, because the Fall is traditionally represented in art by Eve reaching for the fruit, the "peaceable garden"—the Paradise where Eve first awakens, the garden where she works, and her home which is lost—seems a productive place to begin.

In Italy, gardening had long been taken as symbolic of the conquest of virtue over vice, a kind of bringing reason and order to the "wanton" excess of nature. It is particularly curious that both Paradise and Eve are constructed as "Nature here / Wantoned as in her prime, . . . pouring forth more sweet, / Wild above rule or art" (V. 294-97). The construction of
Eve within the Garden and her relationship to the place of her awakening, by artists preceding Milton, can be used as a standard of comparison for the text's construction of Eve and her environs, as evidence of an iconographical "frame." The Garden of Eden, by Jan Brueghel the Elder, represents a wooded landscape of glowing tranquility, rich with lustrous fruits and delicate flowers and teeming with delightful birds and beasts (Fig. 21). From this entrancing foreground, the eye is led by lights of stream and sky to two distant human figures. One reaches toward the other with one hand and, with the other, toward a tree. Vaguely entwined around the tree is what might be a vine, or perhaps it might be a snake. This typical representation of the Fall transmits a tremor of apprehension that the peaceable Garden is about to be lost (McColley 4-5).

Aside from Michelangelo's pervasively desolate representation of Paradise in his Sistine painting (Fig. 20), the pictorial tradition makes the Garden a place of idle pleasure; the scenes are flowery, sweetly perfumed by natural scents, varied in light and shade and contour of forest, glade, and water, and, in sum, abundantly fertile and wildly overgrown, similar to Milton's verbal landscape of Eden. This fertile luxuriance can be traced to the fifth century in an ivory
diptych now in Florence, as well as to medieval artists, who also suggested a richness of life in their art. After the fifteenth century, luxuriance abounds in virtually every view of Eve's environment, even on occasions suggesting "a vast wild park," as in the Window of Chariots created for St. Vincent in Rouen about 1525 (Male 138-39). In the seventeenth century, however, pictorial analogues come closest to resembling the fertile luxuriance of Milton's Garden. In England, the stained glass window executed in 1641 by Abraham Van Linge shows Eden with the lush overgrowth of a rain forest (Fig. 12). Both Bruegel and Rubens' conception of Eden visualize a similar opulence in nature (Fig. 21,23). Milton's paradise of all the senses (VIII. 526-28) is suggested in many art works, but the most symbolic statement is an unsigned engraving of the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (Fig. 22). The engraving, mounted in the Kitto Bible, portrays Eve presented to Adam, each arousing an immediate and electric response in the other, within a scene of Paradise which is surrounded by figures personifying the five senses--in all, such "a wilderness of sweets" (V. 294) (Frye 240-42).

Usually Milton conforms rather closely to one or another of the established visual traditions of Paradise. David Daiches finds Milton's Eden as conforming
to visual traditions, yet he also states, "Nature, both animal and vegetable, is described with an almost Baroque luxuriance, but a heraldic formality controls the profusion and prevents any suggestion of the florid" (188). In short, a combination of both control and excess can be found in Milton's Garden.

The overall structure of Milton's Garden is ordered; it is surrounded by a forest and thicket, topped by a wall over which trees appear, the highest tree in the Garden being the Tree of Life. In contradistinction to the order, however, the Garden also shows signs of excess. Adam speaks of "branches overgrown," or "wanton growth," and of blossoms and dropping gums which "ask riddance" as they "lie bestrown unsightly and unsmooth" (IV. 627-32). What Adam and Eve can prune or "lop" away, they find that "one night or two with wanton growth derides / Tending to wild" (IX. 210-12). Such excess demands the best efforts of Adam and Eve to prune and remove the unwanted growth so they may tread the Garden with ease. This "wanton growth," this disorder of the Garden, compared to the disarray of Eve's hair subtly frames her as wanton--as "Tending to wild." Like the Garden's need to be cultivated, Eve is constructed as delightfully in disorder in her appearance.
Not equal, as thir sex not equal seem'd;
For contemplation hee and valor form'd,
For softness shee and sweet attractive Grace,
Hee for God only, shee for God in him:
His fair large Front and Eye sublimate declar'd
Absolute rule; and Hyacinthine Locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clust'ring, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
Shee as a veil down to the slender waist
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Dishevell'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'e
As the Vine curls her tendrils, which impli'd
Subjection, but requir'd with gently sway,
And by her yielded, by him best receiv'd,
Yielded with coy submission, modest pride,
And sweet reluctant amorous delay (IV. 295-311)

In addition to the disorder of her looks, the contrast of the construction of Adam's "clustered" short hair, and Eve's "wanton tresses" suggests an inequality of the sexes, emphasizing Adam's reason over Eve's passion; this contrast echoes the traditional symbol of gardening representing the conquest of reason over passion, of virtue over vice. Outward impressions and inward assessments of Eve's hair as described by Milton
seem to point to a need for control. Her long, golden hair may be a sign of her femininity; its veil-like quality may suggest modesty; her "unadorned" hair may demonstrate that she exists in the state of natural innocence; yet, its "dishevell'd, but in wanton ringlets waved" suggests profusion, provocation, and charming disorder, much like the Garden—again suggesting a need to be governed.

It appears that Milton does not rely upon a purely conceptual set of images of Eve; he selects and excludes from the possibilities available to him. The convention in art and literature for the color of Eve's hair, however, demanded that she have golden tresses. This was an absolute given of the visual formula. Few, if any, could have imagined Eve with hair of any other color.

Giametti informs us of parallels in the description of Aphrodite by Homer and Marino, and of Horace's "yellow-haired Pyrrha" (Giametti 319-20 and 323). Milton, however, needed no "golden Aphrodite" in order to construct his Eve. Although there were a few dark-haired Eves prior to the Renaissance, from the Renaissance on, Eve's hair was always blonde. Colored reproductions of the Medici tapestries (Figs. 24, 25), the van Linge window (Fig. 12), and the Rubens painting are representative (Fig. 8). Paintings by Masolino (Fig.
26), Michaelangelo (Fig. 20), Tintoretto (Fig. 6), and virtually all other Renaissance artists call to mind Milton's phrases "golden tresses" and "flowing gold."

Visual compositions of Eve's hair, however, vary in an interesting particular. Milton's Eve wears her hair "as a veil" only to her waist, as do the Eves of Cranach (Figs. 10, 19). It may be that Milton cut Eve's hair short at the waist in order to reinforce his assertion that "those mysterious parts" were not then concealed (IV. 312). The poet's description excludes any visual image of the long hair that falls to, or even below, Eve's buttocks, as it is shown in the Grimani Breviary (Fig. 27), Durer's oils (Fig. 28), the Lyons Bible, the University College windows, and the Medici tapestries (Fig. 11, 24, 25). The length of Eve's hair, extending only to the waist, may be a reflection of Milton's personal taste, or it may be a means of avoiding any intrusion of postlapsarian prudery.

When Eve's hair is described as "in wanton ringlets waved / As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied / Subjection," Milton is evoking a long established artistic tradition of Eve's wavy hair. There had been some straight-haired Eves prior to 1600, as in the paintings by Masolino (Fig. 26) and Massaccio and in the Bedford Book of Hours (Fig. 29), and barely waving hair may be found on Eve in the Chiostro Verde,
the Pseudo Met de Bles (Fig. 30), the S. Marco mosaics, the 1544 Lyons Bible, and in the Altdorfer painting (Fig. 31). After 1500, however, Eve's hair is typically curly, as in the Medici tapestries. Frequently, artists painted precisely the vine-like curls Milton described, as seen in Durer's engraving (Fig. 7), Rizzo's statue (Fig. 32), Mabuse's drawing (Fig. 33), and almost invariably in Cranach (Fig. 10).

Milton describes Eve's hair as "dishevelled," and in so doing he excludes a frequent feature in visual representations of her. In Tintoretto's painting of the Fall (Fig. 6), for example, Eve's hair is neatly set about her head, and it is bound up in tiny encircling braids in the painting by Salviati (Fig. 9). Michelangelo's Eve at the Fall (Fig. 20) presents her hair similarly bound up, but it is flowing in a disheveled fashion at the Expulsion, suggesting the difference in prelapsarian and postlapsarian appearance. The implication then is that Eve's hair becomes a sign of her "moral" state. Milton chooses to exclude the neatly bound hair representations. That iconographic tradition, however, was not universally accepted, for there are many examples of Eve's free-flowing hair prior to the Fall.

The Medici tapestry shows Eve binding up her hair after the Fall, but as she is expelled from the Garden,
her hair flows loosely (Fig. 37). In a 1557 portrait of *The Judgment of Adam and Eve* by Paolo Farinati (Fig. 34), Eve also binds her hair suggesting the influence of the Medici tapestries (Frye 273-74).

In the text, after the Fall, Eve wins Adam to her, however, by her meekness and her suggestion of self-sacrifice. She approaches him with "tresses all disorder'd" (X. 911), the same tresses which, like the vine, had signified her submissiveness and dependence. Now those tresses signify despair; Milton, in fact, makes a pun on the word "distress." "Now at his feet submissive in distress" (X. 942). The obvious connection between the disorder of the Garden and its need for cultivation and the disorder of Eve's hair reinforces the idea that the construction of Eve as "wanton" is indeed predetermined by iconographic tradition.

Further, the image of the vine winding around the elm (like a snake) implicitly suggests that patriarchal relationship between Eve and Adam, the relationship that should encourage Eve to cultivate her hair, and her garden.

And indeed Milton reintroduces the vine image just before the Fall, when Eve goes to tend her roses alone, and leaves Adam "to wind / The woodbine round this arbor, or direct / The clasping ivy where to climb" (IX. 215-17). These associations of the feminine vine
with the masculine tree had been directly connected, in
the visual arts, with the story of the Fall long before
Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*. The traditional motif of
the elm and the vine suggesting the true union of
husband and wife have been present in Western litera-
ture from the first century B.C. to modern times. It
was Catullus who first suggested the intimate union of
marital elm and bridal vine as a poetic image of bliss-
ful marriage in his Greek epithalamium, *Carmen LXII* in
87-58 B.C. In Canto V, Adam and Eve set out, after
they have said their morning prayer to do their "rural"
work; it is not surprising that, among their first
chores, they "marry" the vine to the elm (Demetz 525-
27).

they led the vine
To wed her elm; she spoused about him twines
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
Her dower the adopted clusters, to adorn
his barren leaves (V. 215-19)

In *Paradise Lost* which is, among other things, the
story of a stormy marriage, Milton succeeds in making
use of the cliche of the vine and the elm to his own
highly allusive ends. The metaphor of the vine has
biblical roots: in John XV. 1, the vine appears as the
image of Christ himself mystically wedded to the
church, and in Psalm 128, a good wife is likened to a
fruitful vine. The biblical metaphor of the vine supported by the house became an image of feminine subjection and reliance upon the graver and stronger male. This metaphor helped designate the reliance of the wife upon the husband. The wife, supported by the husband as the vine by the house, depended on that support for her fruitfulness and her strength. The image of the vine could also specify the expectations which the husband might have of his wife, and it therefore became the symbol of feminine virtues, characteristics, weaknesses, and matrimonial assistance. Nearly every Renaissance writer, including Richard Hooker, John Donne, and Samuel Purchas who wrote on the duties of women, instructs them that their first obligation is to preserve their chastity, prescribing close confinement, censored reading, industry, and silence. And, although the Reformation did much to ease patristic restrictions on women's liberty, both Puritan and moderate Anglican writers, while generally improving the lot of women by affirming the dignity and sanctity of marriage, continued to echo the old assumptions (McColley 25-26). The homily "Of the State of Matrimony" authorized by Queen Elizabeth reminded every parishioner that "the woman is a weak creature, not endured with like strength, and constancy of mind . . . prone to all weak affections, and dispositions of mind, more than men be, and more
vain in their fantasies and opinions," and therefore "must be spared, and borne with" (The Second Tome of Homilies . . . 241). The vine became more than an emblem of the matrimonial relationship; it became a symbol of woman herself (Halkett 88-89). The symbol of the vine points up male strength and need, female weakness and fertility. The vine clinging to its tree in an amorous embrace also suggests intense sexual connotations. Goethe uses the image of ivy and tree, as contrasted with the marital embrace of elm and vine, to connote unnerving and sterile sex (Demetz 526).

Although the vine and its grapes symbolized sacrifice and redemption through Christ, Byzantine ivory carvings placed borders of vine-scrolls about the story of Adam and Eve, and there is evidence that this idea was picked up by Italian carvers in the twelfth century and carried on thereafter in the Italian tradition. For example, in The Creation of Eve executed by Andrea Pisano for the Campanile in Florence (Fig. 35), Christ draws Eve by the hand from the side of Adam, and directly above her head, there is a tree, wound about by a vine, a richly suggestive visual scheme. While the entwined vine may suggest the mercies of Christ, Pisano's Eve may also be taken as a commentary on the marriage relationship, here being created by the emergence of Eve from Adam's rib, and defined by the vine
encircling the tree.

Similarly, the relief of the Fall on the first pilaster in the cathedral of Orvieto frames the episode by placing a tree limb across the top of the carving and coiling a vine about the limb. In the Medici tapestries, vines coiling about tree trunks are consistently evident. In the tapestry representing the Presentation of Eve to Adam, the two trees which frame the scene, to the left and the right, are both entwined with vines, providing a double emphasis for the symbolism. The tapestry The Fall (Fig. 11) portrays Adam clothing Eve with fig leaves; directly along the right margin, there is a tree entwined with a vine visually suggesting their postlapsarian relationship. A similar irony is achieved in the tapestry The Judgment of Adam and Eve (Fig. 36), in which Adam points an accusing finger at Eve, as he kneels at the foot of a vine-covered tree, and while Eve sits beneath and to the right of another. Finally, The Expulsion of Adam and Eve tapestry (Fig. 37) shows a subdued Adam and Eve as they pass by a tree heavily encased with vines (Frye 247-48).

Yet, in a more sinister sense, when one views these visual compositions, subliminally the vine calls to mind the familiar shape of the serpent coiled about the Tree of Knowledge. In fact, there is nothing sub-
liminal about the number of themes and allusions which connect the vine as symbol of woman to the serpent. The very name Eve was believed to be a form of the Hebrew word for serpent, Heva. This etymology was one which Church Fathers such as Clement of Alexandria found useful in pointing out the dangers of womankind (Halkett 131-32). Adam's abusive outburst to Eve in the text further reinforces the connection:

Out of my sight, thou Serpent, that name best
Befits thee with him leagu'd, thyself as false
And hateful; nothing wants, but that thy shape,
Like his, and color Serpentine may show
Thy inward fraud, to warn all Creatures from thee
Henceforth; lest that too heav'ny form, pretended
To hellish falsehood, snare them (X. 867-73)

Adam calls Eve "serpent" to emphasize the fraudulence of her appearance, the apparent fairness which cloaked her real deceptiveness, as the form of the serpent disguised Satan. Yet, the obvious connection between woman and serpent in both image and theme is not with Eve and Satan, but with Eve and the figure of Sin, whose torso and lower parts combine beauty with
repulsiveness and suggest the disjunction between apparent good and actual evil.

Considering all the possible meanings surrounding the vine metaphor, the final image of the vine entwining itself about the elm "framing" Eve "winds around" to the concept of self-love, concupiscence, and deceit. This idea is evidenced in visual composition found in the late twelfth century; the Serpent's head often is drawn as Eve's mirror image.

Immensely popular was the persistent representation of the combination of a serpent's body with a woman's head or torso. This motif appears on an altar at Klosterneuburg, executed in 1181 by Nicolas of Verdum. The first literary reference to it occurred in Peter Comestor's commentary on Genesis, where the Venerable Bede is credited with explaining the appearance of the serpent with a woman's face as a reflection of the appeal of like to like in the "Temptation of Eve" (Trapp 262). This innovation was due, in part, to stage practice in the mystery plays. Whatever the origins, the developments are clear, as summarized by M. D. Anderson: "As the dialogue between Eve and the serpent developed in the later mystery plays, the popularity of the human-headed serpent increased, and there is a tendency for the tree to become a thick bush in which the body of an actor could have been hidden
while his tail was prominently displayed below" (Anderson 88-89). The prominently displayed tail, of course, suggests strong phallic connotations pointing again toward the idea of seduction.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of paintings depict the human portion of the hybrid as male. Occasionally, the serpent may be shown with two heads, the female addressing the male and the male head addressing the woman. An anonymous painting, from mid-sixteenth-century Italy and strongly under the influence of Michelangelo, shows an enormously muscular male serpent-devil observing Eve's persuasion of Adam (Fig. 38). Andrea del Minga presents the serpent with a male torso and face, showing huge self-satisfaction at his triumph (Fig. 39).

The serpent with the female visage, however, was so vastly popular that it dominated artistic conceptions of the Fall for three hundred years (Frye 103-4). Solario's statue of Eve (Fig. 43), and Cornelius van Haarlem's painting Adam and Eve in Paradise (Fig. 44) exemplify this prevalent idea of the serpent with the lady visage. Raphael's Cytherean Eve represents Satan as feminine, in keeping with the tradition the artist inherited from his predecessors (Fig. 40). In his painting, Eve appears open, knowing, dominant, and intense. She and Adam reach toward the Serpent open-
palmed. Not only is the Serpent half woman; it is a shadowed figure: the same half-turned face, straight nose, bowed mouth, and rounded breasts, the same hair waved back over the left shoulder and hanging loose on the right, each grasping a limb of the tree, their heads nearly touching, and each bending on Adam the same provocative gaze. Here, the Serpent seems to be the dark side of Eve herself (McColley 8).

Another iconographically important example of the hybrid serpent-woman which is strikingly similar to a passage in Paradise Lost (IV. 388-89) is where the sight of Adam and Eve makes Satan "melt" into tears. In 1616, Michelangelo Naccherino carved a marble statue group of Adam, Eve, and Satan (Fig. 41,42). The Tempter is shown with a woman's visage and torso, weeping over the first parents. The statue group appears in the most conspicuous location in the Boboli Gardens laid around the Pitti Palace of the Medici in Florence. It represents a tearful Adam and Eve both standing, Eve leaning on Adam as though for support. At their feet is a seated demonic serpent-woman, her tail coiled behind Adam's feet. The Tempter looks up at them in pity and is reduced to tears (Frye 105).

Yet, as conventional as it was to compose Eve as part serpent in both poetry and painting, Milton unhin- itatingly rejected the tradition of his predecessors.
As for the human-serpent hybrid, Milton had two possibilities. He could have chosen a serpent with the torso and head of a man which would have provided further possibilities for the beautification of his Satan. Had he done so, however, he would have opened the way for a sexual interpretation of the Fall with the handsome male serpent seducing Eve. A description of the serpent as "woman to the waist, and fair" would have led to different possibilities. If he had put a woman's visage on his Tempter, he would have invited an identification of the devil with woman. There can be no doubt that Milton was strongly influenced by traditional images of the hybrid female-serpent, but he associated that image not with Eve, but with the person of Sin. Although it appears that Milton chose to resist tradition by splitting or distancing "evil" or "sin" from Eve, his presentation of the relationship between Satan and Sin and Satan and Eve leads to certain associations between Sin and Eve which, not surprisingly, sets Eve up as inherently evil.

Sin is a byproduct of Satan, and springing from his head like a masturbatory fantasy, she looks like her creator. "Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing / Becam'st enamored" (II. 764). She had, on early acquaintance, "attractive graces." In time Sin coarsens and becomes ugly. The moral is plain: Sin is always
tempting at the beginning, repulsive at the end. Although Milton literally combines the snake and the woman in his construction of Sin early in the text, the description of her apparent attractiveness and final repulsiveness echoes in the reader's ears when Adam claims Eve was also attractive "... that too heav'nly form," at the beginning. But his diatribe against her after the Fall suggests that she, like Sin, has grown repulsive "Like his, and colour Serpentine may shew / Thy inward fraud ..." (X. 871-72).

Adam's tirade continues (X. 873-88) with an elaborate recapitulation of the common view of woman as found in nearly every portrait of Eve including Milton: she is, Adam claims "crooked by nature." "O why did God ... create at last ... this fair defect / Of Nature, and not fill the world at once / With Men as angels without Feminine, / Or find some other way to generate mankind?" (X. 888-95). Eve remains, as visual tradition has constructed her, on Satan's side before the temptation; naturally defective but temptingly fair.

Milton's Eve reflects the traditional visual representations which were part of the cultural context he had inherited. Consequently, by analyzing the relationship between Milton's Eve and the pictorial traditions accessible to him, readers discover that the
poet carefully and deliberately constructed his Eve out of the inherited cultural images. Although Milton includes some less recognizable features as he constructed his Eve, he clearly uses the images of pictorial tradition. Eve is clearly recognizable as a seductress.
Chapter Two
The Art of Eve

By analyzing the relationship between Milton's Eve and the pictorial representations accessible to Milton, readers may discover that Eve has been carefully and deliberately "framed." She has been constructed out of inherited cultural images as the conventional temptress. Notwithstanding the tradition of the woman-headed serpent as well as other iconographic influences which construct Eve as a seductress, readers may attempt to construct Eve as a composition of active goodness, even though painters before, during, and since Milton's time regularly associate her with unambiguous images of vanity, willfulness, and self-love. And here, even women readers are divided, finding different, often opposite, Eves in the text.

Some readers choose to read an Eve who supports patristic ideology, an Eve who dramatizes the problem that women's passions are more vehement, violent, and unbridled, and that the only constructive way to avoid these passions is to force women into the private domain of the home. Early feminist critic Mary Wollstonecraft regarded Milton's Eve as "one of the masculine stereotypes of female nature" in which some women sought their identity and still others found their female nature grossly distorted--indeed, subjugated (Wittrech 3). Modern feminist historian Katherine
Rogers, claims that the Milton who "gilds" Adam's sin and "aggravated Eve's" is emphatically a spokesman for the "patriarchal misogyny" that he found in Christianity, as well as in his own culture (Wittrech 11). Feminist scrutiny shows the epic to be a markedly oppressive representation of the patriarchy. This representation of the patriarchy also supports the enduring elements of the iconographic influence in the text. Other readers, however, fashion an Eve who is liberating for women.

Maureen Quilligan, for example, claims that the text elevates sexuality and thus persuades the reader of the importance of woman's participation in sexuality, the foundation of human society. And Barbara Lewalski claims that fully shared work is a powerful part of the text's persuasive argument to the female reader, that she can be placed in a position of equality in life's important labors. Lewalski claims that "few writers of any era--including our own--have taken women so seriously as Milton does" (Quilligan, 242). One might argue that these refashionings of Eve as extricated from a reductive critical tradition, as liberated in her sexuality and her desire to share equally life's important labors, demonstrate how the forces of the reader's cultural milieu influence attitudes both consciously and subconsciously.
The idea of Eve which Milton's age inherited resulted from a dualistic habit of mind: the supposition that nature and spirit, body and soul, passion and reason, and art and truth are inherently antithetical and that woman, the primordial temptress, represents the dark and dangerous or rebellious and thrilling side of each antithesis (McColley 3). Readers of twentieth-century culture, however, may not read Eve's fascination with her image after her awakening as a sin at all. Young people growing up in America's youth culture, a culture that emphasizes independence and individualism, may read that a woman must love herself before she can love someone else. Thus, readers today might fashion Eve as a rebel rising up against patriarchal tradition, or they might construct her as a beautiful, virtuous woman passing through a phase in her psychological development. It seems, however, that the power of the epic conventions, which are supported by traditional patriarchal ideology—the ideology represented by iconographic tradition which constructs Eve as a temptress from the moment of her awakening, override contemporary acculturations.

Cultural evolvement influences literary criticism; the cultural sign systems readers tote along with them obviously contribute to their readings. One can't become a seventeenth-century reader, although one can
imagine such a reading situation or position. Histori-
cizing Eve especially exposes the problematic. There
are scholars, however, who have teased out elements of
disharmony within the text—those which could be viewed
as calculated contradictions imbedded in the text for
instructive purposes—to offer choices to readers of
how to fashion an Eve who looks different from the
temptress that the pictorial tradition constructs. The
notion that there may be different, often opposing ways
of reading Eve, suggests that Milton may have manip-
ulated the iconographic traditions, inviting careful
readers to make choices as to how to fashion her. The
question remains: how, over the years since the publi-
cation of Paradise Lost, does the text invite the
reader to discover other possibilities in Eve besides
the traditional temptress—especially when the text
invites a reading of Eve as a rebel rising up against
the patriarchal tradition similar to Satan's rebellion
against the same patriarchal rule—a reading which
positions Eve as like Satan in motivations and actions.

Pictorial tradition is supported by epic simile;
Eve is implicated as inherently evil over and over
again through her juxtaposition to women of classical
mythology. Certainly, many of these allusions in
Paradise Lost invite the reader to view Eve as pictori-
Al tradition images her--as either vacuously innocent or attractively wicked--as well as support her primary function: to tempt Adam.

Among the numerous potentially damaging allusions comparing Eve to classical characters are those which link her to Proserpina, Pandora, Circe, and, implicitly to Narcissus. All foreshadow a fallen Eve long before the Fall itself occurs. Yet the text presents each of these allusions in such ways that they do not necessarily taint unfallen Eve or declare her fall inevitable (McColley, 67). Just when the reader is persuaded of Eve's likeness to some goddess of the fallen world, Milton manipulates the myth, inviting the reader to fashion a virtuous Eve, if s/he chooses.

Just before the reader glimpses Eve in her garden for the first time, an allusion to Proserpina gathering flowers raises doubts about Eve's sufficiency to stand. This garden, the narrator says, is fairer than

that faire field
Of Enna, where Proserpin gath'ring flow'rs
Herself a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world;" (IV. 269-73)

According to Frye, Milton's comparison of Eve with Proserpina was an easy extension of an ancient iconographic motif. "Bernchorious gave an entire allegori-
cal interpretation of the rape of Proserpina, claiming that Pluto was the devil, Proserpina the Christian soul, her mother Ceres the church, and the flowers the vain temporal attractions of the world" (Frye 277).

And this is not a single instance. Rather, immediately before Eve eats the fruit in Book IX, the above passage echoes when Satan finds Eve among her roses

> oft stooping to support
> Each Flow'r of slender stalk, them she up-staies
> Gently with Myrtle band, mindless the while,
> Herself, though fairest unsupported Flow'r,
> From her best prop so far, and storm so nigh

(IX. 427-33)

And although both women are gardeners, upon closer examination, the text points up a difference between them. Whereas Proserpina gathers flowers, Eve supports them. While Proserpina simply gathers flowers for the sake of beauty, Eve recognizes that the surging fertility of the Garden needs to be lopped, pruned, propped, and bound in order to bear wholesome fruit (McColley 67-68). Gardening is Eve's work, and in her work she feels a sense of growth and accomplishment.

This difference between "gathering" and "supporting" suggests other kinds of knowledge about Eve in relationship to her work and ultimately in relationship
to Adam: Eve desires independent labor. She argues with Adam for a more efficient division of labor, insisting that if they work together, they will waste time caressing and talking. Although Adam argues that efficiency in the service of God is not necessary, Eve envisions an entirely different arrangement, an arrangement where the worker is paid in terms of how much he or she has achieved. Her own desire to labor separately, and, hence, more efficiently, is crucial to the redefinition of the family which Milton reflects and effects in his poem, and to the differentiation of labor of women within society. In Adam and Eve's lovers' quarrel about working together or apart in Book IX, the economic issues of the reorganization of labor which was being effected in the second half of the seventeenth century are debated on the surface of the text. Further, Eve's ideas about work efficiency ultimately represent a threat to the sacred vocation of homemaking. The narrative logic of the poem insists that Eve's desire for independent labor is what helps to make the fall happen; had she remained close to her husband, the fall presumably would not have occurred (Quilligan 230-45).

Moreover, the comparative allusion between Proserpina and Eve is pushed even further; both women are seduced in their respective gardens--settings which are
comparable, Eden and "that faire field / Of Enna," which is the scene of Proserpina's rape. Frequently, in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, beautiful, idealized landscape settings are the prelude to acts of sexual violence, while the plucking of flowers has an obvious sexual implication. And certainly, suggestions that Milton is preparing for the eruption of violence in the person of Satan and for the "rape" of Eve is evident throughout Book IX. Especially strong suggestions of seduction are evident in the description of the beautiful, sleek serpent in whose body Satan woos Eve, his loveliness surpassing that of the serpents into which Jove transformed himself for his amours (IX. 506-70). His towering folds, his wanton wreaths, his elevated crest, and his manner of a courtly lover worshipping his lady, all suggest seduction (McColley 188). Further, both Hades and Satan arrive in their respective gardens, Enna and Paradise, from their respective underworlds, with seduction as their goal—the corruption of innocent sexuality (Martindale 171-77). Finally, both Proserpina and Eve begin their respective downfalls with the eating of the fruit. Indeed, the links connecting Eve and Proserpina in the two stories are almost blatantly apparent.

The process of regeneration is examined, however, when Milton manipulates the popular myth. When Proserp-
pina, who is passive, is restored to her mother, it is Ceres who allows the harvest to return. In contrast, Eve is elevated for her active, restorative ability to nurture the seeds of life through her work production. Eve values work over idle speculation; she would rather tend her garden than take tea. Readers see Eve as a conventional temptress yet, at the same time they may steal to look at a form of goodness which seen they cannot but love--Eve as supporter of her flowers--a nurturing worker. The contrast between Eve and Proserpina stresses Eve's active virtue in addition to assigning her greater responsibility for her fall. But, although the comparison prefigures the Fall, the reader could also choose another comparison: just as Proserpina and harvest will return, Eve's talents for nurturing the seeds of life will be restored.

Eve, still sinless, is further constructed in an obvious and damning comparison to Circe. This allusion to Circe comes before the Fall, just at the point where Satan has found Eve alone in the garden. As Eve works unsuspecting among her roses, Satan in the Serpent tries to "lure her eye" by "many a wanton wreath" (IX. 517-518).

shee busied heard the sound
Of rustling Leaves, but minded not, as us'd
To such disport before her through the Field
From every Beast, more duteous at her call,
Then at Circean call the Herd disguis'd (IX. 517-23)
The classically informed reader recalls Circe's relationship to the men she has magically transformed into swine as well as her voluptuous and sensual relationship with Ulysses. This connection invites the reader to image Adam and Eve's sexual relationship as sinking into the kind of sensuality Circe traditionally represents, and, thus, as prefiguring the effects of the fall. Yet, nothing in the passage explicitly taints unfallen Eve. To fashion Eve as Circe-like is reminiscent of the temptress seen in pictorial tradition. But again the reader can discover Milton's subtle manipulation of the story of Circe, beginning with Eve's relationship to the beasts in her garden and culminating with her sexual relationship to Adam.

The beasts of Eden are obedient; they obey Eve voluntarily, unlike Circe's beasts, who are bewitched and debased men. Blessed by God, Eve's beasts strive to please Eve, a natural response to a guardian whose dominion is gracious, temperate, and just. Circe's beasts obey her only after they have fallen; Eve's obey her only before she falls. For Eve, the tempter is disguised as a beast, and it is she who is bewitched (McColley 63-103). These obvious reversals invite the
reader to push difference further and privilege a different reading of Eve. Figuratively, the appetites of the senses, which the animals represent in standard allegory, need not necessarily be interpreted as base, in spite of the clear warning of the Circean potential of sexual passion in the connection between Circe and Eve.

This is not, however, to say that Paradise Lost avoids all mention of sexual passion. Sexual intimacy, indeed, is the focus of the text. Yet, because Eve is constructed as unable to extricate her intellect from her sensual responses, she need not be interpreted as debased but, instead, could be reread as virtuous. The text celebrates and elevates physical sexuality, justifying it by making it profoundly basic to innocent human experience. The couple's first embrace reflects this almost primal scene:

So spake our general mother, and with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreprov'd,
And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd
On our first Father, half her swelling Breast
Naked met his under the flowing Gold
Of her loose tresses hid: (IV. 492-97)

And, some lines later, Milton comments:

Far be it, that I should write thee sin
or blame,
Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets,
Whose bed is undefiled and chaste pronounced
(IV. 758-62)

The social organization founded in this fully sexual
love remains, however, profoundly patriarchal: "all
charities / Of father, son, and brother first were
known" (IV. 756-57). The law of wedded love is the
"sole propriety" in paradise, that is, the sole in-
stance of property rights ("all things common else").
In a sense then, sexual intimacy is the sole continuity
between pre- and postlapsarian human experience. This
continuity validates a sexual hierarchy and the privacy
of property vested in sexuality, by establishing it
from the beginning.

But Milton does elevate sexuality itself by making
it so profoundly basic to human experience. These
daring celebrations of sexuality enforce the physical
reality of relations between Adam and Eve and make
sense of, if they do not excuse, the drama of Adam's
excessive submission to Eve. These celebrations per-
suade the female reader of the importance of woman's
participation in sexuality, the foundation of human
society. Not only is such participation given height-
ened importance but sexual pleasure itself is viewed as
innocent when wedded to its relations in prelapsarian intimacy (Quilligan 226-45).

Of course Circe is also tied to sexual pleasure through another attribute. When Venus revenges herself by leading astray the daughters of the Sun— that is to say, the five senses, Circe is one of them: she represents the sense of touch. Yet, the pleasure of touch, however, is the one Adam, not Eve, finds it hardest to temper. Describing Eve to Raphael, he says:

I ... must confess to find
In all things else delight indeed, but such
As us'd not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement desire ... (VIII. 523-26)

but here
Farr otherwise, transported I behold,
Transported touch." (VIII. 524-30)

Adam's excessive submission to his passions is one of the reasons Eve decides later to leave Adam and go into the garden to work alone. Thus, inasfar as the relation between Circe and temptation involves touch, Adam, not Eve, is more appropriately linked Circe. Circe represents one of those natural pleasures traditionally viewed as temptation, and she remains a perversion of good. Eve, however, whose sensuality and intellect are wrapped inextricably around each other, is constructed
as sensuous and virtuous. Consequently, while Milton's allusion to Circe supports the pictorial tradition which constructs Eve as the perversion of good, the poet's manipulation of the myth discovers a picture of a passionate and chaste Eve. The reader wavers between pictures, vacillating between choices of how to read Eve.

The text also invites readers to compare Pandora and Eve as beautiful temptresses who make the wrong choices. Eve is "more lovely than Pandora," but like Pandora "she ensnar'd / Mankind with her fair looks" (IV. 714, 718). The box Pandora opened, thus loosing all manner of afflictions upon mankind, had been compared to the forbidden fruit eaten by Eve as early as Gregory Naziansus and Origen. This patristic conception was revived at the time of the Renaissance and was given its most famous artistic expression in the Eva Prima Pandora painted by Jean Cousin in the 1540's (Fig. 46). Here, once again, Milton's usage of the Pandora allusion was reinforced both by the pictorial and the written traditions. In Book IV, the narrator describes Eve's beauty at her marriage as,

More lovely then Pandora, whom the Gods
Endow'd with all their gifts, and O too like
In sad event, when to the unwiser Son
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she ensnar'd
Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd
On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire
(IV. 714-19)
"And O too like / In sad event" appears to connect the release of all the evils of the world from Pandora's box with the fall. But, although pictorial and literary tradition links Eve and Pandora, Eve's nativity is quite different from Pandora's.

Pandora, a celebrated woman, was made with clay by Vulcan at the request of Jupiter, who wished to punish the impiety and artifice of Prometheus by giving him a wife. Like Eve, she is beautiful and sensual. Pandora becomes the receptacle of all the gifts each of the gods chooses to give her for their purpose of punishing Prometheus. Once the box has been opened, however, Pandora is erased from the story--except to be remembered as the woman responsible for all the evil in the world.

In contrast, Eve, created from Adam's rib, moves independently toward the pool that returns an image of herself in the visible world. Admiring herself, she has no thought of God or Adam. She sees only the reflecting face of the maternal waters which give back an image of her visible self. She turns away from the waters to encounter a patriarchy whose power is invisible. While Eve sees an attractive creature in the
water, the reader who pauses to look over her shoulder into the pool may see Pandora or, as in another story which would lend further credence to a fallen Eve, the reader might see the male, Narcissus.

Both Pandora and Eve are created by patriarchal gods, and both find themselves within a hierarchy or hierarchal state where they have been placed for a purpose. A prevailing attitude toward Eve's role in the Fall and Pandora's role in releasing the evils into the world, is to blame the world's woes on woman and regard her as a necessary evil shaped for procreation and otherwise a briefly honeyed snare: an explanation that casts grave doubt on the providence of her Maker. For to read Eve as Pandora, a common tempter, suggests that God capriciously and maliciously created Eve to cause the Fall and then punished Adam for falling.

These thorny allusions to classical goddesses involve choice: choice for the reader and choice for Eve. Readers predictably become engaged with patriarchal epic conventions; they inevitably choose to interpret a text which espouses a fatally seductive Eve—a text which supports iconographic tradition. As for Eve, as long as she obeys God and Adam—whether they work together or apart—she is free to choose. There are, however, contradictions and inconsistencies in Milton's use of these popular myths which a classically informed
reader might view as deftly planted so as to erode the orthodoxies the text is thought to espouse. Beyond the boundaries of mere comparison, readers could find that Eve is no Proserpina, no simple gatherer of flowers. Nor is Eve comparable to Circe, who represents the degradation of sexuality. Least of all is Eve connected to Pandora, a woman created to deceive. Contrasting these classical women with Eve is a way of knowing her in a different way. Readers might choose to fashion Eve by her desire to work independently of Adam, by her inextricable blend of the intellect and passion, and by her sexuality, which is celebrated and elevated. For some readers, their foreknowledge of the story does not necessarily touch the freedom of Eve's will.

As one such reader, Diane McColley shows how Milton "uses pagan myth not only to contrast with Christian truth but for the traces of truth in myth itself"(50), and she discriminates between the positive values of Pandora, Venus, and even Circe and the prefigurations of the Fall implicit in each mythical figure. In each instance, as she demonstrates, Milton is careful to show the central importance of how Eve will use her endowments; McColley chooses constructions of an Eve who is in no way doomed to be Pandora or Proserpina. She demonstrates that a comparison
between Eve and any of the pagan goddesses or women in the mythological allusions reveals differences as well as similarities. The reader is given a choice. S/he can fashion Eve as pictorial tradition has dictated--as a temptress who is flawed before the Fall, or s/he may attempt to extricate Eve from traditional anti-feminist attitudes.

Here, the text reveals more than Milton's keen awareness of classical mythology's poetic value and his considerable and highly original use of the stories in the task of justifying God's ways to men. Milton's epic similes, involving mythical comparisons to Eve, are point for point relevant to the construction of our "general mother." Milton has obviously implicated Eve, but he seems to want the differences between Eve and these goddesses to be recognized as clearly as the similarities.

How readers fashion Eve depends to a large extent on the meaning they choose to assign to her awakening and her discovery of herself at the pool. In the awakening scene, the reader is offered the choice of determining Eve's goodness or seeing her as flawed from the time of her creation, in the face of strong allusions to the story of Narcissus. What is especially interesting here is that Milton's graphic description of a Narcissus-like Eve, lying on a green bank to look
at her image in the "clear smooth lake", is unsupported by visual analogues. The pictorial tradition lavishes its greatest imaginative power on the moment of Eve's tempting of Adam. The scene in the text in which Eve appears to prefer herself to Adam appears to be a textual remedy for a narcissistic reading of the poem. Echoes of Ovid's story of Narcissus invite the reader of *Paradise Lost* to look no further than the surface parallel; both Narcissus and Eve look into a pool and fall in love with their mirror images. That invitation to read Eve as vain and thus flawed before the Fall, becomes more persuasive if the reader recognizes that, in fact, Milton expertly imitated some passages from the Ovidian story. So, just as Eve sees her own image on the surface of the pool, the text offers the choice to the reader of seeing only the surface, and therefore concluding that Eve must be flawed before she can begin the course of conduct that leads to the Fall.

Sigmund Freud, Heinz Kohut, and Jacques Lacan, all male centered systems of psychoanalysis, function to frame Eve within their own idea of male sexuality and the dominance of male "looking" relations. With the pictorial and literary tradition so firmly in place, how does the text validate other readings of Eve--readings which present her as a speaking picture of active goodness?
Rejecting the Ovidian reading of Eve as flawed at her awakening, a Freudian analysis persuasively demonstrates how narcissism is especially problematic in female development, finally resolving into object-love only in mothering. Of course, Eve has no mother. She is childlike in her reaction to her newly discovered image.

I thither went
With unexperienc't thought, and laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear Smooth Lake, that to me seem'd another Sky.
As I bent down to look, just opposite,
A Shape within the wat'ry gleam appear'd
Bending to look on me, I started back,
It started back, but pleas'd I soon return'd,
Pleas'd it return'd as soon with answering looks
Of sympathy and love; there I had fixt
Mine eyes . . . . (IV. 456-66)

She displays disarming honesty when she compares the physical appearances of Adam and herself. Freud might, therefore, describe Eve's development by explaining that her primary narcissism (symbolized by the pool) is broken by a voice, disembodied and unidentified:

there I had fixt
Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain de-
sire,

Had not a voice thus warn'd me. (IV. 465-67)
The male voice hands her over to an ideal parent and mate, who is for her the sum of all perfection and her absolute lord.

Freud would further explain that Eve sees Adam and displaces her narcissism onto him whom she idealizes. She now derives her gratification from being loved by him. Adam is to her as God is to Adam. Freud calls such an idealized object an ego ideal, the internal voice which negotiates relations to it. Eve's relationship to Adam is essentially narcissistic since she has invested her primary narcissism in her idealization of him. Consequently, this psychoanalytical theory sets up Eve by constructing her as vulnerable to Satan's flattery.

Freud would contend that this initial fascination with self is but the first stage in Eve's psychic development, the goal of which, in life as in the text, is that final insult to our primary narcissism—the acceptance of death. The Fall is always a fall into adulthood and the insistent demands of reality, especially death (Earl 14). A Freudian reading of Eve at the pool operates outside of epic simile, and it negates reading Eve as a willing instrument of evil. A psychoanalytic reading does, however, fashion Eve as a
willing instrument of patriarchy.

Like Freud, Heinz Kohut views Eve's awakening actions as a phase of her psychological development and her enculturation into a patriarchal state. His analysis of her awakening, however, points up Eve's critical over-evaluation of Adam, which he claims should not be mistaken as a form of marital love, romantic or Christian, ideal or real, but as the projection of an early stage of narcissism onto an idealized parent. Women typically bind this ideal father-image into their married love (Earl 15). These psychoanalytical readings of Eve's awakening do not go against the text; they do, however, negate Eve as a "fair defect of nature," and they position her within a hierarchal system based on male sexuality.

A third explanation, Jacques Lacan would identify Eve's gazing at herself in the pool as "the mirror phase" of her development. The mirror is Lacan's most famous metaphor, and if the reader brings this theory to a reading of Eve, the drama in Book IV looks quite different from a mere Ovidian comparison, one which simply supports pictorial tradition. When the infant sees herself in the mirror, she receives her first image of herself and identifies with it. It provides her notion of herself until she acquires language. The mirror image, Lacan claims, "symbolizes the mental
permanence of the I, at the same time as it prefigures its alienating destination" (Lacan 2). Lacan would say that the child does not need an actual mirror, of course; normally the mother is the mirror in which the child first finds herself reflected. In these terms, the pool actually serves as Eve's missing mother. The voice speaks to Eve as she gazes at herself. Eve's discovery of language, manifested by a male voice, brings Eve's mirror phase to a close. Language breaks into the intimacy of that first relationship and carries the child into pluralized relationships with the world. The father is the symbol of the social order into which the child moves. In this case, that father is Adam.

The voice that represents Eve's acquisition of language says:

What thou seest,
What there thou seest fair Creature is thyself,
With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
And I will bring thee where no shadow stays
Thy coming, and thy soft imbraces, hee
Whose image thou art, him thou shall enjoy
Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear
Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd
Mother of the human Race. (IV. 467-75)
In sum, the voice says, "That is your image; but it is only a shadow. You are Adam's image; your children will be your real image." "To him shalt bear / Multitudes like thyself." Her children are specifically promised as her image, not Adam's, not theirs.

To further complicate matters, as Eve sees herself in the pool, Adam sees himself in her:

Part of my Soul I seek thee, and thee claim
My other half; (IV. 487-88)

I now see
Bone of my Bone, Flesh of my Flesh, my Self
Before me. (VIII. 494-97)

Eve is an image of Adam though Adam is not an image of her—just as God is not an image of Adam, though Adam is an image of God. Everyone, even Satan, appears to have an appropriate image except Eve. For Adam is an inappropriate symbol of Eve's self; he can only symbolize her own insufficiency.

The fact that Eve's mirror drama is presented so early in the text—even before Adam's—might be Milton's way of pointing out the normative universality of the phenomenon. Adam is given the gift of language when he names the animals, and with it he expresses his desire for an image of himself in the world, Eve. According to Lacan then, Adam is only constituted in
the world when he can see his image stand before him.

Thus, if everyone requires such an image, and Adam does not serve as Eve's image, then her only image is a shadow in a pool, more transient even than a mother. Eve can only find the true image of herself in her children. Lacan would say that only as a mother will Eve experience that narcissistic fulfillment which a man finds first in his mother and then finds restored to him in his wife, and which a woman also finds first in her mother and then again in her baby. Thus, Eve can be the mother Adam never had, the maternal mirror, his other self, his source of happiness. Eve herself, however, is left with only her reflection in the pool. And, according to Lacan, the resolution to reaching the goal of her psychological development--the satisfaction of her narcissism--is to have a child (Earl 16).

The reader, however, might argue that Eve does indeed find her image in her child--the son. After all, it is foretold that by her seed, will come the great deliverance (XII. 600). A theological principle working in the text involves, not a connection between Eve and Satan or Eve and Sin, but, instead, a subtle but steady suggestion that the relation of Eve to Adam, though human and vulnerable, is potentially and increasingly the image of the Son's relation to the Father--a kind of "like mother, like son" comparison.
When the Son rides forth to rout the rebel angels,
"Heav'n his wonted face renew'd / And with fresh
Flow'rets Hill and Valley smil'd (VI. 781-84); when Eve
goes forth "among her Fruits and Flours," which the Son
has created and called her to nurture, "they at her
coming sprung / And toucht by her fair tendance glad-
liier grew" (VIII. 44-47). And when the Son goes forth
in response to the will of the Father, on creative and
redemptive missions that are in every sense free and
responsible choices, the Son offers a perfect pattern
of answering love by which we are to measure all other
choices--including the going forth of Eve in Book IX,
the act on which Adam and the reader blame the Fall.
Hearing Adam call Eve "Daughter of God and Man": she is
"Daughter of God and Man, accomplisht Eve" (IV. 660)
and "Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve" (IX. 291).
Juxtaposed against this echo, which constructs a pic-
ture of a virtuous Eve, readers may see "accomplisht
Eve," Sampson's ironical description of Dalila as his
"accomplisht snare" (Samson Agonistes, 230). In one
way, the designation reminds readers of Eve's subordi-
nation; she is a creature of God and Adam. But, in
another and more important way, it is a bold compar-
ison, for it echoes the names "Son of God and Son of
Man," which are the names of Christ (McColley 51-57).
The reader is presented with a double-exposed picture
of Eve; she is both attractively wicked—a snare, and a composition of virtue both at the same time. Readers may choose their Eve.

In addition to fulfilling her psychological need to find her image in her child, Lacan further observes that the child's primary narcissism is normally eroded by the little disillusionments of stubborn reality. Unwilling to resign herself to such a loss, the child responds by transferring her omnipotence to an idealized parent image. The original bliss of perfection is thus maintained as a psychic representation, though split now from the child's self-image. At the same time, residual narcissism is cast in an image of "the grandiose self," filled with fantasies of greatness, success, and the admiration and love of the world, and fed by the love of the idealized parent. But as the parent image is gradually de-idealized by the child's discovery of its shortcoming, it is not really abandoned; rather it becomes re-internalized as the superego, which is linked with the grandiose self, controlling its drive toward the achievement of the ego's ideals.

In Book IV, Eve experiences Adam as such an idealized parent image. He is, after all, her parent: she is "Daughter of God and man" (IV. 660). At the conclusion of her love song, "Sweet is the breath of morn,"
she asks,

But wherefore all night long shine these, for whom

This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes? (IV. 657-58)

In the context of her song, her implication could be read that nothing in the world is sweet without Adam, and that even the stars should go out when he closes his eyes. She says, "when sleep hath shut all eyes," not even distinguishing his eyes from hers. Adam misses the point and answers the question straight. There is irony in Adam's response; he addresses prelapsarian Eve as "accomplisht Eve," which can be read as "accomplisht snare."

If Adam responds one way, Satan does so in another. Satan is not fooled by the deflection of her narcissism onto Adam and adapts her question to the answer he wants to hear. He whispers as she sleeps,

in Vain,

If none regard, heaven wakes with all his eyes,

Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire,

In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment

Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze, (V. 43-47)
For Lacan, this word "vain" is not ambiguous. Satan's use of the word, however, may remind readers of Narcissus's story of self-love.

While these psychoanalytic interpretations seem to provide the reader with limited ways of knowing Eve, they do indeed offer some "cracks" in the "mirror" of epic construction. Whereas these psychoanalytic readings may not construct Eve as a temptress, they position Eve firmly within the male system of sexuality.

Before the pool scene and well before the Fall, Milton introduces and manipulates another Narcissus story by suggesting a bond between Satan and Eve. That comparison relies on the myths of Narcissus and the birth of Athena from her father's head by the waters of Lake Tritonis. When Satan meets Sin at the gates of Hell, she has to remind him that he is her father. She recalls her birth in Heaven for him, when he had fallen into a sudden swoon:

... till on the left side op'ning wide,
Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,
Then shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd
Out of thy head I sprung: (II. 755-58)

There is the obvious allusion to Athena stepping from the head of Zeus, although Sin had been armed for a
different kind of battle. She had then seduced Satan, but this attraction for her is represented as narcissism:

Thy self in me thy perfect image viewing
Becam'st enamour'd" (II. 764-65)

The birth of Eve has a parallel with the birth of Sin, even though it is also true to the account in Genesis. And Adam, like Satan, is immediately attracted to this creature taken from his left side. The similarity ends there, however, because the Narcissus myth is applied not to Adam but to Eve. Adam sees Eve as quite different in mind and body from himself, made in God's image. Eve, however, in language close to the Narcissus story, describes her early encounter with her own image in a pool where she would have "pin'd with vain desire" forever had she not been warned by "a voice" (IV. 456-76). Here, the juxtaposition of the myths of Athena and Narcissus in Hell, and then its repetition several books later in Paradise, seem deliberate. For one effect of the substitution of the Narcissus myth the second time through implicates Eve by aligning her with Satan. Coincidentally, the story of Narcissus echoes the fall when the angels who reflect upon themselves and admire their own excellency, forgot their dependence upon their creator (Martindale 166-67). And, to further implicate Eve, scholars have
often noted echoes from Ovid's tale of Narcissus and attributed to Eve a native vanity that issues in the Fall, sometimes finding additional sinister implications in the scene's subterranean imagery and in parodic resemblances between the creation of Eve and the birth of Sin (Collett 88-96).

Milton, however, makes an important alteration in his treatment of the Narcissus legend in Paradise. There is no appearance in the encounter between Satan and Sin of the character Echo, Narcissus' hopeless lover. Only after the birth of Death, who then repeats his sire's incest, is the myth completed with an Echo that terrifies Sin:

I fled, and cri'd out Death;

Hell trembl'd at the hideous name, and sigh'd

From all her Caves, and back resounded Death

(II. 787-89)

Eve, however, is saved by "a voice," not an echo, that foretells her role as "Mother of human Race" and leads her to Adam, "whose image thou art." Again, Milton has implicated Eve as inherently wicked, but again, too, the reader is also invited to see the difference between Satan and Eve as clearly as the similarity (Collett 91-92).

Eve describes how on first waking she saw herself in a pool, but was then warned by a divine voice to
shun her reflection and seek Adam. The phrase "unexperienced thought" (457) could be taken as the keynote of the whole sequence: to Eve's innocent, inquiring mind, water is like the sky. Her turning from shadow to substance rhetorically balances Adam's account in Book VIII of how he dreamed of Eve and then, in Keats's famous phrase, "awoke and found it truth". Thus, just as the reader links the rhetoric of Eve's awakening to the birth of Sin, s/he reads that Eve is not caught by the beauty of appearances, and recognizes the true beauty of Adam, even though he initially appears "Less winning soft . . . / Than that smooth watery image" (479-80). Then, as the reader begins to experience Eve's innocence, there is the ominous prolepsis in the allusion to Narcissus: Eve will eventually fall through self-love. Certain aspects of the well-known tale are altered by Milton; Eve, for a moment, looks different from her pictures.

Readers find Eve's nature suspect from the very inception of her prelapsarian creation in Book IV. Adam tells Raphael in Book VIII how, when he awoke to find himself created, "Straight toward heaven my wondering eyes I turned" (VIII. 257). As Eve describes her memory of her creation in Book IV, she says,

I thither went

With unexperienced thought, and laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear
Smooth lake, that to me seemed another sky

(IV. 456-59)

Whereas Adam looks up at the true sky, and his maker,
Eve bends down to look into "another sky"—a mirror of
her own being. This episode could give both Eve and
the reader an opportunity to distinguish themselves
from Echo, who can only repeat, and Narcissus, who sees
only himself, and instead to make instructive and
delightful use of all the poem's living waters, includ-
ing but not stopping at those that reflect themselves.
However, readers, enculturated into a patristic icono-
graphic tradition of art which is characterized by the
same militantly male epic formulae as the text, find
Eve as flawed by vanity at creation because she does
not first look at Adam and recognize instantly that he
is her superior, or because she does not look up to her
maker as Adam does. It is Eve's ability to own her own
gaze that turns on her, deprivileging that look until
she becomes looked upon, no longer a subject but one
subjected to a series of male gazes: Milton (through
the narrator) constructs the Father, who gazes at his
creations; Satan gazes at the lovers; Adam gazes at
Eve; and Eve gazes at herself. She is, however, inter-
rupted by a male voice who speaks the Father, encult-
urating her into the male system. Appropriating a
Lacanian lens, Eve's lack of a penis creates castration anxiety in the male unconscious (Mulvey 6). That castration anxiety causes a threat within the patriarchal unconscious. Eve's subversive transgression—her owning her own gaze—must be checked by patriarchal authority. Eve acknowledges the error of her "looking relations," internalizing the male gaze as her own (Hodgdon 3-7). Yet if a reader reduces Eve's problem to innate female vanity—Lacan's "grandiose self," Eve becomes an easy target for Satan's flattery.

The scene at the pool takes the reader with Eve through a pattern of response mimetic for the art of reading. Like Eve, the reader pauses to see her or his own reflection. This pause may hinder the reader from moving beyond in the interpretive process. Stylistically, the text invites the reader to see the drama from various perspectives, and, therefore, the interpretive process may push the reader beyond a mere surface reflection of the Ovidian story. Indeed, the text exploits the contradictions between Eve and fallen classical figures, forcing the reader to make choices about Eve. Milton's epic similes involving comparisons between fallen mythical characters and Eve are indeed relevant to the action of the story. But, however much those comparisons support the pictorial tradition of a fallen Eve, Milton's manipulation of that tradition
also invites the reader to choose. So, too, do the pictorial images which construct Eve as a composition of active goodness her visual tradition, a tradition which supports and perpetuates a phallocentric, patriarchal culture. And in both cases, these disruptions cause conflict, laying a foundation for conscious, willful choice.

The reader's reception of Eve is a blend of what s/he would like to read into a passage, and what s/he knows from unimpeachable sources, is there (Fish 219). Thus in any one scene, including the crucial scenes of Book IX, two choices of how to read Eve are available: one urged on the reader by the epic voice, a voice which privileges a male gaze and positions Eve as a temptress in need of patriarchal authority; the other choice, the reader's awareness of the possibilities and their implications (Fish 214-19).

Most importantly, Book IV finds Eve awakening and discovering her image in the pool; that discovery, unfortunately, is one that has already been framed—not only for herself, but for the reader as well. Eve awakens to find something already discovered by the reader—the inescapability of being a creature of culture. The text focuses on an offered wrong choice to the reader as well as Eve. The fallen reader, then, as subject of the poem, is invited to respond to the
alternatives the text offers. In spite of the reader's freedom to choose, that choice has already been determined. The fallen reader falls again, as the Father's words echo, "I made him just and right, / Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall" (III. 98-99).
Chapter Three
Sharing Satan's Gaze

Since one subject of *Paradise Lost* is freedom, its conditions and its uses, it is not surprising to find the text inviting different, often conflicting constructions of Eve. Given the epic pretensions for *Paradise Lost*, which involve patriarchal and misogynistic attitudes, staples of the militantly masculine world of epic poetry, Eve is often constructed as a fallen woman even at her awakening. That patriarchal interpretation which constructs Eve as a conventional temptress acts as a kind of epic cloak and could be viewed as a rude contrivance—a seductive device—to devalue Eve and distract readers from seeing clearly.

Epic comparisons are first encouraged and then discredited, calling forth contradictory responses about Eve in the reader's mind. Interpretive choice requires a decision concerning the meaning of an action or a scene, and so affects the reader's understanding of Eve. That decision of how to fashion Eve is made consciously and willfully and is ultimately a choice between the word of God and the structures reared (self-defensively) by the reader's reason (Fish 216). Readers, who are themselves creatures enculturated into a patriarchal society, inevitably seem unable to extricate Eve from inherited cultural images. Whenever an innocent detail (Eve's hair) is capable of being
twisted so that it seems to forebode the Fall, whenever an isolated incident can be illegitimately structured into a "net of circumstance" (Eve's fascination with her image on awakening), whenever Adam and Eve evidence their ability to fall (the necessary complement of their ability not to fall), these evasions, in all their seductiveness, are recalled (Fish 211). It is precisely such evasions that undermine the reader's understanding of Eve.

The uncertainty of choosing ways of reading Eve becomes increasingly problematic, because at no point in Paradise Lost is the reader entirely subjected to a single perspective upon events; the text shifts and interweaves points of view. The reader sees the universe from various perspectives, and this shift throws contradictory lights upon the same persons and events. Hence the reader's expectations are always in flux. Is Adam weak or strong? Is Satan terrible or ridiculous? Is Eve innocent when she awakens and discovers herself in the pool, or is she flawed by female vanity at her awakening because she does not first look to God or Adam? A reader may inevitably accept inherited cultural stereotypes and ideological constructs of Eve, thus reifying what s/he has always known about Eve, but an awareness of the possibilities and their implications contributes to the peculiar power that Paradise Lost
exerts over its audience. The uncertainty of choosing invites the reader into active involvement in the exfoliations of the text. Finding their way through the text's rhetorical obstacles to discover the truth about Eve, the reader may be reminded of Spenser's Red Cross Knight lost in the wood; s/he believes what s/he sees, and the reader's belief in appearances becomes the downfall. Milton creates a kind of Duessa-like language; the reader is invited to see the simplicity of God's law (Don't eat the fruit), yet s/he is put to a test to decode infected (fallen) language in the same way in which Eve is put to the test--to see the truth in spite of appearances.

Readers strain to see Paradise and Eve for the first time through mazy error and veiled images. In addition, readers grapple with the dialogic problems of the lovers' first marital dispute. Rhetorical confusions are imbedded to further problematize the reader's "looking relations" with Eve--that is, a reader's ability to see Eve without the mediation of male interpretive constructs. Further, the reader shares Satan's gaze as mediated through a male narrator constructed by Milton, who has been enculturated into a male system of reading art and literature. And, finally, like the reader, Eve is trapped within a socially established
interpretation of sexual difference which controls images—erotic ways of looking as reflected in pictorial tradition.

Satan's "look" at Eve, beginning with line 305, influences the reader's response to Eve. Just before the reader gazes for the first time at Eden and Eve, Satan's soliloquy raises questions, for here he acknowledges everything God said about him earlier. He even blames himself for his revolt. Previously Satan had struck the pose of heroic independence; now he confesses to being confused and despairing. Readers see a more complicated character than the earlier epic hero in this truth-telling, tormented Satan. The reader experiences his pathos and his egotism. Wracked by contraries, tortured by conscience, he is, like the reader, a suffering sinner. Satan asserts that he is beyond all hope of salvation, taking refuge in precisely the same excuse that readers find themselves giving when tortured by conscience—"I have no choice."

Satan's view of things may be both painful and irrational, but it is terribly familiar. The inner dialectic, the charge and counter-charge of a soul at war with itself, is seen within Satan and fallen Adam, as well as experienced by the reader. So, within the reader's divided self, s/he enters the Garden with Satan for the first time. Readers are plunged into a Satanic per-
spective by means of Satan's long soliloquy. With so fresh and vivid an insight into Satan's way of seeing, it is easy to understand why Eden itself, as mediated to readers by the narrator, seems tinged with uncertainties. And this, of course, is the setting which will frame Eve.

The eighty lines introducing the reader to Eden in Book IV exemplify the complex, even contradictory point of view of the narrator. In addition, these lines are bounded by explicit references to Satan's point of view: "Beneath him with new wonder now he views/To all delight of human sense expos'd . . . " (205-6), "From this Assyrian Garden, where the Fiend/Saw undelighted all delight . . . ."(285-86). The "pure air" of Eden, the narrator claims, is "able to drive All sadness but despair" (155-156). Even at this delightful moment the word "despair" raises the possibility of an opposite perspective on Eden's pleasures.

The narrator tells how Satan is "better pleased" with the perfumes of Paradise "Than Asmodeus with the fishy fume" (168). The text alternates perspectives: the reader experiences impressions of innocence, purity, and delight with their opposite—"pure air" with "fishy fume." Satan and the reader smell Eden's innocence going bad. "Vegetable gold" seems a paradoxical image (the gold seems to harden the vegetable), one
that calls forth contradictory responses in the reader's mind. And, finally, the epic cloak which shrouds Paradise—reveals a series of gardens, all with defects:

Not that fair field
O Enna, where Proserpin gath'ring flow'rs
Herself a fairer Flow'r by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world; not that sweet grove
Of Daphne by Orontes, and th' inspired
Castalian Spring might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian Isle
Girt with the River Triton, where old Cham
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,
Hid Amalthea and her Florid Son,
Young Bacchus, from his Stepdame Rhea's eye;
Nor where Abassin Kings thir issue Guard,
Mount Amara, though this by some suppos'd
True Paradise under the Ethiop Line
By Nilus head, enclos'd with shining Rock,
A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
From this Assyrian Garden, where the Fiend
Saw undelighted all delight. (IV. 268-86)

Each of the gardens presented comes with inappropriate (to Eden) fallen associations. How can the reader
visualize the perfection of Paradise clearly when, in one garden, the Ethiopian king imprisons his sons; in another, a bastard son is hidden from the anger of a wife; in a third, pagan prophecy is practiced; and in the most famous, a goddess is kidnapped and taken to Hell. These allusions to Eden seem confusing and uncertain as we strain to see Paradise.

Even the smallest details—"Ambrosial fruit," "mazy error"—can be either innocent or guilty; taken together they pull the mind of the reader in opposite directions. Even the "crystal mirror" is suspect in its flagrant suggestions of narcissism and of art as artifice. The Eden seen is richly evocative and stirring; the garden, however, is also tinged with error and imprecision, as well as by nagging reminders that the fallen reader cannot really see it at all. Readers are engaged in the self-preoccupied Satanic viewpoint. Satan's perspective of Paradise represents a considerable challenge to fallen readers to not see a fallen Eden (Crosman 85-117). Further, Milton defines Paradise by negation—by what Eden is not; readers, however, can become so engaged with their role as spectators that they fail to listen carefully. If readers follow Milton's lead and feel pleasure in Eden, not as a place of beauties to be viewed, but of processes to be felt and participated in, they might transcend the self-
preoccupied Satanic viewpoint. Readers, however, repeatedly lapse into voyeurism. Satan views Eden as an outsider; like Chaucer's Pandarus, Satan and the reader remain voyeurs, seeing but not participating in love's pleasures. This hazy vision of Paradise, a manifestation of deliberate rhetorical confusions, appears both innocent and guilty at the same time. And it is this setting which frames the reader's first gaze of Eve.

Faced with the goodly prospect of the newly created universe, readers waver in their choices of how to read Eve. Thus, it is not just Satan who momentarily, wavers between good and evil when he views Eden and Eve. Eve has walked onto the stage giving the reader, for the first time, a dramatized choice between characters variously like and unlike ourselves. Satan stirred powerful responses in his truth-telling soliloquy; now Eve begins to do so, too. Satan has opened his heart and mind to the reader, and s/he has seen through his eyes. Now the reader gazes at Eve.

Seen from the outside, she is beautiful and arousing, charming but remote. She is queen, matriarch, perfect woman, and Adam's pastoral lover. She seems both remote, small, childish, innocent, and grand, stately, awesome. Eve expresses a complexity like the reader's, yet to view her with foreknowledge of her
Fall, as the reader does when s/he looks at the iconographic artifacts, is to see her as Satan sees her. Readers' eyes feast on her exterior. The narrator virtually invites the reader to gloat over her physical beauty. One might say that Satan is the reader's surrogate, embodying and dramatizing all the voyeurism latent in our own role as readers. Through Satan's eyes the reader sees:

Shee as a veil down to the slender waist
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Dishevell'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
As the Vine curl her tendrils, which impli'd Subjection. (VI. 304-08)

Eve has not fallen at this point; the tradition, therefore, specifically calls for an idealized Eve. This expectation is answered in the veil image. Like the Garden which consists both of perfumes of Paradise and fishy fumes, Eve is veiled, suggesting an unclear picture of what the reader cannot see but knows (Crossman 85-117).

Seen at a distance, Eve appears unapproachable, modest. "Golden tresses" is a cliche of romance epic, but it is made new by the qualifier "unadorned." The thought is complete at the end of line 305, and "dishevell'd" seems an unwelcome complication because it modifies both how she wears her hair as well as the
hair itself: Eve wears disordered golden tresses, Eve wears her golden tresses in a disorderly fashion. The following word, "but," seems to invite a clarification of that question; instead, another complicating element is introduced in the word "wanton." The following line absorbs "dishevell'd" and "wanton" into the vine simile ("As the Vine curls her tendrils"), the traditional analogy in nature for the proper relationship between husband and wife. The curling of the vine, the narrative voice tells the reader, implies "Subjection."

That word, however, seems somewhat of a surprise at the beginning of the line, since in conjunction with "wanton," "dishevell'd" and "wavy'd" the tendrils seem to imply that all of Eve, not merely her "ringlets," seems to curl, even coil, perhaps in the manner of a serpent (Fish 102-107). The implication here is to beware of Eve, to suspect woman, a tender (tendriled) trap.

The relationship between the reader and the vocabulary of Paradise begins to construct Eve in the same way in which pictorial tradition displays her--as a bearer of meaning, and her meaning is that of temptress. "Dishevell'd" is seen to mean "not arranged in any symmetrical pattern" and "wanton" to be standard seventeenth-century usage for "unrestrained" (there are no restraints, but one, in Paradise). "Wanton" is a strong word to use to describe Eve, since it clearly
implies lasciviousness and arouses in the reader an erotic response that must be restrained (Fish 101-07).

Remembering that fallen consciousness infects language, the reader shares Satan's gaze, which constructs prelapsarian Eve in fallen language.

If Eve's tresses were neatly plaited or covered with jewels, she might be open to the suspicion of vanity; as it is, her "sweet disorder," her "wantonness," is innocent precisely because the language is not precise. There appears to be, as John Herrick writes in his Renaissance poem "Delight in Disorder," a "delight in the disorder" of Eve's locks. Wanton sensuality exists only in the reader's mind and is not Eve's natural attribute. The reader might consciously discover Eve as innocent of that kind of wantonness, but "wanton" also implies lascivious, and even though the reader may suppress this negative meaning, Eve cannot appear without recalling this scene and the uneasiness it arouses.

But there is even more going on here. Adam and Eve are both sensual, more sensual than the reader, since they experience no repression of desire, no fear of betrayal or punishment, no apathy or regret. In the moment when one first feels that erotic response, the reader experiences Eden powerfully and truly. Since Adam and Eve are lovers, the strong passion they feel...
for one another represents one facet of paradise, just as the despair Satan feels is his hell. Yet the fallen reader turns each of Eden's pleasures to its meanest use because the reader shares Satan's gaze (Crosman 85-117). Satan has been there all along as our window--our frame--on the scene. His perspective is uncomfortably recognizable as one the reader can at least understand, whereas s/he cannot understand innocence at all (Fish, 101-07).

The scene where Satan looks on Adam and Eve for the first time and listens in on their dialogue has a keen dramatic and ironic relevance because the reader is invited to share this vision with Satan. Consequently, the reader is influenced to beware of Eve, because she already has characteristics of being fallen ever before the Fall. By installing himself within the Satanic perspective, the narrator describes Eve's "disheveled tresses" and "wanton ringlets" only to find in them evidence of Eve's "subjection" (IV. 305-08) and to induce in others--by the reader's sharing Satan's gaze--an impression of Eve's fallenness (Wittrech 85-86).

And again, a reader enters the realm of choice--or, rather, of no choice/limited choice: Eve embodies a threat. Laura Mulvey, working on visual pleasure/spectatorly pleasure in film texts, offers a
way to understand how that threat operates in classic texts as well. Mulvey exposes the way in which the pleasure of any text depends upon and in turn develops coercive identifications with a position of male antagonism toward women. Psychoanalytic theory can be appropriated here to demonstrate the way the unconscious of patriarchal society has structured ways of seeing women--of seeing Eve; the theory advances the reader's understanding of the patriarchal order in which women, including Eve, are caught. One function of women in forming the patriarchal unconscious is her symbolization of the castration threat by her real absence of a penis. Thus, the woman as icon, displayed for the gaze and enjoyment of the male, the active controllers of the look, always threatens to evoke the anxiety it originally signified. The male unconscious has an avenue of escape from this castration anxiety: he completely disavows castration by the substitution of a fetish object. The male unconscious turns the represented figure (Eve, in this case) into a fetish by building up the physical beauty, transforming the object into something satisfying in itself. Thus, it becomes reassuring rather than dangerous. The woman then stands in patriarchal culture as a signifier for the male other, bound by a symbolic order in which man can live out his phantasies and obsessions through
linguistic command by imposing them on the silent image of woman still tied to her place as a bearer of meaning, not as a maker of meaning.

Further, as Mulvey explains, the male is traditionally envisioned as the bearer of the gaze; the woman is represented as the fetishized object of the gaze. And since the gaze splits readers into male (voyeur) and female (exhibitionist), seeing is always already a matter of sexual difference (Mulvey 6-18). By fixing the "look" of a temptress on Eve, and thus privileging the male gaze, readers engage in an act of spectatorship—one which, ultimately, determines the positioning of bodies and voices through which the culture defines gender relations. Eve is silenced by the "look" readers fix on her, and any reading which fixes its eye on something other than Eve's seductiveness somewhat diminishes the male pleasure of the text.

Upon Eve's awakening, she occupies the place that Freud assigned to women in the structure of the obscene joke: the place of the object between several male spectators—i.e., Milton, the narrator, God, Satan, and Adam. Consequently, Eve is positioned as the object of the male gaze. Eve's ownership of her gaze, as she sees her reflection in the pool, the power accruing to both her body and voice as a result of that ownership,
is unacceptable in a patriarchal culture. Her gaze is wrested away from her; the "error of her eye" is corrected, and she is told to look to Adam "whose image thou art," presumably by the voice of an all creating, God, the ultimate patriarch. But although Eve is empowered momentarily by owning her gaze, it is also true that her subversive transgression of patriarchal law and authority is contained and diffused by the male voice (Hodgdon 1-10). And that suppression of her voice becomes increasingly apparent in Book IX, when the lovers quarrel.

At the beginning of Book IX, the issue is Eve's voice: does she speak the look that the spectator-reader has fixed on her when she argues with Adam over working together or apart? It is early morning in Eden when "in at his Mouth / The Devil enter'd (187-88). Satan watches the approach of morn as Adam and Eve prepare to go to work in the garden. Eve complains a bit to her husband about the wanton growth that has taken place overnight, and how the garden is "tending to wild." At this time, and closely following the words "wanton" and "tending to the wild," Eve suggests, "Let us divide our labors" (214). Regardless of rhetorical meanings, readers tend to fashion Eve as "tending to wild" by her suggestion to work alone because of her "look," the look shaped by a male-dominated cul-
ture. In addition, her wanton ringlets begin to connote independence, a dangerous quality in a phallocentric society. As a result, this independence is often relegated as the cause of the first marital dispute, also perceived as the first step towards the Fall. Coincidentally, that image of Eve, the independent, stubborn woman who needs patriarchal authority, supports and perpetuates the "look" her body speaks—not her voice.

Indeed, the "look" readers have put on Eve, by way of mythical allusions, by having previously shared Satan's perspective of her body, and by the pictorial tradition which constructs her as a temptress, is privileged over her voice throughout the marital dispute. But, although Eve's look is fixed by cultural images, her voice sounds different. The "speaking" part of the picture of Adam and Eve's argument splits Eve; she is read as body, not as voice. The text's construction of her body shaped from cultural images overrides, even suppresses her voice, which does not sound like that of a temptress.

First, because this quarrel focuses on Eve's work, it might be productive to examine how seriously the reader takes Eve's vocation. Cultivating one's garden is a regenerative activity—the work of the world; yet readers seem to see the gardening of Adam and Eve as an
inconsequential pastime, or a simple allegory of emotional order, and in particular have thought Eve's suggestion to Adam—that they separate for a while to concentrate on their work—a mere whim, a bit of feminine dabbling, or an excuse for willful roving. The contemporary reader may fail to take Eve's commitment to her work seriously because, in modern psychology, the reader questions motive—looks for desires, appetites, inward needs, and self-assertions.

Moreover, readers often overlook the two occasions when Eve goes forth alone on errands before the separation for which she is so often blamed. When Raphael comes to dinner, she "Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk / Whatever Earth all-bearing Mother yields . . . She gathers. Tribute large, and on the board / Heaps with unsparing hand" (V. 337-38). And, during the lecture on astronomy, she

\[
\text{Rose, and went forth among her Fruits and Flow'rs,}
\]
\[
\text{To visit how they prosper'd bud and bloom,}
\]
\[
\text{Her nursery; they at her coming sprung}
\]
\[
\text{And toucht by her fair tendance gladlier grew. (VIII. 44-47)}
\]

The reader is amused when Eve decides to work in her garden rather than listen to Raphael, because she knows that her husband will mediate the lesson to her, and he
will punctuate his telling with kisses and caresses. Perhaps the reader is amused because s/he is not really interested in listening either but is, instead, engaged in the act of "looking." The reader might read Eve's absence during Raphael's lecture as her inability to understand the depth of what he has to say; this reading of Eve as attractive but vacuous supports the "look" shaped out of iconographic tradition. Adam shows no lack of confidence at these departures, though the first was preceded by a disturbing dream and the second by Raphael's warning of a lurking foe. The reader pays as little attention to these events as s/he does to listening to what Eve has to say. Instead, the reader fixes a "look" on Eve which silences her.

Until this marital dispute about working together or alone, the dialogue between Adam and Eve in unfallen Eden has been for the purpose of promoting greater understanding, the meeting of minds, the resolution of problems. In this and the following lapsarian scenes, the reader observes the transformation of comedic dialogue into a debased instrument, exacerbating misunderstandings, exaggerating difficulties, and promoting catastrophe. The separation of Adam and Eve results from a badly conducted dialogue in which Adam and Eve engage in ever-greater misunderstandings, culminating in a false and dangerous resolution of the issues.
raised. Their discourse is necessarily significant to their marriage. The reader, however, pays little attention to the fact that Eve intends no ill meaning in her proposal to work independently, or that her concerns about the tendency of the Garden to "wanton growth" are genuine. The reader hears "wanton," and the word exploits the gaze; Eve is trapped within the "look."

She speaks tentatively, with appropriate deference to Adam's leadership role:

Thou therefore now advise
O hear what to my mind first thoughts present. (IX. 212-213)

Her conversation mingles careful questioning, sober reflection, and wit. Each prelapsarian scene, from her choice of love for Adam at the awakening, to her faithful attention to the Garden as Satan approaches, reveals Eve's virtues directly opposed to the "look" of a temptress. The reader's voyeurism, however, repeatedly tends to silence Eve.

Eve may exaggerate the seriousness of the over-abundance of growth in the garden and the value of efficiency when she proposes that they improve their gardening productivity by removing the distraction of loving conversation— which includes, by 17th century definition, sexual intercourse. If, indeed Eve is
discouraging sexual activity during the workday, the "look" of the temptress is called into question—if the reader is listening to her voice. And she seems unconcerned about the threat posed by Satan. Adam's answer is pacifying as he compliments her on studying "household good" and seeking to promote good works in her husband. He lovingly corrects her overvaluation of work in Eden and points out that the pleasure of solitude is outweighed by the dangerous opportunity it offers to an enemy. He points out too, as Puritan marriage treatises often did, the importance of mutual help in spiritual dangers, so that "each / To other speedy aid might lend at need" (260) (Lewalski 233). The archetypal marital dispute might have concluded happily if Adam had stopped here, but, instead, he talks on and on until he unintentionally affronts his spouse. With woeful lack of tact, he states the hierarchical principle of Eden in a pompous platitude, emphasizing Eve's weakness rather than the need of both for mutual help and reinforcement in danger:

The wife, where danger or dishonor lurks,
    Safest and seemliest by her Husband stays,
    Who guards her, or with her the worst endures. (IX. 267-69)

Hurt, Eve overreacts, with some justification, to his offense "as one who loves, and some unkindness meets."
Yet, she speaks "with sweet auster composure," voicing surprise and dismay that Adam would think her so infirm. Taken aback, Adam loses his strong logical powers and "With healing words" he assures Eve of his trust. But he also claims that he seeks to shield her from the aspersion of dishonor which a temptation in itself would bring. Significantly, Eve seizes upon the illogic of Adam's statement. She knows that temptation itself is no dishonor:

his foul esteem
Sticks no dishonor on our Front, but turns
Foul on himself; then wherefore shunn'd or fear'd
By us? who rather double honor gain
From his surmise prov'd false, find peace within,
Favor from Heav'n, our witness from th' event. (IX. 329-34)

Eve may enjoy having the better of the argument, and, technically, she is correct to insist that in their "happy State" of innocence each of them is able to resist temptation alone. This dialogue, however, does not depict Eve as weak, vain, mindless, vacillating, or wanton. Rather, she might be viewed as imaginative, rational, and intelligent. Such an empowering image of Eve, however, is consistently disallowed and unaccept-
able, largely because it fails to conform to the "look" which subverts her voice.

Adam's illogic reinforces Eve's sense of being slighted, and she becomes more concerned with winning her case than in understanding her situation. Eve sounds rather like a romance hero eager to prove her prowess and gain honor in victorious single combat with the enemy. She mistakenly infers that "exterior help" (divine or human) is to be shunned, or that reasonable precautions in the presence of danger violate Edenic happiness. She means well, but the reader can also hear a distant echo of the Satanic claims to absolute autonomy in her statement of heroic self-sufficiency: "And what is Faith, Love, Virtue anassy'd / Alone, without exterior help sustain'd?" (335-36).

This time Adam develops an argument that is logical. He fervently replies, agreeing that neither of them is left "imperfect or deficient" by the Creator, and that both are secure from outward force. But he emphasizes the genuine and ever-present danger that their reason might be deceived by some "fair appearing good" and so mislead the will to sin. "Fair appearing good" (fair which only appears good) may refer to Satan in the serpent, or it may, within the economy of male looking relations, refer to Eve as temptress. While her voice speaks of a strong sense of responsibility,
the male gaze constructs her body to speak seduction.

Adam concludes with an explanation of his motives and an eloquent appeal to Eve: "Not then mistrust, but tender love enjoins, / That I should mind thee oft, and mind thou me" (357-58). Urging Eve not to seek out a temptation which is certain to come unsought, he points out that in fact she can only satisfy her desire to win honor and praise if she meets her trial with him present: "Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?" (369).

Adam might have stopped at this point; if he had, he would almost certainly have won Eve's agreement and brought the dialogue to a happy resolution. He has offered her a choice free and clear: she can defy him and go off alone anyway, or she can admit, even reluctantly, that she is convinced by his good arguments and solaced by his loving sentiments. Unfortunately, Adam again talks too much, and, in so doing, he gives away his case. He offers her a better reason for going than those she has thought of herself. And his repeated imperatives—"Go," "Go," "rely," "do"—produce unintended but intense psychological pressure, making it virtually impossible for Eve now to decide to stay without seeming to back down ignominiously:

But if thou think, trial unsought may find
Us both securer than thus warn'd thou seem'st
Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee
more;
Go in thy native innocence, rely
On what thou hast of virtue, summon all
For God towards thee hath done his part, do thine. (IX. 370-75)

This dialogue with Adam, in its clouding of the issues, has positioned Eve for a dangerous course of action. How completely Adam has now given over his leadership role is evident when we compare his wooing of Eve in Book Four: he did not conclude his fervent appeal at her awakening by saying, "If you really think it best to go back and stare at yourself in that pool for a while, perhaps you are right. Go ahead." As Eve takes her leave to go into the Garden alone, she refers explicitly to Adam's formal permission and the force of his "last reasoning words" (379) (Lewalski 232-44).

Even though the couple demonstrate their weaknesses in this dialogue, they have not disobeyed—they have not made a deliberate choice of evil. Further, Eve has not projected herself as attractively wicked or vacuously innocent. Simply put, their emotions, imperfectly controlled, have sabotaged the dialogic exchange. For the first time in Eden, dialogue has resulted in a false accord, clouding rather than clearing the issues. The argument seems acted out by a fallen couple, a kind of conventional lovers' quarrel, in un fallen Eden.
perplexing prelapsarian dialogue—the conventional marital dispute (postlapsarian talk) at the wrong time (prelapsarian), and in the wrong place (unfallen Eden), analogizes how readers, in spite of all this talking, construct the wrong Eve (a temptress) out of the wrong conventional cultural images (a temptress) without listening to her voice (silenced by the "look"). Readers recognize the convention of the marital dispute, and they have "heard it all before." Readers fail to listen, engaging in a kind of "talk, talk, talk, when do we eat" attitude. This scene could be viewed as another test—another obstacle to overcome— one more in a building series of last chances for the reader to learn to choose correctly.

The reader's perception of the Garden and of Eve has been tainted by having shared Satan's gaze, and there is little doubt that his presence, so close to the unsuspecting couple as they engage in a dispute, seriously affects the reader's perception of the voices of the couple. More importantly, because Eve's words are not the words of a temptress, not the words of a woman flawed by vanity, her voice is suppressed by the look readers have fixed on her; it becomes clear that there is a split in her construction. The issues of the quarrel, and the way in which the couple interrelate through language, are subverted by a look shaped
by cultural images of Eve as fatally seductive.

It is Satan who introduces the distortion of Eve; God may be responsible for patriarchy, but misogyny is Satan's curse, dividing men from women, subjugating women. Both misogyny and female subjection are born out of the anger of the male, and both are clearly viewed in iconographic history as an aspect of the patriarchal unconscious.

Misogyny and female subjection are attitudes precisely and decidedly Satanic, expressed by Adam before the Fall, but quickly checked by God and Raphael, who have had to listen to them. Both attitudes are male, Adamic illusions perpetrated by Satan and punctured by Raphael before they ever become a mind-set, entering the world with the Fall as primary evidence of its deformation. That mind-set is engendered in readers by Satan who, incarnating women and diminishing them, makes of them a snare and a trap. "If misogyny is Satan's curse, patriarchy is God's curse, and both are brutal facts of history" (Wittrech 95-96).

A distorted image of Eve results from the allusions to fallen goddesses, fallen gardens, and fallen perspectives which invite readers to see Eve as Satan sees her. Because the iconographic tradition constructs Eve as Satan sees her, it follows that the iconographic tradition, shaped by a patriarchal cul-
ture, is diabolical, flawed and inaccurate.

Readers may rationalize their Satanic choice by pointing out that they are tricked by their inability to see through the mythological allusions and the rhetorical obstacles within the text. The text, however, is the record of an offered wrong choice. Up to the point where Eve eats the apple, the reader is prepared for the choice—inevitable, because known. The reader will always choose wrong; the fallen reader is framed by a patriarchal culture to see Eve as a conventional temptress, thus privileging a Satanic and, therefore, diabolical perspective of women. And that diabolical perspective is perpetuated by iconographic tradition.

The text could be viewed as constructed so that the reader is put to the test; s/he is forced to deal with calculated contradictions, rhetorical confusions, and perspectives which keep expectations in flux—all imbedded for instructive purpose—to teach the reader to choose. Everything is predetermined, yet *Paradise Lost* offers the reader a pattern of logic, vision, and effect that teaches them to choose, if s/he is willing to learn—and if s/he is willing to do more than look.
Works Consulted


The Second Tome of Homilies . . . Set out by the Authority of the Late Queen Majesty: and to be Read in Every Parish Church Agreeably. London, 1640.

(This homily is intended to be a defense of women against tyrannous husbands.)


Expulsion from Paradise of Adam and Eve. 1930

Joel-Peter Witkin
The Garden of Earthly Delights
Hieronymus Bosch
Prado, Madrid
Figure 4

Garden of Earthly Delights
Hieronymus Bosch
Panel 3
1450 - 1516
Prado, Madrid
The Fall
Frans Floris
1517 - 1570
Palazzo Pitti, Florence
The Fall
Galleria Colonna, Rome

Cecchino Salviati
(Francesco de' Rossi)
1510–63
Figure 14

Adam and Eve
1583

Frontispiece to Genesis, Geneva Bible

University of Pennsylvania Library
Figure 15

The Garden in Eden
Lucas Cranach

Illustration for Genesis in Luther's 1534 Bible

Princeton University Library
The Fall and Postlapsarian Prayers

Genesis B
Figure 17

Temptation of Eve
Genesis B
Michelangelo
Buonarroti
1475 - 1564

The Fall and Expulsion

Sistine Chapel, Vatican
The Fall
Masolino
1383/4 - 1447
S. Maria del Carmine,
Florence

Figure 26
Figure 27

The Fall
1500

Manuscript illumination from the Grimani Breviary

Biblioteca de S. Marco, Venice
Story of Adam and Eve
early 15th century
Beaufort Book of Hours
British Library
London
The Fall
Pseudo Met de Bles
Pinacoteca, Bologna
Antonio Rizzo
1465-85

Eve
Doge's Palace, Venice
Paolo Farinati
1524 - 1606

The Judgment of Adam and Eve
Figure 39

Andrea del Sarto
1540–96
The Expulsion of Adam and Eve
Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Figure 40

The Fall
Raphael
1483-1520

Vatican Apartments
Adam and Eve in Paradise

Cornelius van Haarlem 1562 - 1638

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam