125.2

Clustering and Curling Locks: The Matter of Hair in *Paradise Lost*

STEPHEN B. DOBRANSKI

THAT EACH SIDE DURING THE BRITISH CIVIL WARS ATTEMPTED TO belittle its opponents by criticizing their hairstyles suggests the cultural significance of hair during John Milton's lifetime. Royalists beginning in the early 1640s derided members of the parliamentary party as "Roundheads" because of their unfashionably short hair, while Parliamentarians considered the courtly fashion of long hair "unnaturall, womanish, irreligious, and unmanly" (Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix* Bb3v). At the court of Charles I, men and, later, women specifically favored the French "lovelock" (also known as a *cadenette*), a single, stylish lock of hair that fell below the wearer's shoulder and was sometimes adorned with a bow or other ornament. Charles I in his triple portrait by Anthony Van Dyck wears a prominent lovelock draped over his left shoulder (see the next page), and another portrait by Van Dyck of Prince Charles at age seven depicts the beginning of a lovelock in imitation of his father's. Typically, a lovelock was worn on the left side so that it extended to the wearer's heart as a sign of affection (Hall 278). Robin Bryer speculates that the fashion evolved from the symbolic "favour" worn by a medieval knight to show his dedication to a beautiful woman: instead of adorning his attire with a glove or other love token, a man announced his devotion to his beloved by allowing a lock of his hair to remain unshorn (51).

Parliamentarians, by comparison, presumably cut their hair short as a symbolic rejection of courtly luxury and worldliness. Most directly, this preference derived from Paul's admonition, in 1 Corinthians, "Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for *her* hair is given her for a covering" (*Holy Bible*, 11.14–15). William Prynne in *Histrio-Mastix* (1633) accordingly

STEPHEN B. DOBRANSKI, professor in the Department of English at Georgia State University, is the author of *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge UP, 1999), *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge UP, 2005), and *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton:* Samson Agonistes (Duquesne UP, 2008). Most recently, he edited *Milton in Context* (Cambridge UP, forthcoming 2010), which examines the social conditions of Milton's life and the broader intellectual currents that shaped his writings.

[© 2010 BY THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA]

Anthony Van Dyck, *Charles I, King of England, from Three Angles*, 1636. Oil on canvas. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, Berkshire. Photo reproduced under the GNU Free Documentation License.

bemoans the "shame" and "sinne" of women who "clip or cut" their hair, and he mocks men who wear long hair as "effeminate hairy men-monsters" (Cc4v, Dd1v). In *The Unlovelinesse, of Lovelockes* (1628), Prynne condemns the lovelock as ungodly by tracing its origin to the hairstyle worn by Native Americans. Lovelocks, he writes, "*had their generation, birth, and pedigree from the Heathenish, and Idolatrous Virginians, who tooke their pattern from their Devill Ockeus*," one of the two principal gods of the Powhatan people (B2v).

In this essay, I wish to examine Milton's description of Adam and Eve's hair in *Paradise Lost* in the context of hair's cultural and spiritual value in early modern England. While the distinction between Parliamentarian and Royalist haircuts might ultimately seem negligible—after all, contemporary portraits of the Parliamentarians Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Fairfax, and Henry Ireton depict men with hair that falls loosely to their collars—the strident tone of some seventeenth-century pamphlets nevertheless suggests the potential significance of hair in the Renaissance imagination.[1] Still today, hair remains invested in various economies of meaning, signifying differences in gender, ethnicity, race, religion, and status. How people wear their hair expresses individual identity and constructs the wearers' relation to specific cultural ideas and beliefs. During Milton's time, the pressure put on the possible meanings of hair seems to have been particularly acute: various hair-related artifacts from the early modern period indicate that hair was thought to have a sacred, almost talismanic quality. Early modern jewelry such as lockets and mourning rings

often incorporated a loved one's tresses as a sign of devotion or bereavement, and hair bracelets remained popular long after the Restoration (Dalton li–lii, 207–08). A loved one's locks might also be preserved in needlepoint work; commemorative medallions of Charles I's execution, for example, contain a tiny portrait of the king apparently stitched with his own hair (Sleeman).

Certainly, in Milton's poetry hair plays a conspicuous part—most notably, Lycidas's "oozy locks," Eve's "wanton ringlets," and Samson's "[r]obustious" tresses;[2] even one of Milton's earliest poetic works, his translation of Horace's fifth ode, refers to Pyrrha's golden, wreathed hair. In an 1833 essay, Leigh Hunt first discussed this interest of Milton's. Hunt infers from Circe's amorous attraction to Bacchus's "clustering locks" in *A Mask* (line 53) that Milton "must have been more delighted than most poets at the compliments paid to beautiful tresses by his brethren, particularly by his favourite Greeks" ("Wishing-Cap" 440).[3] With this essay I am attempting to build on Hunt's observation and examine the potency of hair in *Paradise Lost*. Milton's decision to introduce Adam and Eve by focusing on their hair—as opposed to their eyes, mouths, or other features—is significant. But whereas Alastair Fowler has asserted that Milton had a "special sexual interest in hair" (239), I would argue that Milton's interest was not strictly sexual, nor even special to him. Examining the historical context of Milton's epic reveals various cultural and poetic traditions that inform his depiction of Adam and Eve's tresses. More specifically, my goal is to show how the couple's hair in *Paradise Lost* expresses their prelapsarian love, both conveying an amorous reciprocity and signifying the paradoxical strength and fragility of their Edenic marriage.

"Oozy Locks He Laves"

Much of the rhetoric surrounding hair length during the seventeenth century can be traced to classical, scriptural, and folkloric sources. According to these works, long hair indicated vitality while the lack or loss of hair signified deficiency or illness. Thus, in ancient times, to take one example, King Nisus and his city of Megara remained unconquerable so long as he bore an unshorn purple lock of hair; he died when his daughter Scylla cut off the lock in an attempt to deliver Megara to her beloved, Minos.[4] In the *Iliad*, Homer describes Zeus and Poseidon as long-haired, and Achilles, Agamemnon, Hector, and Paris all have thick, long locks, in contrast to Thersites, "the ugliest man who ever came to Troy," whose "clumps of scraggly, woolly hair" point up his ill temper and abusiveness (2.250, 255).[5] Also influencing Milton's image of Adam and Eve's vibrant locks may be ancient depictions of such figures as Dionysus or Apollo. Dionysus's long, luxuriant hair apparently symbolized his status as a kind of fertility deity, while the powers of the sun god Apollo were commonly associated with his beautiful long tresses, sometimes represented as the sun's life-giving beams. When Apollo pronounces in *Metamorphoses*, "My head is ever young, and my locks unshorn" ("meum intonsis caput est iuvenale capillis"), he implies an almost causal link between his divinity and his flowing tresses.[6]

In the Bible, the story of Samson most obviously reflects the same tradition; not only did Samson's hair resemble Apollo's, but both figures were identified with the sun: throughout the patristic period, as F. Michael Krouse has observed, the accepted etymology of Samson's name was *sol ipsorum* ("their sun").[7] The earliest biblical commentators interpreted Samson's confession to Delilah—"if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me" (Judg. 16.17)—to mean that Samson's strength actually resided in his hair. Milton in *Eikonoklastes* seems to agree, referring to "the strength of that *Nazarites* lock" (545–46), and in *Samson Agonistes* he implies that Samson's unshorn hair may have been the source of his power: Samson laments that

"God, when he gave me strength, to show withal / How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair" (lines 58–59).[8] While elsewhere in the poem Milton suggests that Samson's unshorn hair merely symbolized his adherence to his Nazaritic vows—Samson tells Harapha that his strength is "diffused / No less through all my sinews, joints and bones, / Than thine, while I preserved these locks unshorn" (1141–43)—the more general connection between hair and Samson-like strength became a rhetorical trope during the seventeenth century.[9] Henry Robinson in *A Moderate Answer* (1645), for example, emphasizes the tenacity of an Episcopal form of church-government by describing the threat of the bishops' renewed power in terms of their regrowing hair: "if [Parliament] should cut the Bishops Locks, a little regulate them, their hair would soon grow again, and pull down the house of the Common-wealth about us all" (C1r).

The relation between a person's life and locks that seems to underlie Milton's depiction of Adam and Eve also had its origin in folktales and popular legends. Most often, women's shimmering hair in these narratives denoted magical power. Elisabeth Gitter cites, for example, the thirteenth-century Old Norse *Edda*, where gold is referred to as *Sifjar haddr*—literally, "Sif's hair"—because Loki plays a prank on Sif by cutting off her yellow hair and replacing it with gold hair forged by gnomes (936). In other folk narratives, "gold hair" served not just as a synonym for "blonde hair" but as an indication of the hair's sacred or life-giving qualities. In one version of the story of Saint Agnes, the Roman prefect Sempronius sentenced her to be chained and stripped naked in front of the multitude. But as the soldiers ripped off her clothes, God answered her prayers and caused her hair to grow miraculously, covering her chaste body in an apparent expression of saintly virtue and divine grace (Holweck 33; Gitter 939). More directly relevant for *Paradise Lost* may be Renaissance depictions of angels with flowing, golden tresses, a popular image that Milton borrows when, for example, he describes how Uriel's "locks behind / Illustrious on his shoulders . . . / Lay waving round" (3.626–28). In Milton's epic, as in Renaissance paintings and illustrations, an angel's lively, shining tresses seem to indicate its divine authority and glorious nature (see Kanter and Boehm). Surveying such traditions and myths, Julius Heuscher has concluded that golden hair came to embody more generally its bearer's "spirit" and represented "a live gold" that "radiat[ed] from the human head . . . to a supernatural world" (242).[10]

For Milton personally, we know that he appreciated the symbolic significance of hair from a young age. That the earliest surviving portrait of Milton depicts a ten-year-old boy with closely cropped auburn hair suggests that he was exposed to Parliamentarian ideas as a young man; according to Milton's widow, her late husband's schoolmaster, "a puritan in Essex," had "cutt his haire short" (Aubrey 2). Milton's later preference to grow his hair long most likely reflected his poetic aspirations; perhaps influenced by the ancient tradition of Apollo, whose harp and lute were sometimes thought to be strung with his own tresses, Milton repeatedly conceives of the ideal poet as having long hair.[11] In *Ad Patrem*, for example, he recalls a golden age when the bard sat at a happy feast, "his flowing locks crowned with a garland of oak leaves" ("Tum de more sedens festa ad convivia vates / Aesculea intonsos redimitus ab abore crines"; lines 44–45). Similarly, in *Mansus*, as the poet imagines his own death, he hopes a friend will have a marble statue of him made and describes his hair wreathed with myrtle from Paphos or laurel from Parnassus ("Nectens aut Paphia myrti aut Parnasside lauri / Fronde comas"; lines 92–93).

In *Lycidas* Milton most fully develops this ideal. Examining the crucial role that hair plays in this earlier work helps to illustrate the symbolic significance of Adam and Eve's

hair in *Paradise Lost*. At the start of *Lycidas*, Milton alludes to hair by describing three evergreen crowns, the laurel, myrtle, and ivy, which, as commentators have long observed, signify poetic triumph and immortality.[12] Later, when the swain laments the elusiveness of winning such a garland, Milton again subtly alludes to hair by blaming "the blind Fury with th' abhorred shears" who "slits the thin-spun life" (lines 75–76). The latter image not only evokes Samson's and King Nisus's fatal haircuts, but it also associates an untimely death with the furies and their snake-wreathed tresses rather than with the mythologically correct, scissors-bearing Atropos. More directly, when the swain entertains the possibility of abandoning his poetic vocation, Milton uses hair to describe the swain's ersatz erotic pastime: instead of contending for a crown of laurel, myrtle, or ivy, he would take pleasure in "the tangles of Neaera's hair" (69).[13] Weaving this hair motif into his elegy, Milton emphasizes how much is at stake for Lycidas and the speaker; the mistress's tangles can supersede the immortality that the evergreen crowns symbolize.

While Phoebus Apollo's subsequent appearance in the poem may call up the image of his laurel crown and life-giving locks, the next direct reference to hair occurs as Peter shakes his "mitred locks" to express his contempt for the corrupted clergy (113).[14] The saint's Episcopal headdress not only transcends the earth-bound futility embodied by Neaera's tangles but also suggests the inadequacy of the classical, natural garlands that the swain aspires to win. Milton then unites these competing registers when the shepherd "[w]ith nectar pure his oozy locks he laves" (175). Here Lycidas's rebirth resembles both a pagan cleansing ritual and a Christian baptism; the line's alliteration and internal rhyme demonstrate how the swain has at last reconciled nature and antiquity with Christian belief.

The final image of Lycidas fittingly completes the poem's hair motif:

> So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
> And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
> And tricks his beams, and with new spangled
> ore,
> Flames in the forehead of the morning sky.
> (168–71)

In this culminating image, the "beams" emanating from the sun's "head" evoke the description of Lycidas's submerged hair and Phoebus's luxuriant locks; that the daystar's golden rays then rise and "flame" in the sky's "forehead" encapsulates the poem's redemption narrative and suggests the glorious effulgence of the resurrected son. Critics have traditionally read the swain's ultimate gesture of rising like the sun and turning "to fresh woods, and pastures new" (193) as a sign of hope: the speaker seems to take comfort in Lycidas's poetic apotheosis and Christian redemption, as well as in nature's cycles, his monody's echoing repetition, and the pastoral tradition. But also comforting the speaker is the continuity he discovers in the powerful mythic symbol of locks and tresses that helps him to connect all these things. And that this larger motif and the poem's final, inclusive image hang by a hair may itself be significant: Milton subtly suggests how fragile yet strong remains the promise of everlasting life to which Lycidas and the speaker aspire.

"A Superfluitie of Members"

It is in this context, I suggest, that we should turn to the depiction of Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost*. When in book 4 Milton finally introduces the couple, he lingers on their appearance. But instead of following the blazon tradition and presenting a detailed catalog of their physical attributes, he mostly describes Adam and Eve's hair:

> His fair large front and eye sublime declared
> Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
> Round from his parted forelock manly hung
> Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders
> broad:

She as a veil down to the slender waist
Her unadornèd golden tresses wore
Dishevelled, but in wanton ringlets waved
As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied
Subjection, but required with gentle sway,
And by her yielded, by him best received,
Yielded with coy submission, modest pride,
And sweet reluctant amorous delay. (300–11)

Here Milton conveys gender difference by combining traditional biological markers ("shoulders broad," "slender waist") with the culturally constructed notions of a man and woman's appropriate hair length that, for example, Prynne stressed.[15] But while the lines immediately preceding this description enforce a hierarchical relationship—"For contemplation he and valour formed, / For softness she and sweet attractive grace, / He for God only, she for God in him" (297–99)—the description of the couple's hair, we will see, emphasizes Adam and Eve's mutuality and complicates the difference in their statuses. Even if, as John Rogers has observed, the length of a woman's hair traditionally signified her subjection, the contrasting lengths of Adam and Eve's hair constitute "exceedingly fragile evidence" to support a hierarchy of the sexes (124).

In Adam's case, the specific detail that his "hyacinthine locks" do not hang "beneath his shoulders" adheres to the Pauline prohibition and distinguishes Adam's innocence from both courtly luxury and Puritans' postlapsarian strictures. As commentators have observed, Adam also resembles and presumably surpasses Odysseus on Skhería Island when Athena makes "him seem / taller, and massive too, with crisping hair / in curls like petals of wild hyacinth" (Homer, *Odyssey* 6.243–45). And if we have any remaining doubts about how seriously Milton might have approached the subject of hair in his poetry, Roland Frye notes that the "parted forelock" borne by Adam sets him apart from the "overwhelming majority of historical and legendary characters whose portraits have been preserved for us" (272). Frye identifies only two historical figures who wore their hair this way, Oliver Cromwell and Milton himself.[16]

The description of Eve's hair, by comparison, has generated more commentary and raised doubts about her virtue. While some critics, such as Michael Lieb, have argued that these lines illustrate a "playful but innocent dalliance" (150), others have found troubling Eve's "wanton ringlets." Catherine Belsey, for example, has argued that Eve's hair serves as a metonym for her sexuality, "at once God-given and dangerous" (66); Robert Newman concludes more emphatically that Eve's disheveled hair "nullifies the prospect of her innocence" (114); and J. Hillis Miller suggests that even before Eve eats the forbidden fruit, her "disheveled wantonness means that she has in effect already fallen" (294).[17]

All these readings of Eve's "unadornèd . . . tresses," however, overlook Satan's potential influence in this scene. While we need not insist along with Michael Wilding that readers should "take the description of Adam and Eve as recording Satan's interpretive vision" (174)—just the word "God" (4.299), as Fowler notes, instead suggests the narrator's perspective (237)—the details of Adam and Eve's appearance nevertheless occur within a larger survey of Paradise that Milton clearly frames as conveying what Satan views.[18] As Irene Samuel puts it, readers first behold Paradise "not through the distorting lens of Satan's eyes . . . but over his shoulder" (20). Thus, immediately before introducing Adam and Eve, the poet announces that "the fiend / Saw undelighted all delight" (4.285–86), and the scene similarly concludes with a reminder of Satan's abiding presence: "Satan still in gaze, as first he stood" (357). One need not be an avid reader-response theorist to accept that our view of Eden—and, more specifically, of Adam and Eve—is accordingly colored by our alliance with Satan's voyeuristic perspective: unlike Satan, we can take delight in the delightful landscape, but our view is restricted to what he can see.

Any hints of corruption in the description of Eve's hair as "dishevelled" and "wanton" could then not reflect, as Stanley Fish has argued (102), the reader's own sinfulness but instead convey Satan's contaminating influence and our apparently limited perspective. Here we should also recall Christopher Ricks's observation that Milton in *Paradise Lost* sometimes deliberately uses infected or degraded words to depict prelapsarian innocence (111). "Dishevelled" and "wanton" fit with other ambivalent signifiers in book 4, words such as "[l]uxuriant" (260), "error" (239), and "[s]eized" (489), which measure Eden's integrity by anticipating its ruin. As Ricks explains, Milton at such instances is "reaching back to an earlier purity—which we are to contrast with what has happened to the word, and the world, since" (111). In the particular case of Eve's hair, "dishevelled" anticipates both the description of her "tresses discomposed" when she awakens from her "irksome" dream (5.10, 35) and the image of her "tresses all disordered" when after the Fall she seeks Adam's forgiveness and falls "humble" at his feet (10.911, 912). The refrain of "dishevelled," "discomposed," and "disordered" allies these three disparate moments in counterpoint to the couple's lost innocence: because Eve's hair does not change ostensibly—except for the possible postlapsarian intensification of "all"—readers can better appreciate how everything else does.

I would also suggest that Satan may be right to judge Adam and Eve according to their appearance. Milton invites us to understand the couple's relationship in terms of their hair because this description is not merely superficial, nor even merely symbolic. Instead, in the context of Milton's animist materialism, it literally embodies Adam and Eve's marriage: their clustering and curling locks indicate their spiritual union. If, as Raphael explains, body and soul are different degrees of the same substance—"one first matter all, / Indued with various forms, various degrees / Of substance, and in things that live, of life" (5.472–74)—then Adam and Eve's corporeal experience potentially has spiritual significance. According to Raphael's plant metaphor, God's creations are "more refined, more spirituous, and pure, / As nearer to him placed" (475–76); the least refined creations resemble a plant's roots, while more spirituous creations correspond to the green stalk, even more spirituous creations correspond to the leaves, and so on. Raphael specifically offers this metaphor in an attempt to explain how he can "convert . . . / To proper substance" Adam and Eve's "earthly fruits" (492–93, 464). But as an expression of monism, Raphael's metaphor is also literally true: the philosophy he attempts to describe collapses the space between vehicle and tenor; if the distinctions between God's creations reside in their forms, so do the distinctions between the parts of God's creations. In *Paradise Lost*, in other words, a flower would consist of the same matter as the plant's roots, stem, or leaves, but the flower would be "more spirituous, and pure" than these other parts.

I recount Raphael's speech at such length because as applied to Adam and Eve it suggests that their hair may be the most spirituous and pure part of their bodies; in terms of Raphael's plant metaphor, their tresses correspond to "the bright consummate flower" that "[s]pirits odorous breathes" (5.481–82). Milton encourages this alliance by describing the couple's hair as plants: Adam's hyacinthine locks and Eve's vinelike curls. But also recommending such a reading, as we have seen, were the early modern traditions that identified hair as the source of a person's vitality. If, as Raphael asserts, a creation's place in the hierarchy of existence depends on the degree "[o]f substance, and in things that live, of life" (474), then the couple's shimmering, vital locks represent their closest link to the supernatural realm.

Also undergirding such a reading of Adam and Eve were early modern theories about

hair's etiology. Beginning with the belief that "Nature makes for the body a form appropriate to the character of the soul," Galen suggests that the quantity and quality of someone's hair depends on the person's humoral composition (531–32; bk. 11, sec. 14). As Gustav Ungerer explains, "If a man's metabolism produced much heat and plenty of nutritive blood, his head boasted a profusion of curls. However, if coldness prevailed, as it did in the phlegmatic humor, the head displayed a growth of smooth and limp hair" (112). Thus, Chaucer's Pardoner, say, or Sir Andrew Aguecheek in *Twelfth Night* suffer from bad hair because of their biological deficiencies. Both the Pardoner's smooth, waxy tresses, hanging "by colpons oon and oon" (GP, line 679), and Sir Andrew's similarly thin hair, hanging "like flax on a distaff" (1.3.96), may symbolize their moral weaknesses, but their hair also indicates physiologically the two men's impotence and cowardly predisposition.[19]

In contrast, Adam and Eve's clustering and disheveled locks in *Paradise Lost* reveal the couple's Edenic vitality, virtue, and freedom; we learn about their inner lives from their physical selves. That hair during the early modern period was sometimes called an "excrement" suggests its material basis: the word could mean simply "that which grows out or forth" but could suggest more specifically "superfluous matter thrown off by the bodily organs; an excreted substance" ("Excrement"). When, for example, Hamlet's "bedded hair, like life in excrements, / Start up and stand an end," Gertrude is afraid because her son's locks appear to come alive supernaturally (3.4.121–22).

Yet Hamlet's hair also could stand on end because some people believed that hair was alive. How else could one account for its growth and changing color? How else would it appear to continue growing after death? The sixteenth-century anatomist Thomas Vicary accordingly describes hair as both material and spirituous: he refers to hair as "a superfluitie of members, made of the grosse fume or smoke pasing out of the viscoues matter, thickened to the forme heyre" (23–24). Vicary's physiological explanation seems to dovetail with *Paradise Lost*'s monist premise and corresponds to the depictions of hair's vitality in classical, Christian, and folkloric texts. Although Vicary finds hair "insencible," he elsewhere associates it with a person's soul, asserting "that by the cullour of the heyre is witnessed & knowen the complexion of the Brayne" and that through hair "the fumosities of the brayne might assend and passe lyghtlyer out" (26, 25).

Presumably, the physiological significance of hair encouraged the practice of wearing a loved one's locks as a relic or love token. The speaker in John Donne's "The Funeral," for example, wears a "subtle wreath of hair" because it represents

> my outward Soul,
> Viceroy to that, which then to heaven being gone,
> Will leave this to control,
> And keep these limbs, her provinces, from dissolution. (3, 5–8)

Donne implies that the beloved's locks have the power to preserve and govern the speaker's actions because he associates her hair with the vital force that now resides in heaven. In "The Relic" Donne similarly focuses on a "bracelet of bright hair" that encircles a corpse's bone:

> there a loving couple lies,
> Who thought that this device might be some way
> To make their souls, at the last busy day,
> Meet at this grave, and make a little stay. . . .
> (6, 8–11)

Here Donne suggests not that the couple's hair contains their souls but that the hair bracelet can join their souls at the end of time.

In *Paradise Lost* Milton subtly suggests the fusion of matter and spirit that Adam

and Eve's hair embodies through lines whose structure neatly matches their poetic meaning. Perhaps most obviously, Adam and Eve's spiritual marriage finds expression in the parallel constructions that describe their physical appearance: while Adam's "forelock manly hung / Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders," Eve "Her unadornèd golden tresses wore / Dishevelled, but in wanton ringlets." This echoing gesture fits with other grammatical parallels as the couple first enter the epic—"He for God only, she for God in him" and "by her yielded, by him best received"—lines that enforce a hierarchy while still suggesting Adam and Eve's mutual relationship.

Milton develops this sense of reciprocity through his complex syntax. If we return to the passage where he introduces Adam and Eve, the placement of "required with gentle sway" seems especially ambiguous:

> She as a veil down to the slender waist
> Her unadornèd golden tresses wore
> Dishevelled, but in wanton ringlets waved
> As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied
> Subjection, but required with gentle sway.

Here the simile of the vine, as Peter Demetz has shown, recalls the traditional motif of the bridal vine growing on the marital elm, a classical and Renaissance topos used to signify blissful marriage. Todd Sammons adds that the passage's erotic language alludes to the countertopos of the ivy and tree, which in Horace's and Ovid's works symbolizes an extramarital sexual relationship. The combination of topos and countertopos, Sammons claims, shows "how special prelapsarian love is" and how "Eve is just as much Adam's lover as she is his wife" (120). What has gone unnoticed, though, is that Milton enacts the reciprocity that these natural topoi imply by then inviting two seemingly contradictory readings. On the one hand, the phrase "but required with gentle sway" could describe Adam's power over Eve: as a participial modifying the "Subjection" that Eve's hair suggests, it signifies that only Adam's persuasion can prompt Eve to respond meekly—that is, her hair implies subjection, but it is a subjection that Adam alone gently elicits.[20] On the other hand, the phrase just as plausibly indicates Eve's authority over Adam: both "implied" and "required" could describe the action of Eve's "wanton ringlets"—that is, Eve's hair seems to suggest meekness, but in fact it expresses what she herself with gentle persuasion requires. In the latter case, the most likely object for the transitive "required" would elliptically be Adam's own "Subjection." Like the action of Adam and Eve's hair, the line's meaning gently sways between two opposing possibilities—either Eve or Adam requires subjection—and dramatizes the couple's mutual attraction.

Yet as this description of Adam and Eve progresses, readers may begin to question whether Milton still literally refers to the couple's hair. The tangled syntax in the passage that introduces Adam and Eve seems to confuse hair, sex, and marriage, most notably in the series of hard enjambments that stretch the meaning from one line to the next—"declared / . . . rule," "wore / Dishevelled," and "implied / Subjection." The continuation of thought expressed by these enjambments both evokes Adam and Eve's prolonged "amorous delay" and suggests the long tresses that they literally describe. In like manner, the separation of subject and verb—"*She* as a veil down to the slender waist / Her unadornèd golden tresses *wore*"—both dramatizes Eve's long hair and evokes the couple's protracted lovemaking. And while "gentle sway" could signify a mild influence as part of the couple's innocent flirtation, the same words also suggest a swinging motion and thus limn the action of Eve's long hair as it gently moves back and forth across her shoulders.

By the time readers reach the parallel clauses "by her yielded, by him best received," the description seems to have swung completely away from the couple's hair and settled on Adam and Eve themselves. Even if we can

visualize Eve's disheveled hair as somehow expressing her innocent desire, surely her hair does not literally yield "with coy submission, modest pride, / And sweet reluctant amorous delay." Like the lines in *A Mask* that Leigh Hunt highlighted in which Milton suggests the vigorous sexuality and generative power of Bacchus's tresses (53–56), this passage in *Paradise Lost* invisibly elides Adam and Eve's hair with their lovemaking and, perhaps, as the introduction of "waist" hints, no longer refers only to the hair on top of their heads.[21]

Also helping to dramatize the alliance between the couple's hair and sex are the passage's end rhymes. As commentators have observed, the postponed rhyme of "sway" and "delay" enacts the sweet reluctance of Adam and Eve's amorous pleasure—and, I would add, the passage's elongated construction once again may allude to the pair's long tresses. But we should also note that the rhyme "pride"-"implied," together with "sway"-"delay" and the slant rhyme "waved"-"received," corresponds to a common form of the sestet in an Italian sonnet (*cde*, *cde* [see also Gray 221]). Given that Milton dismisses the "jingling sound of like endings" in the note on the verse that he added to a reprint of the poem's first edition (Fowler 55), his decision to incorporate the second half of a sonnet to introduce Adam and Eve seems especially meaningful. In Paradise, I would suggest, the poet has no need for the sonnet's octave, which typically poses a problem, or for the *volta*, which signifies a sudden change in tone or thought. In Paradise, the resolution revealed in the sestet encompasses the prelapsarian lovers' entire range of experience. Through this stanzaic allusion, Milton implies, we are witnessing the origin of all future lovers and all future love poetry.

The Poetic Tradition

That the embedded sestet in *Paradise Lost* focuses on Adam and Eve's hair also anticipates a common conceit in Renaissance sonnet sequences. The crucial difference once again is that Milton portrays prelapsarian hair, whereas other early modern poets use the beloved's hair, as they use the sonnet, to depict love in a fallen world. By comparing Eve's hair to a vine and veil, Milton naturalizes the action of her curly tresses and evokes Paul's ideal that a woman's "hair is given her for a covering." In contrast, other early modern sonnet sequences emphasize the threatening, traplike qualities of a woman's hair as a metonymy for her amorous embrace. Samuel Daniel in *Delia* (1592), for example, compares his beloved's "snary locks" with "nets . . . / Wherewith my liberty thou didst surprise"; Henry Constable in *Diana* (1594) describes how his beloved captures "so many harts bound in thy haires as thrall"; and Edmund Spenser in *Amoretti* (1595) tells his beloved that only "the fayre tresses" of her "golden hayre" can "tye" his heart "with servile bands."[22] Spenser develops this idea most fully, calling attention to the ominous power of his mistress's "golden snare" with such words as "craftily," "cunningly," "entangle," "entrapped," and "fetters" (sonnet 37).

I do not mean to suggest, however, that this conceit had a strictly pejorative connotation. Whereas a woman's long hair in the medieval period often signified lasciviousness, the snare metaphor, as appropriated and developed by European Renaissance writers, lost much of its moral tenor (Ungerer 117).[23] Writing about love in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1660), for example, Robert Burton sounds appreciative, not accusatory, when he describes "*the hairs*" as "Cupid's *nets, to catch all comers, a brushy wood, in which* Cupid *builds his nest, and under whose shadow all Loves a thousand several ways sport themselves*."[24] Nevertheless, when Bassanio correctly chooses the leaden casket in *The Merchant of Venice*, we cannot help detecting a disparaging undertone:

> Here in her hairs
> The painter plays the spider, and hath woven

A golden mesh t'entrap the hearts of men
Faster than gnats in cobwebs (3.2.120–23)

Even as Bassanio praises Portia's beauty and her portrait's verisimilitude, his diction betrays a latent anxiety about his personal freedom and aptly foreshadows Portia's ring trick.

The significance of Eve's hair in *Paradise Lost* thus stems in part from what Milton does not say about it: Eve's curly locks contain no trap, no fetters. On the contrary, the description of her waving ringlets as "wanton" suggests that they are not only "robust" and "amorous" but also "free, unrestrained" ("Wanton"). Her hair may have "implied / Subjection," but this subjection remains a mere implication, and, as we have seen, we cannot know whether the subjection is hers or Adam's.

Writing about the origin of literary conceits, M. B. Ogle notes that the comparison of hair to a snare does not occur in ancient literature; he offers as a likely precedent Greek and Roman poetry that casts love as a huntress who entraps lovers in a net. Ogle also observes that Greek poets sometimes depict the gaze of the beloved's eyes—not her hair—as the snare that captures the lover's heart, an idea that he traces to Alexandrian poetry and a fragment by Ibycus (129–30). The first poet to modify the conceit and associate hair with a snare seems to have been Petrarch. In sonnet 197 of the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch refers to Laura's "golden hair" as his soul's "curly snare" (line 9), and in sonnet 198 he describes how "with her lovely eyes and hair she binds / my weary heart and lifts my vital spirits" (3–4).[25] These two sonnets illustrate the paradoxical status of a woman's hair in early modern love poetry: exerting an incongruously strong hold on the poet's affection, the beloved's soft locks make the poet feel both delighted and trapped—or, as Petrarch puts it, her hair both "lifts" (*cribra*) and "binds" (*stesse lega*).

Milton in *Paradise Lost* seems keenly aware of these paradoxical implications. Introducing Adam and Eve by emphasizing something as fragile as their hair, he underscores the paradox of their strong but vulnerable position in Eden before the Fall: if the couple's luxuriant locks convey their virtue and vitality, they simultaneously symbolize how easily Adam and Eve can break God's sole command and how quickly the pair can lose their paradisal marriage. That this initial description of Adam and Eve's hair occurs, as we have seen, in the context of Satan's larger survey of Paradise enhances the couple's frangible state. Focusing on Adam and Eve's vital but fragile hair suggests the perspective from which Satan recognizes the power inherent in their "divine resemblance" but nevertheless views the pair as "ill secured" and "[i]ll fenced" (4.364, 370, 372).

Various other seventeenth-century English poets also explore the paradoxical implications of hair, but, as with Petrarch's description of Laura's golden locks, these writers specifically delight in their beloved's entrapping tresses. In "To Althea. From Prison," for example, Richard Lovelace contrasts his actual incarceration with the "Liberty" he enjoys when Althea visits: "When I lye tangled in her haire, / And fetterd to her eye," he insists, "Stone Walls doe not a Prison make, / Nor Iron bars a Cage" (lines 8, 5–6, 25–26). Whereas Milton in *Paradise Lost* uses Adam and Eve's hair to depict the harmony of their spiritual and physical lives, Lovelace uses this image of entanglement to express the pleasing pain of fallen desire and to point up the disjunction between his physical and spiritual experience: he escapes his actual prison through a metaphor of erotic entrapment.

Lovelace's desire for Althea's "tangled" tresses also reflects the early modern aesthetic of *sprezzatura*, an artful nonchalance, or, as Baldesar Castiglione defined it, "art which does not seem to be art" (32; bk. 1, ch. 26). Writing about *The Book of the Courtier*, Wayne Rebhorn has explained *sprezzatura* as "an art of suggestion, in which the courtier's audience will be induced by the images it

confronts to imagine a greater reality existing behind them" (38). As applied to standards of feminine beauty, this aesthetic would suggest that a woman with disheveled hair appears more alluring because her beauty seems effortless. The greater reality implied by her unkempt tresses includes the possibility that with effort she could look even more enticing, but it also hints at potentially promiscuous behavior: the woman who lets down her hair signals her sexual availability by conjuring up related images of preparing for bed or hurrying away from a romantic liaison. When, for example, Robert Herrick in "Delight in Disorder" catalogs the various aspects of his mistress's tousled attire—"[a]n erring Lace," "[a] Cuffe neglectfull" (lines 5, 7)—his moralizing diction invites us to wonder how this woman's clothes became so tousled.

The paradox of *sprezzatura* arises from the care that creating an attractive carelessness requires: although poets say they want a woman to look natural, their language suggests that they actually desire some control and restraint. Thus, in "Still to be neat, still to be dressed," Ben Jonson dismisses the "adulteries of art" in favor of "[r]obes loosely flowing, hair as free" (line 9), yet his aesthetic of "sweet neglect" (10) may imply a manipulated or "sweetened" beauty as opposed to a genuinely carefree appearance. In "To Amarantha, That She Would Dishevel Her Hair," Lovelace similarly fetishizes Amarantha's "neatly tangled" and "excellently ravelled" tresses; he implores her to "brade no more that shining haire" and to "Let it flye as unconfin'd / As it's calme Ravisher, the winde" (lines 10, 12, 2, 5–6). But for Amarantha not to braid her hair at the poet's request represents just as deliberate a style as wearing her hair in braids. Lovelace's oxymorons expose the paradoxical nature of his fantasy: his desire that Amarantha's hair be tangled, but neatly, and that she look ravished, but calmly, indicates the restrictions he tries to impose on her free expression of sexuality.[26]

In *Paradise Lost*, by comparison, Milton offers a version of feminine *sprezzatura* with his description of Eve's "dishevelled" curls, but he does not specifically incorporate Lovelace's ideal of calm ravishment or Jonson's notion of a "sweetened" beauty. Attempting to depict prelapsarian beauty, Milton evokes but then redirects the paradoxical energies that fascinate and reassure Herrick, Lovelace, and Jonson. Milton's metaphors of the hyacinth and vine, for example, illustrate the natural (as opposed to artful) quality of Adam and Eve's physical allure, and even the apparently contradictory detail that Eve's hair is "[d]ishevelled, but in wanton ringlets waved" helps to smooth out any inconsistency in her appearance: while "but" implies a contrast, the meanings of "dishevelled" and "wanton" overlap, sounding almost synonymous. And instead of following cavalier poetic conventions and imagining Adam entangled by Eve's tresses or Eve constrained by Adam's aesthetic demands, Milton describes the hair of both as mutually unbound—Adam's long, clustering locks and Eve's disheveled, waving curls.

Also missing in *Paradise Lost* is the greater reality of promiscuity that disheveled hair could imply. If, as Frank Whigham has observed, the modesty of a courtier's *sprezzatura* "arouses inference in excess of the facts" (99), in Paradise before the Fall Milton presents the facts so plainly—Adam and Eve are naked, and they have sex nightly—that readers must willfully read against the text to infer that Eve's hair indicates fallen sexual desire.[27] Her and Adam's hair naturally looks natural; she cannot have deliberately disheveled her hair because she has no knowledge, let alone means, to wear it any other way. Following God's instruction before the Fall to "till and keep" "[t]his Paradise" (8.320, 319), Adam and Eve perform the "delightful task" of pruning and lopping Eden's "growing plants" (4.437–38), but God's injunction does not seem to extend to their personal grooming. On the contrary, the Pauline prescription for men's and wom-

en's appropriate hair lengths bases its authority on what "nature itself teach[es] you," which suggests that Adam and Eve's prelapsarian hair would naturally require no cutting or clipping. Whereas the tangled tresses of, say, Lovelace's Amarantha raise provocative questions about how and why her hair became unbraided, Adam's clustering locks and Eve's disheveled tresses precede any such possible narrative. Their hair is unadorned not by artful design but because God created them that way.

Instead of depicting the couple's artful artlessness, Milton conveys contrastively the unique innocence of Adam and Eve's marriage by once again appropriating the paradoxical presentation of women's hair in early modern love poetry. That the passage where he introduces the couple concludes with the oxymoronic "coy submission" and "modest pride" does not pertain to Adam and Eve's physical appearance but rather fits with other descriptions of their prelapsarian experience, such as "hand in hand alone" (4.689) and "obsequious majesty" (8.509).[28] These oxymorons reveal the paradoxical nature of their relationship, simultaneously egalitarian and hierarchical, gentle and urgent, and, as we have seen with Milton's monist description of their hair, spiritual and physical. The image of their locks at their first appearance, I would suggest, not only brings together Adam and Eve synecdochically but also, prefiguring both their hand-holding and their sexual union, symbolizes the reconciliation of these apparent contradictions. As the lines of verse knit themselves into the tight, alternating pattern of an Italian sonnet, so the description of the couple's clustering and curling locks signifies the strength of their marital bond.

Throughout the epic, Milton thus continues to associate the couple's hair with their marriage. When, for example, Eve concludes the story of how she first met Adam, their bodies reiterate Adam's earlier gesture. At their first encounter, "his gentle hand / Seized" Eve's (4.488–89), but now Eve, not Adam, initiates the contact: she "half embracing leaned / On our first father, half her swelling breast / Naked met his under the flowing gold / Of her loose tresses hid" (494–97).[29] The parallel of Adam's gentle handclasp and Eve's leaning embrace indicates the lovers' reciprocity. That her disheveled tresses conceal and facilitate her erotic play suggests once again hair's significance for innocently joining the couple and expressing their conjugal desire. The detail of "flowing gold" underlines Eve's virtuous power as it figuratively complements and literally covers the eroticism of her "swelling breast."

Later, when Eve awakens from Satan's tempting dream, her hair more subtly implies the spiritual and sexual nature of her and Adam's marriage: Eve "silently a gentle tear let fall / From either eye, and wiped them with her hair" (5.130–31). Anticipating the Gospel passage where a woman washes Jesus's feet with her tears and wipes them with her hair, Eve's humble gesture seems to ally her with the remorseful woman and, perhaps surprisingly, Jesus himself (Luke 7.37–38).[30] Given, as we have seen, that hair in early modern England was often associated with the soul, Eve's use of her own hair to wipe her tears suggests her individual power to overcome Satan's temptation.

More generally, an analysis of Adam and Eve's hair in *Paradise Lost* illustrates the value of exploring how Milton's animist materialism affects his depiction of material objects and physical gestures. Examining the cultural context of things in the poem, we may discover that they possess greater, more spiritual significance than has previously been thought. In the case of hair, the image of Adam and Eve's clustering and dishevelled locks not only draws on the power of hair in the early modern imagination but, published seven years after the Restoration, also challenges the extravagant, Parisian fashions introduced at Charles II's court. As women in the late 1600s adopted increasingly elaborate coiffures—such as the aptly named hurly-burly—and men began

shaving their heads to accommodate ever more sumptuous wigs, Milton's epic emphasizes his first couple's unadorned majesty. If Adam and Eve's natural, flowing hair expresses their vitality, it also highlights the vanity and triviality of seventeenth-century hair culture.

Fittingly, after Eve separates from Adam in order to garden alone, he wreathes a simple coronet "Of choicest flowers . . . to adorn / Her tresses, and her rural labours crown" (9.840–41). Adam's love token once again indicates the couple's physical and spiritual power: a symbol of fecundity and a celebration of Eve's gardening, Adam's garland refocuses our attention in this decisive moment on the couple's tresses, which, we have seen, embody their marriage and, according to Raphael's plant metaphor, represent the most spirituous and pure part of their physical selves. Simultaneously, though, Adam's garland corresponds to and is canceled by Eve's deadly gift, for as she returns from the tree she also carries something: "in her hand / A bough of fairest fruit that downy smiled" (850–51). That Adam then lets his crown fall—"From his slack hand the garland wreathed for Eve / Down dropped, and all the faded roses shed" (892–93)—surely emblematizes the fall of humankind. But, in the context of the value Milton assigns the couple's locks, the gesture of Adam's dropping the garland also suggests that he and Eve lose the physical and spiritual bond that their hair enacted. If, as Samson laments in *Samson Agonistes*, "God, when he gave me strength, to show withal / How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair," so Adam and Eve's hair contains the consecrated gift of their prelapsarian marriage and, with their fall, it too slips from their grasp.

Notes

1. See, e.g., *The Soundheads Description of the Roundhead* (1642) and John Taylor, *Heads of All Fashions* (1642).

2. *Lycidas*, line 175; *Paradise Lost* 4.306; *Samson*, line 569.

3. Hunt himself, it seems, delighted in such compliments: he went on to write three sonnets about a lock of Milton's hair. He pledges in one poem to wear Milton's lock "About me, while I breathe this strenuous air, / That nursed his Apollonian tresses free," and in another he wonders whether Milton touched the same lock while composing *Paradise Lost* (*Poetical Works* 246, 247).

4. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.1–151. Similarly, in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* the life of Orillo, the magician of Egypt, depends on a single hair of his head (15.59–68).

5. On hair in Homer's works, see Irwin, esp. 210–12.

6. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.564. Farnell discusses Apollo's long hair in Greek art (329–55).

7. Krouse traces this idea as far back as Jerome (42). For the beauty of long hair in Hebrew scriptures, see also the description of Absalom's thick locks in 2 Sam. 14.25–26.

8. Samson also later refers to the "consecrated gift / Of strength, again returning with my hair" (1354–55).

9. The vitality attributed to hair during the Renaissance included beards, which were equated with manhood and sexual potency, as when Beatrice in *Much Ado about Nothing* pronounces, "[H]e that hath no beard is less than a man" (2.1.28). Thus, the insult of "bearding" a man—that is, plucking his beard—figuratively came to mean thwarting someone with impudence ("Beard"; Corson 198–206).

10. Berg similarly concludes that hair "is to the folkmind an index and a representative of life itself" (36). Another typical folkloric depiction of long hair involved the figure of a wild man. In contrast to golden hair, with its spiritual implications, the long hair worn by these part-human and part-animal creatures signified magic, lust, and savagery. Prominent in medieval art and literature but also carried down during the Renaissance in, say, the character of Spenser's Sir Satyrane, the figure of the wild man seems to have derived in part from the account of Nebuchadnezzar's affliction in Daniel (4.33; see also Bernheimer). In Milton's writing, we glimpse this latter folk tradition in *L'Allegro* as the rustic workers tell of a goblin whose hairiness seems to signify both virility and magic: he threshes more corn in one night than ten day laborers and afterward "[b]asks at the fire his hairy strength" (line 112). See also *Paradise Lost*, as Satan attempts to enter Paradise and confronts "a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides / With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild, / Access denied" (4.135–37).

11. In *Metamorphoses*, for example, Ovid associates Apollo's hair and music: "My hair, my lyre, my quiver, shall always be entwined with thee, O laurel" ("mea! semper habebunt / te coma, te citharae, te nostrae, laure, pharetrae"; 1.558–59). More directly, in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* Berowne refers to "bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair" (4.3.317).

12. Trapp offers an excellent discussion of these garlands in ancient times and the Renaissance.

13. This line in the 1638 version of *Lycidas*, "Hid in the tangles of Neaera's hair"—instead of "Or with the tangles of Neaera's hair" (69)—conveys, as Revard notes, a more sensuous experience (187).

14. Interestingly, in the version of *Lycidas* in the Trinity College Manuscript, Milton had included two additional references to hair: he originally described Orpheus's mother as "golden hayrd Calliope," which he then replaced with "the muse her selfe" (line 58), and he referred to Orpheus's "goarie scalpe," which he changed first to "divine head" in the margin, then replaced with "divine visage" on a separate leaf before finally arriving at "gorie visage" (line 59 [*John Milton Poems* 28–32]). In the former case, the muse's golden hair would have underscored the irony that even such a powerful figure could not save her own son; in the latter case, referring to Orpheus's gory hair would have more forcefully set off the redemption that Lycidas achieves as he washes his own "oozy locks" (line 175).

15. Guillory observes that Milton relies on this culturally determined difference instead of a genital distinction. The couple's hair, Guillory adds, "foreshadows the crucial function of clothing as the virtually universal semiotic of gender difference" (87).

16. Commenting on Adam and Eve's hair, Thomas Newton in 1757 first suggested that Milton "drew the portrait of Adam not without regard to his own person" and may have "intended a compliment to his wife in the drawing of Eve" (282).

17. Gilbert and Gubar similarly argue that Eve's hair possesses "at least a sinister potential" (199), while Empson blames Eve for having entangled Adam in her golden curls (177).

18. McColley also argues that "the narrative voice is at this point telling us what Satan saw" (40).

19. Ungerer offers an insightful analysis of Aguecheek's hair and character (101–03).

20. The structure of the simile, "As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied / Subjection, but required with gentle sway," also momentarily raises the possibility that the adjectival clause ("which implied") modifies how a vine curls around itself and not how Eve's hair is shaped. But the shift in tense from historical present ("curls") back to the narrative's past ("implied") more likely indicates that the clause directly modifies Eve's ringlets.

21. In the expression "sweet reluctant amorous delay," Wright has detected, moreover, an allusion to "gently, slowly drawn out" in Ovid's *Art of Love* ("sensim tarda prolicienda mora"; 2.718). This shows, he argues, that in Milton's view "physical love is an essential and inseparable part of human love at its best."

22. Daniel, *Delia*, sonnet 14, lines 1–2; Constable, *Diana*, 4th decade, sonnet 2, line 3; and Spenser, *Amoretti*, sonnet 73, lines 2–3.

23. John adds that the comparison of hair to golden wires or sunbeams occurs as early as Lydgate (?1370–1449) and became a commonplace in Elizabethan sonnets (144); he cites *The King's Quair*, Henryson, Lyndsay, and Gascoigne.

24. 92; pt. 3, sec. 2, member 2, subsec. 2.

25. In sonnet 196 Petrarch similarly writes, "[I]n still tighter knots time wound her hair / and bound my heart with cord that is so strong / that only Death can free it from such ties" (12–14).

26. While Herrick explores the same aesthetic, he approaches it with the opposite emphasis, praising his mistress's "wild civility" (as opposed to her "civil wildness"); this phrase occurs in both "Delight in Disorder" (12) and "Art about Nature, to Julia" (line 14). If Jonson desires sweetly neglected locks and Lovelace enjoys neatly tangled tresses, Herrick savors the merest trace of wildness in his mistress's otherwise refined appearance; he takes delight in disorder but only when he can contain it within the strict measure of his own poetic lines.

27. More recently, Luxon (127, 145) and Lehnhof have questioned—unpersuasively, I think—whether Adam and Eve have sex before the Fall. Both Luxon and Lehnhof, though, ultimately seem to reach the more modest conclusion that prelapsarian intimacy is not merely genital, a point that, I would add, the spiritual implication of the couple's hair illustrates.

28. Surveying early modern matrimonial handbooks, Halkett also detects in these paradoxes the "mixture of retirement, love, modesty, sense of equality, and sense of shame which the matrimonial writers attributed to the ideal wife" (104).

29. For a discussion of Adam's seizing hand, see Dobranski.

30. Milton's simile "[a]s the vine curls her tendrils" could also subtly ally Eve with Jesus, who in the Gospel of John describes himself as "the vine" (15.1–8).

Works Cited

Ariosto, Lodovico. *Orlando Furioso*. Trans. John Harrington. Ed. Graham Hough. Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1962. Print.

Aubrey, John. "Minutes of the Life of Mr. John Milton." *The Early Lives of Milton*. Ed. Helen Darbishire. London: Constable, 1932. 1–15. Print.

"Beard, *v.*" Def. 3. *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford UP, 2008. Web. 23 Sept. 2008.

Belsey, Catherine. *John Milton: Language, Gender, Power*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1988. Print.

Berg, Charles. *The Unconscious Significance of Hair*. London: Allen, 1951. Print.

Bernheimer, Richard. *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology*. New York: Octagon, 1970. Print.

Bryer, Robin. *The History of Hair*. London: Wilson, 2000. Print.

Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Ed. A. R. Shilleto. Vol. 3. London: Bell, 1893. Print. 3 vols.

Carey, John, ed. *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1997. Print.

Castiglione, Baldesar. *The Book of the Courtier*. Trans. Charles S. Singleton. Ed. Daniel Javitch. New York: Norton, 2002. Print.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Canterbury Tales. The Riverside Chaucer*. Ed. Larry D. Benson. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989. 3–328. Print.

Constable, Henry. *Diana*. London, 1594. Facsim. ed. Menston: Scolar, 1973. Print.

Corson, Richard. *Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years*. London: Owen, 2001. Print.

Dalton, O. M. *Franks Bequest: Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Mediaeval and Later Bequeathed by Sir Augustus Wollaston Franks*. London: Longmans, 1912. Print.

Daniel, Samuel. *Delia. The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*. Ed. Alexander B. Grossart. 1885–96. Vol. 1. New York: Russell, 1963. 19–77. Print. 4 vols.

Demetz, Peter. "The Elm and the Vine: Notes toward the History of a Marriage Topos." *PMLA* 73.5 (1958): 521–32. *JSTOR*. Web. 9 Oct. 2006.

Dobranski, Stephen B. "Seizures, Free Will, and Hand-Holding in *Paradise Lost*." *Milton, Rights, and Liberties*. Ed. Christophe Tournu and Neil Forsyth. Bern: Lang, 2007. 269–82. Print.

Donne, John. "The Funeral." *John Donne*. Ed. John Carey. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990. 127. Print.

———. "The Relic." *John Donne*. Ed. John Carey. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990. 130. Print.

Empson, William. *Some Versions of Pastoral*. New York: New Directions, 1974. Print.

"Excrement." Def. 2, sb. 1; def. 1, sb. 2. *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford UP, 2008. Web. 26 June 2008.

Farnell, Lewis Richard. *The Cults of the Greek States*. Vol. 4. New Rochelle: Caratzas, 1977. Print. 5 vols.

Fish, Stanley. *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in* Paradise Lost. 1967. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997. Print.

Fowler, Alastair, ed. *Paradise Lost*. By John Milton. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1998. Print.

Frye, Roland Mushat. *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978. Print.

Galen. *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body*. Trans. Margaret Tallmadge May. Vol. 2. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1968. Print. 2 vols.

Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1979. Print.

Gitter, Elisabeth G. "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination." *PMLA* 99.5 (1984): 936–54. *JSTOR*. Web. 26 Sept. 2006.

Gray, Erik. "Severed Hair from Donne to Pope." *Essays in Criticism* 47.3 (1997): 220–39. *Oxford Journals*. Web. 9 Oct. 2006.

Guillory, John. "From the Superfluous to the Supernumerary: Reading Gender into *Paradise Lost*." *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry*. Ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990. 68–88. Print.

Halkett, John. *Milton and the Idea of Matrimony*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1970. Print.

Hall, James. *The Sinister Side: How Left-Right Symbolism Shaped Western Art*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008. Print.

Herrick, Robert. "Art about Nature, to Julia." *Hesperides*. London, 1648. Q6v. Print.

———. "Delight in Disorder." *Hesperides*. London, 1648. C6v. Print.

Heuscher, Julius E. *A Psychiatric Study of Myths and Fairy Tales: Their Origin, Meaning, and Usefulness*. Springfield: Thomas, 1974. Print.

Holweck, F. G. *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*. 1924. Detroit: Gale, 1969. Print.

The Holy Bible. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1966. Print. Eng. Standard Vers.

Homer. *Iliad*. Trans. Robert Fagles. New York: Penguin, 1990. Print.

———. *Odyssey*. Trans. Robert Fitzgerald. New York: Vintage, 1989. Print.

Hunt, Leigh. *The Poetical Works of Leigh Hunt*. Ed. H. S. Milford. London: Oxford UP, 1923. Print.

———. "The Wishing-Cap. No. 1." *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* Jan. 1833: 435–42. Print.

Irwin, M. Eleanor. "Odysseus' 'Hyacinthine Hair' in *Odyssey* 6.231." *Phoenix* 44.3 (1990): 205–18. *JSTOR*. Web. 6 July 2008.

John, Lisle Cecil. *The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequence*. New York: Columbia UP, 1938. Print.

John Milton Poems Reproduced in Facsimile from the Manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge. Menston: Scolar, 1970. Print.

Jonson, Ben. "Still to be neat, still to be dressed." *Ben Jonson*. Ed. Ian Donaldson. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985. 491. Print.

Kanter, Laurence B., and Barbara Drake Boehm. *Painting and Illumination in Early Renaissance Florence, 1300–1450*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994. Print.

Krouse, F. Michael. *Milton's Samson and the Christian Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1949. Print.

Lehnhof, Kent. "'Nor Turnd I Weene': *Paradise Lost* and Pre-lapsarian Sexuality." *Milton Quarterly* 34.3 (2000): 67–83. Print.

Lieb, Michael. *Milton and the Culture of Violence*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1994. Print.

Lovelace, Richard. "To Althea. From Prison." *Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c*. London, 1649. H1r–v. *Early English Books Online*. Web. 7 Oct. 2006.

———. “To Amarantha, That She Would Dishevel Her Hair.” *Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs, &c.* London, 1649. B3v–4r. *Early English Books Online*. Web. 7 Oct. 2006.

Luxon, Thomas. *Single Imperfection: Milton, Marriage, and Friendship*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 2005. Print.

McColley, Diane Kelsey. *Milton's Eve*. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983. Print.

Miller, J. Hillis. “How Deconstruction Works.” *Theory Now and Then*. Durham: Duke UP, 1991. 293–94. Print.

Milton, John. *Ad Patrem*. Carey 154–60.

———. *L'Allegro*. Carey 136–44.

———. *Eikonoklastes*. *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*. Don M. Wolfe, gen. ed. Vol. 3. New Haven: Yale UP, 1962. 337–601. Print. 8 vols. 1953–82.

———. *Lycidas*. Carey 243–56.

———. *Mansus*. Carey 263–70.

———. *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*. Carey 178–234.

———. *Paradise Lost*. Ed. Alastair Fowler. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1998. Print.

———. *Samson Agonistes*. Carey 355–413.

Newman, Robert D. “Entanglement in Paradise: Eve's Hair and the Reader's Anxiety in *Paradise Lost*.” *Interpretations* 16.1 (1985): 112–25. Print.

Newton, Thomas, ed. *Paradise Lost*. By John Milton. 4th ed. Vol. 1. London, 1757. Print. 2 vols.

Ogle, M. B. “The Classical Origin and Tradition of Literary Conceits.” *American Journal of Philology* 34.2 (1913): 125–52. *JSTOR*. Web. 11 Jan. 2007.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Trans. Frank Justus Miller. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. New York: Putnam's, 1921. Print. 2 vols.

Petrarch. *The Canzoniere*. Trans. and ed. Mark Musa. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1996. Print.

Prynne, William. *Histrio-Mastix*. London, 1633. Print.

———. *The Unlovelinesse, of Lovelockes*. London, 1628. *Early English Books Online*. Web. 27 Feb. 2009.

Rebhorn, Wayne. *Courtly Performance: Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's* Book of the Courtier. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1978. Print.

Revard, Stella P. *Milton and the Tangles of Neaera's Hair: The Making of the 1645* Poems. Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1997. Print.

Ricks, Christopher. *Milton's Grand Style*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1963. Print.

Robinson, Henry. *A Moderate Answer to Mr. Prins Full Reply*. London, 1645. Print.

Rogers, John. “Transported Touch: The Fruit of Marriage in *Paradise Lost*.” *Milton and Gender*. Ed. Catherine Gimelli Martin. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. 115–32. Print.

Sammons, Todd H. “‘As the Vine Curls Her Tendrils’: Marriage Topos and Erotic Countertopos in *Paradise Lost*.” *Milton Quarterly* 20.4 (1986): 117–27. Print.

Samuel, Irene. “*Paradise Lost* as Mimesis.” *Approaches to* Paradise Lost*: The York Tercentenary Lectures*. Ed. C. A. Patrides. London: Arnold, 1968. 15–29. Print.

Shakespeare, William. *Hamlet*. Ed. Harold Jenkins. London: Routledge, 1994. Print.

———. *Love's Labour's Lost*. Ed. H. R. Woudhuysen. Nashville: Nelson, 1998. Print.

———. *The Merchant of Venice*. Ed. M. M. Mahood. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987. Print.

———. *Much Ado about Nothing*. Ed. F. H. Mares. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988. Print.

———. *Twelfth Night*. Ed. Roger Warren and Stanley Wells. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998. Print.

Sleeman, Margaret. “Medieval Hair Tokens.” *Forum for Modern Languages* 17.4 (1981): 322–36. Print.

The Soundheads Description of the Roundhead. London, 1642. *Early English Books Online*. Web. 9 Apr. 2007.

Spenser, Edmund. *Amoretti*. Amoretti *and* Epithalamion*: A Critical Edition*. Ed. Kenneth J. Larsen. Tempe: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1997. 67–104. Print.

Taylor, John. *Heads of All Fashions*. London, 1642. *Early English Books Online*. Web. 9 Apr. 2007.

Trapp, J. B. “The Owl's Ivy and the Poet's Bays: An Enquiry into Poetic Garlands.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21.3–4 (1958): 227–55. *JSTOR*. Web. 28 Feb 2009.

Ungerer, Gustav. “Sir Andrew Aguecheek and His Head of Hair.” *Shakespeare Studies* 16 (1983): 101–33. *JSTOR*. Web. 9 Oct. 2006.

Van Dyck, Anthony. *Charles I, King of England, from Three Angles*. 1636. Oil on canvas. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, Berkshire.

———. *Five Children of King Charles I*. 1637. Oil on canvas. Natl. Portrait Gallery, London.

Vicary, Thomas. *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man, Part I*. 1577. Ed. Frederick J. Furnivall and Percy Furnivall. 1888. Millwood: Kraus, 1975. Print. Early English Texts Ser. 53.

“Wanton, *a*. and *sb*.” Defs. A.2, 3.c, 7.b. *Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford UP, 2008. Web. 26 June 2008.

Whigham, Frank. *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984. Print.

Wilding, Michael. “‘Thir Sex Not Equal Seem'd’: Equality in *Paradise Lost*.” *Of Poetry and Politics: New Essays on Milton and His World*. Ed. P. G. Stanwood. Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995. 171–85. Print.

Wright, B. A. “Note on *Paradise Lost*, IV.310.” *Notes and Queries* 5th ser. 203 (1958): 341. Print.