From ‘Rule Breaker in Chief’ to ‘Rule Breaker in Script’: Eve in early eighteenth-century Dutch translations of Milton’s Paradise Lost

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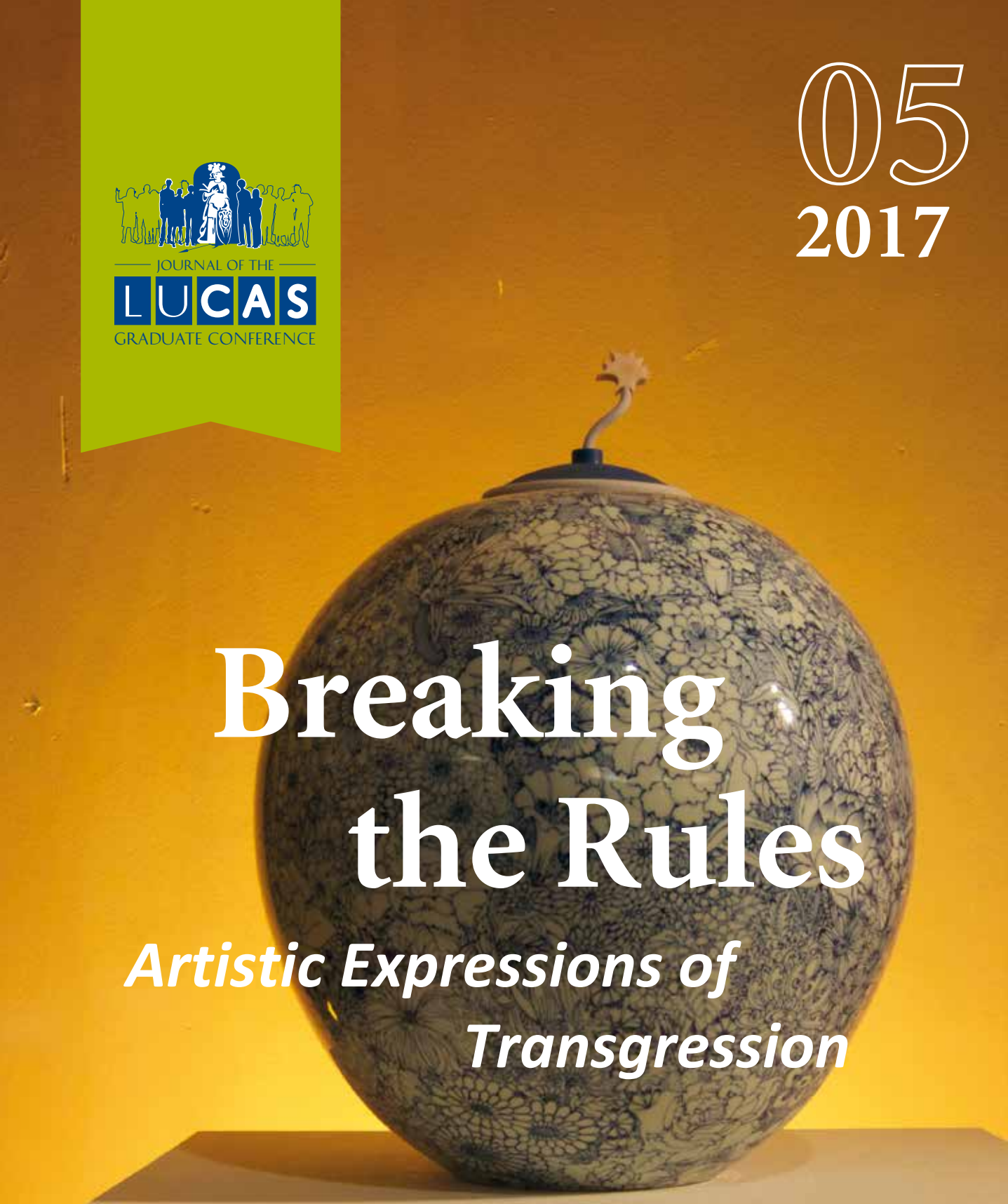
JOURNAL OF THE
LUCAS
GRADUATE CONFERENCE

05
2017



Breaking the Rules

Artistic Expressions of Transgression

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The *Journal of the LUCAS Graduate Conference*, **ISSN 2214-191X**, is published once a year, on 1 February, by Leiden University Library (Witte Singel 27, 2311 BG Leiden, the Netherlands).

WEBSITE
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FROM 'RULE BREAKER IN CHIEF' TO 'RULE BREAKER IN SCRIPT' EVE IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH TRANSLATIONS OF MILTON'S *PARADISE LOST*

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In John Milton's Paradise Lost *(1667, 1674), Eve is portrayed as a capable, intelligent character with the ability to exercise her God-given free will. However, this image of Eve is not transferred in early eighteenth-century Dutch translations of the epic poem. Jakobus van Zanten's and Lambertus Paludanus' translations focus on Eve's physical aspects and her sexual state, unlike Milton's emphasis on her intellectual prowess and ability to reason. This comparative analysis of these translations by Van Zanten and Paludanus and Milton's original is a first step towards discerning a literary tradition in the eighteenth-century Dutch Republic, with which it may become possible to determine whether the portrayal of Eve in these translations reflects the contemporary literary culture, or if it is unique.*

Before one can break a rule, one must have the ability to do so. This may sound like a self-evident fact: agency is needed to do anything at all. Yet, when looking at the character of mankind's first rule breaker, Eve, in the eighteenth-century Dutch translations of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667, 1674) this assumption is contested. Jakobus van Zanten published his translation *'t Paradys Verlooren* in Haarlem in 1728.[1] It was the first of its kind and sprung from his interest in Milton's original epic. Only two years later, his translation

1 I chose to focus on these translations because they were the first Dutch translations of *Paradise Lost*, which is a substantial amount of complicated English blank verse.

was followed by Lambertus Paludanus' rhymed verse translation titled *Het Paradys Verlooren* (1730). Paludanus considered his version an improvement on both Van Zanten's[2] and Milton's own editions because his version rhymed; rhyming poetry was much more popular in the Dutch Republic in the first half of the eighteenth century.[3] However, neither Van Zanten nor Paludanus seems to have understood a key element in Milton's epic: Eve had to cause the Fall of mankind through her free will, her intelligent reasoning, and her overall capability to resist temptation. The Fall, though inevitable in the poem, not only had to be caused by Eve, but it was also crucial that she could have decided otherwise, since she serves as an example for the reader.

This paper aims to show how Van Zanten and Paludanus transformed Eve's character dramatically from Milton's portrayal by close-reading passages from *Paradise Lost* and comparing the original to both translations. Ultimately, this paper aims to contribute to, and show the benefit of, comparative research in translation studies, because it may offer insights into the culture of a particular time. Although there is not enough room here to determine the literary culture of both translators to see whether the choices made in their translations were common amongst their peers or unique to them personally, this paper is a first step towards doing so. It allows two important things to be identified: firstly, neither translator appears to understand Milton's *Paradise Lost* sufficiently to detect the recurring theme of Eve's free will and her capability to use it in the poem; and secondly, each translator presents Eve with an emphasis on her physical characteristics. In the end, this means that Eve is transformed from capable agent in the Fall of humankind into obedient follower of an inevitable storyline, or, in other words: from 'rule breaker in chief' into 'rule breaker in script'.

Milton's Concept of Free Will

The Fall of mankind was "crucially the product of free will".[4] The concept of

2 Paludanus uses Van Zanten's edition as a source for his translation, although it remains unclear whether or not the two translators ever met or if Van Zanten was aware of the translation by Paludanus.

3 Wilhelmina Nieuwenhous convincingly shows that in the eighteenth century the following held true: "the rimer [sic] is the true poet and, therefore, he who translates an unrimed [*sic*] poet into a riming [*sic*] one is greater than the author of the original". Wilhelmina Nieuwenhous, "*Paradise Lost* in Dutch," *Tijdschrift voor Taal en Letteren* 18 (1930), 104. Similarly, Herman Scherpbier argues that "the attempt to take away one of the obstacles to popularity, by changing Van Zanten's wooden blank verse into smooth popular alexandrines, was perhaps in itself a good idea, but the result was disastrous". Herman Sherpbier, *Milton in Holland: A Study in the Literary Relations of England and Holland before 1730* (Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1933), 146. Until recently, these studies from the 1930s were the only ones to have looked into Dutch translations of Milton; in 2017 a collaborative volume containing an article by Jan Frans van Dijkhuizen on this subject will be published by Oxford University Press.

free will is recurring in John Milton's work, and is central to the development of the character of Eve in the epic poem *Paradise Lost*, since her ability to choose shapes how she is received and understood by the reader. Milton's theory of free will is made most explicit in this epic, and in his prose tract *Areopagitica* (1644), in which one of the main arguments for the freedom of print is the notion that by restricting print, the free will to choose virtue over vice is denied, and that one can only be a good subject to God through this carefully considered choice. As Milton argues: "he that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring Christian".[5] For this purpose, namely the conscious refusal of sin, Milton further argues that:

> God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu? They are not skilfull considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin.[6]

In other words, Milton argues in favour of the free will to choose between right and wrong when one is presented with material, ideas, or arguments that may not be in line with the religious thinking of the Church or the political thinking of parliament, both of which are deemed "not skilfull considerers of human things" because of their effort to restrict free access to more controversial materials. Blair Hoxby notes that according to Milton "a man can be temperate only if he knows his own body and mind, uses his reason, makes judicious choices, and maintains his self-control".[7]

To understand the importance of choice in *Paradise Lost*, it is fundamental to know that "God guarantees […] that humankind will make choices, and

4 Susan Wiseman, "Eve, Paradise Lost, and Female Interpretation," in *The Oxford Handbook of Milton*, ed. Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 542.

5 John Milton, "Areopagitica," in *The Riverside Milton*, ed. Roy Flannagan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 1006. All quotes from Milton's works presented below are taken from this edition, with original spelling retained, unless otherwise cited.

6 Ibid., 1010.

7 Blair Hoxby, "*Areopagitica* and Liberty," in *Oxford Handbook of Milton*, 224.

indeed, God ensures they will have to make choices. God assures opportunity, not outcome".[8] In essence, God allows for Adam and Eve to be tested to be able to prove themselves loyal to him, leaving the outcome to them, and not, as in Calvinist doctrine, to predestination. Stephen M. Fallon argues that "in asserting the freedom of Adam and Eve, Milton's God resolutely denies the supralapsarian doctrine that he ordained the fall of humanity. […] Milton, or Milton's God, carefully distinguishes between the divine grace that alone can save sinners, and the individual's responsibility to choose to accept offered grace".[10] Not only, then, is having free will a primary requirement for being able to obtain salvation, it is also our responsibility to make the correct choice, and as such we can be held accountable for failing. This is most compellingly argued by the iconic study *Surprised by Sin* by Stanley E. Fish who explains that:

> The "dazzling simplicity" of the poem's great moral is the counterpart of the dazzlingly simple prohibition, and the obligation of the parties in the two situations is to defend the starkness of the moral choice against sophistications which seem to make disobedience attractive […] or necessary [...]. The opportunities to yield to such sophistications are provided by God and Milton, respectively, who wish to try the faith and integrity of their charges.[11]

Free will is a recurring feature in both *Areopagitica* and *Paradise Lost*, especially when we look at the latter in more detail. As John Leonard sums up: "trouble in Paradise should be tolerated, even welcomed, for it is the raw material of purification".[12]

In Book 3 of *Paradise Lost*, God explains how he created the first human pair to exercise their free will, saying: "I made him just and right / Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall. […] Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell".[13] Furthermore, God provides his reason for doing so:

8 Peter C. Herman, "'Whose fault, whose but his own?': *Paradise Lost*, Contributory Negligence, and the Problem of Cause," in *The New Milton Criticism*, ed. Peter C. Herman and Elizabeth Sauer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 56.

9 On the topic of religion, it should be noted that Van Zanten was a trained theologian in the Dutch Mennonite Church – 'Doopsgezinden', a branch of Reformed Protestants. Regarding Paludanus, very little is known about him apart from his literary works. Considering he was born, was raised, and lived in Amsterdam, it seems unlikely that he would be a Calvinist or a Catholic, since Catholicism in particular was still strongly associated with the enemy – be they French or Spanish.

10 Stephen M. Fallon, "*Paradise Lost* in Intellectual History," in *A Companion to Milton*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 333.

11 Stanley E. Fish, *Surprised by Sin* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 208.

12 John Leonard, *Faithful Labourers: A Reception History of Paradise Lost, 1667-1970*, vol. II, *Interpretative Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 598.

> What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
> When Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)
> Useless and vain, of freedom both despoild,
> Made passive both, had serv'd necessitie,
> Not mee.[14]

God can only enjoy humanity's obedience if it originates from their own decision to be obedient, and not if they are in some way forced to remain so. Adam shows awareness of this freedom when he notes: "but God left free the Will, for what obeyes / Reason, is free, and Reason he made right".[15] Eve, too, moments before the Fall says "we live / Law to our selves, our Reason is our Law".[16] Both Adam and Eve, then, were thoroughly aware of their ability to choose, God's desire that they should do so, and their accountability for their own choices.

MILTON'S EVE

Part of the effectiveness of *Paradise Lost* is the fact that the reader feels inspired to root for Eve, to hope that Eve will obey God, and not eat from the Tree of Knowledge. It is this representation of her as a character who is capable of saying no when Satan offers her the fruit that makes her so exceptional, as well as exemplary. As Stanley Fish summarizes: "the ability not to fall depends on the ability to fall";[17] Eve has this ability. Regardless of the sure knowledge that Eve will fall, just like Adam after her, for a moment the reader of P*aradise Lost* can entertain the idea that she can resist committing the Original Sin. Furthermore, "if *Paradise Lost* is extremely sophisticated in its prolonged invitation to emotionally engage with the story of Adam and Eve, our attention is focused continuously on the way Eve is persuaded to eat and then on what happens to her as a consequence of eating".[18] As readers, then, our experience of the poem is closely tied to Eve's character, more so than to that of Adam, since Milton's representation of Eve is more complicated and multi-layered.[19]

13 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 419 (Book 3, lines 98-102).

14 Ibid., 419 (Book 3, lines 106-11).

15 Ibid., 595 (Book 9, lines 351-52).

16 Ibid., 605 (Book 9, lines 653-54).

17 Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 210.

18 Wiseman, "Eve, *Paradise Lost*, and Female Interpretation," 544-45.

19 Ibid., 544.

As a result, Eve's representation generates an understanding with the reader of what it means to possess free will, whilst proving she is intelligent enough to use it in any way she wants to.

Eve's intelligence is key to the construction of her character and the reader's perception of her. In his impressive history on the reception of *Paradise Lost*, John Leonard poses the following question and subsequent answer:

> Why does Milton allow Eve and Satan to paraphrase arguments from his own *Areopagitica*? On the morning of the Fall Eve insists that she needs to seek temptation if she is to prove her virtue. The serpent later tells her that she needs to know evil in order to shun it. Earlier critics had agreed that Milton means to discredit these arguments, but the sentiment they express is recognizably his own.[20]

Although she "uses the right argument at the wrong time"[21] – she is prelapsarian[22] but applies postlapsarian[23] arguments – Eve believes she is making the right moral decision.[24] "She is not stupid", Leonard notes before quoting A. J. A. Waldock: "She thinks hard and she thinks well. Logically what she says to herself holds together".[25] Furthermore, "Hume[26] has no doubt that Eve is Adam's inferior, but he also sees that Milton's Eve is more intelligent than any previous Eve"[27] represented in literature. Regardless of the dissent that exists in criticism of Eve's character, a general consensus surrounding her intellect can be drawn: Milton provides for his reader an intelligent Eve who is circumvented by an extremely cunning Satan.[28] This paper will show that it is not just her ability to make logical arguments, or to voice arguments made in Milton's *Areopagitica*, that attest to her intelligence, but that there is also a number of occasions in *Paradise Lost* that allow her to show her abilities, as well as to establish her importance in the poem. Two of these moments will be highlighted below.

20 Leonard, *Faithful Labourers*, 617.

21 Ibid., 618.

22 Prelapsarian: prior to the Fall.

23 Postlapsarian: after the Fall.

24 Leonard, *Faithful Labourers*, 619.

25 Ibid., 622.

26 Patrick Hume was a Scottish editor and the only contemporary critic of Milton. His volume *Annotations on Milton's* Paradise Lost was published in 1695 (London: J. Tonson).

27 Leonard, *Faithful Labourers*, 602.

28 Ibid., 602.

The most clear-cut example of Eve's capabilities is the composition of her sonnet for Adam in Book 4. In terms of historical chronology, her composition is the very first of its kind, and its execution is impressive. The sonnet is, of course, like the rest of *Paradise Lost*, in blank verse, yet it is set apart by its opening. Where the rest of the sixteen-line sonnet is iambic, the first foot is a trochee, making it stand out.[29] Its construction is that of an extended chiasmus, with the turn on the tenth line. The sonnet ends on the same word with which it starts, "sweet", which serves to differentiate clearly from the surrounding verses. The structure is precise; every element is repeated in turn without coming across as repetitive. It also leaves the impression of spanning across a whole day, since it opens with "Sweet is the breath of morn" and ends with "Or glittering Starr-light."[30] The sonnet establishes Eve's capability of composing something remarkable, even though there is no overt reason for Milton to choose Eve over the other human in Paradise, Adam, to compose it.

The fact that Eve speaks the final spoken words of the poem is also a testament to her importance in the universe of *Paradise Lost*. Her words, in the tradition of the Classical epic,[31] foreshadow the future. Additionally, what she relates to Adam (and consequently the reader) is that she received a message directly from God in her dream whilst Adam was conferring with the Archangel Michael (thereby receiving his information indirectly). At the very end Eve tells Adam, "though all by mee is lost, / Such favour I unworthy am voutsaft, / By mee the Promis'd Seed shall all restore".[32] Her prophecy of redeeming humanity through the coming of Christ is met by Adam with happiness, and crucially, with silence: "Well pleas'd, but answer'd not".[33] Milton deliberately lets it be known that although Adam could indeed have answered, he did not, and so Eve becomes the one to have the last word with the reader.

THE TRANSLATIONS

Translating an epic poem is a challenge, especially when the subject matter

29 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 462 (Book 4, line 641): "Sweet is / the breath / of morn / her ri- / sing sweet".

30 Ibid., 462 (Book 4, lines 641-56).

31 According to Richard Heinze, "the end of the real action of the poem […] lies outside the time-span of the narrative". Richard Heinze, *Virgil's Epic Technique*, trans. Hazel Harvey, David Harvey, and Fred Robertson, with preface by Antonie Wlosok (Berkeley: University of California Press, [1903] 1994), 310. Milton, who refers to both Homer and Virgil in his explanatory note titled 'The Verse', was familiar with the Classics and uses the conventions of the ancient epic genre repeatedly in *Paradise Lost* (such as in his invocation of the Muse in Books 1, 3, 9, and 12).

32 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 709 (Book 12, lines 621-23).

33 Ibid., 709 (Book 12, line 625).

is by Milton, who is known for the incredible discipline in his writing. As John Creaser shows:

> In keeping with [his] discipline, every single paragraph ends at the end of a line. Similarly, most speeches open and close at line-boundaries, and the exceptions are absorbed into the prevailing regularity by a narrative introduction or conclusion, not exposed in dramatic cut and thrust.[34]

This level of precision is difficult to match in English, let alone in a different language. Yet Milton's poetry had been translated into Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Dutch, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Russian by the end of the eighteenth century.[35] The trouble with translating a work as carefully crafted as *Paradise Lost* lies in the fact that it is the narration which largely colours the reader's response to characters and situations, and essentially determines the audience's perception of the characters.[36] The characters, and "even God, are the poem's creatures and speak in its manner".[37] This change from the original to the translated Eve is outlined below and offers a new perspective on Milton's Eve as she has been discussed in academic discourse.

The most noticeable thing about the representation of Eve in Jakobus van Zanten's and Lambertus Paludanus' translations is an increased focus on her as a sexual being, and a decreased focus on her intelligence and capabilities. By the standards of the day, her representation in the eighteenth-century translations is relatively benign, but in comparison to Milton's representation of her, she is made to lean towards licentiousness. While this does not necessarily mean that Van Zanten and Paludanus break away from Milton's depiction of Eve as an intelligent agent of free will, this altered representation does carry as a side-effect the deconstruction of Eve as capable enough to make important decisions in the first place. This constitutes a reduction from Eve as a character who inspires readers to hope against hope that she may yet choose to remain

34 John Creaser, "A Mind of Most Exceptional Energy: Verse Rhythm in *Paradise Lost*," in *Oxford Handbook of Milton*, 467.

35 Kay Gilliland Stevenson, "Reading Milton, 1674-1800," in *Companion to Milton*, 447-48.

36 Creaser, "A Mind of Most Exceptional Energy," 468.

37 Ibid., 468.

obedient because she can, to her as a character who is from the outset a sexual being who does not exhibit the potential of intelligently exercising free will. In the translations, Eve ceases to break the rules because she lacks the capability to do so: she falls not because of a well-argued, well-considered choice she makes, but because it is part of the pre-written script. Milton established an agency for Eve that she lacks in the translations.

Where in Milton's original, the angel Uriel points Satan towards Adam and Eve's "Bowre",[38] in both translations this bower becomes a "lustpriëel".[39] After Adam and Eve confess their love for each other Milton describes how Eve "half imbracing leand / On our first Father, half her swelling Breast / Naked met his".[40] Van Zanten translates this as: "zonder dartelheyd, / Leund', half omhelzende, op den schouder van / Den eersten Vader: hare halve borst / Aan 't zwellen, naakt, ontmoett zyn halve borst".[41] Syntactically, there is an emphasis on "naakt" which is emphasized by the commas which make it a sub-clause. The specification that Eve stands by Adam "without wantonness" is added by Van Zanten and directs the reader's attention to the fact that though the image might be perceived as sexual, it is prelapsarian, so not an immoral type of sexuality. Finally, there is Paludanus' rendition of the excerpt: "Zeer teder leunende op de blanke schouder van / Onz' eersten vader, en haar eerst en laatsten man: / Haar halve borst gansch bloot, die reizen wierd bewogen / Door de ademhaling, raakt zyn halve borst".[42] Paludanus adds that Adam is Eve's first and last husband, and also specifies how and why her breast is moving. In short, Eve's representation in both Dutch translations of this excerpt creates an image of Eve's physicality, an emphasis which is distinctly different from Milton's original.

Similarly, Eve's portrayal becomes more sexualized by the emphasis on her state as a virgin. This becomes evident in Book 9 when Satan sees Eve for the first time:

38 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 437 (Book 3, line 735).

39 Jakobus van Zanten, *'t Paradys Verlooren. Heldendicht in Tien Boeken door John Milton* (Haarlem: Geertruyd van Kessel, 1728), 115: "Lust bower" (trans. Rena Bood); Lambertus Paludanus, *Het Paradys Verlooren Geschetst na 't Engelsche Heldendicht van John Milton* (Amsterdam: Evert Visscher, 1730), 108: "Lust bower" (trans. Bood).

40 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 457 (Book 4, lines 494-96).

41 Van Zanten, *'t Paradys Verlooren*, 138-39: "Without wantonness leaned, half embracing, on the shoulder of the first Father: half of her breast swells, naked, meeting his half breast" (trans. Bood).

42Paludanus, *Het Paradys Verlooren*, 129-30: "Very tenderly leaning on the white shoulder of our first father, and her first and last husband: Her half breast naked, its rising moved by breathing, touched his half breast" (trans. Bood).

Thus earlie, thus alone; her Heav'nly forme
Angelic, but more soft, and Feminine
Her graceful Innocence, her every Aire
Of gesture or lest action overawd
His Malice[43]

Paramount in this moment of the epic is the fact that Eve is so beautiful, so innocent, that even Satan momentarily feels good. His suffering an eternal hell is shortly alleviated and his plans for revenge forgotten because of Eve. Such is her power that the sight, air, gesture, or action alone is enough to stun Satan. However, in Van Zanten's translation, though still being able to give Satan a momentary pause, the quality of virginity is added:

Een Engel, maar vry zachter, en zoo als 't
Een Maagd best sierd: haar kuysse aanvalligheyd,
Haar tred en zwier, en 't minste, datze deed,
Verstompte zyn boosaardigheyd.[44]

Similarly, Milton writes "To whom thus Eve repli'd"[45] when she speaks to Adam in Book 4, yet Paludanus transforms this into "De aardsmoeder Eva, wend haar maagdelyk gezicht / En duivenoogen, naa vorst Adams vriend'lyk wezen, / En antwoord dus".[46] Though the differences are subtle, they are combined with variations aimed at shifting the reader's focus towards the physical aspects of Eve rather than her intellectual prowess mentioned above, and ultimately create an image of her as incapable of withstanding the rhetoric and persuasion of Satan, which is central in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Partly, this contorted image is undoubtedly created by the fact that the translators did not always understand what Milton meant. For example, Milton's "To whom the Virgin Majestie of *Eve* / As one who loves and some unkindness meets, / With sweet austeer composure thus reply'd" [italics in the original] would to contemporary audiences be understood directly as Eve being called a virgin[47].

43 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 598 (Book 9, lines 457-61).

44 Van Zanten,*'t Paradys Verlooren*, 320: "An angel but somewhat softer, and so as it best decorates a Virgin: her chaste sweetness, her gait and panache, and the least she did, dulled his evil" (trans. Bood).

45 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 456 (Book 4, line 440).

46 Paludanus, *Het Paradys Verlooren*, 128: "The mother of earth Eve turned her virgin face and dove eyes to ruler Adam's friendly being" (trans. Bood).

47 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 592 (Book 9, lines 270-272).

However, it has been argued that Milton's use of the term, which is so at odds with his descriptions of her elsewhere, actually uses 'virgin' to mean 'woman' as was commonly done in the seventeenth century.[48] Both Van Zanten and Paludanus miss this common substitution completely, and assume, in the same way as a modern-day audience tends to do, that Milton talks about Eve as a virgin.[49] As such, Van Zanten translates "Virgin Majestie" into "Maagdelyke Majesteyt",[50] whilst Paludanus skips over 'majesty' entirely with his "De maagdelyke glans van Eva".[51]

This one particular moment in the epic which shows more than any other the intellectual capabilities of Eve: her composition of a sonnet in Book 4, as discussed above. However, in both translations the fact that it is supposed to be a sonnet becomes problematized by the fact that the structure of the poem is completely lost. Where Milton plays to his strengths, using his disciplined writing to make the sonnet structure obvious even when it is imbedded in the rest of the poem, both Van Zanten and Paludanus lose all of its structural cohesion. Van Zanten's translation of the sonnet does not start on a new line, making it appear as part of the rest of Eve's speech, and it subsequently continues for no less than twenty-five lines. The final line of verse, clearly marked as the end of her sonnet in Milton's distinguishable structure, is also undifferentiated and is succeeded by the rest of Eve's speech. Paludanus is more successful with his translation, starting the sonnet on a new line, like Milton did, but then continuing for twenty-seven lines. Yet, the structure is but one part of the sonnet. Below the content of the sonnet and the translations thereof will be discussed to show that here too, the Dutch translators do not do Eve justice.

Eve's Sonnet

Nearing the end of Eve's sonnet, Milton writes "With this her solemn Bird, nor walk by Moon, / Or glittering Starr-light without thee is sweet".[52] In Van

48 Leonard, *Faithful Labourers*, 653.

49 In early-modern Dutch, the word 'Maagd' is much more closely linked to the sexual state of the woman. *De Geïntegreerde Taalbank*, s.v. "Maghet," accessed 7 December 2016, http://www.wnt.inl.nl/ .

50 Van Zanten, *'t Paradys Verlooren*, 312: "Virgin Majesty" (trans. Bood).

51 Paludanus, *Het Paradys Verlooren*, 277: "The virginal shine of Eve" (trans. Bood).

52 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 527 (Book 6, lines 655-56).

Zanten's translation, these lines become "Met zyn gewoonen Voogel, noch by 't licht / Der Maane, of by het schitterend gestraal / Der Sterren te spanseeren door den Hof, / Is zonder u niet zoet".[53] Apart from the fact that, in Dutch, the two lines are doubled in length, Van Zanten also includes an element in his translation which is not present in the original: "Door den Hof" has no English counterpart, and although it is obvious in the context that Van Zanten means to provide a location for the stroll under the moonlight, it is partly due to this addition that he changes Milton's syntactic flow. In Milton's original, the verb "walk" is complimented by the phrase "by Moon, / Or glittering Starr-light". Whereas in Van Zanten's version, the verb "spanseeren" is complimented by "door den Hof".[54] Van Zanten creates a far longer clause with the addition of "door den Hof", and as a result, the inherent resolution of the English verse is lost. In the sonnet, Eve makes a statement, which especially nearing the end gains power by the short, successive repetition of the elements introduced in the first half of the chiasmus. Yet by stretching, in particular, the final two lines out into four lines and adding an element that was not introduced before, the Van Zanten translation loses the power in Eve's statement. In short, the reader of the translation will not realize he is reading a sonnet, nor will he be struck by the precise and powerful construction of it. The status Eve gains through the sonnet, her position as first poet in history, does not come across in the translation. As a result, the reader will perceive Eve's character differently than when he reads the original. It also affects the reader's reception of Eve throughout the poem, since the reader's judgement of her fall, to some extent, depends on his perception of Eve's character in general.

Besides adding an element to the text, Van Zanten also translates "solemn Bird" as "gewoonen Voogel".[55] 'Solemn' is defined as "fitted to excite serious thoughts or reflections; impressive, awe-inspiring", and "sacred, having a religious character",[56] which in the context of the sonnet reflects how important Adam is to Eve. For, without him, she explains, nothing is as good as it is with him, including the fact that the solemn bird would no longer be

53 Van Zanten, *'t Paradys Verlooren*, 145: "With his plain bird, nor by the light of the Mon, or by the glittering beams of the Stars to walk through the Court, is without you not sweet" (trans. Bood).

54 Van Zanten, *'t Paradys Verlooren*, 145: "to walk" (trans. Bood).

55 Milton, "Paradise Lost," 527 (Book 6, line 655).

56 *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "solemn," accessed 7 December 2016, http://www.oed.com/ .

as 'awe-inspiring' or 'sacred'. Van Zanten, however, translates solemn into "gewoonen". The adjective 'gewoonen' denotes a completely different meaning from 'awe-inspiring': instead, it means something that is "algemeen aangenomen" or "waaraan men gewend is".[57] In other words, the bird is no longer awe-inspiring to Eve (or the reader), it is just a plain bird. This takes away from the effect of Eve's sonnet, which aims to demonstrate that all the best, most marvellous, and sweetest things in the universe would mean nothing if Adam was not there. By supplementing the weightier "solemn" for "gewoonen", the sonnet loses a part of its meaning.

Although, like Van Zanten's, Paludanus' translation of the sonnet does not correspond to the sixteen-line sonnet, it does have a discernible metre and form. Paludanus' twenty-seven-line 'sonnet' is rhyming and trochaic, and although the first four lines are heptameters, the rest of the piece varies in meter. The significantly longer sonnet has also been equipped with several rhetorical techniques. Paludanus repeatedly makes use of alliteration ("kimmen komt", "hemels heldren", "bloezems, bloem en boom […] en bladen"),[58] assonance ("hooren […] vog'len door 't geboomt"),[59] and anaphora ("'t Is zoet […] / 't Is zoet […]", "Noch […] / Noch […] / Noch[…]").[60] The use of these techniques in combination with its form, rhyme and met, gives readers the impression they are indeed reading a poem. Paludanus also repeatedly adds elements to the poem that are not present in Van Zanten's translation. For example, "blad'ren" in: "en bloezems, bloem en boom en blad'ren, kruid en vrucht"[61] and "noch reuk naa regenvlaag, zo duur door ons geächt"[62] where "zo duur door ons geächt" is neither in Van Zanten, nor in Milton. Paludanus made the effort to fit the poem in his AABB rhyme scheme, as is the case with the addition of "blad'ren" and "zo duur door ons geächt". By adding words or phrases in a translation, Paludanus inevitably introduces extra concepts to the reader. "Zo duur door ons geächt" is Paludanus' way of indicating the value of the sweet smell after the rain, which is not a concept present in the original poem. With this addition, Paludanus guides his reader to put a greater

57 That is, "generally accepted" or "that which a person is used to" (trans. Bood). *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, s.v. "gewoon," accessed 7 December 2016, http://gtb.inl.nl/ .

58 Paludanus, *Het Paradys Verlooren*, 135-36: "horizons come", "heavens clear", "blossoms, flower and tree […] and leaves" (trans. Bood).

59 Ibid., 135-36: "hearing […] birds through the trees" (trans. Bood).

60 Ibid., 135-36: "it is sweet […] / it is sweet […]"; "Nor […] / Nor […] / Nor […]"(trans. Bood).

61 Ibid., 135-36: "And blossoms, flower and tree and leaves, herb and fruit" (trans. Bood).

62 Ibid., 135-36: "Nor smell after rain, deemed so valuable by us" (trans. Bood).

emphasis on the concept of the smell after the rain, which diverts his attention from the message Milton intended to convey.

CONCLUSION

To summarize, both Van Zanten and Paludanus translated Milton's *Paradise Lost* in such a way as to present the reader with an Eve whose physical side is highlighted, whilst her intellectual qualities are neglected. As a result, Milton's rule breaker, the first breaker of rules in the history of humanity even, comes to lack the agency to and capability of actually breaking rules. Her part is scripted and she follows it obediently. Her disobedience and breaking of God's only commandment is part of the story, and requires only her participation to be effected. The Eve Milton presents to his readers in the original poem is, due to her free will, her ability to reason, and her ability to choose, given an agency which makes the fall appear as a conscious decision to break the rules. Although the biggest offence is her disobedience to God by deciding to eat from the Tree of Knowledge, she is similarly breaking her promise to Adam that she will remain true to her beliefs and only needs to prove herself obedient by being tempted.

It may appear to be but a subtle distinction. After all, the outcome is the same: Eve still falls. However, the point in *Paradise Lost* is that, yes, Eve must fall, but she could have chosen not to. The ability to choose is what makes Eve a character with an exemplary function: the reader is likewise born with free will, as Milton keeps pointing out in both *Paradise Lost* and *Areopagitica* as well as in his other works. Eve chose to break God's rule, she chose to break her promise to Adam, but she did so freely, and therefore she fell freely. The reader can learn from this, for God made humanity "sufficient to have stood though free to fall" as he did Eve. The emphasis here should, of course, be on the word "sufficient". Milton's Eve was sufficiently intelligent, sufficiently

capable, and sufficiently educated to make her choice. Van Zanten's and Paludanus' renditions of Eve were not.

In the analysis above it became clear that Van Zanten's and Paludanus' translations are both depicting Eve with a focus on her physical aspects. They add elements to direct the reader's focus towards her sexual state as a virgin, as well as giving a more detailed description of the movement of her breast when she is leaning against Adam, with an additional emphasis on her being naked. For Milton, Eve's nakedness is nothing extraordinary; Adam and Eve are prelapsarian and so there was no such thing as shame or a desire to cover their bodies. It is, therefore, an accepted part of the prelapsarian state, which though noteworthy for the postlapsarian reader, is not considered to be a sexualized image as it is in the translations.

The most clear-cut example of Milton establishing Eve as an intelligent and capable character is her composition of the sonnet in Book 4. Despite the fact that it is not set apart by gaps in the text, it is immediately clear by its structure that it should be read as a sonnet incorporated into the rest of the text. The first foot marks the start of the sonnet by being a trochee, and the rest of the sonnet is structurally defined by a strict iambic pentameter. The subject matter is introduced in the first ten lines, and the chiasmus is shown by the repetition of these elements in the last six. All in all, the sonnet is Eve's masterpiece in the epic: it makes her intelligence abundantly clear. However, the same image is not constructed in the translations. A large part of this has to do with the fact that the text is no longer structured as a sonnet, there is no clear beginning or end, the chiasmus is enlarged to span across twenty-five lines by Van Zanten and twenty-seven lines by Paludanus, and elements are added which do not only take away from the effect of the chiasmus, but also syntactically focus the reader to attribute more importance to the added elements than to the intended meaning of the sonnet.

In the end, the altered representation of Eve affects the reception of her and of *Paradise Lost* as a whole. The translations could give an insight into the culture that produced them, but to be able to do so it is necessary to first trace the literary tradition of Dutch translations of the same subject matter. With only two translations it is difficult to say with certainty that the way Eve was translated, and her transformation from capable, intelligent, free 'rule breaker in chief' to docile 'rule breaker in script', reflects a wider literary tradition. It is possible that both Van Zanten and Paludanus made choices that corresponded to the literary culture by which they were conditioned, a prospect worthy of being further explored in future Translation Studies research.

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