VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF ADAM AND EVE: AN ICONOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE IMAGES CONCERNING GENESIS 1-3

A thesis submitted to the College of the Arts of Kent State University in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts

by

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INTRODUCTION

During the early decades of the Renaissance, visual representations of events from the Bible were more common than written translations throughout Europe. Furthermore, from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance, artists often displayed their skill and talent by reproducing many of the stories told from the Bible, turning these events into visual spectacles displayed across all of Europe through means of painting, carving, sculpture and stained glass.

The stories of Genesis seemed to be the most familiar themes from the Old Testament depicted during this time. Genesis imagery can be found covering the walls, ceilings and facades of many Cathedrals throughout Europe. The story of our first man and woman, Adam and Eve, dominated the visual narrative and through commissioned works by churches and wealthy elites, images of Adam and Eve could be seen in almost any cathedral or chapel of the time. The story of Adam and Eve conditioned many religious ideas on humanity and provided an ideological path for both gender roles and traditions in western culture. Furthermore, the views passed down from early Church fathers provided artists with variations of Genesis 1-3, allowing images concerning Adam and Eve to be depicted in various approaches.

There are several questions that have remained unanswered throughout history regarding the story of our first two humans. The Church used the story of Adam and Eve as a way to deal with several fundamental issues important to the faith, from our first parent's importance for humanity's need for salvation, how Eve’s role in Eden affected societal views on women, to the constant struggle we face in overcoming sinful temptations. In fact, we are introduced to temptation, sin and evil through the happenings of Adam and Eve. We have since been accustomed to know and understand this story through not only the scripture written about Adam
and Eve but through some of the most iconic visual depictions of the two that can be seen across Europe and the rest of the world.

Strangely enough, this extremely common cycle depicted during the late Middle Ages and into the Renaissance seemed to momentarily disappear during the Mannerist and Baroque periods. Artists were producing images of Adam and Eve during their Eden days, but were rarely creating complete cycles concerning Genesis 1-3. Additionally, biblical events and stories discussed in the Bible still seemed to dominate the art world during both of these artistic periods. So why is it that Genesis cycles seemed to be left behind in the Renaissance? Perhaps it was the ever-changing guidelines set in place by the Catholic Church or the importance of creating images of Jesus Christ and his mother the Virgin Mary. In the sixteenth century, Western civilization entered a time of conflict when the Protestants enforced the destruction of many religious works throughout Europe. Images that could stir up sexual thoughts were especially undesired and most acceptable images that involved nudity during the latter half of the 16th century depicted allegorical narratives.

While Martin Luther provoked the Protestant Reformation with his objections against the Catholic Church, he was not responsible for initiating the iconoclastic waves that occurred during the mid-1500s.¹ The Catholic Church soon realized they needed to somehow appease the prospering Protestants; they decided to establish a set of guidelines that would allow art to remain useful again in the church.² While images of Adam and Eve still circulated during this

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¹ Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin, both Protestant leaders, initiated and approved the destruction of religious imagery throughout Protestant Europe.
² Marilyn Stokstad & Michael Cothren, *Art History*, 5th Edition [Pearson Education Inc., 2014], "The enforcement of religious unity extended to the arts. Traditional images of Christ and the saints were sanctioned, but art was scrutinized for traces of heresy and profanity. Guidelines issued by the Council of Trent limited what could be represented in Christian art and led to the destruction of some works.", 668.
time, even in Protestant Germany, many artists began to abandon complete Genesis cycles and would focus on a specific moment from their time in Paradise.

We find that from the very moment humanity was introduced to us, the story of Adam and Eve and their inability to abide by the rule of God has conditioned civilization to understand temptation and our desire to yield to temptation as paradigms of human existence. It is the first temptation, Adam and Eve’s great fall, and their expulsion from paradise that indeed created our need for salvation through Jesus Christ. Church theologians developed a doctrine that connected Adam and Jesus Christ; the introduction of Christ was necessary as he served as our second Adam. Furthermore, Christ's role was intended from the beginning as part of God's divine plan. Likewise scholars have discussed a connection between Eve and Mary, Mary serving as the female counterpart redeeming the sinful Eve. She was the vessel needed to birth Jesus Christ, and in many ways, Mary was the anti-Eve. Within several types of images of these four pivotal figures, artists have displayed connections and links that solidify the need for each of them. Without Adam and Eve there would be no reason for salvation through the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ. All four are then responsible for the world that exists today.

Images of our saviors were just as familiar as scenes of Adam and Eve during the Renaissance. However, while images of Mary and Christ continued to be commonly produced, Genesis cycles seem to become less prominent by the time Mannerism took over Italy and the

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3 Gregory Allen Robbins. *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis*, "Adam’s sin brought suffering and death upon the human race, and brought with mortality the susceptibility to passion, especially in the form of sexual desire, anger, and grief." –Chrysostum’s commentary on the Fall, 89.

4 Gregory Allen Robbins, *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis*, “God, Augustine argues, created the world and our first parents “not from a new and sudden resolution, but by his unchangeable and eternal design.” In the City of God, Augustine’s deity remains immutable and Genesis 1-3 becomes the literal beginning of God’s providential plan in human history. Augustine concludes, “in the first man, who was created in the beginning, there was the root, indeed not visibly, but according to God’s foreknowledge, of these two cities or societies so far as regards the human race.”, 159.
rest of Europe in the later sixteenth century. That said, visual representations of Adam and Eve certainly remained a narrative of topic. However, through creative leeway, artists began to isolate certain events told from Genesis 1-3, producing images that could remain acceptable in the eyes of the Church and provide secular entertainment as well. In this investigation I will address the issues of Eve commonly being depicted as inferior to Adam and often displayed as the culprit sinner during the Original Sin. Many artists and craftsmen throughout history have carried out the Temptation story in a similar fashion and we are forced to blame Eve for their fall from paradise. However, as I will bring to light in the following chapters, there are a few artists that seemed to have intentionally altered these biblical events to display a different outlook on what we are so accustomed to knowing as the story of Adam and Eve and their great fall. There are of course, several works that clearly demonstrate the artistic hesitation of many artists who played it quite safe, keeping to the basics of the story. Throughout my investigation of visual depictions of Adam and Eve, I will make mention of the works that seem to lack artistic originality.

As this study will progress it is important to not only examine the overall communal symbolism that Adam and Eve hold within religious imagery but to also see where perhaps we have missed messages from artists throughout history. Visual depictions of Adam and Eve were extremely important during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance for they led to a greater knowledge and understanding of the story of Genesis during a time dominated by illiteracy. Our first two humans and the obstacles they faced were crucial in embedding a sense of “rights and wrongs”, forcing civilization to think before acting or even serving as a story of warning, influencing society to fear rebellion or sin as punishment always follows disobedience.

The next few chapters will focus on scenes of the Creation of Adam and Eve, their Temptation in Eden, as well as their Expulsion from Paradise. Most works will have originated
in Italy while a few will be from Northern Europe. I will address several well-known artists from the Medieval and Renaissance eras. Occasionally I will refer to works produced by lesser-known artists as well as some images that have yet to be attributed to any specific artist. The mediums that will be discussed vary from mosaics, paintings, stained glass, woodcuts, to carvings and relief sculpture. It is my aim to not only discuss the symbolism and iconography behind these images but also to address peculiarities found within certain works of art depicting Adam and Eve, their time in paradise and their shameful expulsion from Eden.
CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF MAN

Genesis 2:7 then God formed the man, dust from the earth and breathed upon his face a breath of life, and man became a living soul.

One of the first things to mention about most “Creation of Adam” scenes, whether such a scene be from an illuminated text, a painting or a sculpture, is that what seems to be the traditional scenario shown is most often surprisingly different from the actual account written in the Old Testament. The Septuagint Bible, which will be the version I refer to from time to time, reads as follows, “then God formed the man, dust from the earth, and breathed upon his face a breath of life, and the man became a living soul.” (Genesis 2:7) However, when confronted with most visual representations of Adam’s creation, we find that artists seemed to take a different approach when conveying this moment. God is either touching the hand of Adam or the two are just about to make a physical interaction with one another. This physical connection allows God to project life into him through the means of touch and not through his breath. This depiction is widely accepted and is visually more comprehensible since as humans we seem to understand and relate to things that are physical. Furthermore, trying to visualize breath transmitting life into Adam would be nearly impossible for artists. Even those like Michelangelo, who in many ways heightened the level of perfection and naturalism in the visual arts during the High Renaissance would have been greatly challenged in attempting to convincingly render this approach. Giving the story a sense of tangibility provides the viewer with a more believable and concrete image.

Some of the earliest representations of the “Creation of Adam” date back to the second century; however, the Romanesque into the Proto-Renaissance period marks one of the peak eras for the depiction of this theme. The first work I will examine comes to us as part of a Genesis relief cycle found on the façade of Modena Cathedral in the region of Emilia. The sculptor
responsible for this early medieval representation is most commonly known as Wiligelmo (active ca. 1099-1120). The building and sculptures found on the west façade of Modena cathedral predate the rest of the works I will discuss and serves as an exemplary representation of Adam’s vessel being constructed by God. Wiligelmo presents his Creation of Adam as a snapshot image of God constructing Adam from the ground of the earth (Figure 1). This representation closely follows the first half of the scripture from 2:7. While God finely tunes this perfect human form, we must understand this image of Adam’s creation as incomplete. Through the theology of Augustine of Hippo (c. 354-430), a human being is comprised of two substances, a perfect unity of the soul and body. Augustine’s beliefs, theologies and writings were widely accepted during the Patristic Era and carried throughout the Middle Ages, he is still today viewed as one of the most important Church Fathers in Western Christianity. Throughout my examination of several works concerning Genesis 1-3 we will see how the weight of Augustine’s view on mankind and Original Sin deeply impacted the portrayals of Adam and Eve during their time in Paradise.

Wiligelmo’s depiction of God creating Adam, while to the point, seems to lack a strong sense of drama or emotion that would be conferred if the inclusion of a “soul” was present. Through the stoic appearance of Adam in this Creation scene and compared to the figures succeeding the image, we can understand the moment presented to us by Wiligelmo as the moment where God has crafted Adam’s vessel and is now presenting to him his soul, making him human. Many scholars believe Wiligelmo looked to Roman sarcophagi that would have been found in nearby cemeteries in the Emilia region. These sarcophagi served as inspiration for

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6 Genesis 2:7, “then God formed the man, dust from the earth, [...]”, 3.
7 Gregory Allen Robbins, Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis, --Augustine, departing from exegeses of Philo and Origen, suggests that the Eve was also made in the image of God for she too has a rational soul., 146.
his reliefs at Modena cathedral. An abundance of sarcophagi survived throughout Europe; now divorced from funerary use, the carved vessels served as admired works of decorative, historical, and artistic value.

Carved in high relief, Wiligelmo’s scenes display full figured forms that seem to step out of the frieze and into our world. The framing arcade provides a stage-like setting for stories unfolding; creating a flow to the procession of events. God and Adam are shown of equal size, paralleling the Biblical account that he builds Adam in his likeness. In this image and as we will see again in Giotto’s *Creation of Adam*, God is understood as both Creator and Christ, seen through the inclusion of his cruciform halo. Giotto’s stands out more to the viewer because of the colors included in the halo, however, the carvings now lacking color would have originally been painted with bright pigments to make the figures come to life. Even without color, the figures exude life and personality and have a sense of emotional connectedness to the story they are acting out.

In Wiligelmo’s scene we are observing the final phases of Adam’s construction and although we are not necessarily looking at an image of God holding a sculpting tool or refining a partially built Adam, there is a final transaction pending between the two figures. With his left hand placed atop of Adam’s head, God passes along his soul to fully complete Adam for the world. Adam’s knees are buckled and appear quite weak, as if he has not yet figured out the strength of his body and muscles to stand upright. As we will see in Mantegna’s partial scene of Adam being sculpted by the hand of God and the mosaics found in San Marco, Wiligelmo’s

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10 Marilyn Stokstad and Michael Cothren, 479.
11 Marilyn Stokstad and Michael Cothren, 479.
“Pinocchio” version of Adam displays a representation where Adam has yet to become fully human; a transaction of life and a soul is next to come for the wonderfully carved vessel.

Another early example of the creation cycle I will regularly address is found in the cathedral of San Marco in Venice, Italy; located in the first small cupola of the narthex is a mosaic cycle of the entire Genesis story (Figure 2).\textsuperscript{12} The artists here are unknown but are believed to be a group of Western artists who most likely began working in the church from around 1220 and continued their work just before the jubilee of 1300.\textsuperscript{13} These narthex mosaics were most likely modeled after miniatures found in the Cotton Genesis.\textsuperscript{14} The Cotton Genesis, which was largely destroyed by a fire in 1731, was an illuminated manuscript from Alexandria around the fifth century and was most likely brought to Venice in 1204 after the Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople. Apart from a potential neck strain from having to look up at the cycle from the floor of the church, the program of the mosaics is relatively simple to read. The images of the \textit{Creation} go from top to bottom and are read from right to left. The mosaicists even added a new angel for each day of \textit{Creation} to further clarify the reading of the cycle.\textsuperscript{15} The \textit{Creation of Adam} scene found on the ceiling displays God as creator seated on a lavish jeweled throne and we are now confronted, possibly for the first time ever, with a completely active God. He is literally molding Adam out of the clay of the Earth (Figure 3).\textsuperscript{16} This is the earliest known depiction of a scene where God is physically, inch by inch, forming our first man from the world he created shortly before. According to art historian Penny Jolly in her book \textit{Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice}, [California Studies in the History of Art. Discovery Series. Vol. 4. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997], 8.

\textsuperscript{13} Penny Howell Jolly, 8.
\textsuperscript{14} Penny Howell Jolly, 8.
\textsuperscript{15} Penny Howell Jolly, \textit{Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice}, 9.
\textsuperscript{16} The Pocket Scroll: Classically Christian https://thepocketscroll.wordpress.com/ (accessed July 30, 2016)
Image: Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, this is most likely why God is seen sitting rather than sweeping in or standing upright.\textsuperscript{17} He is seen as the ultimate craftsman, carefully working out every detail of Adam. The audience can watch this spectacle take place along with the choir of Angels that are hovering in the background watching in awe.

The mosaicists further reiterate the importance of this moment in the following scenes. After the Blessing of the Seventh Day, viewers are confronted with The Animation of Adam (Figure 4). Here, as Jolly explains, we see God giving Adam his animus or soul in the form of a psyche.\textsuperscript{18} Kathleen Crowther also addresses the issues of the body and soul in her book Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation; there was an agreed belief among theologians that human beings exist by having both a body and soul. Where the soul is located within its body host has been argued among these theologians from the time of Aristotle through the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. Crowther mentions historian, “Caroline Bynum Walker who explained that in late medieval and early modern theology, a human being was understood as a “psychosomatic unity,” an inseparable combination of body and soul.”\textsuperscript{19} Crowther also discusses Lutheran theologian Cristoph Irenaeus (1522–1595) and his treatise titled Adam and Eve, where Irenaeus explains that

‘there are two natures in human beings: an earthly and a heavenly; a visible and an invisible; a tangible and an intangible; an irrational and a rational; a mortal and an immortal. They are, namely, body and soul, wondrously joined together in such a way that, not only is the body the hospitium and dwelling place of the soul, but the soul is the Dux, the governor and leader of the body.’\textsuperscript{20}

Irenaeus, like many followers of Galen, believed that the brain is where the soul lives, as the brain is the site where the higher faculties like reason and thought exist.\textsuperscript{21} However, this belief

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, 22.
  \item \textsuperscript{18} Penny Howell Jolly, the psyche being the personification of the soul, 24.
  \item \textsuperscript{19} Kathleen M. Crowther, Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation [Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010], 53.
  \item \textsuperscript{20} Kathleen M. Crowther, Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation, 52.
  \item \textsuperscript{21} Kathleen M. Crowther, 53.
\end{itemize}
was not a universally accepted rationale and many followers of Aristotle believed that the soul exists within the human heart, and use the direct passage from the Bible to back up their theories.²²

The figures (i.e. God and Adam) found in the Animation of Adam are now seen reversed and this becomes the first of two scenes within the entire cycle where the audience is confronted with God on the right hand side of Adam. The artists include this arrangement intentionally; the placement of the figures abruptly interrupts the narrative and redirects us back to the scene of the Blessing and the Forming of Adam. Once the viewer quickly revisits both of these scenes, they can return back to the Animation of Adam. As Jolly further explains, it is the moment that Adam receives his soul that he becomes fully “like” God.²³ It is the notion of Adam being made in the “image” of God that can be a bit puzzling, for during the Middle Ages, this idea is not understood as a physical likeness, but as a likeness of Adam’s soul to God’s soul.²⁴ The mosaics of the Introduction, Forming, and Animation of Adam seen in San Marco Cathedral stray a bit from what a scholar of the Cotton Genesis would assume existed. In the Cotton Genesis the entire story of creating Adam was discussed and carried out in four scenes. In Venice, however, the mosaicists chose to display two events, the first being the physical process of building the body of Adam and the second being the gift of his soul to become a living, breathing human being.²⁵ The attention and concern given to these scenes is tremendous and they are meant to be

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²² Genesis 2:7 “And God formed the man of dust of the earth, and breathed upon his face the breath of life, and the man became a living soul.” --Air travels through your airways directly to your heart pumping oxygen through your body and into your brain.

²³ Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, 24.

²⁴ Kathleen M. Crowther, Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation, --Crowther introduces Martin Luther’s emphasis on this very topic; to be “made in the image and likeness” of God was understood as a spiritual resemblance as nothing in the passage mentions the physical. In the beginning, Adam was like God, “full of wisdom, virtue and love.” However after the Fall, Adam lost his resemblance to God, and he and all his descendants became “like the Devil.”, 67.

²⁵ Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, 24.
studied slowly, the construction of Adam is extremely important for all of God’s creations and it was necessary to pay adequate attention to this moment of the biblical story.

Giotto di Bondone (c. 1267-January 8, 1337), better known simply as Giotto, was a master painter of the Proto-Renaissance and is the first artist I will discuss that developed an approach to Adam’s creation that will become the conventional interpretation of the Renaissance. While Giotto never created an entire cycle dedicated to Adam and Eve and their time in Paradise, he did paint a small medallion of Adam’s Creation in his Arena Chapel located in Padua, Italy. Roughly around 1304, a man by the name of Enrico Scrovegni commissioned the construction of the chapel along with the interior frescoes that cover every inch of the chapel (Figure 5). The pictorial cycles chosen were not only dedicated to the theme of salvation (i.e. the life of Anna and Joachim and the life and passion of Jesus Christ) but were also Scrovegni’s personal attempt to clear his family name. Enrico’s father, Reginaldo Scrovegni, was accused and charged with usury (loaning out money at incredibly high interest rates), which was considered a sin during the 13th century. Dante Alighieri, a contemporary of the Scrovegni’s and one of the most revered poets of all time, even sent Reginaldo to the seventh circle of hell in his Divine Comedy: The Inferno. During the 14th century the chapel would serve as a major crossing ground and Enrico knew that many travelers would be passing through Padua on pilgrimages, so this space and its theme of repentance needed to be superbly executed. While scholars still argue whether the entire dedication and development of the chapel was based purely on Enrico’s pursuit to clear the family name, it is without doubt that the message

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26 Marilyn Stokstad and Michael Cothren, Art History, 539.
conveyed inside the magnificent chapel deals with the idea of family, love and human salvation.28

The cycle displays the lives of Joachim and Anna, the birth and life of the Virgin and the life and passion of Jesus Christ. Giotto includes additional painted medallions throughout the cycles, all of which depict Old Testament narratives that are prefigurations of the New Testament images covering the walls. Nearly hidden within the north wall; located between the Wedding at Cana and the Raising of Lazarus (Figure 6) and shown in a medallion frame within the grid-like borders of the main panels, is the Creation of Adam (Figure 7).29 Strangely enough, this is the only imagery concerning Genesis 1-3 within the chapel. Although Giotto’s image of Adam’s creation may be small compared to many of his revolutionary frescoes throughout the Arena Chapel, several well-known artists throughout the Renaissance would have seen this variation of Adam’s creation and used it as a template for their own Genesis images.

While the actual size of this image is small, the painting itself is monumentally composed. Giotto shows Adam entirely nude while God is shown fully cloaked, additionally God appears massive in scale compared to Adam and is seen only from the torso up. As mentioned earlier, Giotto along with countless other artists, decided to show life being passed from God through the means of touch. God as the creator is seen displaying the symbol of the blessing with his right hand, a gesture that is typically associated with images of Jesus and is a

28 Andrew Ladis. *Giotto’s 0: Narrative, Figuration, and Pictorial Ingenuity in the Arena Chapel*, [University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008], Ladis explains, “Asserting the cleansing power of charity, that is, love, as well as the reclaimed legitimacy of the Scrovegni name, the chapel dwells on the themes of family and love, specifically, the divine father’s love. The chapel is, in fact, a burial chapel and stands as an act of penitence that aims to rescue the family name and to ameliorate its spiritual and earthly fate.”, 6.
symbol of Christ as Pantocrator\textsuperscript{30}. What might be most peculiar within the frescoed medallion is that we are not fully aware whether Giotto is showing us the exact moment before Adam has received life or if we are witnessing the moment God is pulling away and Adam’s veins are now coursing with energy. Giotto displays the two figures slightly separated, their fingers almost touching one another; it is that tiny space between their fingertips that allows this painting to become an open ended story, allowing us as viewers to have a very unique and personal outlook on what is unfolding before our eyes. What leads me to believe that we are witnessing the moment after God has given Adam life, is that the figure of Adam appears quite alert and indeed looks like a living, breathing soul. He is not shown limp or inactive, in fact he appears extremely reactive and alert to what is happening. He is shown holding the weight of his own body on the dirt hill he is propped upon. Adam is reacting to God and is aware of his surroundings.

Another image that is very similar to Giotto’s scene is Andrea Pisano’s relief from the Campanile of the church of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence, Italy (\textbf{Figure 8}).\textsuperscript{31} This work is believed to have begun roughly around 1336 and, although precise attribution is difficult, it is believed that Pisano along with the help of his workshop created this scene based on the influence of Giotto’s \textit{Creation of Adam} from the Arena Chapel.\textsuperscript{32} Giotto even played a role in supervising the details on parts of the campanile reliefs, making it interesting to consider whether

\textsuperscript{30} Christ as Pantocrator refers to visual images with Christ is displayed as ruler and judge of all. In several images from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance, God is shown blessing Adam and Eve; both during their creation and while he warns them of the forbidden fruit.

\textsuperscript{31} Bluffton University. \textit{Florence, Italy: Reliefs from the Campanile} https://www.bluffton.edu/homepages/facstaff/sullivann/italy/florence/duomomuseo/reliefscampanile.html (Accessed July 30, 2016)

the two discussed the approach on the narrative.\textsuperscript{33} The original panels are now on display inside the Museo del Duomo in Florence and reproductions have replaced them on the Campanile.

Like Giotto’s fresco, Pisano displays Christ as being almost twice the size of Adam, however, here we see a fully figured image of God standing beside Adam’s body. Adam reclining on the ground is positioned very similar to the figure of Adam seen in Giotto’s scene. Pisano’s Adam differs in that he seems to be less lively than the Adam Giotto introduced to us in the Arena chapel. His body does not appear active or even remotely as strong as the body of Adam seen in Giotto’s painting. Both images display Adam reaching up to God’s hand, which leads us to believe that there must be life in Adam already. Pisano, within the hexagonal shaped slab of stone, carves out lush trees in high relief throughout the background giving us a sense of the beauty in the world and the other life that existed just before God finished the creation. The only significant flaw on his part seems to be from the palm-like tree that is shown rising out of the head of God. If one were to mentally continue the trunk of the tree down to the ground we would see the partial right side of the tree, but here Pisano only shows the tip of the tree and, once examined closely, it almost appears to be growing out of God’s head and not the ground. The most obscure part of the relief lies within Adam, for his head has been badly damaged by outdoor elements over time and we cannot see any of his facial features. We can assume, however, that due to the abundance of similarities with Giotto’s \textit{Creation}, Pisano’s Adam would have had a similar gaze and appearance—a look of unknowing but simultaneously of certainty, of worship and admiration.

Giotto and Pisano’s portrayals can easily be compared with Michelangelo Buonarrotti’s \textit{Creation of Adam} from the Sistine ceiling, one of the most iconic paintings in the world (Figure

\textsuperscript{33} John White, \textit{Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400} [Yale University Press Pelican History of Art. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993], 244.
Here too, we see a more interactive and “alive” Adam, a being that has a living soul. However, both works also provide indicators that allow us to know exactly where the life is coming from, that is, that God is transferring life into Adam’s vessel. Through examining several representations of Adam’s creation, we see artists look to exegeses and interpretations from the Church fathers to help guide their portrayals. When we are confronted with a work where life is brought upon Adam through the means of touch, we must ask ourselves; what moment are we actually witnessing? Has the life force God holds been transferred over, or are we yet to see this miraculous moment unfold? Lastly, are we intentionally left without an answer, to decide on our own? Giotto di Bondone was in fact one of the first artists to incorporate the idea of viewer participation in his paintings. In this case, one could argue that the painting is not complete, not until someone is standing in front of it, looking at it and choosing where we are at within the event of Adam’s creation.

Another complete Genesis cycle that I will address is from the Grabow Altarpiece by Bertram of Minden. Bertram was born in the town of Minden roughly around the year 1340 and is more commonly known as Master Bertram. Little is known about Bertram’s training and early years; in fact the first mention of his name was in the year 1367 upon his arrival in Hamburg.\(^{34}\) The story of Adam and Eve and their time in Paradise is found in the central panel on the right-hand side. The *Creation of Adam* composition that Bertram provides us with has several peculiarities throughout its rectangular framing (Figure 10). As we will see with many artists from the early decades of the Renaissance, Bertram presents both Adam and God on the same exact scale. His audience can read and understand the power of our Creator through the inclusion of key features associated with God and his glory (i.e. his gesture of blessing, the colors of his

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garb, the energy exuding off of his body and even the adjoining angels that emerge from the upper left corner of the painting.) Drawn in a conventional manner of the trending International Gothic Style, the background of the narrative shines with gold leafing and God’s halo is defined through punched work within the gold-leafed background. Painted jewels and decorative pieces further spruce up the altarpiece and frame the border of the painting.

The narrative of Adam’s creation reads true to the description given in the Septuagint.35 Similar to a meerkat or mole emerging from its tunneled home; Adam rises from the surface of the freshly built earth. He raises both his hands to his Creator and looks into God’s eyes with sincere admiration. God leans forward in Adam’s direction and is in the middle of speech which can be seen through the raised lines that project from his mouth and end at Adam’s blonde curls. Adam’s torso slowly begins to round and shade out just before his loins would begin. There is a larger black circle around the shaded area that creates an eeriness to the figure. From the torso down, Adam takes on a ghost-like form and leaves the audience questioning whether he has been fully constructed or if his lower half is simply hidden and shaded by earth he is emerging from. Regardless of what may exist beneath the ground, Bertram provides a unique portrayal of an active image of Adam that is quite literally growing directly from the earth.36

The next image of Adam’s creation that I will discuss is a frescoed painting by Sienese artist, Bartolo di Fredi. Born in the year 1330, Bartolo’s career played an intricate role in the formation of the Sienese style in the later 14th and early 15th centuries. In 1367 he was commissioned to create an elaborate cycle for the Collegiata in the small town of San Gimignano. The cycle would consist of Old Testament scenes beginning with the introduction of

35 Genesis 2:7 “then God formed man, dust from the earth...”
36 Michel Wolgemut also creates an image of Adam forming from the ground of the earth for the Nuremberg Chronicles (Figure 21), differing only in that his Adam is rising out of a rather large lump of dirt that sits on top of the flat ground.
Heaven and Earth and would end with a panel devoted to Job returning to Prosperity, 29 scenes in total. The cycle has gone through several false attributions, restorations and extreme damage throughout the last 650 years. The first known person to wrongly attribute the cycle was Lorenzo Ghiberti, who coined the cycle to be the work of Barna da Siena. Vasari too attributed the cycle to Barna da Siena in his first edition of his *Vite* and then later in his second 1568 edition explained that it was in fact Bartolo di Fredi who completed the frescoed cycle, further explaining that Barna da Siena was responsible for the cycle across from Bartolo’s. These findings were based on inscriptions found within the cycle that include Bartolo’s name and the year of execution. While the cycle itself underwent several restoration attempts, in 1972 all of the paint that had been applied over the surface of the original frescoes was examined, revealing that most of the painting no longer exists.

The scene depicting Adam’s creation (*Figure 11*) sits at the very top of the cycle and is painted *a secco* within the compositional framing of a lunette and is found directly after the panel dedicated to the *Creation of Heaven and Earth*. Bartolo’s representation is completely different from any of the other types I have discussed thus far, and while it is one of very few images of Adam’s creation carried out in this fashion, it does seem to share similarities with a few prior works of the Renaissance. Patricia Harpring discusses the sources that most likely influenced Bartolo di Fredi and explaining that he was most likely familiar with smaller images and representations from the Old Testament found in illuminated manuscripts, carved ivories, and small portables that were created before and around the 13th century. She continues that di Fredi

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38 Patricia Harpring, *The Sienese Trecento Painter Bartolo Di Fredi*, –several scenes had been almost completely obliterated, including the Expulsion from Paradise, 39.
39 Patricia Harpring, 44.
Wikipedia. *Collegiate Church of San Gimignano*
was likely familiar with the cycle painted by Filippo Rusuti on the north wall of the nave from the upper church of Assisi. Furthermore, she mentions that perhaps Bartolo had access to a copy of the scenes from the dome cycle found in San Marco.\textsuperscript{40} Regardless of the sources he used, di Fredi’s iconography found within the Old Testament cycle from the Collegiata is completely unique for trecento painting.\textsuperscript{41}

I mentioned in the very beginning of this chapter that most visual representations of Adam’s creation did not follow the script found in the Bible and that even artists like Michelangelo would have had an extremely difficult time depicting God sending life through air with his breath alone. Bartolo di Fredi, however, provided us with a representation depicting just that. Here, God stands to the left of Adam’s body, which appears quite stiff, lying on the lush, green ground of the earth. Harpring describes the physical contact as follows, “God tenderly caresses Adam’s foot with his toes and breathes the fragile breath of life into his creation.”\textsuperscript{42} She continues her observation of the painting, with “his eyelids barely begin to flicker with life.”\textsuperscript{43} The beautiful and bucolic garden that exists behind the two figures would have been a spectacle after its completion in the 14th century and while most of its luster has since been damaged, we can still see the concern on the artist’s part to create a sense of spatial depth and perspective.\textsuperscript{44} Furthermore, he created a world of splendor to reiterate the beauty of Eden, even though it is a simple compositional setup and lacks a great amount of detail. The painting itself carries several qualities that are so characteristic of Proto-Renaissance images; the figures appear spatially flat;
they hover instead of being firmly planted on earth; expressions are non-individualistic and the painting lacks the appropriate sense of drama. These are all attributes that would be fixed once artists like Masaccio, Michelangelo, and da Vinci would enter the art world and refine representing a three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface. While the representation is understood, Bartolo’s image creates a bland portrayal of a divine event and lacks any sort of awe-factor.

Another Sienese artist that created a Genesis cycle was sculptor Jacopo della Quercia. He was born roughly around 1373 and was the son of a goldsmith and wood carver. His sculptural activity during his early years is not clear, but he did compete against Lorenzo Ghiberti and Filippo Brunelleschi in 1401 for the commission of the Baptistery doors in Florence. Although he did not win the competition, his career as an artist flourished shortly after 1401. In the 1420s and 30s, Jacopo della Quercia created a beautiful cycle of the story of Adam and Eve and their time in paradise on the portal of San Petronio in Bologna, Italy. Jacopo does not seem to have been interested in the new classicizing architectural vocabulary developing in Florence in the 1420s, and Frederick Hartt and David Wilkins note that della Quercia “paid no attention to its spatial harmonies, and his rare landscape elements remained Giottesque to the end of his days. However, Jacopo creates in the San Petronio cycle a world of vigorous human action and heroic physique that far outstrips the depictions of Florentine contemporaries such as Ghiberti.”

The Creation of Adam (Figure 12) along with the events that occur after Eve’s creation are found on the left pillar of the portal and the stories of their children are seen on the right pillar. Here, God and Adam appear to be the same size, and God only seems larger because of

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the bulky and heavy cloak that is wrapped around him. Jacopo places an upside-down triangle behind the head of God, serving as his halo and simultaneously representing the Trinity. With his left arm, God lifts up a large portion of his garb which allows viewers to see that he too is grounded on Earth. Adam is shown resting on a hill, unlike most of the images of Adam’s creation that I mention, Jacopo shows Adam in an upright, seated position. He looks directly at God and the two almost look as if they are already in conversation with one another. The Tree of Knowledge is displayed behind Adam’s body and is portrayed as a fig tree. Another aspect of this sculpted relief that departs from the other artists I will discuss is the fact that God is not shown giving life to Adam by the sense of touch and he is not seen physically building Adam from the earth he has just created; he is shown bestowing life onto Adam through a simple gesture. By removing a physical interaction and placing God’s hand further away from the figure of Adam, Jacopo creates an image of confusion about Adam’s birth; how was life given to Adam?

If we return back to Florence, and directly across from the reliefs by Andrea Pisano, located on the Florence Baptistery is yet another Creation of Man panel. It is found on a set of doors, known as the famous “Gates of Paradise,” and dated from 1425-1452, nearly half a century before Michelangelo accomplished his frescoed ceiling in Rome. The citizens of Florence, along with any visitors to the city are confronted with an entire panel that is dedicated to Adam and Eve (Figure 13). Lorenzo Ghiberti, the master behind these doors, received the commission after completing an earlier set of bronze cast doors for the very same structure. Ghiberti was quite innovative himself, but much of his work can be understood as being in the

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47 This is another moment where an artist has included a symbolic reference that alludes to the assumption that God knew what was to come before he even created Adam and Eve. Everything was known before it even occurred.

48 Frederick Hartt and David G. Wilkins, The History of Italian Renaissance Art, 198.
lineage of Pisano, as the young artist emerged on the heels of Pisano in Florence. In Ghiberti’s *Adam and Eve* panel we are presented with a simultaneous narrative and the events depicted appear in different levels of relief within the composition. Adam’s *Creation* is seen unfolding in the lower left register of the panel (Figure 14). In contrast with Giotto, Pisano and Michelangelo, Ghiberti displays physical contact between God and Adam. Furthermore, God is holding Adam’s arm and helping him off of the ground. As one continues to further investigate the scene there is a clear sense of life that is beginning to course through Adam’s body. His left arm, shown linked to God’s hand, is pulsing and his veins are bulging out of his arm. There is movement present as well; Adam’s hair and beard are blowing about as if there is some sort of force around his body. However, as the eye continues down the body of Adam, the sense of life found from the neck up seems to dissipate. Ghiberti has given the viewer a precise moment in Adam’s creation. This slice of life moment taking place displays Adam receiving energy from God but the transaction does not appear complete; it is as if he is in the midst of becoming a living, breathing soul. I say this because Ghiberti creates a powerless image of Adam; God is literally shown pulling Adam off the ground, helping him find his legs and muscles. While Ghiberti’s work is completed after Giotto and Pisano yet before Michelangelo, he is the only Florentine artist to give us an explicit physical encounter. There is no sense of questioning whether or not the interaction is going to or has already taken place; it is simply displayed taking place before us. And while this is not a great, theatrical moment, the ability to convey a snapshot moment anticipates the advent of the Baroque style a century later.

Another interesting trait found in Ghiberti’s *Creation* scene is that God as portrayed here does not seem as monumental in size when compared to the figure of Adam. In both compositions by Giotto and Pisano, God was shown much larger in scale than Adam, he was
physically and spiritually more important. In Ghiberti’s work, Adam is shown as truly being formed in the likeness of God; Michelangelo displays this in his *Creation* scene as well. However, Ghiberti decides to show the love and adoration of Adam through the surrounding angels that hover above the figure of God. The audience can quickly see the reverential angels consumed with hope for man and humankind. Michelangelo of course had seen these doors many times and is even responsible for contributing to their title as “The Gates of Paradise”, for Michelangelo once said that the doors were rendered so beautifully that they could serve as the entrance into heaven. Michelangelo only incorporates angels around the image of God in his *Creation* scene.

Among the several works of art that have been addressed above, the next might be the most unorthodox of all in its interpretation of the Creation of Adam of all. This *Creation* scene serves as a mere decorative element within a much larger altarpiece that was painted by Mantuan native Andrea Mantegna. The altarpiece was commissioned to celebrate the victory of Marquis Francesco II Gonzaga over the French Army at Fornovo in the summer of 1495 (*Figure 15*). Known as *The Madonna della Vittoria*, the altarpiece displays an intricate scene of the Virgin Mary seated with baby Jesus on her lap. Sts. Michael, George, Andrew and Longinus surround her and Christ. Elizabeth and her son St. John the Baptist, shown like Christ as an infant, also surround the holy throne. Gonzaga himself, stands at the lower left register of the painting, and Mary even extends her right hand down to Gonzaga in a gesture of blessing. Christ also seems to be paying special attention to Francesco looking down and likewise blessing Gonzaga.

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49 Many artists would use hierarchic scale to convey which figure is the most important.
According to Ronald Lightbown, this devotional painting commemorated more than just Gonzaga’s personal victory at Fornovo but also his sincere love and admiration for the Virgin Mary. The construction of the church which would hold this painting was finished right before the first anniversary of Gonzaga’s victory over the French, and along with the painting, was unveiled to the public on the 6th of July in 1496.

This partial *Creation* scene found on the pedestal of the throne on which Mary and Christ sit is one of a set of three painted reliefs depicted as if set within a slab of porphyry. The central panel displays a scene of Adam and Eve in Eden, at the very moment of their temptation by the evil serpent. The right painted relief is assumed to be a partial image of the angel driving Adam and Eve out of paradise; however we only see a portion of his wings and the tail of his cloak swaying in the wind. It is the furthest left relief that shows a partially built Adam standing in an extremely stoic position; alongside Adam is what most scholars assume to be an image of God shown only through the means of a hand holding a carving utensil, and if you were to look very closely you can just make out the feet of the creator (Figure 16).

Art Historian Rodolfo Signorini addresses this minute aspect of Mantegna’s devotional painting in a short article that was published in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* in 1996. He explains how this section of grisaille reliefs has been interpreted in several ways. Signorini tells us that Attilio Portioli described the standing figure in the *Creation of Adam* as being an unidentified female. However Signorini brings to light that Portioli was using and looking at an engraving of the painting that was actually carried out by Italian artist

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53 Ronald W. Lightbown, I will further address this scene in chapter III, 181.
54 Rodolfo Signorini, *The Creation of Adam: A Detail in Mantegna’s Madonna della Vittoria*, Signorini discusses the discrepancies of interpretation amongst scholars concerning this partially seen image, 303.
Francesco Novelli in 1804. The Novelli engraving does show the figure in the left panel painting to be a clothed woman. Another scholar, Giovanni Paccagnini actually discusses the figure as being Eve during her time of creation. While Portioli and Paccagnini believed the figure to be female, Albert P. de Mirimonde discussed the figure as being Adam, further explaining that the half shown panel depicts the event of God removing Adam’s rib so that he can create his counterpart, Eve. Ronal Lightbown, who wrote a catalog raisonné on Mantegna and his life’s work and surprisingly spends a great deal of time discussing The Madonna della Vittoria altarpiece, attributes the figure as being Eve, and furthers his conjecture by claiming that she is standing entirely clothed. Fortunately Rodolfo Signorini accurately identifies the mysterious figure as Adam during the moment of his Creation. Like the mosaicists from San Marco, Mantegna has provided us with an unconventional scene of God physically constructing the body of Adam from the clay of the earth. While we have seen artists pick and choose moments from Genesis 1-3 to incorporate into their commissions, it is highly unlikely that Mantegna would choose to omit the Creation of Adam and depict only Eve’s Creation in his relief cycle addressing Genesis 1-3.

Signorini identifies Adam and the moment of the scene by discussing an element that has apparently been missed by the earlier mentioned scholars. Nearly hidden by the lavish armor of Francesco Gonzaga, there appears to be a foot along with part of a leg emerging out of the leftmost portion of the panel. If you visualize the missing parts and continue the body, rising up through the relief, you can then see a single hand with a carving device coming out behind the

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56 Albert P. de Mirimonde, *La Vierge de la Victoire*, p.103.
Marchese’s armor once again. Signorini refers to the device as God’s spatula and that the panel is displaying the exact moment where God is building Adam from earth. This is again an image of God shown as the ultimate craftsman, sculpting Adam from the ground of his precious earth.

Mantegna pictures God using a sculpting tool, shaping Adam from the head down. We see that Adam has yet to be given finished and defined legs and feet but his upper half appears quite complete. Like the image from the cupola in Venice this is one of the few examples of the depiction of Adam’s creation shown in progress, as a physical act. Although the painted relief by Mantegna can easily be overlooked or even falsely identified, the uncanny resemblance between the San Marco mosaic *Creation of Adam* and Mantegna’s miniature depiction leads me to believe that Mantegna was directly inspired by the San Marco image. Mantegna was in Venice often throughout his life and worked closely with the Bellini family, even marrying the daughter of renowned painter Jacopo Bellini, so it can be more than assumed that Andrea Mantegna would have seen this version of the *Creation of Adam* a number of times and had to have used the mosaics of San Marco as an inspiration for the panels found within the *Madonna della Vittoria*. Mantegna’s image, while just a fragment, displays God as a craftsman sculpting the most precious creation of all time.

Michelangelo Buonarrotti, who is known for some of the most impressive works of art from the Renaissance, also devotes an entire cycle to the events told in Genesis 1-3. Clearly inspired by both Giotto and Jacopo della Quercia, Michelangelo painted his frescoed narratives in the Sistine Chapel in the first decade of the 16th century. His most famous painting on the ceiling is that of Adam and his introduction to the world. As a native Florentine, Michelangelo would have been familiar with Giotto’s interpretation of the Creation of Adam from the Arena Chapel as well as Pisano’s relief from the Campanile in Florence, and he takes their approach to

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58 Genesis 2:7 ‘And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground...’
the narrative with him to Rome. Michelangelo received the commission for the Sistine Ceiling in the year 1508; Pope Julius II was reigning at the time and according to biographer, Ascanio Condivi in his *Life of Michelangelo*, it was Donato Bramante along with other contemporaries of the time that helped convince Pope Julius that Michelangelo was the best suitable artist for the barrel-vaulted ceiling.\(^{59}\) Bramante was not simply throwing out Michelangelo’s name for his great ability to paint but because he knew that if the Pope asked Michelangelo to complete the ceiling frescoes that Bramante would then receive the sculpture and architectural commissions for the papacy and not Michelangelo. Bramante had actually received the task of creating the scaffolding for the chapel, which did not efficiently service Michelangelo’s production within the chapel. Apparently Michelangelo had complained to the Pope that the scaffold Bramante built hung from holes in the ceiling and filling these holes once the scaffolding was removed would be extremely challenging. Pope Julius allowed Michelangelo to remove the scaffold and create one of his own that would better serve the project.\(^{60}\) The entire commission was not ideal for Michelangelo and he even attempted to persuade the Pope to choose someone else for the job, someone perhaps like Raphael. Pope Julius II insisted that Buonarrotti paint the ceiling and so he did. Michelangelo worked on the ceiling for four years and completed the project in the year 1512. What was thought to turn out to be a complete failure by several of Michelangelo’s contemporaries survives for us today as one of the most visited and praised frescoed ceilings in the world.

The theme of the ceiling would focus on the Old Testament. Of the nine scenes drawn from Genesis which run down the crest of the vault, the *Creation of Adam* (Figure 9) stands as

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one of the most iconic works from the whole of Michelangelo’s career. The overall program of
the ceiling has been the subject of much speculation and controversy. The images are only seen
upright if viewed from the east end of the chapel and the progression of the story of Genesis is
reversed, ending with the Creation scenes.⁶¹ Scholars have attempted to breakdown this choice
and explain the language of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel. Everything that exists is an end
result from the story of Adam and Eve.

The scenes of Genesis are separated into nine panels, the number and choice of nine is
symbolic in itself. Nine not only signifies the passion of Christ, but we also know that both
Matthew and Mark stated that Christ died in the ninth hour.⁶² While some of the panels found
within the ceiling are presented as simultaneous narratives, Michelangelo devotes an entire panel
to the scene of God giving life to Adam. The figure of Adam is presented in a manner similar to
that of Giotto and Pisano, but in reverse. Adam is depicted on the left side of the composition,
reclining on a bright green hill. The way in which Michelangelo displays the reclining Adam
reminds us of Jacopo della Quercia’s relief from the portal of San Petronio. We are also
reminded of Giotto’s fresco from the Arena Chapel where Adam seems to be coursing with
blood and appears active in nature. However, if you closely examine his extended arm, you can
quickly notice that Michelangelo decided to show Adam as not yet alive by his extremely limp
hand. God, who is shown sweeping through the air, has a very different appearance and presence
from what we see in Adam. The two make direct eye contact and Adam is able to see the glory
of God, who is surrounded by his choir of angels that, as Edgar Wind states, is then mirrored by

University Press, 2000], 44.
⁶² Edgar Wind and Elizabeth Spears, The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling, Wind states,
“Therefore the sequence consists of just nine scenes is a further suggestion of its prophetic meaning; for the
number nine signifies the Passion: ‘Novem namque ad sacramentum passionis Domini demonstrandum satis
valet, quia ipse Dominus hora nona clamans voce magna emisit spiritum.’ Both Matthew (xxvii, 46) and Mark
(xv, 34) assert that Christ died in the ninth hour.”, 45.
Adam’s nature.\textsuperscript{63} Both God and Adam’s hands seem to approach each other on the same level, but there is an apparent force, a source of power that God’s hand has stored within it. Michelangelo also provided the viewer with an even more subtle presence of Adam receiving life through the means of touch from God’s finger. The choir of angels and cloak surrounding God as he rushes into the composition contains an abundance of red, whereas Adam is surrounded by the combination of cool colors, blue and green. When analyzing the color juxtaposition more closely we can easily associate the color red with blood and life, while the cool colors green and blue represent death or lifelessness. Many scholars including Wind have further investigated this intentional color play and have seemed to believe that Michelangelo even made the cloak around God resemble a human brain. We know that Michelangelo studied human anatomy, and the cloak around him too closely resembles a part of the human body to not read this as an inclusion of the powerful mind of God. While it is an awesome portrayal of the birth of man, it is imperative to understand that Michelangelo in his \textit{Creation of Adam}, looked to the styles of Giotto, Pisano and della Quercia to inspire his painting, allowing him to create a true masterpiece that is completely universal.

The next two images I will discuss were painted in 1530 by the Northern Renaissance painter, Lucas Cranach the Elder. Cranach was born in the city Kronach in October of 1472, and his initial training began in his father’s studio, as his father was an artist as well.\textsuperscript{64} Cranach was known for accommodating both the newly Protestant clients as well as several Cardinals of the time. He was a dear friend of Martin Luther and had even introduced Luther to his future wife. While Luther is known for his 95 theses in rejection of the Catholic Church and is undoubtedly

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  \item \textsuperscript{63} Edgar Wind and Elizabeth Spears, \textit{The Religious Symbolism of Michelangelo: The Sistine Ceiling}, The formation of the ground on which Adam rests on takes the same shape seen by the billowing crowd of Angels that surrounds God, 58.
  \item \textsuperscript{64} Mirela Proske. \textit{Lucas Cranach the Elder}, Pegasus Library. [(Lucas Cranach der Ältere.English), Munich; New York: Prestel, 2007], 5.
\end{itemize}
responsible for the beginning of Protestantism, he was not to blame for the iconoclastic waves that would swoop through Europe during the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. With that said, Luther was against “idols of stone and wood” and faith in the possibility of images working miracles.\textsuperscript{65} As Mirela Proske mentions in her biography of Lucas Cranach the Elder, the 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries were an age of rediscovery of the human body and Cranach painted numerous works including nudity and specifically the female nude. He was able to make use of the stories from Genesis 1-3 that could appeal to both religious and secular minds; creating Biblical representations that could satisfy the devout adherent as well as the carnal thoughts and fantasies of men in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century.

Two paintings both titled \textit{The Garden of Eden}, one in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden and the other housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, are grand visual displays of life, beauty and profound detail. It is believed the two were painted in the same year and both are extremely similar in composition and figural grouping. Cranach provides us with a simultaneous narrative of the events from Paradise, and like Lorenzo Ghiberti and his panel dedicated to Adam and Eve on the Gates of Paradise, there does not seem to be any sort of chronological approach to the scenes found within the composition.\textsuperscript{66} This first painting by Cranach I will discuss is the Dresden painting, which is approximately 80 by 118cm (\textit{Figure 17}). The foreground of the painting is consumed with many animals and Cranach pays special attention to each and every one, even the fantastic unicorn that is tucked away on the right side of the composition. The central point of the painting displays the moment where God stands

\textsuperscript{65} Mirela Proske, \textit{Lucas Cranach the Elder}, 44.
\textsuperscript{66} Mirela Proske, \textit{Lucas Cranach the Elder}, Proske states, “Thematically, he covered the whole story, from the creation of Adam, to the Fall, to their Expulsion, in a single picture.” 52.
before Adam and Eve and commands that they not eat from the Tree of Knowledge, pointing to the tallest tree within the picture.\(^{67}\)

The creation of Adam is found just above God’s extended arm in the central scene of The Garden of Eden (Figure 18). This scene is the smallest of the whole and can almost be passed over when scanning through the painting. The approach that Cranach takes when rendering the birth of our first man is radically different from any of the works I have examined to this point. God is shown here kneeling over the newly created Adam and seems to be in the middle of discussion with him. Adam does not appear to be fully grown and looks as if he is a small child without any hair and is crouching on the ground. I find it strange that Cranach not only depicts such a small scene for Adam’s creation but also displays the event completely different from almost every other representation that exists. While it is a rare variation, this scene of Adam and his creation can be seen again in Cranach’s second version of The Garden of Eden. The painting, now housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, is nearly the same size as the painting from Dresden (Figure 19).\(^{68}\)

The Viennese version keeps to the overall program of the Dresden painting, however, Cranach changed up the order of events and removed most of the animals that are found in the foreground of the Dresden painting. Adam’s creation is now located on the farthest right hand side of the composition and seems to be close in scale to the other narratives depicted, apart from the central scene located in the foreground that depicts God speaking to Eve and Adam (Figure 20).\(^{69}\) Now shown to us in reverse of the set up from the Dresden painting, God is to the left of

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\(^{67}\) Mirela Proske, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Proske also notes that the figures are much larger in scale in comparison to the other scenes found within the composition. Cranach makes use of hierarchical scale with this event to place emphasis on how crucial this moment is within their story and time in Eden, 56.

\(^{68}\) Mirela Proske, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Figure 33.

\(^{69}\) Mirela Proske, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Proske mentions that the conversation at hand is most likely the moment where God is commanding the two not to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, like seen in the
Adam but again kneeling before the seated childlike figure. When comparing the two side by side, an immediate difference is that here in the Vienna painting, we see physical contact between God and Adam. God’s left hand is placed calmly on the top of Adam’s head, and with his other hand he blesses Adam.

Both images share one other interesting feature in the way Adam is depicted by Cranach. Not only do they appear to be very young but differing from every other single figure within the painting, including the animals seen scattered throughout, Adam is the only figure that appears unfinished. He appears as if he is a blurred apparition in both images, as if Cranach is deliberately informing us that he is not yet fully made in the image of God. There is a transaction unfolding before our eyes within this scene Adam is in the midst of receiving his soul; I back this assumption up mainly with the Viennese version. The act of physical touch taking place and the fact that God is resting his hand on Adam’s head leads me to believe that there is energy that is being received into the vessel God has formed. Cranach leaves his depictions of Adam fuzzy and unfinished to reiterate their lifelessness; we are not fully made until we embody a soul.

Through visual images, common people were able to become familiar with the story of the birth of our first man. Over the course of centuries, a number of visual traditions emerged that differentiated between an immanent Creation of Adam by divine inspiration of some invisible life force, and the explicit molding of Adam from clay by a divine artificer. We have seen the story from Genesis altered in several ways, but regardless of the artistic approach, it is Dresden version. However, this one departs from the Dresden painting in that Eve carries this precarious look about her, different here, she has this smirk across her face and if you carefully examine the branch she is holding that conceals her privates, there is already a piece of fruit resting in her hand. Perhaps a moment of Cranach foreshadowing the events to come and placing emphasis on Eve as the culprit of their betrayal.

70 Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God's Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, “We are reminded emphatically that only when Adam receives his soul has he become fully "like" God. Referencing J.Z. Smith’s The Garments of Shame, Jolly explains, the phrase "in the image" was certainly in the Middle Ages used as a reference not to Adam’s physicality –even though images express this idea in physical likeness –but to Adam's rational soul, 24.
the importance and relevance of the story of Adam that thrived visually over the span of centuries. Adam is the first and his creation is fundamental to every biblical event that was told after his creation.

The explanations of the Bible from our early Church Fathers and their theologies on men and women were reiterated through visual representations of Adam and Eve following their ideals. The physical and spiritual existence of Adam and his introduction to Eden varied throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and the cause for these variations seems to derive from the accepted and trending exegeses based on location and time period. The countless artists that were commissioned to construct cycles in relation to Adam and Eve have provided us with everlasting depictions of how Adam’s entrance to our world was perceived by our Church fathers and then transferred into an image. The original scripture has been altered through exegeses to better explain the reason for Adam, Eve and the Original Sin. These theological beliefs became the norm for understanding scripture, and the Church fathers could twist the words from the Bible to better support their own views. All the variations of Adam’s creation, whether he be molded and carved with a tool as seen in Mantegna’s representation, or emerging from a lump of ground as presented in the woodcut from the Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493 by Michael Wolgemut (Figure 21), or, as in Lucas Cranach’s version, is seen as an unconscious vessel waiting for a soul to enter exist because of the interpretation of our Church fathers and several other theologians leading up to the 17th century. While many of the images mentioned in this chapter do not follow the exact program of the scripture, they provide us with visually stimulating representations of how the first man came to be known and how truly miraculous was his conception.

71 University of Cambridge, Digital Library. Nuremberg Chronicle (Inc.0.A.7.2[888])
CHAPTER II

EVE BORN

2:21 Then God brought an ecstasy upon Adam and caused him to sleep, and took one of his ribs, and filled up flesh instead thereof.

2:22 And God built up the rib, which He took from Adam, into a woman, and brought her to Adam.

For every visual representation of the Creation of Adam, one would assume there would soon follow a Creation of Eve. Strikingly enough, some artists have chosen to depict only one or the other, depending on the nature of the commissioned work. As mentioned in Chapter I, scripture stipulates that Adam reflects the glory of heaven and was made in the image of God.\textsuperscript{72}

It is then understood that Eve reflects the glory of Adam; she is seen as being a sensuous form and more concerned with the life of this world, where Adam is meditative and directed towards the divine spirit.\textsuperscript{73} According to Church tradition, Eve is a carnal being and associated with flesh and Adam is associated with the divine.\textsuperscript{74} In Genesis, Adam was given the opportunity to choose from the animals that God had created before constructing Eve, as a suitable partner for him in Paradise. However, Adam chose none of the animals when God asked that he choose a mate.\textsuperscript{75} He needed a compatible mate that was made in the image of himself. This is when God produced Eve and brought her to life through the flesh and bone of Adam.

Through the cycles I will recount in this study, we will find a handful of artists that pick and choose which moments are necessary for the commissioned work. Giotto was one of few artists that decided to paint a Creation of Adam, in the Arena Chapel, while choosing not to incorporate any other scenes of the Genesis story. Giotto’s single image of Adam’s creation was

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\textsuperscript{73} Edgar Wind and Elizabeth Spears, 58.

\textsuperscript{74} Edgar Wind and Elizabeth Spears, 59.

\textsuperscript{75} Genesis 2:20: So Adam gave names to all the cattle, and to all the fowls of the air, and to all the wild beasts of the field. But for Adam there was not found a helper like himself.
to serve as an Old Testament prefiguration of the New Testament cycle of Christ in the Arena Chapel. In Medieval and Renaissance European culture it was understood that Eve was to blame in regards to the fall of humanity. Furthering this notion, it was also customary to believe and understand that it was Adam who was simply persuaded by Eve’s deceit.

If we look back to the examples discussed from Chapter 1, the only artists mentioned to omit the creation of Eve were Giotto and Andrea Mantegna. The other artists I discussed provided an accompanying scene of the Creation of Eve along with their Creation of Adam scenes. To maintain a chronological approach, I will first revisit Wiligelmo’s carved reliefs from the Modena Cathedral. Here Wiligelmo depicts the image of God creating Eve from Adam’s side in an approach that will become the tradition of the Renaissance. We see Eve rising from Adam’s resting vessel with ease (Figure 22). She appears to be complete in the sense that life is present, although she has not fully removed herself from Adam. However, the inclusion of her soul is evident as she gazes into the eyes of her Creator. God, now without his cruciform halo, calmly holds her right hand and blesses her with his left. Wiligelmo displays God speaking to Eve, and the gesture proposes the question, what exactly is God saying to her? Perhaps he is simply blessing her, introducing her to his beautifully crafted world or perhaps he is warning Eve to not eat from the Tree of Knowledge, as he warned Adam shortly after bringing him to life. Augustine’s view on Eve and sin, while it changed over the course of his life, was ultimately that the evil serpent tempted Eve because she lacked the self-control Adam encompassed. Artists like Wiligelmo often introduce Eve as if she unfamiliar with the world around her, blankly staring into the eyes of her creator. The compositional arrangement in this relief is balanced yet overly

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77 Genesis 2:16, And the Lord God commanded the man saying, “Of every tree of the garden you may freely eat; 2:17 “but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die.
awkward and unrealistic. Adam is resting in an improbable position; the formation which his body leans against is rough and forces the viewer to feel a sense of discomfort. As seen in his creation, Adam’s stomach appears inflated and full.

Once you move past the birth of Eve the bulge of his stomach has dissipated, as if Wiligelmo provides the inclusion of Eve in the very first image within the frieze, before we are presented with her body in the second panel, and as if Adam as a male, is capable of gestating and giving birth to Eve. As we will see with the other works I address, Wiligelmo, along with several others, will portray Eve emerging from the side of Adam, yet we are not confronted with any actual suggestion of an opening in his torso. Rather, we often view images that suggest the emergence while any orifice behind the body of Adam that could potentially serve as an alternative “womb” for Eve. Wiligelmo constructs Adam in extreme high relief in this panel and builds the body of Eve to appear as if she is rising from behind him instead of directly out of his sleeping form. The rock formation that Adam’s body rests on hides where the remainder of Eve’s body would exist had there not been a miraculous origin. We read this version of Eve’s creation, as we do with many visual representations, as a fully-grown female form rising from the side of a sleeping Adam.

In San Marco the mosaicists of the cupola, similar to Adam’s creation, present us with two separate scenes depicting the birth of Eve. We see the story of Genesis continue, and as we know, Eve plays a key role in the fall of mankind. The first scene where Eve is introduced within the cupola is actually a panel of two scenes within one. We are presented with The Taking of the Rib along with The Forming of Eve (Figure 23). According to Penny Jolly this is one of the most remarkable images of all the mosaic works found in the cycle.78 Again, as in the image of the Animation of Adam the two protagonists are reversed and God is shown on Adam’s right side.

78 Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, 30.
Now the figures are presented to us in profile, which according to Jolly was a symbol of evil and rarely used when depicting an image of God. God is shown hovering over the sleeping Adam and removing the rib from his left, sinister side. Many contemporary images of the same event display God removing the rib from Adam’s right side. So again we can see the mosaicists of San Marco taking an original approach to the design of the images. With that being said, one can then see this imagery is an attempt to foreshadow the deceitful nature of Eve. She has not even been fully formed, yet she carries the stigma of evil with her and is already doomed.

Furthermore, there is symbolism behind the sleeping Adam. During the Middle Ages sleep was associated with one abandoning their rational faculties in favor of sensual pursuits, underscoring that Eve is linked with the physical realm and understood as a sensuous being. The panel introducing Eve also foreshadows Jesus Christ; the lush tree that seems to be growing out of the body of Adam is almost identical to the tree seen in the mosaic directly above where the viewer is introduced to the “Tree of Life”. The medieval audience can then understand that at this moment, when God is removing the rib from Adam’s side to create his counterpart, there is already a need for a new Adam, that being Jesus Christ who will save us and sacrifice himself.

In the Forming of Eve, God is shown literally building Eve, very similar to the way Adam was given life. Two lush green trees stand in the center of the composition and separate the two events. God is shown on the left of Eve and holding her right wrist firmly while his right arm extends up to her shoulder. As Jolly explains, we are confronted again with a two stage creation,

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79 Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, Jolly references O. Demus’s Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. In his discussion of the Byzantine tradition, Demus explains that generally evil figures were placed in profile so that the viewer could not be “trapped” by gazing into their eyes. Jolly also cites Camille and page 223 of The Gothic Idol to further vet the theory of profiled figures being associated with evil, 32.

80 Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, 32.

81 Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, 33.
yet there is no scene depicting Eve receiving a body and then later a soul. It was important for the artists working at San Marco to show Adam receiving his anime, but not doing the same for Eve almost seems to emphasize her inferiority to Adam. Adam receiving his soul is important to include because he was built in the image of God, whereas Eve is a degree removed from the divine; a second generation creation from the flesh of Adam.

Moving away from the San Marco representation of drawing two separate events to fully bring Eve to life, Andrea Pisano devotes a single panel to the Creation of Eve found on the campanile of Florence Cathedral (Figure 24). Pisano’s relief displays Eve fully grown, emerging from the side of Adam with the physical help of God. The Bible tells us God decided that Adam needed a suitable mate, one that is close to him and a helper that is comparable to Adam. As the mosaics in San Marco show, God then put Adam into a deep sleep and while Adam was sleeping he removed a rib from his side; from that rib he created Eve. Pisano and many other artists depart from the San Marco mosaics in their portrayal of the creation of Eve.

As with the story of how Adam was made, most artists decided to take a more physical approach when displaying this moment. Pisano shows God through his mighty power pulling Eve out of the side of Adam, who is sleeping on the ground. We do not see a progression of life taking place, or a rib being removed and miraculously morphing from a bone into a full-grown woman. In fact, as many scholars including Jack M. Greenstein have noted, there is no apparent opening

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82 Penny Howell Jolly, Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice, 34.
84 Genesis 2:20 [...] But for Adam there was not found a helper like himself. 2:21 Then God brought an ecstasy upon Adam and caused him to sleep, and took one of the ribs and filled up flesh thereof. 2:22 And God built up the rib, which He took from Adam, and into a woman, and brought her to Adam.
85 Jack M. Greenstein, The Body of Eve in Andrea Pisano’s Creation Relief, Greenstein mentions that in a study by Johannes Zahlten, ninety percent of the 275 medieval images of the creation of Eve are produced following the conventions of Pisano’s work. Eve is shown literally being pulled from the side of Adam. These images lack any inclusion of a rib being removed and formed into woman; she simply emerges from his side.
or disruption of flesh shown on Adam’s side in Pisano’s relief.\textsuperscript{86} The exact moment we encounter seems to show Eve as an apparition of a woman, a spirit like form rising from Adam’s side and looking into the eyes of God. Her body sags and the role of gravity is clearly depicted. God is shown leaning forward toward Eve and is quite literally extracting her from the unconscious body of Adam. At San Marco, \textit{The Animation of Adam} panel was included to help explain to the audience that although God built Adam in the \textit{Creation of Adam} scene he had not yet been given his \textit{anime} or soul. Pisano’s relief and the way in which he shows Eve quite lifeless and not able to pull herself out of the side of Adam shows that she has not yet become a living soul. Greenstein explains that in the \textit{Creation of Adam} panel, Adam is shown actively leaning on his side. He looks as though he is able to lift his body off the earth he is resting on and that he is already a living being. In Eve’s \textit{Creation} scene, she is completely reliant on the aid of God. This reiterates her weakness in comparison to Adam and foreshadows her role in their fall and expulsion from paradise; she is shown as a weak figure even during her time of creation.

The tree found in the center of the panel also predicts the future of Adam and Eve and what will soon become the source of their Fall. There is a single vine that wraps up and around and up the trunk of the tree and is reminiscent of the evil serpent that will soon come to trick Eve, enticing her to eat the fruit from the tree of knowledge that was forbidden by God.\textsuperscript{87} Pisano not only incorporates this symbol of foreshadowing directly above the head of the emerging Eve, but after revisiting his \textit{Creation of Adam} panel, you can notice that this sort of vine does not exist

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\textsuperscript{86} Jack M. Greenstein, \textit{The Body of Eve in Andrea Pisano’s Creation Relief}.--Greenstein continues, “Appearing at his chest, her legs are distinguished from his body by an arris formed by an abrupt change of plane in the carved surface of the relief. When the panel was viewed from in situ from below, she appeared to be emerging in profile from the outline of his flank, as in many pictorial images.” 582.

\textsuperscript{87} Genesis 3:4 “And the serpent said to the woman, “You will not by death die.” Genesis 3:5 “For God knew that in the day you eat thereof, your eyes would be opened and you would be like gods knowing good and evil.”
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on any of the trees found in his scene. It is directly related to Eve and her role during their time in Paradise. Eve is weak and unable to overcome the temptation and trickery of the evil serpent.

Greenstein addresses yet another relief that is currently on view in the Museo dell’Opera del Duomo in Florence that is attributed to Donatello (Figure 25). This panel differs from Pisano’s in that it is octagonal and not hexagonal in shape and is made of terracotta where Pisano’s relief is carried out using marble. As Greenstein explains, here we are presented here with yet another image of a “sagging” Eve. She is shown weak and desperately seeking the aid of God to fully extract her from the body of Adam. Departing from Pisano’s depiction, Adam is now shown with his body displayed in a rather awkward position. We can see his head facing down towards the farthest left corner at the bottom of the panel. His right arm crosses over his chest and his hand rests underneath his head. Adam’s left arm rests underneath his twisted chest and projects out around his lower torso, creating a perfect opportunity for his left hand to cover his genitalia.

The attribution for this panel was debated for centuries; at one point it was believed to be a work of Lorenzo Ghiberti. Later on, in 1977, Luciano Bellosi reattributed this work, along with the other twelve terracotta panels accompanying it, to the hand of Donatello. Greenstein quickly notes that most Donatello scholars have dismissed this attribution and have further claimed that it was most likely a work of Lorenzo Ghiberti, his workshop, or perhaps his son Vittorio. Greenstein also states that Luca della Robbia as well as Michele da Firenze could have been possible candidates behind the execution of this sculpted relief. 88 The figure of Eve in this relief is depicted rather erect in nature, yet her arms are slumped over the similarly leaning God as he pulls her body from the side of Adam. Along with Pisano’s work from the campanile, this

88 Jack M. Greenstein, The Body of Eve in Andrea Pisano’s Creation Relief, 592.
powerful relief introduces a notion that the creation of Eve is a supernatural act by God. Her birth and introduction to the world happens like Adam’s in stages, and we are only presented with the first stage in scenes similar to those mentioned for Adam above; the creation of her body and not yet her soul.

Like many artists to come, Bartolo di Fredi paints a more theatrical image of Eve’s birth and entrance to the world. Within his cycle dedicated to the creation events of the Old Testament and found just after the painted lunette depicting God presenting Adam with the animal kingdom, we are confronted with an image of God gently aiding the fully-grown Eve, who is emerging from the side of an unconscious Adam (Figure 26). As mentioned in Chapter I, God is shown to the left of the adjoining figures in each panel; however, in the Creation of Woman the figure of God is now shown seated, held above the ground by a group of angels cradling the almighty. In San Marco, we saw the mosaicists create a lavish throne for the figure of God so that he could be seated; however, here and over the next century we will see a pillow of angels that closely surround God serving as a divine pillow, this will become a trend used by many artists that provide a seated image of God.

In Bartolo di Fredi’s painting, Eve appears to be in complete admiration of God as she rises out of the slit from Adam’s side; her gaze is focused on that of God alone. She extends her arms out and clasps her hands firmly together in an act of prayer; God gently cups her hands with his left and blesses her with his right. We will see a similar gesture from Eve in Michelangelo’s representation from the Sistine Chapel. However, here, Eve’s creation is presented as a divine happening and the glory of her creation is just as meaningful as we saw in Adam’s creation. Bartolo’s Eve rises from Adam with grace and awareness; she is cognizant of her creation and her new found world.

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89 Jack M. Greenstein, The Body of Eve in Andrea Pisano’s Creation Relief, 592.
While so far we have seen just a few variations of Eve’s creation, we will find mostly minor changes throughout the following centuries of the Renaissance by artists tackling the theme. With that said, the next artist is responsible for one of the most innovative depictions of this pivotal moment in the story of humanity. Bertram of Minden, known in Germany as Meister Bertram von Minden, was the first artist to be mentioned as a master. Just a decade after receiving his title as a master painter, Bertram completed his Grabow Altarpiece for the church of St. Petri in Hamburg. The scene of Eve’s entrance to Eden is the first of six panels compiled together for the right half of the main central panel of the altarpiece (Figure 27). Master Bertram’s version of Eve’s creation in many ways follows the written scripture closer than many other artists that will create a visual representation of this Genesis account.

As we saw with Giotto’s medallion dedicated to Adam’s Creation, Bertram uses hierarchical scale to reiterate God’s importance and divine power; he is nearly twice the size of the figure of Adam. Furthermore, he is nearly quadruple the size of the figure of Eve who is seen emerging out of the side of Adam’s body while he sleeps. Master Bertram uses the conventional colors associated with God’s robe, blue and red, which are also the colors used in visual representations of the Virgin Mary. There is a gleaming halo surrounding his head with two angels peeking out of the top corners of the composition; they look down at his creation while playing music from their instruments. God holds his right arm up high above Eve’s miniature head and his left hand near her side; we notice that while she may appear fully-grown, not presented as an infant or child, Eve has not been fully formed, and just where her loins would begin, Eve’s body abruptly cuts off and her torso is framed by a curved representation of Adam’s rib from which she was made. Departing from the more obscure slit-like forms artists used as

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90 Elizabeth Healy Dube, *The Grabow Altar of Master Bertram von Minden*, Elizabeth Healy Dube explains that Bertram was referred to as master (“magistro”) in 1372, 14.
indicators of where Eve emerges from, Master Bertram provides us with an almost direct representation of Genesis 2:21, regardless of how it would sit with most viewers. Most artists before and after Master Bertram created images that led their audience to imagine, assume or invent an alternative narrative for Eve’s creation. Caves, rocky or grassy hills, tree trunks; all of these organic structures have at some point served as a substitute vessel for Eve’s adult sized body to emerge from during her creation. These earthly formations are comprehensible; Eve miraculously rising out of the body of Adam or molded from a singular rib is more difficult to visually conceptualize.

Right around the time Ghiberti was finishing up his first set of doors for the Baptistery in Florence, the Sienese sculptor Jacopo della Quercia gained the commission for the main portal for San Petronio in Bologna. However, departing from Lorenzo Ghiberti’s technique of constructing delicate and slender figures, Jacopo creates fantastically muscular and bulky figures within his reliefs for San Petronio. As mentioned in the first chapter, the left pilaster of the portal is where we can find the panels that della Quercia dedicates to Adam and Eve and Genesis 1-3. He carved each panel in extreme, low relief on a separate stone slab that was then attached to the surface of the pilaster. Jacopo’s take on the creation of Eve introduces yet another way of portraying her entrance to Eden (Figure 28). Adam is now found on the left side of the composition with his body facing away from Eve and God. Eve is shown to us completely upright with only her foot hidden behind the side of Adam’s resting body. Like the other works mentioned, there does not seem to be any sort of opening on Adam’s side; in fact della Quercia’s representation looks as if Eve is actually emerging from the rocky hill that stands behind Adam.

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91 In 1401 the council of Florence put together a competition amongst local sculptors to earn the commission for the Baptistery Doors.
92 Frederick Hartt and David G. Wilkins, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 199.
93 Frederick Hartt and David G. Wilkins, *History of Italian Renaissance Art*, 199.
God is seen holding Eve’s right arm with his left hand and with his right, he blesses and welcomes her to his recently created world. The image of Eve is rather unusual; her left arm is raised towards her head and her hand is positioned opened and near her face. This peculiar positioning creates a moment of education and self-awareness, as if Eve is reading her hand and trying to make sense of the vessel she has just been given. Furthermore, she completely ignores God, even though he is the reason she exists. Jacopo has given us another depiction of the soul being transferred into the body God has created from the earth, yet we do not actually encounter her receiving a soul in any visible form. The fig tree is seen on the left side of the composition just behind the body of Adam. The leaves on the tree are not as clearly defined as the leaves found in the Creation of Adam or even the Temptation panel found beneath the stone block. It looks as though Jacopo was trying to give us a sense of spatial depth and also the idea of motion. The leaves on the tree look as if there is a strong wind blowing through, and because the leaves are clearly outlined we can assume it is now much farther away from the figures.

Lorenzo Ghiberti also pays homage to Eve and her creation in his Adam and Eve panel from the “Gates of Paradise” on the Baptistery in Florence. As noted earlier Ghiberti’s panel depicts the creation of Adam and Eve, the temptation as well as the expulsion simultaneously. While Adam’s Creation is seen in the lower left register of the gilded bronze relief, Eve’s creation is portrayed in the center of the panel and becomes a focal point within the events being depicted (Figure 29). The placement of her creation is rather unconventional as it is usually Adam and his introduction to the world to which most artists gave special attention. It should be noted that Ghiberti does use an extreme low relief for the scene of Eve emerging from the resting body of Adam; likewise, Adam’s creation, although it is not the central point of the panel, is carved in high relief, emphasizing the importance of Adam and his introduction to the world.
Nevertheless, by displaying Eve as the fulcrum of the panel, Ghiberti places emphasis not only on her role within the story of Adam and Eve, but also her relation to the Virgin Mary and the Church, and the need for salvation and baptism.\(^94\)

Ghiberti depicts Eve as a majestic figure rising miraculously out of the flank of Adam’s body; above her is a surrounding and adoring cloud of angels watching in awe as she becomes a living soul. The arrangement is similar to the choir of angels that spans the sky around the creation of Adam in the very same panel. However, here we see a semi-circular grouping of angels along with four others who help guide Eve out of Adam’s right shoulder. Her right arm stretches out into the hands of God, who stands draped in his cloak, displaying a sign of blessing with his right hand. Gwynne Ann Dilbeck in her dissertation on Ghiberti’s doors, *Opening the gates of paradise: function and the iconographical program of Ghiberti’s bronze door*, addresses one of the angels that places a hand on the belly of Eve. Dilbeck explains that through this inclusion, Ghiberti is emphasizing Eve’s identity as a mother and foreshadowing her punishment of pain in childbirth.\(^95\) Furthermore, Ghiberti links the typology of Eve with the Baptistery. By placing her creation in the center of the panel, he reinforces her role in the original sin and the need for baptism to wash away sin in order to enter the gates of Heaven.\(^96\) Beneath the emerging Eve, Adam is shown resting on the ground, leaning on his left arm and supporting his head with his left hand. As with some of the previous works discussed, there is no apparent opening on Adam’s side where Eve surfaces. Additionally, while there is a physical

\(^{94}\) Gwynne Ann Dilbeck, “Opening the gates of paradise: function and the iconographical program of Ghiberti’s bronze door.” PhD (Doctor of Philosophy) thesis (University of Iowa, 2011), 27.

\(^{95}\) Gwynne Ann Dilbeck, “Opening the gates of paradise: function and the iconographical program of Ghiberti’s bronze door”, Gwynne also notes that the foreshadowing of Eve’s punishment of painful labor will become a means for man’s salvation through Mary, Christ and the Church, 27.

\(^{96}\) Gwynne Ann Dilbeck, “Opening the gates of paradise: function and the iconographical program of Ghiberti’s bronze door”, Dilbeck further discusses the reference to baptism seen through the inclusion of the river flowing through the bottom portion of the panel. The representation of water throughout the “Gates of Paradise” reiterates to the function of the Baptistery, 26.
connection between Eve and God, the angels that are positioned closest to Eve are accountable for her eloquent entrance into the Garden of Eden, guiding her out of the sleeping figure of Adam. Through these distinct features found within Eve’s creation from the “Gates of Paradise”, Ghiberti highlights her role as a mother, the beginning of humanity, and foreshadows the original sin and our need for salvation and baptism.

Michel Wolgemut’s woodcut of Eve’s birth from the Nuremberg Chronicle dated to 1493 follows his representation of Adam’s Creation in close succession, except now there is no other sense of life amongst our protagonists (Figure 30). Grass and trees exist in the background but the animals that were included in Adam’s creation are now removed. Wolgemut does draw in a powerful picture of the sun gleaming behind the large, rocky hill set just behind the main event, which of course would have changed in color from print to print. Similar to several of the works already mentioned, the absence of an actual opening from Adam’s side is seen in Wolgemut’s depiction, yet here Eve’s body possesses three dimensionality and shape as she emerges from Adam’s resting vessel. She is positioned completely upright and engages with God who holds one of her delicate hands in his palm. He appears in conversation with Eve as he raises his right hand, either blessing or warning her as he did with Adam. Departing from Ghiberti’s presentation of Adam, we see the Nuremberg Adam resting his head and upper body on a bended arm that rests on the grassy hill. The event seems not only miraculous but effortless as well; struggle and pain are not involved in Wolgemut’s creation of Eve and is presented to us as a completely unworldly event.

98 The Nuremberg Chronicle was produced in two translations; German and Latin. It was produced in mass numbers as the advent of printmaking was taking storm during the mid-15th century in Northern Europe. Each copy would have been hand painted and several variations existed throughout Europe.
In the first Chapter I mentioned that Michelangelo was influenced by the style of Jacopo della Quercia and you can see this again in his painting of Eve’s creation. Like Jacopo, Michelangelo dedicates an entire panel within the Sistine Ceiling to the birth of our first woman. The *Creation of Eve* (Figure 31) is located directly above the *Creation of Adam*; as with Pisano and several other artists, the story displays the exact moment where Eve is projecting out of the side of Adam’s body. Similar to Jacopo della Quercia’s relief from San Petronio, Eve seems to have fully emerged from the body of Adam, or has possibly surfaced from the cave just behind the body of Adam. Michelangelo’s Eve almost entirely inhabits the world that God created for her and Adam; only one foot remains “inside” Adam’s body. She looks up and gazes into God’s eyes in a state of extreme devotion; her hands are positioned in a gesture of praise to him as he is simultaneously blessing her.99

Edgar Wind discusses Michelangelo’s image of Eve’s creation, explaining that God is shown not in his glory as seen in the *Creation of Adam* fresco, but is depicted here standing and no longer surrounded by his entourage of angels. The image of God resembles Jacopo’s depiction; however, here there is not any physical interaction between the two figures. Likewise, Michelangelo omits the inclusion of a halo around God’s head. When he further describes Eve, Wind states, “A heavy, brutish, inarticulate being, completely instinct with flesh and matter, she steps forward with gaping mouth and unintelligent eyes, inhaling but not seeing the divine spirit: the image of the body as opposed to the mind.”100 Wind describes Eve in an unflattering manner and seems to emphasize her weakness and inferior position compared to both Adam and God. However, when you look at Adam who is situated next to the stump of a dead tree, he too is shown in an uncomplimentary pose. Adam appears sluggish and limp; his body is twisted and

contorted, similar to the mannerist style that will soon spread throughout the art world over the next several decades. It seems as though Michelangelo is providing multiple indicators that this moment of Eve’s creation is not ideal and that we are already ill fated at her birth. Furthermore, if evil existed before man and woman were created and the original temptation was already known, Michelangelo is possibly foreshadowing the moment of their temptation through his portrayal of Eve’s creation.

Heading north and a few decades after Michelangelo completed the Sistine ceiling, the German painter Lucas Cranach the Elder was working continuously on commissioned works by Catholic Cardinals of the time, as well as the new Protestant clients. Not much is known about the details of several of his Adam and Eve paintings, however, through his artistic approach Cranach was able to create images concerning Genesis 1-3 that appeased the views of the likes of Martin Luther as well as the high officials in the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Cranach found a nice balance within his workshop and was one of the few Northern Renaissance artists that was able to continuously thrive during this problematic time of the Reformation. As discussed in Chapter I, Cranach produced two grand narratives depicting the creation roughly around 1530. Both of these include scenes of Eve and her extraction from the side of a sedated Adam. These two depictions are nearly identical and the only differences found within the paintings are that the Dresden picture shows Eve’s birthing far off in the upper right corner of the composition (Figure 32), while in the Vienna picture, her birth is shown third from the farthest right scene (Figure 33). The other miniscule differences found between the two works produced by

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102 Strangely enough, the furthest right scene within the painting is the Creation of Adam and the narrative taking place between the Creation of Eve and the Creation of Adam is the Temptation scene. It is as if Cranach
Cranach are that Eve’s head is hung and facing down in the Dresden painting, and is seen positioned upright and tilted back in the Vienna version. Also, Eve’s body is facing beyond the limits of the canvas in the Dresden painting.\textsuperscript{103} Both of these images of Eve’s creation depict a naturalistic gruesomely realistic portrayal of an impossible event. The average viewer can imagine the struggle presented in Cranach’s creation of Eve. We do not give birth through our sides and men clearly do not have to go through the pains of labor, but we can understand the struggle that is taking place in these paintings. God is using his physical strength in a material world to lift the body of Eve out from Adam’s torso.

Both depictions show the moment as a strangely calm yet laborious and taxing event. Adam is displayed in a very conventional sleeping pose, lying with this arms crossed and head down on the lush green ground. God, who appears quite old, is shown squatting behind Adam and is literally pulling Eve’s fully grown body from the side of Adam. Again, there is no real evidence of an opening or internal parts being revealed, but we can clearly see that Cranach is not using any sort of prop to force the viewer to believe that there is an alternative opening that Eve is being extracted from. Cranach had created a completely unique rendering of Adam’s creation, which in many ways can be viewed and understood as a serene and miraculous event. While the idea of pulling a grown woman from the side of a sleeping man is also quite miraculous, Cranach includes a sense of struggle here. I wonder if the struggle seen with Eve’s

\textsuperscript{103} Perhaps this is yet another attempt of foreshadowing their future. On the complete opposite end of the painting, we are presented with the expulsion scene where the angel is quite literally running Adam and Eve out towards the edge of the composition, kicking them out of not just Paradise but the painting as well.
birth is a precursor to her fate—that God punishes Eve for her sin in Paradise with painful labors for all women thereafter.\textsuperscript{104}

While most of the artists who were commissioned to create complete cycles of Genesis 1-3 in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries seemed to produce depictions of Eve’s introduction similar to the conventions of Medieval thought as well as the written accounts from the Bible, we have seen a few artists that embraced their own artistic invention, creating pictures of drama and theatrics, without overly disturbing their intended audiences. Lucas Cranach’s representations of Eve’s emergence into Paradise, while it is a mere fraction of the overall scale of the painting, displays pain and struggle. Both Eve and Adam’s bodies are contorted and displaced to a certain degree and Cranach brings the moment of Eve’s creation down to our world. While it forces discomfort among viewers, it also prefigures Eve’s punishment for her role in the Original Sin.

Eve’s creation, while it carried the most physical improbabilities, seems to have been typically presented in a manner where the audience can look to an additional object within the narrative that serves as an alternative womb. Whether accompanied by the formation of a rock or a cave situated behind Adam’s sleeping body or a perspective inclusion, the figure of Eve rising from Adam’s side is rarely displayed as a solitary grown woman literally emerging from the sleeping body of a male. The only artist mentioned above that provides an image of Eve on her own without any supplementary props is Master Bertram. His image of Eve, formed from the midsection up and connected the Adam’s exposed rib, does not include any substitute vessel for her birth. We read it as how it would be read during a sermon from the 14\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textsuperscript{104} In terms of iconography and artistic approach, Cranach the Elder links Eve’s birth to our material world and how childbirth is not only a painfully dangerous task but that it can bring death to either the mother or the child. Most Lutherans of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century connected the pains of childbirth with the Original Sin as this was the moment where death became a factor in humanity. Crowther, 174-75
CHAPTER III
ADAM AND EVE IN PARADISE

3:4 And the serpent said to the woman, “You will not by death die.”

3:5 “For god knew that in one day you eat thereof, your eyes would be opened and you would be like
gods knowing good and evil.”

3:6 And the woman saw that the tree was good for food; and that it is delightful to see with the eyes; and
that to exercise understanding is comely, so having taken some of the fruit thereof, she ate and gave also
to her husband with her.

Oscar Wilde once said, “The only way to get rid of temptation is to yield to it... I can
resist everything but temptation.”105 The temptation of Adam and Eve has been a theme depicted
through visual means since the late 2nd century. While these early examples are far and few
between, there are typically a few common trends found within a temptation scene up into the
Middle Ages. Adam and Eve are necessary of course, as well as the great Tree of Knowledge of
Good and Evil. Also necessary is the evil serpent that is often shown coiled about the tree of
knowledge, conning Eve into committing that original betrayal of eating the forbidden fruit. If
you look back to the original script of Genesis, the text is rather vague and portrays the serpent
as a wily trickster that seduces Eve. In her book titled Adam and Eve in the Protestant
Reformation, Kathleen Crowther describes the serpent as actually being a rebel angel who has
turned into the shape of the serpent; the devil Lucifer was angered by God’s new creation (i.e.
Adam and Eve) and he transforms himself into a snake to seek revenge and destroy the two
favored beings.106 Sometimes the serpent carries human traits, gradually transitioning from a
human into a snake as the body continues from top to bottom. These human characteristics are
typically seen as female and often will have flowing long hair, occasionally even resembling the

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106 Kathleen Crowther, Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation, 27.
image of Eve. Throughout the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, images of the evil serpent adorned with a virginal female face began to emerge all over Europe. The thirteenth century theologian Peter Comestor introduced the idea that the devil used the body of a serpent and the face of a woman to easily trick Eve in his biblical paraphrase, the Historia Scholastica. However, while Comestor’s new image of the serpent seems to have spurred a grand tradition for artists to present the serpent with womanly features, historian Henry Ansgar Kelly mentions that by the 17th century slowly begin to leave Comestor’s eve-like snake out of their images. Furthermore, Kelly explains that several scripture scholars and theologians dismissed Comestor’s notion of the female-headed serpent. Then, and following Jewish tradition, Comestor’s new idea of the serpent soon became characterized as Lilith, the presumable first wife of Adam. Regardless, the artworks produced with an image of the fantastic hybrid serpent allowed artists to create a more theatrical, skillful and authentic portrayal of the Fall. The presence of the “eve-like” serpent or image of Lilith is found in many Renaissance temptation representations; it is seen in Masolino’s Temptation from the Brancacci Chapel, Michelangelo’s from the Sistine ceiling, Cranach’s Temptation, Ghiberti’s bronze relief from the “Gates of Paradise” and the carved relief from the main portal of San Petronio by Jacopo della Quercia, along with many others. This distinct feature takes on a frightening prospect with regards to the drama inherent in this traditional biblical narrative. Not only does the serpent come and speak to

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107 Peter Comestor introduces the notion of the maiden-like serpent in his Historia Scholastica in the later half of the twelfth century.
108 Henry Ansgar Kelly, The Metamorpheses of the Eden Serpent during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Kelly has recently attempted to rationalize Comestor’s new image of the evil serpent, explaining that while Comestor may have manipulated words from the Venerable Bede, it was most likely from another serpentine-woman hybrid he had been familiar with (i.e. the viper of Physiologus, the sphinx, the siren, and the scorpion). To be clear, the Venerable Bede mentions that the evil serpent had a virginal face and did not attach a specific gender to the serpents facial appearance, 326.
110 Henry Ansgar Kelly, The Metamorpheses of the Eden Serpent during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 326.
Eve, which is alarming in itself, but now the viewer is forced to visualize this hybrid, speaking creature entering Adam and Eve's perfect world.

The *Temptation* scene found within Wiligelmo’s relief cycle from Emilia is quite rudimentary compared to images that will come out of the Renaissance (Figure 34). Adam and Eve are found to the left of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, which strays from the conventions of many Medieval temptation scenes. Eve is shown closest to the tree along with the image of the devil. Here the evil serpent is just that, a snake that is depicted coiled about the trunk of the tree. Wiligelmo does not depict the serpent with the head of a human female, for Comestor had not yet introduced this theory. Instead, Wiligelmo uses the features of the snake to help portray the story; he bears a piece of fruit in his mouth and offers it to Eve, who in return offers it to Adam. Eve’s head is turned away from the serpent and she stares into the eyes of Adam, watching him take a bite into the piece of fruit that she has already given him.

The two figures have large fig leaves covering their loins, holding them in place with their right hand while committing the great sin with their left. Throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, artists seemed to go back and forth on presenting a leafy garment to conceal Adam and Eve’s genitalia. Since Wiligelmo omits their Expulsion for the façade of Modena cathedral, I believe Adam and Eve’s fig coverings are to serve as a precursor to their Expulsion, explaining to the audience that in this moment, Adam and Eve sin, recognize their nakedness and seek the leaves out of shame. Ultimately the two will be sent away from Eden and punished by God for their deceit; here Wiligelmo gives us a glimpse into that moment.

111 Web Gallery of Art, created by Emil Krén and Daniel Marx. "Wiligelmo" *Creation of Adam and Eve, Fall of Man*. http://www.wga.hu/html_m/w/wiligelm/modena1.html (accessed August 1, 2016)
112 Throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, sin was often displayed on the left side. This came to known as the “sinister side” and many images of Adam and Eve display their betrayal by incorporating this concept, eating with their left, plucking fruit from the tree with their left, or even standing to the left of the tree can all symbolize their sin and deceit.
The next work I will address is found not in Italy but from France. Found on the façade of Reims Cathedral in the Rose window of the north portal is a stained glass representation depicting Adam and Eve capitulating to temptation as a pair. On the north transept, there are two visual representations of Adam and Eve and their temptation, one being the stained glass from the north rose window and the other from the voussure just beneath. The stained glass masterpiece displays the cycle of Adam and Eve, as well as the story of their sons Cain and Abel. The *Original Sin* is presented as an image where both parties appear to be acting simultaneously and neither Adam nor Eve seems to be persuading the other into eating the forbidden fruit (*Figure 35*).\(^{113}\) This image of the temptation is most similar to the one found in Mantegna’s painting from the *Madonna della Vittoria*, discussed further on in this chapter. As seen in Wiligelmo’s relief from San Petronio, the evil serpent in the Reims window is just that; a snake wrapped around the trunk of the Tree of Knowledge.

The sculptural relief found on the north portal voussure is badly damaged today and both of Adam’s arms no longer exist (*Figure 36*).\(^{114}\) Eve too has lost one of her arms; however, her right arm is undamaged and we can see the young woman biting into the forbidden fruit from the Tree of Knowledge. What separates this image from the *Temptation* scenes I have already discussed is that here we are here observing the two leisurely lingering by the tree. They are both seated and seem extremely calm, as if there is not a thing to fear. The serpent is hardly recognizable but several pieces of fruit remain attached to the tree. Upon closer examination and although Adam is missing both his arms, it is clear that his mouth is closed shut. This suggests he

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is not eating fruit or committing to the betrayal as Eve is shown doing. The two conflicting images found within the Cathedral of Reims provide a perfect example of how portrayals of the fall of Adam and Eve and who to blame differed vastly. While the two depictions from Reims approach the narrative differently, the overall scale and location of the representations of Adam and Eve’s Fall would allow most viewers to completely miss that they provide contrary images of the Original Sin. The viewpoint alone would prohibit most from seeing the stained glass images from Reims. Furthermore, as light would shine through the windows, reading the narratives would be nearly impossible. The bright colors of the window would project throughout the interior of the cathedral and create a kaleidoscope variety of pixelated colors within the space.

The mosaic image of the Temptation of Adam and Eve in San Marco (Figure 37) takes yet another approach in conveying the crucial moment where “Eve” falls victim to the deception of the evil serpent. Unfortunately we can only assume that the artists working here kept to the images found in the Cotton Genesis. The mosaicists create two scenes for the Fall of Adam and Eve and devote an entire panel to the moment that precedes their communal betrayal. In the Temptation of Eve, Adam is entirely absent and only Eve is depicted alongside the evil serpent are depicted. Eve acts alone and is the sole person to blame for the Fall of both her and Adam. The following panel displays a continuous narrative within the composition; we see Eve standing alone yet again beside the Tree of Knowledge. However, now the serpent seems to have vanished from the picture plane. Eve has taken a piece of fruit and as the panel continues, she is shown persuading Adam, handing it over while we assume she has already taken a bite for herself. The depiction of the Fall from San Marco forces the audience to place all blame on Eve and prove Adam as her loyal mate, eating the fruit only to remain by her side.
Master Bertram’s depiction of the original sin from the Grabo Altar is by far the closest representation that I have come across that seems to place deception directly onto Adam (Figure 38). This balanced composition places Adam and Eve on opposite sides of the Tree of Knowledge and both are framed within the picture by two other trees that sit in the distance. Following the conventions of Medieval representations, we see Lilith presented in the form of the evil serpent. The long body of the snake wraps around the thin trunk of the Tree and only at the head do we see the female presence of Lilith. The apple she tempts them with is handed directly off to Adam and not Eve. In fact Eve appears to be unnoticed by Lilith, while Adam is in conversation with Eve as he accepts the fruit that is being offered from Lilith. Master Bertram conveys a sense of reservation on Adam’s part; seen through the position and gesture of his left hand, Adam questions the nature and intent of the serpent. From the other side of the Tree, Eve points to Adam and holds an apple up to her mouth; her face is stricken with anxiety and fear as she watches her partner receive the fruit from Lilith even though she already has a piece herself. While she is committed to deceit along with Adam, Bertram does not provide an image that clearly shows one acting before the other, both Adam and Eve are actively betraying the command of God as single entities.

The narrative is found on the top right corner of the panel, following the scene where God warns Adam and Eve to eat from all but the Tree of Knowledge. In this picture, Master Bertram clearly displays Adam conversing directly with God while Eve takes a backseat within the narrative. It is quite striking that the next scene shows Adam taking an active role in the Original Sin. Furthermore, while there are a handful of artists from the Renaissance that produced temptation scenes that include a mirroring blame, Bertram stands apart and places full
blame on Adam. Here, Adam acts alone and betrays God by listening to the artificial words of the evil serpent.

Taking a more conventional approach of incorporating the iconic image of Lilith, Masolino da Panicale created an image of the *Fall of Man and Woman* that drastically differs from Master Bertram’s bright and playful representation (Figure 39). Several art historians and scholars believe that Masolino da Panicale most likely completed this work roughly around 1424. The fresco is found in the Brancacci Chapel, which was commissioned in the year 1380 and located in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, Italy. The chapel served as a burial ground for the wealthy family of silk merchants, the Brancacci. The overall theme of the chapel depicts a cycle focused on the life of St. Peter with two painted compositions that depart from the theme of Peter. The two scenes departing from the St. Peter cycle are Masolino’s *Temptation of Adam and Eve* and the *Expulsion* painted by Masaccio. The *Expulsion* scene is located on the opposite wall of the chapel and will be discussed thoroughly in the following chapter. Differing from many artists of the Renaissance, Masolino chose to depict both characters positioned on the same side of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Typically the tree serves as a barricade between the two figures, Eve tempting Adam with the fruit from a distance with the tree dividing their roles within the event. However, in the Brancacci chapel we see both Eve and Adam standing on the left side of the tree; they appear almost in conversation with one another, questioning the forbidden fruit that Eve holds in her right hand.

The evil serpent peers over the two while Eve grasps the tree with her left arm. She seems relaxed next to the tree and shows no sign of fear while the fruit dangles before her. Raveled around the trunk of the tree, the serpent is also presented in a state of contentment, as if she already knows that she has completely destroyed Adam and Eve. The two are set against a

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115 Along with his colleague, Masaccio.
monochromatic background, and although we can assume they are set outdoors, there is no real sense of landscape seen within the composition; it is the Tree of Knowledge alone that convinces the viewer of their setting. Furthermore, even the presence of ground is not depicted within the painting; both Adam and Eve appear to be hovering in this dark space. Typically during the Middle Ages and into the early Renaissance, artists lacked the ability or desire to properly render human forms that appear to be firmly planted on earth. Artists like Masolino’s colleague, Masaccio will fix this odd tiptoe rendering in works like his Expulsion from the very same chapel. Both figures are unaware that they are nude and seem completely comfortable in this land of paradise. While the serpent is closest to Eve, the uppermost portion of the snake rises over Eve’s head and appears to be speaking to both figures. Eve takes the active role within the painting; she clings onto the tree and is already in possession of the forbidden fruit. As she holds the fruit up to her mouth Adam extends his one hand toward Eve as if he is attempting to protest what she is about to do. His right hand raised to his chest creates a gesture of question—should Eve reconsider her action; should he participate in this affair too? This state of apprehension is comparable to Lorenzo Ghiberti’s Temptation scene from the Gates of Paradise (Figure 40); both depictions display Adam as hesitant and not fully committed to the already actively engaged Eve.

Just a year after Masolino began working in the Brancacci chapel, Jacopo della Quercia began carving his stone panels for the main portal of San Petronio. Jacopo’s representation of the crucial moment where Adam and Eve turn their backs on the command of God is quite conventional in many ways (Figure 41). The two figures are carved in extreme high relief and Jacopo clearly paid special attention to their form; creating two large, muscular beings. This approach to the human body is what Michelangelo would have been influenced by during his
two trips to Bologna before he painted the Sistine ceiling. Like della Quercia, Michelangelo was known for creating powerful and extremely muscular figures within his works and especially for the ceiling.¹¹⁶

The image of the evil serpent is shown piercing through the trunk of the fig tree with her lower half emerging from the opposite side of the tree. The head of the serpent again takes the form of Lilith. She looks directly into the eyes of Eve, upon which Eve pulls back, distancing herself from Lilith. Eve is puzzled by the serpents’ presence, yet she is concurrently plucking fruit from the tree with her right hand while holding the body of the serpent with her left. This is the first time we have encountered a temptation scene where Eve physically interacts with the serpent; perhaps Jacopo presents this interaction to indicate a transferal of evil. As she touches the evil serpent, Eve receives her nature and becomes a host of evil.

Ghiberti’s temptation scene, located within the “Gates of Paradise” on the Baptistry in Florence, is displayed in extreme low relief and provides viewers with a powerful representation of Adam and Eve and their story of life in Eden. The temptation scene can be found nearly hidden in the furthestmost part of the background on the left side of the panel (Figure 40). Comparable to Jacopo della Quercia’s relief, the two protagonists are separated by the tree. Lilith is shown staring into the eyes of Eve who is plucking the forbidden fruit with her left hand and reaching past the serpent presenting fruit to Adam with her right. His left arm is shown in a position of defiance and shock, yet it is obvious that he is accepting the fruit with his right hand and committing to the event with Eve. Ghiberti seems to further reiterate Eve as the original sinner by showing her completely bare while the wing of an angel perfectly hides Adam’s member. Again, Eve is depicted as being extremely active, fully aware of what she is doing and

¹¹⁶ Michelangelo’s figures from the Sistine ceiling are massive, masculine images that span the entirety of the ceiling, and their resemblance to Jacopo’s figures for the main portal of San Petronio are uncanny.
exuding confidence while requesting Adam to eat the fruit. Ghiberti incorporates other facets within the composition that lead the viewer’s eye back to the moment of their sin in Paradise. The farthest right angel hovering over the *Creation of Adam* is looking off into the distance at the temptation of Adam and Eve, even though he is supposed to be part of the prior event of Adam’s birth. The angel knows the future before Eve is even formed; they all know what will come of the two. While the temptation of Adam and Eve is a key chapter within their story, Ghiberti only gives a small portion of his composition to the moment of the Original Sin.

In another painting of the *Fall of Adam and Eve*, created by Hugo van der Goes in 1470, we are presented with a rather unique portrayal of this pivotal moment in Eden (Figure 42). Van der Goes was born in the city of Ghent and through his beautiful handling of oil, was deeply admired by the Italians along with his Flemish following. The painting, now located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, displays a rather ghoulish image of Adam and Eve during the Original Sin. Both figures stand to the left of the Tree while their tempter is found on the right. The evil creature has taken the form of a four-legged lizard with a child’s head. The creature stands on its hind legs and holds the trunk of the tree with its hands for stability. While the tempter intensely stares at Eve, she pays no attention to the evil creature. As she peers out into the distance, Eve, with her swollen abdomen, plucks an apple from the tree with her left arm and holds another apple in her right hand, which hangs by her side. Adam also begins to raise his left arm, as if signaling that the next apple she takes from the tree is meant for him. Both Adam and Eve have been conveniently censored even though they both seem to appear comfortable with

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119 Common belief before Peter Comestor invents the eye-like serpent, the image of the devil in Paradise was said to have legs and appear similar to a dragon or reptile.
their nudity. Adam’s calm right hand hangs down near his waist, perfectly concealing his pubic region.

For Eve, Hugo adds a lovely floral bush directly between the two; a long single flower rises from the plant and blooms adjacent to her pubic region. Several Lutheran writers associated the Fall of Adam and Eve with procreation; Eve’s swollen womb reiterates this connection and provides the audience with a foreshadowing of their future. Hugo van der Goes’s representation displays both Adam and Eve as participants in the Original Sin, yet neither of the two seem “present” in the moment. Notice how they gaze past the limits of the painting as if they are watching the future unfold. Hugo’s image of the devil is the only figure that is actively engaged in the narrative, she burrows her eyebrows and watches intensely as Eve plucks the second piece of fruit off of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. As soon as a piece for Adam has been plucked from the Tree, it is all over.

Michel Wolgemut’s image dedicated to the Original Sin for the Nuremberg Chronicle seems to depict the two figures playfully deceiving God (Figure 43). Neither Adam nor Eve look directly at the serpent, who is wrapped about the base of the tree trunk, and both hold an apple in hand while the serpent also holds an apple, but in his mouth. The woodcut of their Temptation actually exists as a part of two scenes for the same page of the Nuremberg Chronicle. The chronology of the scenes is strangely reversed; on the right we see the Fall of Man and Woman and on the left we are presented with an image of their expulsion from Paradise. Since the Nuremberg Chronicle was widely produced, Wolgemut’s light hearted approach on Adam and

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120 Kathleen Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*, “Lutherans imagined the body of Eve, especially her reproductive capacities, in ways consonant with their theology of marriage and their understanding of human sexuality.” 160.
121 Cambridge University, Digital Library. Nuremberg Chronicle (Inc.0.A.7.2[888])
Eve’s Temptation and Expulsion would have served more as a theatrical drama than an image of warning and education.

Back in Italy and just a few decades after Masolino painted his image of Adam and Eve, and during the time Ghiberti was working on the “Gates of Paradise”, Mantegna too incorporates his interpretation of the Temptation. Seen as the central relief painted within the Madonna della Vittoria altarpiece is yet another variant of the moment where the two figures succumb to the temptations of the evil serpent (Figure 44). Like Ghiberti’s Temptation scene, the audience is confronted with Eve located on right side of the Tree of Knowledge while Adam is now seen standing to the left of the tree. Mantegna shows both figures with foliage covering their lower genitalia. As in Masolino’s version we are confronted with a scene only displaying the four elements of the story (i.e. Adam, Eve, the evil serpent and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil). This image, however, is quite possibly the first time within the visual tradition that an artist has chosen to depict both Adam and Eve simultaneously reaching for the fatal fruit at the very same moment.

Mantegna omits any admonition within his miniature cycle; in fact the central picture of their temptation presents neither Adam nor Eve as the guilty party in the betrayal of God; they act together. With that said, it is Adam who is shown reaching for fruit from the tree while holding another piece of fruit to his mouth as if he is already consuming the forbidden fruit. Eve looks to be having a direct conversation with the female headed-snake and appears much more hesitant if compared to the previous temptation scenes discussed. She reaches up with her right arm to the base of a piece of fruit hanging from the tree while her left arm is near her side with her palm open and facing out towards the serpent. As stated earlier in reference to the Creation of Eve mosaic from San Marco, there is a symbolic significance in the placement of figures left
or right. Adam is shown on the right side of the tree, yet we read him as being on the left and vice versa with Eve. The artist here is subliminally telling his audience that both are to blame here. Mantegna is not distinguishing any party as bearing more guilt than the other.

It is important to further discuss the role of the serpent within this story. In his famous work, *Historia Scholastica*, the twelfth century theologian Peter Comestor discusses the evil serpent that comes to deceive God and tempt both Adam and Eve with the forbidden fruits of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. He explains that the story of the serpent having a head of a female played an intricate role in persuading Eve to succumb to its temptation. Eve, finding similarities between herself and the maiden-faced serpent, would feel at ease and would be more likely to listen to the serpent. Furthermore, the evil serpent, presented in the form of female from the neck up, is given the gift of speech; Eve will quickly find comfort with the serpent. Likewise, although most artists do not depict Adam as listening to or acting upon persuasions of the serpent, he too would find comfort in the feminine face of the serpent.

While it is easy to believe that Andrea Mantegna looked at the San Marco mosaics before carrying out his work for the *Madonna della Vittoria* altarpiece, it is clear that he was in no means influenced by the temptation scene for his work. Mantegna seems to bring forth a balance to the event, as if Eve and Adam act as equal weights on a scale, the Tree of Knowledge being the scale. The only evidence that one could use for Eve being more to blame then Adam in Mantegna’s Temptation scene would be the fact that the serpent, here shown as Lilith, is facing Eve. But as mentioned earlier, it appears that Eve is in the midst of conversation with Lilith, and through the visual gestures of Eve, she appears apprehensive about taking from the tree she knows not to eat from. Adam is the aggressor and is already taking an active role in the story.

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Although Mantegna’s representation of Adam and Eve’s temptation differs greatly from the
temptation found in San Marco, it is necessary to mention that Mantegna most likely referred to
the mosaics of San Marco for inspiration in his image of Adam’s creation found on the same
altarpiece. Perhaps because the altarpiece itself was themed around the adoration and glory of
Mary, it would serve ruinous for him to include a scene putting blame and unpleasant views
towards another female. Although Mary was often believed to be the second Eve, saving
humanity by bearing Jesus Christ, Mantegna reminds us that a second Adam was also necessary.
Eve is not solely responsible for the fall of humanity, in fact it is only when Adam too disobeyed
God’s order that human salvation was needed through the birth of both Mary and Jesus.

During the Middle Ages there was a strong negative view of women in general as
evidenced by plays such as *Le Jeu d’Adam et Eve*, which was acted outside of churches and
occasionally indoors as well. The drama provided citizens with a solid argument that it was
Eve, and Eve alone to blame for the fall and Original Sin. This view of the first female was then
projected onto all women. The spread of inferiority and the overall unworthiness of women
continued throughout the Middle Ages. It was roughly around the early thirteenth century when
views of women took a turn for the better. Mary, the mother and creator of Jesus, was so revered
and praised by western civilization that the pessimistic views of women died down substantially.
Many began to give women a little more credit; after all, how could women be put on a lower
register than men if women are capable of creating beings like Jesus? This encouraged a new
found acceptance for Eve and the art of the time seemed to shift in this direction as well. Images
concerning the Fall were occasionally presented in a more open-ended fashion, leaving the
audience room for interpretation.

123 Henry Kraus, *Eve and Mary: Conflicting Images of Medieval Woman*, 1967, 82.
Another temptation scene that can easily be compared to Andrea Mantegna’s depiction is that of Michelangelo (Figure 45). His massive frescoed image differs largely from Mantegna’s in size, medium, and the fact that Michelangelo includes the event of Adam and Eve’s expulsion along with his temptation. Where the two images connect is the way in which the artists portray both figures actively straying away from the command of God at the same time. Like Mantegna’s dual blame, Michelangelo creates a scene where both Adam and Eve seem to be yielding synchronously to the temptation. There is no sense of apprehension on either part nor is there any sense of persuasion taking place.

Ascanio Condivi in his biography of Michelangelo even says the devil is ‘pretending to reason with the man, persuades him to act against his Creator while to the woman he proffers the forbidden apple.’ The sixteenth century commentator, Vigerio, also explains that it is Adam who takes the more active role in Michelangelo’s temptation scene. He states, “[Adam] turned his eyes from the morning light which is God, and gave himself over to the fickle and dark desires of woman.” The only aspect of this painting that forces me to believe the two are wary of eating the fruit is the distance Michelangelo provides between the two figures and the grand tree.

Michelangelo’s depiction of the moment that led to the fall of humanity shows both Adam and Eve positioned on the left side of the massive Tree of Knowledge. He places Eve facing away from the tree, resting upon a rocky formation. Adam is even further away from the tree, yet Michelangelo extends the limits of his reach and shows Adam literally pulling down on a branch with his left arm and reaching for a piece of fruit with his right. While the mound of rock that Eve is seated on looks extremely uncomfortable, she appears quite content. She

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124 Ascanio Condivi, *The Life of Michelangelo*, Condivi refers to the evil serpent as a male form. I will continue to refer to any/all images that include the head of a human as female form to eliminate confusion, 47.
125 Here we can infer that Vigerio is using the term ‘woman’ for both Eve and Lilith.
gracefully reaches backwards, making direct contact with the awesome presence of evil. Michelangelo’s depiction of the serpent as Lilith is completely authentic compared to the other artists discussed in this investigation. Michelangelo creates a giant half-human, half-snake creature that seems to connect with both Eve and Adam. The end of her tail begins on the ground out of which the tree rises, and as it coils up the trunk it transforms into two separate tails that gradually turn into legs that belong to the muscular Lilith.

Michelangelo includes another aspect to his temptation scene that will become popular amongst several artists during the next few decades. The sexual undertones of this temptation scene are obvious; Michelangelo places the head of Eve at the very level in which we find Adam’s genitalia. He leans forward towards the tree and while Eve extends her arm back reaching for the forbidden apple as well, she is completely fixed on his member. This inclusion would not only reiterate their sinful nature but would also force the audience to remember what our temptations are as humans. The temptation of Adam and Eve is not just about their disobedience in eating from the Tree of Knowledge but it is very much about our desires as humans. Adam falls to the temptations of woman and likewise Eve falls to the temptation of man. They are tempted by sin and by their sexual desires for one another. I believe this would in many ways have served as an image of warning, to know what tempts us and to remind yourself of the fate it can bring if you do not overcome temptation. The very fact that the audience might interpret Eve’s proximity to Adam’s penis as suggesting fellatio underscores the viewer’s fallen nature; we are the progeny of Adam and Eve, who led to our downfall in the very moment

126 Specifically Lucas Cranach the Elder and Hans Baldung Grien.
depicted. Were we innocent, we would not conceive of such a thought. Furthermore, the
intentional placement of Eve underscores her submissive role to Adam.\footnote{William E. Wallace, \textit{Michelangelo: The Artist, the Man, and His Times} [Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010], We see Adam and Eve through the eyes of Michelangelo, 104.}

While Michelangelo was at work in the Sistine Chapel, a pupil of Albrecht Dürer’s was actively exploring the female form. German printmaker and painter, Hans Baldung, better known by his nickname Grien, created several works concerning the notion of the dangerous woman, or \textit{femme fatale}.\footnote{Caroline Campbell and Others. \textit{Temptation in Eden: Lucas Cranach’s Adam and Eve}, 138.} In 1511, Grien produced a woodcut of \textit{The Fall of Man} that implies doom is inevitable even before Adam and Eve have eaten the forbidden fruit (Figure 46).\footnote{The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Hans Baldung (called Hans Baldung Grien) http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/336240 (Accessed July 30, 2016).} Following the theory that Adam and Eve had sexual desires and relations in Eden before the fall, Grien depicts an intimate portrayal of the two standing beside the Tree of Knowledge. Both Adam and Eve disregard the snake as it coils up the Tree; the two are consumed only with each other. Adam gently fondles Eve’s breasts with one hand, and with the other abnormally long arm, he reaches for a piece of fruit from the Tree’s branches.\footnote{Caroline Campbell and Others. \textit{Temptation in Eden: Lucas Cranach’s Adam and Eve}, 138.} Eve stares out into our world while holding a leaf covering her lower privates; with the other hand she holds a piece of fruit. While all of the essentials are present (the Tree of Knowledge, the serpent, fruit, and Adam and Eve), Grien successfully creates a representation of Adam and Eve’s fall that focuses not on who is to blame, but how both Adam and Eve truly fell from Paradise. Through their sexual desires for one another and their inability to control these desires, both Adam and Eve succumbed to temptation.

The next artist I would like to give special attention is Lucas Cranach the Elder. While he was one of the most revolutionary painters of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, his collections of works are nearly
confined to Germany as he rarely travelled after moving to Wittenberg in 1522. Cranach lived in Wittenberg for a most of his life and found great success in the city. He painted countless images of Adam and Eve and more specifically their time in Eden. Because of the new religious views that were established during the Protestant Reformation, artists like Cranach found Adam and Eve to be the vehicles they used to create images that would provoke sexual desires while remaining acceptable and favored amongst the masses. Today there are more than 55 paintings by Cranach that are themed around the story of Adam and Eve and most of these deal with the events just before their expulsion from paradise. Furthermore, we are confronted with many censored images of Adam and Eve. Cranach often included leaves and branches to conceal the genitalia of the two figures, Adam more than Eve, which reiterates the function of these paintings, as they appealed much more to men, allowing them to gaze upon the nude female body. Eve is the source of temptation, sin, lust, disobedience, etc. so she could stir up all sorts of thoughts. Often Eve is shown directly offering the forbidden fruit to her companion, again putting most of the blame on her and not Adam. There are a number of representations by Cranach that show Adam already holding a piece of fruit, but it is never near his mouth, and none of them seem to have been bitten into yet. There is one work by the German painter, a pen and ink drawing, which shows Eve feeding Adam the forbidden fruit (Figure 47). He is holding a branch that covers both of their lower regions. German artists were skilled at concealing private parts of figures while simultaneously drawing stronger attention to them. A viewer will immediately gaze at the area within the composition, almost searching to see if there is a leaf missing just the right part of the “taboo” body part.

131 Caroline Campbell and Others, Temptation in Eden: Lucas Cranach’s Adam and Eve, 12.
132 Caroline Campbell and Others, 14.
133 Caroline Campbell and Others, 17.
134 Scanned image from, Caroline Campbell and Others, Temptation in Eden: Lucas Cranach’s Adam and Eve, 114.
Another image of *Adam and Eve* that was produced by Cranach the Elder is a woodcut dated to 1509 (Figure 48) commissioned by the Elector Frederick of Saxony; you can find his coat of arms dangling from the Tree of Knowledge on the left side of the print. Cranach’s work is truly a fantastic image, featuring birds, elk, lions, a wart hog, and of course the imperative snake, coiled around a branch just above the head of Eve. In this engraving you see Adam shown seated, holding the fruit just beneath his mouth. This is a different approach from many other artists of the 16\(^{th}\) century. Adam is shown completely content and fearing nothing. Eve is standing right beside him, with her right arm wrapped around his shoulder and her left extended, reaching above to the nearest branch carrying more fruit.\(^{135}\) The serpent in Cranach’s engraving is a frightening monster, focusing on Eve in an unsettling manner. He is waiting anxiously for her to pluck that piece of fruit off of the tree of knowledge and fully commit to sin. Meanwhile, Adam appears to be waiting for Eve to detach the piece of fruit from the Tree of knowledge, before he takes his “lethal” bite.\(^{136}\)

Like Michelangelo, Lucas Cranach the Elder puts the two figures in an unconventional grouping. While we know the end result of the event, it is as if Adam’s half opened mouth could be going for one of two things, the piece of fruit or Eve’s right breast, again suggesting a sexual encounter between the two. Cranach draws up an overly crowded composition. Animals, bushes, and trees fill the painting and are given profound detail and attention. These fantastic particulars can easily serve as distractions for the audience, allowing the erotic inclusion to become more ambiguous. However, their nudity is undeniable and Cranach omits any fig leaf coverings or floral inclusions to censor Adam and Eve. Adam’s loins are hidden as he is seated while Eve is

\(^{135}\) Caroline Campbell and Others, *Temptation in Eden: Lucas Cranach’s Adam and Eve.* --Here the fruit is described as being plump apples that are surrounded by fig leaves and that Cranach is showing us the exact moment before the Fall, 114.

\(^{136}\) “Lethal” because they will become mortal once expelled from paradise, they will no longer live in the image of God.
standing and completely bare; she is active, and she is the seducer who we can blame for their Fall.

The print above has been discussed and compared extensively to an engraving that revolves around the theme of Adam and Eve, one that is quite possibly runner-up to Michelangelo’s *Creation of Adam* in popularity. Produced by “The Leonardo of the North”, Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eve* (Figure 49) is one of the most discussed images of our first man and woman, just before they commit to eating the fruit of knowledge. Dürer presents the two figures set deep within a forest and the Tree of Knowledge stands tall right between Adam and his beloved Eve. The engraving shows a strong Italian influence, for Dürer had spent roughly around a year in Italy from 1494-1495 and studied ancient masterpieces like the Apollo Belvedere. The two figures are shown with ideal proportions, and both are positioned in a contrapposto stance. Cranach certainly gained inspiration from this engraving; the foliage of the forest backdrop and the depiction of Eve’s hair is almost identical in these two works. Both artists were experts in line and even now the detail and shading found in these engravings is breathtaking to contemplate. And like Dürer, Cranach studied many animals first hand to better his depiction of the creature in both his paintings and engravings.\(^{137}\) The print from Dürer’s plate from 1504 gives us a very interactive serpent; the creature is literally offering a piece of fruit to Eve, placing it in her right hand. She is already holding an additional piece of fruit in her left, so we can assume that this will be the piece of fruit she hands over to Adam.

Adam appears reluctant, even holding the branch of the mountain ash in his right arm. The mountain ash during the Middle Ages through the sixteenth century was believed to be

\(^{137}\) Caroline Campbell and Others, *Temptation in Eden: Lucas Cranach’s Adam and Eve*, Both paintings by Cranach from 1530 and titled the *Garden of Eden* encompass several animals, especially the Dresden version, which includes all the animals of Paradise, even the mystical unicorn.
associated with the Tree of Life and would deter the evil serpent. The branch likewise carries an inscribed hanging sign that states, “Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg made this in 1504” and a parrot which symbolizes cleverness is perched on top of the branch. In her book *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*, Kathleen Crowther also makes mention of the symbolism behind these inclusions, stating that “With his right hand Adams grasps the branch of another tree, while with his left hand, he reaches toward Eve and toward the forbidden fruit. Adam’s stance between the two trees had a symbolic resonance for sixteenth-century viewers […] Thus Dürer depicts Adam poised between immortality and death. As his grip on the Tree of Life loosens, he reaches toward his own destruction.” Adam’s body language shouts apprehension; he reaches out to Eve’s hip with his left hand, an intimate part of the body as she cups a piece of fruit behind her back. His brows are furrowed and his mouth is slightly opened, as if he is attempting to reason his wife. Eve is so absorbed with the words of the devil and the ripe fruit that she does not pay any attention to Adam or even notice his warning. Crowther includes observations on the mountain goat seen in the upper right corner of the composition. She explains that like the goat teetering on the edge of the cliff, ‘Adam and Eve are teetering perilously on the brink of an abyss.’ These symbolic inclusions give the audience a very distinct exegesis account of the Fall of Man; Adam is wise and not easily susceptible to the trickster words of the evil serpent, but he cannot turn his back on the beloved Eve. Dürer allows us to place the initial blame on Eve, however, their doom becomes a reality when Adam follows the actions of Eve.

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139 Caroline Campbell and Others. *Adam knew what would come if they were to eat the forbidden fruit. He holds the branch which carries the parrot to prove his knowledge and furthermore to provoke the serpent to stay away from them but their fate is set and the tricked Eve has already committed to the betrayal of God*, 136.
140 Caroline Campbell and Others. 136.
141 Kathleen M. Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*, 58.
Like many images concerning the Fall of Adam and Eve, Dürer includes two branches that cover the genitalia of both Adam and Eve. Eve’s foliage undergarment emerges from beyond the compositional frame. As mentioned before, Cranach often left Eve’s lower region uncovered, which would give the composition another function.\textsuperscript{142} It would allow the male viewer to gaze upon Eve’s perfect body and it would also allow the audience to place more blame on Eve who is not concealed. During the Protestant Reformation, Lutherans believed that art was unnecessary for the church. A church is a house of God and one should be able to enter a church and not have to look at an image of Christ or Mary to connect with them. That said, images like the ones mentioned above would not have been heavily produced in Germany. Lucas Cranach the Elder created several religious works just before the waves of Iconoclasm struck and continued to do so throughout his late career. Of course art was still be creating during this time in Germany, but the iconoclastic threats forced artists to think wisely about what themes or figures they made images of and where they were intended to be housed.

Lucas Cranach the Elder is also responsible for an engraving of Adam and Eve dated to the mid 1520s. The lesser-known work by the famous artist takes a radical approach to the \textit{Fall of Man (Figure 50)}.\textsuperscript{143} Eve is the central most figure within the composition and the event unfolds and moves right, ending with Adam positioned right along the edge of the frame of the engraving. The Tree of Knowledge lacks any low-hanging branches but we do see a few leafy branches at the very top of the composition. Several pieces of fruit can be seen on the branches depicted; however, neither Eve nor Adam would have been able to pluck fruit from these branches. We can assume that the evil serpent has brought the fruit down to Eve who is now in

\textsuperscript{142} Mirela Proske, \textit{Lucas Cranach the Elder}, Later Cranach turns away from the Christian pictorial tradition of Adam and Eve to explore the world of classical pantheon. He was known for his interest in painting the nude in ways that would stir up emotions instead of constructing female nudes through precise study, pgs. 76 & 84.

the midst of passing it over to her counterpart, Adam. Satan is depicted similar to several of the other works addressed above, as a fantastic hybrid human and serpent creature that mirrors the likeness of Eve from the neck up. Departing from the earlier images discussed, she is shown upright and standing on the end of her tail sharing the ground of Eden with Adam and Eve. There is a great mystery to this image by Cranach; we see the devil whispering in Eve’s ear and we are left wondering exactly what is being said to her. The tree separates Eve and Lilith from Adam who stands in an apprehensive pose, questioning his wife’s request to eat the forbidden fruit. “He is already ashamed of his nakedness, and a low branch of the Tree of Knowledge helpfully conceals his modesty.”

This is the only branch that exists on the Tree of Knowledge found within the limits of the figures’ height. Cranach pays special attention to the physique of Adam, contouring his muscles and adding the most shading by cutting multiple lines throughout his body.

As discussed in Chapter II, two other paintings by Cranach are the Dresden (Figure 51) and Vienna (Figure 52) paintings that were produced in uncannily similar programs. Both paintings include a Temptation scene and the differences examined really seem to be minor position alterations. However, in the Viennese version we see all three characters within the scene, holding a piece of fruit. Strangely enough, it is Adam that appears to be the more active party in this moment of deceit. Of course we see a sense of apprehension in Adam, with his left hand positioned on top of his head, scratching his thick curly hair, but Eve too appears reluctant to engage in the activity and has yet to bite into the piece of fruit she hides behind her back.

The image of the Devil, again encompassing a half human appearance, is coiled about the trunk of the tree and effortlessly projects her body from the largest standing tree in the picture. She holds in one hand a third piece of fruit, offering it to the two who seem completely

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144 Caroline Campbell & Others, 116.
unaffected by her strange and unearthly presence. Cranach depicts one of the most unique and brightly colored tails for the serpent, and although it is a small inclusion within the overall scale of the painting, the tail of the Devil in both the Dresden and the Vienna paintings stands out immediately. Similar to many other artists of the time, in Italy and in Northern Europe, the face of “Lilith” appears almost identical to the face of Eve, almost forcing us to question if her presence is true or if we can interpret her as a counterpart of Eve.
CHAPTER IV
THE EXPULSION

2:23 So the Lord God sent him out of the garden of pleasure to till the ground out of which he was taken.

The fate of Adam and Eve comes immediately after they disobey God's command; while God lets each of them plead their case before he makes his decision, God ultimately exiles both out of Eden to never return. In the scripture, we read that as soon as they had eaten the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge their eyes open and they notice they are naked and they begin to feel shame. Adam and Eve seek fig leaves and construct garments to fashion to their bodies, concealing their privates. The Lord comes to Eden and is searching for Adam and his wife but they have hidden in the bucolic garden, fearing God and the doom that comes their way. Once God asks “Adam where art thou”, Adam responds and explains to his Creator that he and his wife hid only because they were naked. God responds to Adam with another question, asking how the two would know they were naked had they not eaten from the tree he had prohibited. Adam replies that he only ate the forbidden fruit because his wife persuaded him to, placing blame solely on Eve.

God then turns to Eve and asks her why she would do such a thing, knowing that it was forbidden. Eve explains to God that it was the evil serpent that tricked her into believing it would cause no harm to herself or Adam. The Lord then turns to the serpent; this time he does not seek any answers and instead places doom on the serpent. The images found throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance of Adam and Eve being expelled from paradise served as wonderful visions of warning. It was not about the actual fruit they ate or the fact that they did not listen to God’s rule; it was what they believed the fruit would provide them upon consumption.

145 The serpent tells Eve that once they eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil that she and Adam will both encompass the knowledge of God. Since they know what he knows, they recognize their nakedness and are embarrassed that they have not covered themselves while in his presence.
power and knowledge of their creator, to know all and be capable of all-- that was their true temptation. The temptation was too strong, for they both failed to see through the trickery of the evil serpent. As I had mentioned in the last chapter, in many ways Western civilization was conditioned to view women differently than men: That woman is inferior to man; she is naïve, vulnerable, less intelligent, and gullible. The rationalization for this view is largely premised on this origin story. However, even though the blame for man's fall from grace is largely laid upon Eve, we should notice that in the story, both Adam and Eve disobeyed God’s command and likewise both received punishment for their betrayal. Once Adam takes a bite from the piece of fruit Eve hands off to him, that is when the Original Sin has taken place and becomes real.

The first image I will examine to discuss Adam and Eve’s expulsion is a singular relief located on the North façade of Lincoln Cathedral in England (Figure 53). The cathedral was consecrated during the spring of 1092 and its construction lasted from roughly 1185-1311, even though builders broke ground in the year 1088. Located on the west façade are several stone reliefs depicting events from the Old and New Testaments, all of which date back to the 1100s. The carving depicting Adam and Eve during the moment of their expulsion from Paradise includes three figures in a confined setting. The angel who is pushing the two out of Eden is located on the far left of the relief, holding his sword with the blade up towards Heaven. We see him scornfully looking directly at Adam as he places his hand on Adam’s back and gives him the last final nudge into their new material world. Both Adam and Eve are portrayed with composite view, similar to the conventions used to represent the human figure in Egypt. The composite pose used here allows their bodies and feet to move along the picture plane while their heads

146 IMAGES OF MEDIEVAL ART AND ARCHITECTURE ENGLAND: LINCOLN MINSTER
Exterior Sculpture: Romanesque Frieze on the West Façade
face directly out into our world. Shame is present as we see in most depictions of Adam and Eve after the Original Sin; however, the positions of both Adam and Eve mirror one another and their figures look as if their wrists are bound together like prisoners. This relief provided members of the Church a simplistic representation of how Eden was lost, and how turning your back on the command of God can come with great punishment.

In San Marco, the punishment and expulsion of Adam and Eve occurs in four separate stages. Like a play or a comic strip unfolding before your eyes, the beautifully crafted mosaics would stir up anxiety and anticipation amongst the audience, waiting to see the final judgment of God. The first scene directly following the temptation portrays *Adam and Eve Covering Their Nakedness*, and it follows scripture closely (Figure 54). Adam is standing with his back to Eve, plucking fig leaves off the tree closest to the border that separates the panels. Jolly mentions that Adam is no longer seen in the likeness of God, he has been stripped of those qualities. Furthermore, Jolly continues that he even echoes the image of Eve in the temptation panel--the way they are positioned and their gestures are nearly identical. While the mosaicists may not have given Adam an immediate active role in the betrayal, here they present him as the more active of the two in responding to their sin.

Eve is shown separated by tall rising leaves and while the two figures nearly mirror one another, she is displayed with her legs crossed in an upright position. She peers over her shoulder in an unusual and awkward stance, watching Adam remove the fig leaves from the tree branch. She has already accumulated several leaves for her own loins and the crossed-over leg seems to draw more attention to her attempt at concealing herself. Jolly explains that this portrayal of

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148 Penny Howell Jolly, 49.
149 This is interesting to think about, during the Renaissance artists were more aware of techniques they could use to simultaneously conceal something while actually drawing more attention to it in the long run.
Eve was quite common in Medieval and Renaissance Art and in many ways served as a visual metaphor for the serpent (coiling up and around the Tree of Knowledge).\(^{150}\) It also places emphasis on her sexual and carnal nature and reiterates the sin that lies within her being.\(^{151}\) This visual representation of Eve after their Fall is picked up by many artists from the medieval and Renaissance periods.

As mentioned, not one but several scenes were developed by the mosaicists working in San Marco during the thirteenth century to depict the moment of Adam and Eve’s expulsion from Paradise. The following scenes that apply to the moment after their Fall are as follows: *Adam and Eve Hiding from God, The Denial of Guilt, and Punishment of the Serpent, Eve, and Adam.* The progression of events depicted by these artists seems to work well with the writings and depictions from the Cotton Genesis, the theologies of Peter Comestor and the Vulgate text. Furthermore, a great deal of symbolism can also be detected within the scenes mentioned above.

Eve’s twisted stance is replicated in the scene where we witness *Adam and Eve Hiding from God* (Figure 55). The mosaicists further underscore her likeness to the evil Serpent by crossing her arms this time.\(^{152}\) Eve places herself behind a tree, pushing back a few branches to see if God notices her, while Adam is in plain sight and seems to be responding to God with his right hand. Although the two have received divine knowledge through eating the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge, their awkward and twisted body postures reveal that they are no longer in the likeness of God.\(^{153}\) In *The Denial of Guilt* (Figure 56), shows God placed again on the left side of the picture, Adam closest to him and finally Eve seen standing behind Adam. God is now

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151 Penny Howell Jolly, 50.
152 Penny Howell Jolly, 50.
seated on his heavenly throne and asks the two why they betrayed his command. Jolly explains that here the artists of the cupola depart from the Vulgate writings of the narrative. The Vulgate text mentions that Eve places blame on the Serpent and replies to God that it was he who tempted her. The Latin script above the narrative states as follows, “Here the Lord rebukes Adam who himself shows that his wife was the cause”. Adam places all blame on his partner, Eve.154 This representation dismisses Eve’s opportunity to shed light on her wrongdoing.

In the Punishment of the Serpent, Eve, and Adam (Figure 57) we are presented with the moment where God, now seen as the focal point of the picture and again seated in his grand throne, tells the sinners of their punishment. The evil Serpent is present in this image and God seems to gesture to the creature. “Adam and Eve, now both static and in profile, remain appropriately displayed, Adam on the more honored and Eve on the more sinister side. The Latin text confirms that the artists knew the Serpent was cursed first, for it states, […] “Here the Lord curses the Serpent with Adam and Eve appearing before him”.155 As they stare into each other’s eyes and recognize their sin, Adam and Eve stoically accept their punishment and fate.

While the narratives above are all quite rare in regards to a conventional Genesis cycle, the next scene is indisputably the most unique. Here, we see the figure of God providing Adam and Eve clothing before their departure from Paradise (Figure 58). Moreover, he is physically helping Eve dress herself, announcing yet again her weak nature. The artists from San Marco seem to only depict Eve capable of acting alone during the moment of the Fall. Furthermore, they heighten the sexual nature of Eve by leaving her legs bare as God helps her with the garment. Penny Jolly mentions that Adam’s head is tilted down and that perhaps this suggests his corporeal interest in Eve’s naked limbs. The final stage of their expulsion displays Adam and

154 Penny Howell Jolly, 54.
155 Penny Howell Jolly, 55.
Eve being driven out of Paradise, this time by God himself (Figure 59). Eve and Adam stand side by side, holding the tools that will assist them in their new earthly realm.\textsuperscript{156} Their closeness and uncanny resemblance seems to unify Adam and Eve; while they acted as separates in Eden, they will act as one in their new world.\textsuperscript{157}

Master Bertram, like the mosaicists from San Marco, portrays Adam and Eve’s expulsion in separate scenes, here condensed to only two narratives. The first panel shows God pointing to heaven and standing to the left of Eve and Adam, who are shamefully covering themselves as they have become aware of their nakedness (Figure 60). The evil, blue serpent appears between Adam and Eve just at their feet. Like Adam, the serpent looks up to God as they each receive their punishment for deceiving him. Adam quickly points to Eve, placing blame on her although we had just witnessed the two acting together during the Temptation.\textsuperscript{158} While Eve may be holding a piece of fruit to her mouth before Adam, he receives the apple directly from the mouth of Lilith, and not Eve. The look of worry and fear consumes their faces as they walk away from God and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

The following scene keeps to the conventions of images concerning the expulsion of Adam and Eve by the Archangel requested of God (Figure 61). We see him physically driving the two out of Paradise through a barrel-vaulted stone structure. Adam enters their mortal world first and looks back to the Angel with great anguish as he plants his right foot on the last stone step that connects him to Eden. Adam’s form covers most of Eve’s body; however, her face shares that same look with Adam as the Angel wields his sword high towards heaven and he places his other hand on her shoulder, pushing her out of Eden. While the Angel appears aggressive and fearless through his stance and outwardly projected body, one must only look at

\textsuperscript{156} Penny Howell Jolly, \textit{Made in God’s Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics in San Marco, Venice}, 57.
\textsuperscript{157} Penny Howell Jolly, 58.
\textsuperscript{158} Refer to Figure 38 within Illustrations.
his face to notice that the Angel seems to share the grief and pain of Adam and Eve. Elizabeth Healy Dube mentions the psychological intensity of the figures in this scene and how we can connect the hardships Adam and Eve will face through the facial expressions of all three figures. Dube writes, “The anguished faces and contorted poses of the exiled Adam and Eve reflect the physical hardship they are about to suffer. However, we read the real pathos of the moment in the mournful face and resolute pose of the Archangel, with whom Adam and Eve exchange glances.”

The angel feels for the two as he knows they did not intend to betray the word of God and that they simply could not withstand temptation. Bertram’s representations of this moment provide his audience with a sympathetic outlook, allowing room for emotions apart from fear.

Another image of Adam and Eve’s expulsion from Paradise where the two figures are shown in complete dismay as they are forced out of Eden is that of Jacopo della Quercia. Jacopo produces a scene that displays only the essentials. Presented as monumental figures, Adam and Eve are perfectly carved images of the first man and woman (Figure 62). Similar to female forms produced by Michelangelo roughly a century later, Eve takes a masculine form that is comparable to stature and size of Adam. The angel physically pushes Adam, guiding the two figures into their new material world. Adam turns back, looking directly into the eyes of the archangel, and stares defiantly. By omitting any sense of background, Jacopo forces his audience to direct all attention to the impact associated with the Original Sin and the agony of their new reality in the Expulsion.

In chapter three, I discussed Masolino’s representation of the Temptation located in the Brancacci chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence. Located directly across from his

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160 Jacopo della Quercia creates a sense of pent up anger within Adam's facial expression that is similar to the “la terribilita” trait that is also commonly associated with Michelangelo.
representation of the Original Sin is Masaccio’s iconic fresco of their Expulsion from Eden (Figure 63). Countless artists visited Masaccio and Masolino’s collaboration in the Brancacci Chapel during the Renaissance. In his Life of Masaccio, Vasari named twenty artists who studied the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel; Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci and Perugino were all mentioned. Through accounts and documents of the time, we know today that individuals like Michelangelo and Ghiberti would have entered the small chapel and witnessed first-hand the leaps that Masaccio had taken in depicting our three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface. By comparing Masaccio’s picture with that of his colleague only some 12 feet apart, one can quickly notice the advancements made on recreating the human form in a more realistic and believable manner. Many scholars today discuss Masaccio as the artist responsible for picking up where Giotto had left off in the fourteenth century, shifting Western art towards a higher standard of realism. One of the most noticeable enhancements on Masaccio’s part is that his figures actually appear to be grounded on earth; he moved past the strange tip-toe, hovering depiction of man standing on ground, as can be seen in Masolino’s painting of both figures in his temptation painting.

While fresco paintings in general restrict the artist from creating an elaborate image packed with detail, Masaccio effectively created a simple yet theatrical image of the exile of Adam and Eve from Eden. Both figures are shown in extreme agony and shame, not only for their betrayal of God’s command, but because they are aware and ashamed of their nakedness. While Eve decides to try and conceal her private parts, Adam takes a different approach and

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162 Marilyn Stokstad and Michael Cothren, Art History, “Tommaso di Ser Giovanni di Mone Cassai (1401-1428/9, nicknamed ‘Masaccio’ (meaning "Big Tom"), established a new direction in Florentine painting, much as Giotto had a century earlier. He did this by integrating monumental and consistently scaled figures into rational architectural and natural settings using linear perspective.” 609.
lowers his face, concealing it with both hands. The two have just walked through a rounded stone archway, which informs the viewer that the two have officially stepped into our material world and are no longer in Paradise.

Masaccio’s angel hovers over the two figures and is full of movement and energy, seen through the folds and drapery of his garment. The sword he wields is pointed up towards the sky and seems to be indicating where the command of exile is coming from in the first place. We will see the impact this representation along with Jacopo della Quercia’s will have on Michelangelo in the Sistine chapel some eighty years later.

Ghiberti’s portrayal of the moment where Adam and Eve are sent away from Paradise also shares many similarities with Masaccio’s image found in the Brancacci chapel. The rounded archway that was partially seen in Masaccio’s fresco is fully carved out in Ghiberti’s relief (Figure 64). We see the angel swooping through the sky, depicted in both worlds; his lower half is still in Eden while his top-half is in their new material world. The combination of alternating low and high relief creates an awesome and dramatic scene and the drama peaks right when your eye travels down from the pointing angel to the figures of Adam and Eve. Both of the beautifully carved forms are displayed in extreme high relief and create shadows that help reinforce their betrayal of God. The proper dating for this specific panel is unknown but if we assume that Ghiberti looked to Masaccio’s frescoed image of the Temptation for inspiration, then it was most likely completed during the latter phase of the door’s construction. The dating for Masaccio’s work is indefinite but through scholarly review, the image was made somewhere between 1424 and 1427, while Ghiberti was working on casting and gilding the “Gates of Paradise” from the 1430s-1452.
Departing from Masaccio’s figures of Adam and Eve, in Ghiberti’s version we see, as the scripture stipulates, the figures covered by fig leaves they found in Eden. Ghiberti’s interpretation seems to be one of few that portray Adam and Eve leaving Eden clothed while entering our material world. Wiligelmo also concealed Adam and Eve, here with one large fig leaf in his Expulsion relief for the façade of the Modena Cathedral. While the overall placement of the scenes throughout the panel are not in chronological order, the two that seem to work best with the story of Adam and Eve in Genesis 1-3 are the Creation of Adam which is depicted in the foreground on the left hand side of the panel, and then the Expulsion which is found on the very right edge of the panel. Everything takes place between these two scenes, which is exactly how the story of Adam and Eve and their time in Eden unfolds in the Bible. Ghiberti makes great use of the compositional framing; it is as if Adam and Eve are about to walk right out of the picture frame, entering a new realm of life and leaving behind the harmony and balance of Eden.

Mentioned briefly in the third chapter, Michel Wolgemut’s woodcut image of Adam and Eve’s Expulsion from Eden, like Master Bertram’s, is connected to the scene of their Fall and presented to readers simultaneously (Figure 65). Shown to viewers on the left of the composition, we see Adam and Eve conversing with the archangel that is sending them away from their land of immortality. Differing from most representations of their expulsion, Eve is now the character actively engaged with the angel. He even places his hand on her back and gives her one last push out into their new material world. Only the backside of Eve is seen and Wolgemut exposes just a sliver of her face. Strangely both figures express little to no sadness or shock while they look back to the archangel. Their body language, along with Adam’s facial expression, does not fit with the conventional approach of Adam and Eve during their expulsion.

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163 Genesis 3:21 “And the Lord God made for Adam and his wife garments of skin and clothed them.”
164 Cambridge University, Digital Library, Nuremberg Chronicle (Inc.0.A.7.2[888])
Compared with Masaccio’s representation for the Brancacci Chapel, Wolgemut presents us with a playful depiction of the Original Sin and thus lessens the seriousness of their deceit.

While it would have been interesting to see Mantegna’s take on Adam and Eve’s expulsion, especially considering his representation of the Original Sin, his expulsion scene is cut off by St. Augustine’s robe and most of the image is completely undecipherable. It appears that the angel is driving the two out of Eden by foot, literally chasing them out of Paradise. The only parts of the angel we see are portions of its wings and his flowing robe near the bottom half of the compositional panel.

The Expulsion of Adam and Eve found on the ceiling of the Sistine Ceiling (Figure 66) is set up similar to Wolgemut’s in that the expulsion is connected to the temptation scene and presented within the same picture. Here the two scenes are separated by the Tree of Knowledge. The tree serves as a perfect column-like structure splitting the two events and yet it also seems to simultaneously connect the events and follow the emerging conventions of the High Renaissance. The High Renaissance was built on several artistic inventions, one of which being the ability to link figures and objects within a single frame and quite literally forcing the viewer to look in certain directions. Michelangelo’s simultaneous narrative is a perfect example of this revolutionary feature and creates a cohesive balance between the two biblical events.

Notice the way in which Michelangelo provokes you to visually cycle about the entire composition; you are led from the scene of Eve emerging from Adam, breaking through the grisaille-stone frame and immediately witnessing the temptation of Adam and Eve. Once you have absorbed the most pivotal moment of their existence in Eden, all attention would be given to the awesome image of the serpent, and tucked just behind the rear of the serpent is the image of the swooping Angel that has come in to forcefully guide Adam and Eve out of paradise.
Condivi describes Adam and Eve in the *Expulsion* as being completely stricken with fear and grief. They are in great shame over their betrayal and both figures are shown literally fleeing from the face of God.\textsuperscript{165} The angel found in Michelangelo’s massive fresco of the expulsion is quite similar to the angel found in the Brancacci Chapel. He enters the picture plane by swooping through the sky in both images, wielding a sword and wearing a rose-colored cloak. The use of color is nearly identical to Masaccio’s, departing only when you focus on the actual sword found in each work. Michelangelo creates a bright gleaming sword that seems to be piercing the neck of Adam as he forces the two out of the bucolic Garden of Eden. He also creates a much more muscular image of the angel and the cloak seems to hug his body, placing emphasis on his strong physique. Michelangelo also removes the round archway that has been used in the past to solidify their exile, assuming his viewers would be quite familiar with the events based on the preceding narratives.

Adam is linked to the angel as well as the *Temptation* scene in two ways; one is through the sword, as mentioned above, and the other is through the gesture of his body. Both Adam and Eve are shown moving away from the tree found in the center of the composition, yet both of them are pulled back through their body language. Adam’s face is directed towards the path that he is moving on, while his arms gesture towards the focal point and the scene that unfolded just before their demise. All of Eve is shown moving away from the Tree of Knowledge except for her face, which is tucked away into her shoulder and cast in shadow but facing towards the rest of the action within the panel. This way of pushing out and pulling in is the epitome of the High Renaissance, combining the ideal with the real; in this case the expressions of the figures being

\textsuperscript{165} Ascanio Condivi, *The Life of Michelangelo,* “And the other part of the space shows them both, expelled by the angel, stricken with fear and grief, fleeing from the face of God, 47.
depicted are real and extremely believable. The configuration of the figures is ideal and too perfect to exist naturally.

One of the most unique inclusions within Michelangelo’s expulsion and what I believe is probably overlooked over more often than not, is the landscape in which they now exist. We know what becomes of Adam and Eve and the punishments that are bestowed upon them; however, the Bible never really mentions how their physical surroundings change from what they experienced during their time in paradise. Michelangelo gives us a stark glimpse into their new earthly realm; they head towards a barren landscape that is basically a complete opposite of the lush verdant environment they were accustomed to in Eden. Most masters of the Renaissance do not spend time on distinguishing whether or not the new world in which Adam and Eve exist is any different from the environmental surroundings they were used to before their exile. Typically we encounter visual images of the two working and building a family together and then of course the drama of their children.\textsuperscript{166} By including additional features to his Expulsion scene, Michelangelo provided his audience with a rather stark depiction of the exact moment where Adam and Eve have left Paradise and entered their new world.

While Cranach the Elder painted countless images depicting Adam and Eve during their betrayal of God, there are only a few paintings that include the events following their Temptation. Found in both the Dresden and Vienna paintings depicting Adam and Eve during their time in Eden, Cranach creates a theatrical interpretation of the angel driving the two out of Paradise. Displayed as an earthly scene, we see the angel physically chasing the two on foot while brandishing a sword. The angel acts with aggression, creating a rather terrifying depiction of Eve and Adam’s exile. Following conventional portrayals of the event, he is shown wearing a

\textsuperscript{166} Genesis 4:8 “Then Cain said to Abel his brother, “Let us to go into the plain.” And when they were in the plain, Cain rose upon Abel his brother and slew him.”
thick rose robe with his wings exposed. Both paintings follow the same approach, but there are minor differences that can be addressed.

Located in the upper left corner of the Dresden painting we see the momentum of the act reiterated by the hill upon which they are running (Figure 67). With their arms linked as they run, Adam and Eve, stricken with fear, look back at the angel who is right on their heels. The event, while it is a small inclusion within the composition, carries great weight. As in Ghiberti’s relief from the “Gates of Paradise” the placement of this scene is right near the edge of the composition, except here the Expulsion is depicted on the left of the painting and in Ghiberti’s work the expulsion happens on the right which seems to make more sense being that it is the last narrative of the story. Eve’s right hand is nearly touching the edge of the painting; it seems they are literally being driven out of the painting as they are being rushed out of Eden.

The Vienna version depicts the Expulsion essentially in the same placement as seen in the Dresden painting, but here the three figures are on flat ground and have been given a larger space within the painting (Figure 68). Cranach has also provided richer detail to the angel’s wings and drapery of his robe. Behind the figures, a beautifully reflective lake is painted which is home to several swans, ducks and cranes. Adam and Eve are in reversed positions and he now appears to have a much stronger grip on Eve’s arm, pulling her away from the angel. Both figures raise their left arm up, hiding their faces as they look behind at the forceful angel.

In comparison to many of the other depictions that I have discussed concerning the Expulsion of Adam and Eve, Lucas Cranach the Elder has created a radical approach in depicting the narrative. There is energy pouring out of all three figures; movement, fear, and anger are present in his accounts of the two being driven out of Paradise. Through his authentic approach in conveying the events that took place in Genesis 1-3 in a single composition and the intensity
of his figures, we are presented with a theatrical representation of the accounts of Adam and Eve, and their Fall that were so common during the Protestant Reformation. Kathleen Crowther discusses the attitudes about Adam and Eve that were forming out of the new Protestant mind and how the Fall specifically marked the moment where all harmony was lost. This pessimistic view of the Original Sin and Adam and Eve in general allowed 16th century theologians to create distinct views on societal roles that were recited and taught to all ages throughout Germany. Additionally, these viewpoints had a major impact on impressionable minds during a confusing time of religious differences.

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167 Kathleen M, Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*. Not only with the advent of texts becoming more readily available but through German plays and poems that became very popular from Lutwin to Quiting in Germany.

168 Kathleen M, Crowther, *Adam and Eve in the Protestant Reformation*. 
CONCLUSION

Throughout the body of this study, I have focused my efforts on examining multiple types of representations concerning Genesis 1-3. I have limited my sources by selecting works that followed tradition, a precise doctrine or presented a completely authentic translation of the subject matter. While I considered most representations that were completed as part of a Genesis cycle, certain images have been omitted, as their inclusion was not necessary for the purpose of this investigation. I was able to reference Gertrude Schiller’s index, the *Iconography of Christian Art*, to assist in my choice of works to be mentioned. While the majority of images discussed developed out of the Renaissance era, I decided to include a few images that were produced during the late Middle Ages as these images helped shed light on the conventional representations of Adam and Eve during their time in Paradise.

The *creation* scenes of Adam and Eve can be seen today on the facades and interior walls of countless Cathedrals throughout Europe; outside of the church, images of Adam and Eve can be viewed in museums across the globe. While several works have since been severely damaged or lost over the centuries, these renditions of Adam and Eve and the story of Genesis were ingrained into the average spectator during the height of the Renaissance. The story of their creation, this miraculous happening on behalf of God, provided a beginning of history. The actualities of Adam and Eve, while they are undoubtedly fantastic, have been accepted, interpreted, altered, and completely rejected throughout history. The introduction of our first man and woman caused for question, disbelief, and discordance. However, had we not been introduced to the scripture of Genesis 1-3, the beautifully crafted works by countless artists, and the philosophies of early Church fathers to provide an explanation for humanity, civilization would be left with nothing, no reason for our existence and no explanation of how it all began.
God's creation of earth and the animals that would inhabit this world preceded Adam’s creation, yet they only served as variables that exist in what we know of our world; in fact it is the creation of Adam that marked the very moment where humankind became a reality. Although the original scripture states that God formed Adam from the dust of the earth and breathed life upon him, making him a living soul, we have seen several visual representations that depict this moment in a different manner. Images like the mosaics found from the cupola of San Marco and the fragmented image from Andrea Mantegna’s *Madonna della Vittoria*, present God carefully crafting what appears to be a nearly finished figure of Adam. The artists remove the medium of what he exists of, but we can assume he must be crafted from the clay of the earth. These images follow closest to the first verse of Genesis 2:7.\(^{169}\) The mosaicists from San Marco even succeed Adam’s creation with an adjoining panel depicting Adam receiving his soul through the visual representation of his psyche. Here the artists stray from the scripture and follow the Alexandrian translation of the Cotton Genesis, which served them well, depicting life through breath within a mosaic image is simply not plausible.

In opposition to the San Marco mosaics and Mantegna’s images, Bartolo di Fredi looked to the latter verse of Genesis 2:7 for the inspiration of his creation scene. His image of Adam’s introduction is one of few surviving images in which God is literally transferring life to Adam through his breath. Both Master Bertram and Michel Wolgemut created bizarre images of Adam projecting from the ground and becoming a living being, following the scripture closely and removing any physical labor from God. With that said, the creation of Adam scenes that truly thrived throughout the Renaissance were representations that presented life through the form of touch. By picturing the act of life given through the means of touch, artists brought a sense of

\(^{169}\) Genesis 2:7 “then God formed man, dust from the earth, and breathed upon his face a breath of life, and the man became a living soul.”
tangibility to their work and allowed their audience to better interpret the narrative. Artists like Lucas Cranach the Elder and Wiligelmo of Modena presented God placing his palm on the top of Adam’s head, transferring the energy of life first to his brain. As mentioned in Chapter I, there was great debate amongst the Church fathers as to where the soul existed (heart or brain) and Wiligelmo and Cranach are clearly providing an image where the soul (life) is being received through the brain. In contrast, Giotto, Ghiberti and Michelangelo all display God sending energy to Adam through his hand, allowing the life to course throughout his entire body. Among the varying types discussed in Chapter I, all follow one specific theme; that Adam was made in the image and likeness of God. However, his likeness to God was not through his physical appearance but rather through his soul, Adam’s soul was a projection of God’s soul.

The images concerning Eve’s creation varied slightly throughout this study; occasionally a large rock or cave was included to serve as an alternative to Adam’s body being the vessel out of which she emerges. The image produced by Master Bertram is unique as we are confronted with a half-formed image of Eve projecting from the exposed rib of Adam. God is holding the end of the rib as she slowly forms and rises from Adam’s bone. The majority of the images discussed in Chapter II shed light on the pessimistic views towards Eve and women; she often appears weak, unable to extract herself from Adam without the physical aid of God. The Eve creation scenes in the Dresden and Vienna paintings by Lucas Cranach show Eve as completely inept, putting forth little effort while God has to struggle and fight to pull her out of Adam’s body. In Michelangelo’s representation from the Sistine ceiling, he shows Eve nearly completely part of the new world with just one foot left in the shadows of Adam’s side, yet her glazed expression as she stares into the eyes of God displays Eve in an unflattering manner. While there has been scholarly mention that Eve appears stricken with awe of God, her expressions and body
language also allow her to appear unaware of her surroundings and what just happened. By depicting Eve in an undesirable fashion, artists were able to foreshadow her weakness during the temptation; even at her birth she lacked the strength and glory of Adam.

The anticipation of the Fall is built into the scenes of Adam and Eve’s creation, but it is the moment of the Original Sin when everything becomes real. In that moment, when Eve falls to the deceit of the evil serpent and she and Adam eat of the forbidden fruit, our humanity exists. While Augustine and other theologians debated on whether or not mankind truly existed before the Fall, it is this moment that marks our flaws as humans. Adam and Eve succumb to temptation, a feeling of temptation so passionate they could not resist. The entire premise of humanity exists in this; what consumes a human and lives within us each day are our desires.

Early commissioned cycles concerning Genesis allowed for little originality and more often than not, Eve was provided as the main culprit for their expulsion from Paradise and the demise of mankind. Many representations coming from the late Middle Ages and into the early decades of the Renaissance were presented as a balanced and symmetrical image of Adam and Eve standing on opposite sides of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. The symmetry was lost only when Eve was depicted as the figure to first take a piece of fruit from the tree. She was also often depicted interacting with the mischievous serpent. With that said, there were images coming from the Romanesque period that presented both Adam and Eve on the same side of the Tree; Wiligelmo’s *Temptation* for the façade of Modena Cathedral is a perfect case in point. Regardless of their placement, Eve was typically displayed as the more active figure of the two, taking from the tree and persuading Adam to follow her lead.

The representation of the serpent seemed to vary the most within images of the Fall of Adam and Eve. While images that included the hybrid “eve-like” serpent provided originality for
artists of the Renaissance as well as entertainment and amusement amongst their audience; it is
the presentation of Adam and Eve during the moment of their Fall that is most interesting.
Through my investigation of multiple Temptation scenes, I have come across a few that seem to
present an unconventional representation of what happened when the evil serpent entered the
world of Adam and Eve. For example, Andrea Mantegna’s *Temptation of Adam and Eve* shows
both figures actively tugging at the low hanging fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Adam has taken
an extremely active role in the narrative and even appears to be eating a piece of fruit while Eve
is still reaching for a piece. Here, Mantegna creates a balanced image by having Adam eating
from one hand and seeking additional fruit with the other, while the serpent faces towards Eve as
she reaches for her first piece. This configuration and interaction between the figures, makes
neither Adam nor Eve “more” to blame.

Michelangelo’s *Temptation* scene for the Sistine Ceiling also served as a unique
representation of Adam and Eve during the Original Sin. He includes an awesome image of the
evil serpent and like Mantegna, displays both Adam and Eve acting simultaneously.
Michelangelo further addresses the narrative by picturing Eve seated and Adam standing beside
her with his loins perfectly parallel to her face. This sexual commentary would have reinforced
the concept of the Original Sin and our inability to overcome our desires. Hans Baldung Grien
stretches the sexual nature of Adam and Eve even further in his image of the *Fall of Man* from
1511. Grien displays an overly explicit embrace between Adam and Eve, so intimate that the
images of the Tree and Serpent are nearly lost. Grien, along with several other artists during the
16th century, used the narrative of the Original Sin to create images of lust, desire and sex that
would remain acceptable in a time of religious dominance.
All of these stimulating representations of the Fall of Adam and Eve ultimately end the same way--Adam and Eve are expelled from Paradise once they commit to eating from the Tree. Although artists like Grien and Cranach did not always include an expulsion scene succeeding the Fall, the story and fate of Adam and Eve was well known by the 1500s. The Genesis cycles that illustrated the full narrative created images of grief, shame and warning. The varying facial and body expressions within the expulsion scenes discussed in this study provide the viewer with a concrete representation of what happens when we fail to overcome temptations and desires. It is the scene of Adam and Eve’s expulsion that best served the Church fathers as well as the new Protestant supporters. Whether or not all of the blame was placed on Eve during their Fall, both she and Adam are punished equally and sent away from Eden forever. Artists seemed to slightly alter the narrative--some would depict physical interaction between the angel and Adam, some placed the interaction between Eve and the angel, and others simply displayed the angel driving them out of Eden from a close distance. The originality for the narrative most often came from the amount of emotion the artist included; Masaccio painted a simple picture with little to no background, yet the figures of Adam and Eve as they are being driven out of Paradise carries tremendous weight. Agony, pain, and shame pour from the figures of Adam and Eve, allowing Masaccio to create an image that immediately provokes feeling from his audience.

Throughout history, the story of Adam and Eve and the lost land of Eden has played a major role in the West on attitudes towards gender, sexuality, temptation and deceit. The creations of Adam and Eve were miraculous events performed by God, and their interaction with the evil serpent in Eden was troubling and difficult to accept. The battles Adam and Eve faced with their inner demons, along with the emotional struggles they carried as they were removed from Paradise are both examples of the constant struggles that exist within humanity. While the
Church used the story of Adam and Eve to project their ideals on humanity as well as the subjects of what led to the reason for salvation through Jesus Christ. Adam and Eve and the verses in Genesis 1-3 provide humans with much more. Their story removed the unknowing; why are we here, who came first and how did it all happen? However, their story goes far beyond the reason for salvation. In fact, their story allows us to accept the exact things that make us human. Every human being can in some way connect with Adam and Eve; we have all had feelings of desire, and we have all succumbed to temptation at some point in time. Lastly, we have all paid debts for wrongdoings we have committed. The story and images of Adam and Eve during their time in Paradise never truly lost their resilience. Their story, from conception to expulsion, is just as significant today as it was during the height of the Renaissance.
Figure 1: Wiligelmo, *Creation of Adam*, sculptural Relief from the façade of Modena Cathedral found in Emilia, Italy, marble, ca. 1099.
Figure 2: Unknown artists, Genesis cycle from the cupola of San Marco cathedral in Venice, Italy, mosaic, 1220-1300?
Figure 3: Unknown artists, *Creation of Adam* from the creation cycle in San Marco Cathedral, mosaic, 1220-1300?
Figure 4: Unknown artists, *The Animation of Adam*, from the creation cycle in San Marco Cathedral, mosaic, 1220-1300?
Figure 5: Giotto di Bondone, interior view of the Arena Chapel (Scrovegni Chapel), Padua, Italy, fresco, 1304-5.
Figure 6: Giotto di Bondone, *Wedding at Cana* and the *Raising of Lazarus*, Arena (Scrovegni) Chapel, Padua, Italy, fresco, 1304-5.
Figure 7: Giotto di Bondone, *Creation of Adam*. Arena (Scrovegni) Chapel, Padua, Italy, fresco, 1304-5.
Figure 8: Andrea Pisano, *Creation of Adam*. Now located in the Museo del Opera in Florence, Italy. Originially fixed to the Campanile (bell tower) of Santa Maria del Fiore (Duomo) Florence, Italy, 1336.
Figure 9: Michelangelo Buonarroti, *The Creation of Adam*, Sistine Ceiling, Rome, Italy, fresco, 1508-1512.
Figure 10: Master Bertram von Minden, *Creation of Adam*, detail from panel of the Grabow Altarpiece, 1383.
Figure 11: Bartolo di Fredi, *Creation of Man*, lunette from a frescoed cycle for the Collegiata of San Gimignano, Italy, fresco, 1376-1377.
Figure 12: Jacopo della Quercia, *Creation of Adam*, relief from the Main Portal of San Petronio in Bologna, Italy, 1429-34.
Figure 13: Lorenzo Ghiberti, Adam and Eve panel from the “Gates of Paradise”, Baptistry of the Duomo in Florence, Italy, gilded bronze, 1424-52.
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