THE LEGEND OF THE GREEN TREE AND THE DRY.

By Miss M. R. BENNETT.

The legend of the Green Tree and the Dry Tree is an ancient and little known allegory, which has its roots in Jewish tradition. A dry tree appears in a good many Italian pictures, especially in those of the early Paduan and Venetian schools,\(^1\) at a time when Nature was not painted merely for her own sake, but was regarded as a mirror of another world and doctrine and morals were read into all her details. Later generations forgot the meaning and symbolism became a closed book, which has only been unsealed again quite lately. And the Bare Tree is symbolism—its legend connects with another—better known one—of the Wood of the Cross. The legend is related very fully by one Guillaume Dequilville, a monk of the Cistercian Abbey of Chaalis in Valois (Oise), who in the fourteenth century wrote three poems:—' The Pilgrimage of Human Life,' 'The Pilgrimage of the Soul,' and 'The Pilgrimage of Jesus Christ.' It is into the Pilgrimage of the Soul that the Dry Tree comes.

The book begins with the death of the presumed writer, whose soul on leaving its body is met by its guardian angel, and together they set out for Paradise, but have not gone far before they meet the soul’s especial devil (plate I, 1 and 3), for we each have our attendant good and evil spirit. The devil claims the soul as his own, though acknowledging it ought to belong to the angel by right of Baptism, but argues that never since has it claimed or made use of its privileges. As they cannot agree, they decide they must go for judgment before S. Michael—Provost Michael he is called. The soul relates:\(^2\):—' So was I thenne ledde bytween them bothe, and faste

\(^1\) e.g. The B.V.M. and Child by Schiavoni (Turin), Descent from the Cross by Mantegna (Brit. Mus.), Agony in the Garden by Mantegna (Nat. Gal.), Agony in the Garden by G. Bellini (Nat. Gal.), Transfiguration by G. Bellini (Naples) and B.V.M and Child by Basaiti (Nat. Gal.).

\(^2\) Caxton’s edition, 1483.
I was lyft up in the eyer, the angel upon my right syde and the fowle wyght upon the other syde. But to this gentil angel ful ofte cast I myn eye for drede of that other which me lothed so much, and was of hym hughly in doubt.'

They reach S. Michael's judgment seat, for it is he who weighs souls on death and who decides on their immediate destination, until the Last Great Assize, when he himself will have to answer for the justice of his sentences. The scenes described are very striking and very much to the point, and the soul just escapes—but through no merits of its own—from being handed over to its devil.

This trial passed, he is conducted round strange parts of the next world, by his angel, who explains the meaning of the various sights and scenes, and wherever he goes the fires of Purgatory go with him.

After a time they arrive at an open plain, on which stand two trees, one green and flourishing, the other bare and dry. Under the trees many pilgrims, or souls, are playing with an apple (plate I, 2 and 4).

The angel draws his attention to them, and when asked, explains the strange sight. The pilgrims have found in the apple with which they play, the one great solace for all their ills and woe. It is not the apple that Adam took, but a Living Fruit which made restitution for that robbery. The Dry Tree is the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, which withered when robbed of its fruit by Adam and Eve.

In an Ethiopic 'Book of Adam and Eve,' written about the fourteenth century, we are told:

1 When our father Adam came out of the garden, he passed by that tree, and saw how God had then changed the appearance of it into another form, and how it withered.'

In the Apocalypse of Moses, Eve relates how when she took the fruit:

1 In that very hour my eyes were opened and I knew I was bare of the righteousness with which I had been clothed . . . and I wept,
To face page 22.

PLATE I.

THE GREEN TREE AND THE DRY.
(see p. 32).
PLATE II.

THE GREEN TREE AND THE DRY.
(see p. 32).
... and I began to seek in my nakedness in the garden for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none, for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees, except the fig tree only; but I took leaves from it, and made for myself a girdle, and it was from the very same plant from which I had eaten.

So here we find that the tree was a fig and not an apple, and it is the only one that retains its leaves.

Adam’s disobedience had two results,—the first the death of the Tree and also, to quote from Caxton’s translation:

‘What tyme that Adam had eten of the Appel to the grete harm of himself and all his issue after hym, the pepyns of that appel he plantid within his owne hert, wherefore his trees or braunches spryngine of the pepins were by comen wylde and unfructuous ... for it befelle that in these pepyns was bredde a worme, a closid within Adam’s herte, the unthrifty vyce of disobedience, which worme ... corrupted these pepyns that they might nought spring to a fayre Appeltre, but to fowle bushes and wylde that myght nought fructyfyen no holsome ne lusty fruyte, but bitter and unsavory. Which fruyte the Mayster Gardyner wold nought putte amonge his store of other fruyte, but caste it to hell ... till the tyme that it lyked the hygh lord to graft a good graft, which was to him full dere and precious, and taken fro that ryal and worshipful roote Jesse ... which graft ... by the blessyng of the good lord received exempcion of the forsayd wyldenesse. This stok was that noble and trewe and virtuous wyf seynt Anne, upon which was grafted that noble braunche oure blessid lady, that God despoiled and made very clene and naked of all manner of vyce and corrupcion which come by nature of this roote. So that when this graft had taken ... it became a full swete and convenable appeltre for to bere good fruyte, agreable and holsome to the etying of any weldisposid creature. A fruyte of more nobel valewe or more worthy prys was there never none than this gentil appeltre brought forth after a fewe yeres ... This fruyte is the Appel with which men must pleyen to avoyden their hevyynesse ... it must be restored to the Tree that Adam despoylled instede of the Appel that he ete. And right it is that thow knowe clerely how that Appel was restored, without which restitucion Adam ne none of his lynage might nought be quyte of the surfet of thylk noyous Appel which he hadde spoylled fro this tree and eten ageyne the wylle of the Soverayne Gardyner.’

To return to the legend in the ‘Pilgrimage,’ among the branches of the Green Tree sits Virginity—more shining than the sun, sister of the angels, and guardian of the Tree and its Fruit. To her Justice approaches and demands that the Living Fruit be given to the Dry Tree: Virginity protests and says if Justice acts up to her name she will allow the two trees to argue their cases before her,
so that a satisfactory end may be arrived at. Then follows a 'piteous altercation' between the Green Tree and the Dry. The Dry Tree acknowledges that Adam and his heirs are the debtors but they are incapable of paying, and are therefore under condemnation, but argues that by the sacrifice of the Good Fruit the restitution of the Dry Tree would be accomplished and man would be saved from his hopeless position of bankruptcy. The Green Tree agrees that her Fruit is able to restore all things—but the price is too great. Justice then relates a conference held in her presence in Heaven between the Persons of the Holy Trinity on the subject of the Dry Tree. God the Father points out that man owes the great debt, but has nothing to pay it with, and that there is no angel even who can pay for him. The Holy Spirit agrees that nowhere can a saviour be found unless one of the Trinity as man pays man's debt. Christ takes the office on Himself; therefore Justice bids the Green Tree consider well the meaning of her Living Fruit.

And I will tell thee what befell! Justice held steady to her purpose, so the time came that separation should be made between this sweet appel and this Appeltre, and so it fell to the earth without any hurting of this fair tree. And when it had tarried there a convenient time, Envy that had full subtilely hid herself... said that she would be the one that would execute this forsaied sentence... and she would hang up this Appel upon the Drye Tree... And as she purposed so she did. So was this lusty appel hanged upon this Dry Tree and tacked with sharp nails so hygh and so openly that all the world might see the restitution that was made... (plate ii, 1).

That this allegory is in part of Jewish origin and in some form was well known in our Lord's time, seems possible, for He appears to refer to it, when during the Procession to Calvary as given in S. Luke, He says: 'If they do these things in the Green Tree, what shall be done in the Dry.' When the soul has reached Paradise, he is shown a

1 In the Pilgrimage of Jesus Christ the writer dreams he finds himself in the Terrestrial Paradise, and there he sees an old man up in an apple-tree eating the fruit. His foot slips, and he falls to earth, which opens below him, and there seems no possible help for him. Then the writer looks up and sees a great light, and in it Adam's angel returning to Heaven to report what has happened. The angel approaches the throne of God and tells his tale. Then three dames de noble semblant appear—they are Justice, Truth, and Mercy. Justice and Truth both condemn Adam, Mercy pleads for him. Truth suggests they should ask Wisdom 'chier sire S. Esperit,' if there is any way of salvation for him, and learns the only way is for one of the Blessed Trinity, as man, to pay man's debt.

2 xxiii. 31.
series of scenes representative of the observance of the great Church festivals, and in that of the Resurrection the restored Dry Tree appears. The angel says:

'But first behold and see a lytel of Paradys, and when thou hast wel sene it, thou shalt the better understand . . . Then I beheld a while in one syde and in the other, and saw so many worlds that were withouten numbers. At the last I arest my syght in special to one that was nygh by me, in which I saw standing a wonder high tre, that bare grete plenty of fruite and also of leves, and was a tre of wonder hugh beauty; but an high braunch he had that passed all the remenaunt in height and was all dry above, and bare neither fruite ne leves. This braunch also had growing in itself another braunch crossing over-thwart. Byneth all the foot of this tre was great multitude of peple and made an hugh feste of grete solemnity yielding thanks to God. Among all which I saw a seemly person standing nigh the forsaid tree, beholding ever upward, wondering busily. Then prayed I mine angel to tell me of that feste what it might mean. There might thow, quoth he, behold thine own parents Adam and Eve, and standing about them much of their lineage: many of them lacketh, for some be set above in higher places, and some be abiding beneath in pains. This fair tree that thou seest that is the same tre on which growed the Appel by which the cursid Sathanas deceived Adam and Eve. There standeth Adam and beholdeth upward upon this high braunch that crosseth so above, and busily he thanketh the sovereign lord for his redemption that was made thereby, what tyme that Jhesu Christ was hanged thereupon. Now for to telle thee plainly of this feste here in this lower place. After that this feste and dinner is ended above, angels come down with the table with S. Peter, that is God's Vicar to do all the solemnities. The bord is set down fast by this tre, with only bread and wine. Come hither, saith S. Peter, to Adam and Eve, assayeth of a littel mete which I have brought you and prove if it be better than the Appel, which that you ete, and whether is more delicious the old fruit or the new. Of the old ye have assayed but of the new ye know but littel. Then cometh Adam forth and his wif Eve, and the others with thim and receiveth of this meat with great devotion. And after saying grace, wondering joyfully they take each other by the hand . . . and this people in a whole assembly environneth this tree all the day singing and making much joy.'

In 'Le Livre de la “Genèse” dans la Poesie Latin au Vme Siécle' Abbé Gamber quotes from the fourth century poem 'De Ligno Vitae':

'There is a place which we believe to be the centre of the universe Where rises the hill which the Jews call Golgotha. There was planted, I remember, a branch cut from a dry tree and the wood produced the healing fruits of life.

1 Caxton's Pilgrimage of the Soul.
It nourishes not only the inhabitants of the land that bears it
Strangers also enjoy its blessed fruit. This wood rises
in the fashion of a tree, with a single trunk, but soon
it extends its branches on each side like two arms.
Thus the plough offers its double yoke to two oxen.
When the fruit was ripe, it detached itself, and the earth
received it. But soon, wondrous thing, on the third day
the branch re-appeared and arose, redoubtable from
the earth to the heavens and it bore the fruits of life and
joy. This tree ceases not to stretch afar its twelve
strong branches and with them covers the universe, so
that the nations can for ever find in it their nourishment
and their life, and that they may learn that death can
also die.'

Dante\(^1\) also places the Dry Tree in the Terrestrial
Paradise. He follows the chariot drawn by Gryphon, the
mystic beast of two natures, which stops under a great bare
Tree, to which a Living Bud is bound and which immediately
bursts into leaf and flower. But to Dante the Dry Tree
symbolises Rome, the seat of Empire and Temporal power,
which springs into life when Church and State are united
under Constantine.

The Legend of the Cross is the complement of that of
the Dry Tree, and is to be found in a good many ancient
works:—in the 'Legenda Aurea,'\(^2\) in 'Cursor Mundi,'\(^3\) etc.
It is much better known, probably, because two Italian
masters painted it:—Agnolo Gaddi in S. Croce, Florence,
and Piero dei Franceschi at Arezzo. In it we are told that
when Adam's death drew near he sent Seth to the gate of
Eden to ask the angel for the oil of mercy, which had been
promised to him; he will be able to trace the way by his
parents' footprints, for the weight of their sin killed the
grass which never grew again.\(^4\)

According to an early English poem in the Brit. Mus.,\(^5\)
on his arrival at Paradise the angel allowed him to put his

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\(^1\) *Purgatorio*, Canto xxix, l. xxx-xxxii.

\(^2\) Caxton's *Golden Legend*, 3rd edit. 1492.

\(^3\) R. Morris, *Cursor Mundi*, a Northum-
brian poem of the fourteenth century.

\(^4\) As early as 1120 Lambertus, Canon of
S. Omer, inserted into his collection of
poetry: 'When Adam was 930 years old . . .
he said to Seth, Go to the east to the brink
of the ocean, and call on God with hands
outstretched, and thou wilt perhaps find
help. When Seth fulfilled the commission
of his father he was transported by the
angel into Paradise, and after he had broken
off a branch from the Tree he was brought
back.'—*The Tree of Life*, Dr. Piper in the
Journal of Sacred Literature, 1865.

\(^5\) *The Story of the Holy Rood*, Harl.
MSS. 4, 96, fo. 76.
head through the gate, but his body had to stay outside. In the midst of Paradise he saw a well

' Above the well perceived he
Where there stode a fulfair tre
With braunches thereon many ane
But bark ne lefe ne had it nane.
And hastily then gan he see
A marvel of the grete tree.
Him thought that it stood up full even
And reached on hight right up to hevyn
And bark enough there on was sene
With leves that was gay and grene.
And in the crop of that tre on hight
A litel child he saw full right
Lapped all in clathes cleene
Als it right then born had bene.

* * * * *

Into the erth then luked he
And saw the rotes of that same tre
Truly him thought they fell
Into the utterest end of hell.'

The angel tells him that Adam cannot receive the Oil of Mercy till that Child, who is God's son, has come to earth, but gives him a branch of the Tree of Knowledge and bids him plant it on Adam's grave. Other accounts say it was three seeds of the Tree which were to be placed under Adam's tongue when he was buried. Seth returned, and on Adam's death three days after, buried him in the Vale of Hebron and carried out the angel's directions.

There is a Jewish tradition 1 that Adam's staff was a branch of the Tree of Knowledge which he broke off the Tree as he was leaving the Garden of Eden. Rabbi Eliezer 2 says that he gave this staff to Enoch, Enoch to Noah, Noah to Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph. After Joseph's death his house was plundered and the staff came into the hands of Pharaoh, who planted it in Jethro's garden. When Moses was grown up he found it there covered with written characters. He took it up and told Jethro that this rod should deliver the Children of Israel.

According to Rabbi Simon, 3 Pharaoh had three

1 Mar Solomon, chap. xvii, Bibl. Or. iii, 212.
2 Eisenmenger, Enidech. Jud. i. 377.
3 Quoted from Moses, by Edmund Fleg, 1928.
councillors, Balaam, son of Beor, from the land of the Two Rivers; Job, the man of Uz; and Jethro the Midianite. It was Balaam who advised the destruction of the Children. Job, when consulted, 'looked up and looked down and answered no word.' But Jethro urged 'Be wise, O Pharaoh, let be these Hebrews.' When Pharaoh would not listen he fled back into Midian, taking with him the Rod, which he stole from Pharaoh's treasury. One day, walking in his garden, he struck the earth with the Rod, which immediately took root in the soil and grew. When Moses, in his turn fled into Midian, he took hold of the Tree, and it turned back into a Rod in his hand.

According to the Legend, the branch, or seeds, planted on Adam's grave, grew and were undisturbed until the time of Moses, who found the growing plant when he had led the Israelites from Egypt to Hebron. It had grown with three rods, one of cypress, one of cedar and one of pine.

Moses drew them up and did many miracles with them, among others the sweetening of the waters of Meriba, and the striking of the rock. When he knew that his end drew near he planted the rods beside a stream at the foot of Mount Tabor—and there they remained till the time of David, who was instructed to find them, and brought them to Jerusalem, where he planted them and they grew into one great tree with three branches. It was under this tree that he wrote the Psalms. When Solomon came to the throne, he honoured the tree by placing a silver band round it every year—for thirty years—by which time the Temple was almost completed. The carpenters needed a particularly large beam and though they searched far and wide, they could not find any tree to answer their purpose, except the sacred tree, which was cut down, but then could not be made to fit the place, so it was cast aside as a bridge over a stream. The thirty silver bands were laid up in the Temple, and were the thirty pieces of silver paid to Judas Iscariot.

The tree lay in the same place until 'Dame Sheba' came to Jerusalem. Passing over this bridge, she honoured it with all her might, and laid her clothes thereon and went over barefoot.1

'And when the queen of Saba came to visite Salomon, she worshipped this tree, bycause she sayde the sayvour of all the world should be hanged

1 Caxton's Golden Legend.
thereon, by whom the royaunie of the Jews should be defaced and
seace. Salomon for this cause made it to be taken up and buried deep
in the grounde. Now it happed after, that they of Jerusalem dyde
make a grete pyte for a pool where the minyster of the Temple should
washe theyr bestes for sacrifyce. And this pool had suche virtue that
the angels descendyd and moved the water and the first man that
descended ... was made hool of whatsoever sekeness he was seek of.
And when the tyme approached of the passyon of our Lord, this tree
aroos out of the water and floated. And of this pyece of tymbre made
the Jews the crosse of oure Lord. Thus the cross by whiche we ben
saved came of the tree by which we were damped.'

In the hymn,1 'Sing my tongue the glorious battle,'
which is No. 97 in the Ancient and Modern Hymn Book, we
get a reference to this tradition, in the second verse:

'He our Maker deeply grieving
That the first made Adam fell,
When he ate the fruit forbidden,
Whose reward was death and hell,
Marked e'en then this tree the ruin
Of the first tree to dispell.'

This hymn is of very ancient origin and probably dates
back to the fourth century. It is to be found in most
Mediaeval Breviaries and Missals, some of which belong to
the eighth and ninth centuries.

Tradition tells us that at midday of the Crucifixion the
Cross burst into leaf and blossom and continued so till
evening.

So in Cursor Mundi2 it is related:

'Joseph of Arimathie and Sir Nicodeme also
As tells us this storie
With leave of Pilate to the rood
They went then privili
There sortulest of all they found
Saint John and Saint Mari
The rood was with leaf and branch
From midday to the Complene
Flourishing wonderfully
* * * * *
But on the morn of that greening
The tree was all drie.'

1 F. Leo, in his edition of Fortunatus' Opera poetica, Berlin, 1831, quotes from a
S. Petersburg MS. of the eighth and ninth
centuries. One at Paris, Bibl. Nat. of the
ninth century. Mone prints it from an
eighth-century MS. at Trier. It is found
also in a tenth-century Mozarabic service
book, in the Brit. Mus. (Add. 3846, f. 79),
in two English Hymnaries (Harl. 2961,
Vesp. D. xii). 2 The hymn came very early
into extensive use and is found in most
mediaeval Breviaries and Missals ... the older
Roman (Venice 1470), Paris (1643), Sarum,
York, and Aberdeen.—Curious Myths of
the Middle Ages, by S. Baring Gould.
2 Gottingen MS. of Cursor Mundi.
After the Resurrection the three crosses were buried and forgotten, till the time of S. Helena, a British Princess, mother of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor. She was inspired by a vision to go to the Holy Land, and search for the Cross. There she found a Jew, who knew by tradition where the crosses were buried—and persuaded him, by means of putting him down a well and keeping him there, to point out the place. Three crosses were found and to distinguish the true one a sick person was brought and touched by each one in turn, recovering instantly when touched by the Cross of Christ. Helena had it sawn in two, left half in Jerusalem, and carried the other half back with her to Rome. In the seventh century Chosroes, king of Persia, came against Jerusalem and carried off the half of the Cross and set it up beside his throne, calling on all people to worship him as God. Then Heraclius, the Emperor, assembled a great host, and fought and won back the Cross. And when Heraclius saw Chosroes he said to him:

> Forasmuch as after a manner thou hast honoured the Tree of the Cross, if thou wilt receive Baptism and the faith of Christ, I shall give it to thee and thou shalt hold crown and realm with hostages... And if thou wilt not I shall slay thee with my sword and shall smite off thy head. And when he would not accord thereto he did anon smite off his head. And he found with him his son of the age of ten years, whom he did do baptise, and lifted him from the font, and left to him the realm of his father.1

Heraclius bore back the Cross in triumph to Jerusalem, but when—dressed in his robes and crown, and mounted on a magnificent horse—he was entering the gate, it was miraculously walled against him and an angel appeared, who asked him how he dared ride as a conqueror through the gate his Saviour had passed barefoot, carrying the Cross. Struck to the heart, the Emperor dismounted, put off his royal robes and trod barefoot in his Lord's steps—and the wall fell before him and the gate opened.

The idea of a mystic dead tree somewhere on this earth, haunted the minds of early travellers, for we often come across references to it.

Marco Polo,2 who lived in the thirteenth century, mentions it in his account of his travels. Journeying for

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1 Caxton's *Golden Legend*.  
eight days from the city of Col, he arrives on a great plain in the north of Persia, where stands the Arbre Sec.

Fra Oderico di Pordenone, who travelled in the fourteenth century, hears of the Dry Tree near the city of Thauris in Persia.

In the 'Buke of Sir John Mandeville,' we read:

'Twa myle fro Ebron is the grave of Lot the nephew of Abraham, and a little fro Ebron is the mount Mambree... and there is a tree of oak, that the Sarzans call Dyrpe and it is of Abraham's tyme. This is the tree that men call the Drye Tree: and they say there that it has been from the beginnyng of the world.' But he gives a different cause for its death, saying, 'that it was allway grene and bare leves unto that tyme that our Lord died on the cross, and then it dried... Some prophecies say that a grete lord of the west side of the world shall conquer the holy land with the help of Christen men, and he shall go sing a mass under that drie tree and then sail it wax grene again and bere leves and fruyt.'

The legends—for the Drie Tree comes into many of the old romances, French and English—are not very exact as to the spot where it stands, but the mediaeval geographers had to be more exact.

It appears in the thirteenth-century map of the world in Hereford Cathedral; constructed by Richard de Haldingham; in it the Arbor balsami and the Arbor Sicca stand side by side. It is to be found also in the fifteenth-century maps of Andrea Bianco and Fra Mauro.

Considering how widespread was the knowledge of the legend of the Drie Tree, it is not surprising to find it in contemporary art.

In the sketch book of Jacopo Bellini, in the Louvre, is a drawing of the Nativity; on the right of the stable stands a bare tree, with a large bird, which looks like a bird of prey, perched on it. In the Virgin and Sleeping Child by Basaiti in the National Gallery the dry tree comes in the background again with a bird on it.

Milton seems to refer to this bird when, in Paradise Lost, he describes Satan's entrance into Paradise:

'So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold
So since into His Church lewd hirelings climb.
Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life
The middle tree and highest there that grew,
Sat like a cormorant.'

But if so he has mistranslated the allegory, for ancient
inscribed examples show that this bird is the Phoenix and symbolises the Resurrection.

It appears in the sixth-century mosaic in SS. Cosimo and Damiano in Rome, with a nimbus round its head perched on a palm-tree. The same thing occurs in the ninth-century mosaic in S. Prassede.

In the French prose romance of Alexander in the British Museum, known as the Shrewsbury Book, he goes to the Golden Temple of the Sun in search of the Trees of the Sun and Moon. The guardian leads him through a forest till he arrives at a great dry tree with neither leaves nor fruit. On the tree is a magnificent bird with a crest on its head like a peacock and its neck of resplendent colours like fine gold. The old guardian tells him that it is the Phoenix (plate II, 2) and there is none other like it in all the world.

'Now pray I to them that harkene thys tretyse or rede, that if ther be ony thing that liketh them, that thereof they thank Him of whom proceedeth all wit and goodnes, and if there be ony thing that displease them, I pray them also that they arrete it to the defaulte of myn unknowyng and not to my will, that would have seyde better if I had knowing.'

Notes on the Plates.


1 MSS. Royal 15 E. vi.