

THE TREE FOR THE FOREST: ECO-TYPOLOGY AND THE TREE OF LIFE
IN JOHN MILTON'S *PARADISE LOST*

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*For my beloved, Laura.
You made this possible.
Thank you.*

*And for Hannah and Adam,
Let's go to Disney!*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Chapter 1:** Eco-typology and the Tree of Life in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 1-28
- Chapter 2:** The Matthew Bible, Eco-typology and the Tree of Life in Milton's Eden, 29-68
- Chapter 3:** The Geneva Bible, Eco-typology and the 'Fruit of the Living Word' in *Paradise Lost*, 69-116
- Chapter 4:** Speed's "Genealogies," the King James Bible, and the 'Seed of Grace' in the Later Books of *Paradise Lost*, 117-155
- Chapter 5:** Conclusion, 156-161
- Works Cited:** 162-179
- End Notes**

TABLE OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

Fig. 1.1 George Wither. “Ill. XXXV, book 1.” *A Collection of Emblemes Ancient and Modern*. (1635). pg. 28

Chapter 2

Fig. 2.1. Title Page. Matthew Bible. (1537). pg. 66

Fig. 2.2. Detail of *Lignum vitae* from Macklin Bible. (1800). pg. 67

Fig. 2.3. Title Page. King James Bible. (1611). pg. 68

Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1. Frontispiece to Genesis. Geneva Bible. (1583). pg. 116

Chapter 4

Fig. 4.1. John Speed. “Genealogies of the Holy Spirit.” A2. (1610). pg. 154

Fig. 4.2. John Speed. “Genealogies of the Holy Spirit.” 2. (1610). pg. 155

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In these sweet woods how often did you walke,
With Christ and his Apostles there to talke;
Placing his holy Writ in some faire tree,
To meditate what you therein did see

--Aemilia Lanyer, "The Description of Cooke-ham" (1611)

O knowing, glorious Spirit! When
Thou shalt restore trees, beasts and men,
When thou shalt make all new again,
Destroying only death and pain,
Give him amongst thy works a place,
Who in them loved and sought thy face!

--Henry Vaughan, "The Book" (1655)

Chapter 1: Eco-typology and the Tree of Life in Milton's *Paradise Lost*

From a theological standpoint, the Protestant Reformation changed the way people "saw" the Word and the world around them.¹ Printing the Bible in the vernacular language of early modern readers was one cause of a radical epistemological and ontological reordering. The Word of God became the lens through which early modern Protestants subsequently experienced books, social culture, and the natural world. For English Protestants, Tyndale's translation of the New Testament from Greek into English marked the beginning of a revolution. Tyndale's goal at the beginning of his risky and illegal translation work was to make Scripture available even to the "boy that driveth the plough." And in the interval of years after Tyndale's first successful publication of a vernacular New Testament in 1526, a slowly swelling flood of translations and editions

of the Bible, New Testaments, Psalters, paraphrases, and commentaries had been printed both on the Continent and in England, until by the time of the King James Bible (published in 1611), it could be said that England had become a nation of Bible readers. David Daniell estimates that publishers in England printed “over two million” copies of the Bible in various forms for English readers from 1526 to 1640 (462). The Geneva Bible alone went through “more than seventy editions” from the first edition of 1560 to 1640, and in England about “half a million copies were sold,” according to Gordon Campbell (27). However, numbers alone cannot tell the full story of the extent to which the Bible, its teachings, its language, and its imagery shaped the way Protestants and non-Protestants “saw” themselves in relation to the world around them.

As we turn from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Bible printing to John Milton’s epic poem *Paradise Lost*, it is important to remember that the predominant historical and Christian ontology and epistemology in the early modern period emphasized the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, with its concomitant telos of the Fall, over that of the Tree of Life. Keith Thomas puts it this way: “It is difficult nowadays to recapture the breathtakingly anthropocentric spirit in which Tudor and Stuart preachers interpreted the biblical story. For they did not hesitate to represent the world’s physical attributes as a direct response to Adam’s sin: ‘Cursed is the ground for thy sake’ [Gen. 3.17]” (18). Diane Kelsey McColley concurs, “Throughout the centuries of Christian art, representations of the first three chapters of Genesis have focused on the topos of temptation: Adam, Eve, Serpent, and Tree” (*Milton’s Eve* 6). Indeed, critics of *Paradise Lost* have provided a wealth of evidence to suggest that the Tree of Knowledge overshadows the Tree of Life in Milton’s great epic.

Two recent studies of iconography associated with *Paradise Lost* both favor imagery of the Tree of Knowledge over that of the Tree of Life. In an essay that covers the iconography from antiquity to the seventeenth century, J. B. Trapp observes that visual imagery of the Fall necessarily portrays either redemption or judgment, and the visual evidence seems to lean toward that of redemption as the more prominent backdrop for the Fall (224). Nevertheless, as Trapp shows in his study, the Tree of Knowledge is always implicated in visual representations of Christian redemption, rather than the Tree of Life as sole emblem of salvation/regeneration. Following in the footsteps of Trapp, Roland Mushat Frye's magisterial study of early modern visual iconography is more expansive, yet more closely attuned to the descriptive imagery in *Paradise Lost* than that of his predecessor. Frye states, however, "The most important tree in the Garden is unquestionably the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and Milton describes it in a number of visual contexts" (243).

Some critics have begun to acknowledge the disparity of attention given to the Tree of Knowledge versus that afforded to the Tree of Life, and they have begun the difficult work of reforming our vision of Milton's prelapsarian Garden of Eden. McColley was one of the first critics to read Milton "greenly." In her work she has sought to restore Milton's monist ontology by focusing on prelapsarian harmony, creativity, healthy work, and blessed marriage in the poem. She writes, "Although *Paradise Lost* is generally regarded as the story of the Fall of Man, Milton devotes very little time to fallen Adam and Eve" (*Milton's Eve* 210). The celebration of human and environmental harmony McColley sees as vital to Milton's portrayal of the first three books of Genesis is representative of "a regenerative typology in which both Adam and Eve share in both

the loss and recovery” of Edenic ideals (*A Gust* 58). McColley’s “typology of regeneration” foregrounds what I am defining as the eco-typology of the Tree of Life, yet both as distinct, as we shall see in the following pages.

Finally, Stephen Hequemborg calls attention to the Tree of Life as “the other, less famous tree of Milton’s epic” (166). In his interpretation of Milton’s monist poetics, Hequemborg concludes that the reader stands “[a]t the foot of the tree of life” (167), rather than at the Tree of Knowledge; the Tree of Life, says Hequemborg is the “baffling tree of master tropes” (167). Hequemborg’s essay has provided useful insights for my interpretation of the fruit of the Tree of Life; however, my reading of Milton’s epic similes and metaphors in this dissertation derives more from an understanding of biblical typology than the Hobbesian monism that is the bedrock of Hequemborg’s text.

Through the following study, I propose to continue to reform our vision of the Tree of Life as more prominent than the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. My analysis of the Tree of Life in the following chapters follows a theoretical methodology called “eco-typology.” Eco-typology examines the ways in which Milton’s Tree of Life embodies a relational ontology that pre-figures the Fall with its concomitant prelapsarian notions of connectedness, harmony, and abundant life. Eco-typology also investigates the biblical typology of redemption associated with the Tree of Life in a postlapsarian world, a re-creative process by which faith, language and ecological forest practices are united through Milton’s poetry. This dissertation has grown out of a love for Milton’s language and imagery associated with the forests of Eden in *Paradise Lost* and with other forested places represented in his poetry. An important outgrowth of my research into the eco-typology of Milton’s Tree of Life has

been first hand bibliographic study of Reformation Bible iconography. The results of this print culture experience serves as an introduction to each body chapter of the following dissertation. It is through the print illustrations of the Tree of Life from English Bibles that I finally began to form a cultural context from which to assess Milton's eco-typology in *Paradise Lost*, especially the way he came to picture the two trees in the Garden of Eden during the years following his blindness.

The Tree of Life is, of course, one the two trees prominent in the biblical narrative of Creation and the Fall. After God created the first man, Adam, He made a garden for him to live in: "And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil" (Gen. 2:9).² The Tree of Life grows in "the midst" of Eden, next to the Tree of Knowledge. In *Paradise Lost* Milton calls the Tree of Life "that life-giving Plant" (4.199). As a "pledge / Of immortality" (4.200-01), the Tree of Life marks a covenantal relationship between the first humans and their Creator. The "sovrän Planter" (4.691) of Eden sows the Tree of Life as a living sign of the relationally-based hierarchy that governs all created life on prelapsarian earth. Milton imagines the Tree of Life as "loftie," a "high Tree" (4.395)—the "highest there that grew" in the middle of the garden (4.195). Satan himself uses the uppermost branches of the Tree of Life as a lookout when he invades Eden to spy upon the goodness of the land and its creatures. Frequent contact with the Tree of Life reminded Adam and Eve of the relationship that God had established for them and the land in which they dwelled as caretakers. Milton's Tree of Life serves as an emblematic symbol of spiritual obedience; however, it also exists as a root-trunk-and-limb tree, a part of the Edenic ecosystem.

Milton describes this tree as “High eminent, blooming Ambrosial Fruit / of vegetable Gold” (219-20), combining both beauty and productivity.

England’s Tree of Life: The “Royal Oak” as a National Symbol

Old-growth forests were nearly gone from the English countryside by the time Milton was born.³ However, the forest, at least as an ideology, is bound up with England’s national identity through the history of the nation’s forest laws (dating back to the time of William the Conqueror) and the cult of the royal oak. The cult of the royal oak derives from long-standing folk lore that figures the oak tree as the “king” of the forest. Margaret Cavendish follows this well-established tradition in her poem “A Dialogue *between an Oake, and a Man cutting him downe*” (1653):

Why grumblest thou, *old Oake*, when thou has stood

This hundred years, as *King* of all the *Wood*. (29-30)

Cavendish, a strong supporter of Charles I, also incorporates a second symbolic aspect of the royal oak in this poem—that of the oak as metaphor for the English monarchy.

Cavendish’s poem features a debate between an oak tree and a forester. In these lines the forester plays on both meanings of the royal oak by pointing out that the tree’s saplings “when they grow big, and tall, / Long for your *Crowne*” (33-34). The word “*Crowne*”

suggests both the crown of a political monarch and the natural process by which young trees grow upward toward available sunlight reaching through the forest canopy.

Removing mature species, like an old oak, the forester argues, opens up broad patches of sunlight for the young trees to stretch into and develop sun-blocking “crowns” of their own.⁴ The forester is also pointing up intrigues attendant to court life and political upheavals that lead to uprisings, such as the Interregnum: “With *Shouts of Joy* they run a new to *Crowne*, / Although *next day* they strive to pull *him* downe” (49-50).

Another royalist poet, Edmund Waller, provides an example of the kingly oak as metaphor for the monarch as ruler of the realm in his poem “On St. James’s Park, As Lately Improved by His Majesty.” In this poem, Waller celebrates improvements Charles II made to St. James’s Park shortly after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Waller’s poignant ancient history of the royal oak places Charles II within a long-standing line of heroic kings who associated themselves with royal forests and sacred groves:

In such green places the first kings reigned,
Slept in their shades, and angels entertained;
With such old counselors they did advise,
And, by frequenting sacred groves, grew wise. (71-74)

Waller idealizes St. James’s park with both the biblical and classical “oraculous” groves of antiquity (80). He links Charles II to the royal line of King David in line 72 by alluding to the episode when Abraham entertained heavenly messengers under the shade of the trees near his tents in Genesis 18.8. Classical pagan deities are also alluded to at lines 73-74; these *genius loci* were local spirits associated with “sacred groves” and were

thought to have powers of protection over a particular place and the people associated with it. These biblical and classical allusions unite in the kingly oak, a symbol that is rooted within these ancient narratives but also has its own decidedly “English” growth.

This national symbol reached its apex during the Stuart monarchy as James VI of Scotland/James I of England sought to establish the legitimacy of his right to the throne. The upheavals of the Civil War and the re-legitimizing of Stuart monarchy during the Restoration continued to make an iconography of Charles I and Charles II just as dependent on the promotion of this arboreal fiction. However, the royal oak also stems from certain idioms for expressing forest ecology, as in the way the canopy and undergrowth develops. Material characteristics of wildwood trees led to the “byldere ok” (176), as Chaucer puts it, gaining prominence above other species and thereby becoming a very valuable tree.⁵ Oaks grew slow, reached great heights, and produced dense wood, which could be used for construction of homes, buildings, and later ships. Simon Schama explains how this sturdy wood became a metaphor for the entire nation by the eighteenth century:

Repeated analogies were made between the character of the timber and the character of the nation. The “heart” of oak, the core of the tree, was its hardest and stoutest wood, the most defiantly resistant to the worst natural infirmities: fungal dry rot within, teredine boring mollusks without. Even the quirkiness of *Quercus rober*, with its crooked, angular pieces crucial for the construction of hulls, was contrasted with more predictably uniform “foreign” timber. The fact that Italian oaks were even more prone to produce crooked limbs was neither here nor there beside the fact that

the English oak was thus characterized as the arboreal kingdom's

individualist: stag-headed, undisciplined, glorying in its irregularity. (164)

National pride expressed in arboreal terms, rather than in roast beef, conjured up images of Britain's Navy and the shipping trade its naval muscle empowered. In *Windsor-Forest* (1713), Alexander Pope writes, "Thy trees, fair Windsor! now shall leave their woods, / And half thy forests rush into my floods" (385-86). The royal oak became the symbol of the government's ability to control its shores and rule over the seas; at the same time, it also provided a polemical figure for those arguing for better stewardship of the ever-shrinking (so it was perceived) forests at home.⁶ In the "Introduction" to *Sylva; Or, A Discourse of Forest-Trees* (1664), John Evelyn observes that "there is nothing which seems more fatally to threaten a Weakening, if not a Dissolution of the strength and of this famous and flourishing Nation, then the sensible and notorious decay of her Wooden-walls" (197). The rally-cry to save the nation's woods reached the broadest possible audience through emblem books, which popularized wisdom from past classical fables and practical morals for contemporary living. George Wither writes the following in his *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Modern* (1634): "When I behold the Havocke and the Spoyle, / Which (ev'n within the compasse of my Dayes) / Is made through every quarter of this Ile, / In Woods and Groves (which were this Kingdomes praise) (I.xxxv.1-4). Wither couches his rhymed argument in terms of generational inheritance, a broader context than that associated directly with primogenitor of land and titles. "What our *Forefathers* planted, we destroye:" he states, "Nay, all Mens labours living heretofore / And all our own" (I.xxxv.17-19). Not only the destruction of the forests, but their replanting is the responsibility of "all" people, not just the landed gentry. Within his

poem and the picture that accompanies it, Wither exhorts his readers to see that the first step to “*Charity for others*” (I.xxxv.27) begins by repairing damage to the earth—figured here by a wizened man planting a single tree to counteract the arboreal violence in the background of the image. (See **Fig. 1.1 at the end of the chapter.**)

“Of Vegetable Gold”: Ecocriticism, the Tree of Life, and *Paradise Lost*

The 1996 publication of *The Ecocriticism Reader* proved a shed water moment for a fledgling discourse called “ecocriticism” developing on the fringes of cultural criticism. In the introduction to this collection of seminal essays on the “green movement” in literary studies, Cheryl Glotfelty defines ecocriticism as “the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment” (xviii). She further expounds on her definition, and thereby the parameters of early ecocritical methodology and theory, by stating, “Ecocriticism takes as its subject the interconnections between nature and culture, specifically the cultural artifacts of language and literature. As a critical stance, it has one foot in literature and the other on land; as a theoretical discourse, it negotiates between the human and the nonhuman” (xix). Almost from the moment this defining definition of ecocriticism went to press, it has been challenged, stretched, echoed, recalibrated, and challenged again as ecocritical discourse has expanded and developed a more nuanced awareness of its theoretical and pedagogical boundaries.⁷

One of the most influential concepts to come out of ecocriticism, in terms of Milton studies, has been Diane Kelsey McColley's reading of the fruitful biotic community in Milton's Eden in terms of "the whole household of beings" ("Milton's Environmental Epic" 59). McColley derives her theory of prelapsarian Eden as a living "household" from her etymology of the term "ecology," taken from the original Greek root *oikos*. I include her important definition in full:

Ecology is a scientific discipline, but the word is also a means of thinking about nature as connected in an evolving and interactive way. Although the term was not coined until the nineteenth century, and many ecological critics deny that such a consciousness was possible in pre-Darwinian literature, *Paradise Lost* encompasses its etymological meaning of knowledge of the household, or shared habitat, of Earth in language ethically responsive to the diversity, connectedness, and the well-being of Earth's offspring. "Ecology" better expresses Milton's habits of mind than the nearest contemporary equivalent, "economy"; both come from the Greek *oikos* (household), but economy's other root is *nomos* (law), while ecology comes from *logos* (word, the expression of thought). Economy meant estate management, and advises prudent and profitable use of land, the *locus classicus* being the *Economics* of Xenophon, while ecology, etymologically speaking, means expressed thought about the household: in the case of Adam and Eve, the Garden of Eden with all its inhabitants and the earth it epitomizes. ("Milton's Environmental Epic" 58)

To define ecology as “expressed thought about the household” greatly affects the way in which readers may interpret their relationship to the world around them. Living within a “household” implies one of the most basic necessities for survival—shelter (and place)—but it also suggests an equally important necessity for human survival: love.⁸ Thinking of the natural world as something that includes one’s actual place of residence (apartment, flat, condo, or house) and neighborhood as being located within the greater “household of nature” where one lives brings ecology from a discussion somewhere “out there” in the wilderness down to the sidewalks and backyards (or rooftops) of our daily lives.

McColley adds the following: “Like the web of being, the web of language in *Paradise Lost* absorbs the effects of each action throughout its structure: the invocation to light, the eating of a single fruit, the mention of a single place or historical fact, each image or phrase reverberates through the epic, affecting responses to each passage” (“Milton’s Environmental Epic” 65).

Lawrence Buell has worked earnestly to further define and critically shape ecocriticism from an offshoot of cultural studies and “green” party activism into a legitimately discursive discipline within the academy. Buell continues to defend the mimetic orientation of ecocriticism, arguing for literature’s ability to provide nuanced representations of *real* environmental phenomena. Buell notes that “the subject of a text’s environmental ground *matters*—matters aesthetically, conceptually, ideologically. Language never replicates extratextual landscapes, but it can be bent toward or away from them” (33).⁹ Recognizing poetry as a rhythm of the earth, harkening to its remaining vitality, and finding ways to restore ancient ties between nature and culture are not only

ethical imperatives, they are key to enhancing the fullest expression of human culture, art, and social justice.

Perhaps the most rigorous challenge to ecocriticism's realist beginnings has come from postmodern literary theory. Ecocriticism developed from an epistemology that privileged the connection between text and a *real* landscape. However, postmodern theorists argue that the natural world—i.e. *nature*—is socially-constructed, the result of linguistic artifice that is linked to social and political power.¹⁰ In other words, the quiet woods, isolated beaches, the majestic mountains, or the quilt-like patterned landscape of Midwestern farm fields that tends to be associated with “real” landscapes in the United States are more the result of an ideology of *nature*. According to ecocritics who employ postmodern literary theory, the ideology of *nature* has been shaped from its very origins (in the Western literary tradition through pastoral poetry) to represent the perceptions, dreams and desires of those with political and linguistic dominance.

Today, an ideology of what counts as *nature* is being linguistically-shaped by government bureaucrats and transnational corporations. What is more centuries-old ontological and epistemological perceptions of place (such as landmarks, bound maps, roads, and even natural geography that sustained physical and cognitive realities of space like mountain peaks, oceans, and national borders) is being completely “re-wired” so-to-speak by current technology that generates virtual maps, satellite imagery, live visual feeds, GPS tracking, and other means of reshaping, redefining, and, at times, defying the naturally-occurring boundaries of the time and space of earth, sea and sky. In other words, the “green” movement can seem very idealistic, but not necessarily effective in

terms of climate change or sustainable food production if it fails to recognize the powerful discourses which are continually at play, shaping and forming “nature.”

Postmodern ecocritics have also raised concern about a growing hegemony of “green” in Western culture; they have insisted that we ask important questions about our role as ecocritics as well. Does what we do in the academy make a difference? Do ecocritics effect any “real” cultural change toward environmental issues or inspire public policy in ways that will reverse current environmental injustice and global warming? Or are we in the words of Andrew Marvell, “Annihilating all that’s made / To a green thought in a green shade” (“The Garden” 6.47-8)? Raising awareness has traditionally been a major part of ecocritical practice. I have long believed that if we practice our discipline with integrity, ecocritics in the academy can provide a necessary juncture between the history of liberal arts and contemporary science, providing perspective between aesthetic practices of the past and today’s environmental crisis and ecological attitudes. But those who purvey postmodern ecocritical theory challenge reconstructivist readings of historically-based primary material by questioning whether or not they have any validity in today’s culture wars on an imperiled planet. On both sides of the epistemological debate—ecocritics who theorize language as mimesis of natural phenomena and those who theorize “nature” as socially-constructed discourse—are scholars who worry about the danger of a smoke and mirrors methodology, while ignoring the grassroots origins of ecocriticism and the need to advocate for authentic personal and political change.

Generally speaking, ecocritics resist giving up nature or the *real* altogether; even postmodern ecocritics. Serpil Oppermann, a postmodern ecocritic, explains that “the

‘writteness’ of nature does not in the least change its existence as a force in itself. It continues to function as an ontological force, sending warning signals with its tornadoes, ozone depletion, climactic shifts, extinction of species, melting of icebergs, and global warming as a final response to the detrimental human interference . . .” (123-24). As much as ecocritics may differ in their epistemological practice of reading texts, they continue to find common ground “negotiating between the human and nonhuman” (Glotfelty xix). Nature, by its very inscrutability, maintains an existence outside our “making,” our epistemological and socio-political constructs. In a recent text that combines ecocriticism and postcolonial studies, Rob Nixon describes a theory he calls “slow violence” that afflicts people and environments in impoverished parts of the globe, particularly the global south. “By slow violence, I mean a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight,” Nixon writes, “a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all” (2). Nixon challenges the “turbo-capitalism” of wealthy, mostly northern nations that has become dependent on the energy, raw materials, and arms sales to the marginalized environments and peoples of the global south (8). This is the root of slow violence, according to Nixon; neoliberal economic superpowers defer making changes to their economies of mass consumption by shifting the “slow violence” of overconsumption to places of the globe where its effects cannot be so readily seen. Activist writing from those in the marginalized areas of the global south is one way to counter turbo-capitalism and reveal the corrosive effects of slow violence.

As a fledgling ecocritic, I agree with Buell that the “environmental ground” of a text does matter; I also agree with Nixon, however, that the reality of “slow violence” on

a global scale cannot be ignored any longer, and literary texts like Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634) can help expose the historical roots of the kind of expedient reasoning that enables the environmental "slow violence" of today. At the beginning of Milton's masque, he presents a timely critique of the air pollution around London resulting from wide-spread deforestation of the English countryside. The Attendant Spirit's opening lines to *A Mask* present an outstanding illustration of the kind of realist ecocritical theory I find most useful when examining the ecology of Milton's poetry. In this opening speech, the Attendant Spirit compares his heavenly residence with that of the earth, which he views circumspectly from on high,

Above the smoke and stir of this dim spot,
Which men call Earth, and with low-thoughted care,
Confin'd, and pester'd in this pin-fold here,
Strive to keep up a frail, and Feaverish being
Unmindful of the crown that Vertue gives (5-9)¹¹

Environmental historians and ecocritics report that the "smoak" hovering over this "dim spot" of fervid, rather fetid, human activity was caused by the great amount of seacoal burned in and around London at this time due to extensive deforestation. Sir William Cecil reported in 1596 that "London and all other towns near the sea . . . are mostly driven to burn coal . . . for most of the woods are consumed" (qtd. in Hiltner 295-96).¹² John Evelyn rather famously protested the heavy smog surrounding the capital city in his *Fumifugium: or, The Inconveniency of the Smoak of London dissipated* (1661); thus his treatise presents a tree planting program designed to encircle London with a green-belt of flowering, odiferous shrubs to cleanse the air, cover the city's unsanitary stench, and

improve the health of humans and animals.¹³ Seacoal was highly toxic to plants, animals, and humans. Keith Thomas reports, “The coal which was burned in the early modern period contained twice as much sulphur as that commonly used today; and its effects were correspondingly lethal. The smoke darkened the air, dirtied clothes, ruined curtains, killed flowers and trees and corroded buildings” (244).

Milton, who lived for most of his life in London and nearby districts, would have experienced at first hand the daily effects of London’s economic dependence on seacoal. These opening lines of *A Masque* are meant to contrast, not only heaven and earth, but also the polluting life of the city—spiritually, politically, and environmentally—with the purer, more ideal geography of the setting of the masque in Shropshire, far-removed from the daily corruptions of the capital.¹⁴ In *Paradise Lost*, Milton uses an epic simile that contrasts the polluted air of the city with that of the fresh fields of the country to describe the Serpent’s (Satan’s) reaction when he finds Eve alone tending flowers in a “sweet recess” in the forest (9.456). The Serpent is stunned “Stupidly good” (9.465) by Eve’s disarming beauty, and he is stopped in his tracks: “As one who long in populous City pent, / Where Houses thick and Sewers annoy the Aire, / Forth issuing on a Summers Morn to breathe / Among the pleasant Villages and Farmes” (9.445-48). This epic simile from *Paradise Lost* refers to London’s coal smog as well, and it includes the sinister twist of moral evil that feeds the Serpent’s desire for “rapine sweet” (9.461), a craving to rape the female body not unlike the thoughtless destruction of the land in Milton’s day.

The language of *A Mask* emphasizes the ecological chaos of the scene the Attendant Spirit scans below upon the earth. He sees a great “stirr” (5) in the city as citizens go about their daily business like so many sheep or cattle fenced in by

thoughtless routine, the pursuit of wealth, and polluting muck: “with low-thoughted care / Confin’d, and pester’d in this pifold here, / Strive to keep up a frail, and Feaverish being” (6-8).¹⁵ Masterful use of enjambment and repetition of alliteration and consonance in these lines aesthetically erects a wall of sounds around these denizens. Enjambment deliberately disrupts the prosody at the beginning of line seven, causing the initial *c* of “Confin’d” to disrupt the line’s opening rhythm. Not only does this “hard” *c* draw attention to the pronunciation of the word, but also to its action—*low-thoughted care* is *Confin’d* to the narrow labyrinth of streets, buildings and alleys appearing from the Attendant Spirit’s perspective. Continued use of alliterative *p* and consonant *f* and *d* sounds in “Confin’d,” “pester’d” and “pifold” create a breath-stop action in each word as the tongue must force air through the teeth and lips to make the *p* and *f* sounds, but must halt at the roof of the mouth to form each terminal *d*. Like a fence of words, these punchy, breath-stopped sounds mirror the hemmed lives of the Londoners. They may also replicate the difficulty one has breathing in polluted air, a feeling which leaves a person (and other non-human beings) feeling “frail” and “Feaverish.”

Milton follows a similar language pattern in “At a Solemn Music” to create a contrast between the music of the spheres in heaven and the discordant rhythms of life on postlapsarian earth. Within this brief poem, he describes how “disproportioned sin / Jarr’d against nature’s chime, and with harsh din / Broke the fair musick that all creatures made” (19-21). Once again, Milton employs enjambment at the beginning of line 20 to stress how the Fall “Jarr’d” the universe or “Broke the fair musick that all creatures made.” In *A Mask* discordant music and motions on earth (not to mention “rank vapours” [17]) create another *jarring* contrast to the melodious harmony of a prelapsarian paradise.

The Attendant Spirit and his fellow guardian spirits dwell “In Regions milde of calm and serene Ayr” (4). The beautifully regular iambic pentameter of this line complements adjectival peace: “milde,” “calm” and “serene.” Milton’s Londoners are possessed instead by “low-thoughted care” (6), pursuing riches, rather than seeking “the crown that Vertue gives” (9). Like the gold-pursuing Mammon in *Paradise Lost*, their minds “are always downward bent” (1.681), and thus they have ransacked the forests and, in turn, “[Rifled] the bowels of thir mother Earth / For treasures better hid” (1.687-88): sulfurous seacoal.

Perhaps this is why Milton sets his masque in a forest—“the prosperous growth of this tall wood” (270). The Egerton children must learn a regenerative “chaste” eco-poetics in the woods, not in the city. These “three fair branches” (969) of the Earl of Bridgewater’s family tree must have “their faith, their patience, and their truth” tested by the “hard assays” of a wilderness journey (971-72). Deep in the woods, the Lady and her brothers learn “of the crown that Vertue gives” (9) by combining the teaching of the Bible with the “chaste” eco-typology of the forest.

Biblical Typology: Toward “Greener” Readings of Scripture

Biblical typology was more than a way of reading Scripture in the seventeenth century; it was a worldview that expressed faith in the midst of history. Milton’s portrayal of the Tree of Life in his major poetry is deeply indebted to a form of biblical interpretation that is, in the words of Barbara K. Lewalski, “endemic to the Christian

tradition” (*Milton’s Brief Epic* 45).¹⁶ Within the Christian tradition, typology has primarily functioned as a way to interpret Old Testament people and events in terms of their New Testament fulfillment. The most typical application of typology followed the example of St. Paul (and the gospel writers) by relating Old Testament figures and the historical events of the nation of Israel as “foreshadowing Christ and his church” (Lewalski 45).¹⁷ During the Reformation, increased emphasis was placed on typological interpretation in terms of the individual Protestant congregation as well as the believer’s personal spiritual journey. Samuel Mather, a Protestant theologian from the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, explains the process of typological interpretation through an elaborate two-part definition. The first part of his definition from *The Figures and Types of the Old Testament* (1705) reads:

1. There is in a *Type* some *outward* or *sensible* thing, that represents an higher spiritual thing, which may be called a *Sign* or a *Resemblance*, a *Pattern* or *Figure*, or the like. Here is the general Nature of a *Type*; it is a *Shadow*. It hath been the Goodness and the Wisdom of God in all times and ages, to teach Mankind *Heavenly* things by *Earthly*; spiritual and *invisible* Things, by outward and *visible*. (qtd. in Walker 252)

Milton’s method of presenting typology in *Paradise Lost* follows that of Mather.¹⁸ The Archangel Raphael uses the same analogy to teach Adam “*Heavenly* things by *Earthly*” at the banquet in Eden. Raphael says to Adam that he has been “measuring things in Heav’n by things on Earth / At thy request” (6.893-94). Thus Adam and Eve can learn from Satan’s rebellion and fall from Heaven to avoid temptation that could lead to their own rebellion on earth and the Fall of humankind. Likewise, the Seraphim Michael

comes to explain the typology of Christian history in books 11 and 12 at the end of the poem so that Adam (and the reader) will be “disciplin’d / From shadowie Types to Truth, from Flesh to Spirit” (12.302-03).

Mather’s second part of his definition of typology follows:

2. There is the *thing shadowed* or represented by the *Type*, And what is that? *Things to come*, faith [sic] the Apostle, . . . and good things to come, Heb. 10.1. The good things of the Gospel, *Christ and his Benefits; but the body is of Christ*, as Col. 2.17. This we call the *Correlate*, or the *Antitype*; the other is the *Shadow*, this the *Substance*: The *Type* is the Shell, this the kernel; the *Type* is the Letter, this the Spirit and Mystery of the *Type*. (qtd. in Walker 252)

Typology was one way Reformers adhered to the unity of the Scriptures and avoided the abuses of allegorical reading committed by the Patristic Fathers. Joseph A. Galdon writes, “The allegorical interpretation of scripture takes little account of the historical reality. . . . it looks upon the Bible as a collection of oracles or riddles. The outward form, or letter, of the scriptural text conceals an inner, secret, mysterious meaning which must be discovered and analyzed by diligent search and study. The letter of the scriptures is only the outer shell which contains and . . . conceals the real meaning” (34). Typology, on the other hand, is anchored to Christian biblical history, for it exists to reveal the story of Christ as it is foretold in Old Testament types and fulfilled in New Testament antitypes.

The typology of the Tree of Life was an important aspect of biblical interpretation in the seventeenth century. John Diodati’s *Pious and learned annotations upon the Holy*

Bible were translated from Italian into English in 1645.¹⁹ Diodati's gloss on Genesis 2.9 renders the Tree of Life in Eden as a "figure [or type] of Christ residing in heaven."

Another example of a typological interpretation of the Tree of Life comes from a well-glossed passage in The Song of Solomon: "As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so is my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste" (Song of Sg. 2.3). Diodati glosses the phrase *I sat down* as follows: "I receive a double benefit from Christ, as from a faire and fruitfull tree: for, first, he is my protection and safeguard, especially against the heat of God's wrath: and secondly, hee filleth me with good things for the food of my soule." The Westminster Assembly, in their *Annotations upon the Old and New Testament* (1651), interprets the typology of this same phrase a little differently: "As weary travellers seek cool arbours, and defences from the heat, and delight in them, so doth the weary soul seek after Christ, whose Name is the shadow of a great Rock . . . a broad, indefective, continuall shadow, under which if we put our selves by faith . . . and hope, . . . we shall be secured from the flames of divine displeasure, from the curses of the Law, and from all afflictions and judgements."

To interpret the Bible through the typology of a "living tree" and to render salvation into the figurative language of the orchard or the forest must have carried with it a certain earth consciousness, however muted, in the actual day-to-day practices of men and women of the day.

The Eco-typology of the Tree of Life in Biblical Iconography

The study of biblical iconography provides a particularly useful bridge between literary ecocriticism and biblical typology in Reformation England. Anti-Catholic paranoia among Protestant clergy and censors pushed reforming engravers and printers to create new ways to represent both the Godhead and salvation. Early editions of English Protestant Bibles, such as the Coverdale Bible (1535), Matthew Bible (1537), and Great Bible (1539), display anthropocentric figures of God and the Christ-Logos in their woodcut pictures.²⁰ Protestant Bibles published around the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign expunged anthropomorphic representations of the Godhead. Anthropomorphic figures of God and Christ gradually came to be associated with Roman Catholic iconography and therefore were replaced by other symbols more suitable to Protestant tastes, such as the Tetragrammaton and the Paschal Lamb.²¹ The Tetragrammaton originated from "the four Hebrew letters or consonants of the God of Israel: YHWH—vocalized Yahweh (Jehovah)" (Aston 24).²² This grouping of letters, or Name, was intended to replace human representations of an invisible God, the first person of the Trinity. Margaret Corbett and Ronald Lightbown write:

Protestants were imbued with the writings of the Old Testament. They believed God to be unknowable; the Tetragrammaton was nonrepresentational and at the same time a symbol enshrouded with reverence; the letters of a strange alphabet incomprehensible to all but a few who were Hebrew scholars, enhanced the effect of awe which it was meant to convey. (39-40)

Later editions of English Protestant Bibles favor the Tetragrammaton in their iconography, such as the Geneva Bible (1560), Bishop's Bible (1568), and King James

Bible (1611). Protestant anti-Catholic sentiment in the later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century went beyond anthropomorphic representations of the Godhead to stimulate further changes in biblical illustration—extending even to the way Protestants portrayed the cross.

The cross has long been the central symbol of the Catholic Church. During the defining decades of the English Reformation, Protestants did not reject all representation of the cross; however, they were clearly uncomfortable with certain Catholic teachings represented by it. The Westminster Assembly warns the Protestant faithful to “read” iconography of the cross critically in order to avoid Roman Catholic superstitions and fictions:

They have a Monkish Tradition of *Bonaventure* . . . that being asked by *Aquinas* from what books and helps he derived such holy and divine expressions and contemplations, he pointed to a crucifix, and said, That that is the book which teacheth and prompts all things that I write; Cast at the feet of that Image my soul receiveth greater light from heaven, then from all study and disputation. A good use may be made of this superstitious fiction; If we ascribe that to him that was crucified, which they do to the picture[.] (Annotation to Song of Sg. 2.3)

The Jesuit’s appropriation of the cross as their official symbol may also have prompted Protestants to further regard imagery of the cross with suspicion. Margaret Aston observes that due to “[c]ounter-reforming initiatives” throughout the sixteenth century the cross had “acquired damning associations” for Protestant believers in England (30). The concomitant turn away from anthropomorphic representation of the Godhead and away

from focal representations of the cross left Protestants groping for a suitable figure to represent their theology of the Word—until they settled on the Tree of Life.

While it is not my intention to attempt to demonstrate *direct* causal links between seventeenth-century biblical iconography of the Tree of Life and particular texts by poets at the time, I do find valuable intersections between the iconography in Reformation Bibles and the imagery and ideology expressed by poets within the reforming tradition. The broad distribution of the Geneva and KJV Bible in the seventeenth century makes the nexus of print culture, biblical interpretation, and ecocriticism a particularly relevant node at which to gain a fresh perspective on Protestant values toward the environment, especially values relating to forest ecology. Richard L. Williams describes how printed imagery shaped ideology and daily life in Reformed England:

What makes printed pictures so useful for Reformation studies is that they provide a substantial body of surviving evidence, each title, of course, representing hundreds or thousands of copies in circulation. . . . illustrations printed in Protestant books had necessarily to reflect and conform to the values and tastes of the significant proportion of the population that purchased books. Although a minority limited by wealth and education, the book-buying public was the minority that mattered in sixteenth-century England in terms of power and influence. That such books were aimed at the largely lay public rather than specifically at the clergy also helps shift the study of the image controversy away from the learned tracts of theologians, . . . , to the lay men and women who bought illustrated books to look upon in the confines of their private houses.

However, unlike most other religious imagery found in the domestic sphere, books were subject to direct government scrutiny and possible censorship. Thus religious pictures printed into books . . . carry an implicit endorsement by the government for national distribution. (44)

No where does the “private,” daily practice of the individual come into more direct contact with the powers of censorship than in the iconography of the English Bible. These images hold in tension church and state politics with the Protestant imperative to read and study the vernacular Word for one’s self. How these images mediate between salvific, ecologically-based modes of thought and “authorized” control of religious iconography makes the stakes even higher. Milton may have held various copies of the Geneva Bible in his personal library, and he owned a copy of the 1612 King James Bible. We know Milton also owned a copy of the Hebrew Bible, given to him by his tutor Andrew Young. According to Michael Lieb, the poet likely also owned a copy of the *Biblia sacra polyglotta* (1657), compiled by Brian Walton, and a copy of the Junius-Tremellius-Beza translation of the Bible.²³ With his own wide exposure to biblical texts and with the great number of Bible readers in seventeenth-century England,²⁴ we can fairly safely assume Milton would have been familiar with the biblical iconography of the Tree of Life.

The Tree, the Fruit, and the Seed: The Eco-typology of the Tree of Life in Milton's *Paradise Lost*

In the following chapters, I will follow an organizational structure that will combine the iconography from one Reformation Bible with the analysis of one aspect of the eco-typology of Milton's Tree of Life in *Paradise Lost*. In chapter 2, we will examine the iconography of the 1537 Matthew Bible; in chapter 3, we will consider the widely circulated frontispiece to Genesis which originated with the 1583 Geneva Bible; and in chapter 4, we will turn our attention to John Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit" (1610), a separate publication that was added to the front matter of the 1611 edition of the King James Bible.

My analysis of Milton's eco-typology of the Tree of Life follows a schema of the tree itself, progressing from a discussion that concerns the overall tree to one that focuses on the tree's fruit to the final chapter which deals with the seed. In chapter 2, we will discuss the way Milton's representation of the Tree of Life in book 4 of *Paradise Lost* correlates with the forest ecology of prelapsarian Eden. Chapter 3 takes into account the banquet scene in *Paradise Lost* book 5, where Raphael dines at Eve's table and helps his earthly guests understand the reality of the "fruit of the living Word." In chapter 4, we will examine the "seed of grace" in the final two books of Milton's epic poem.

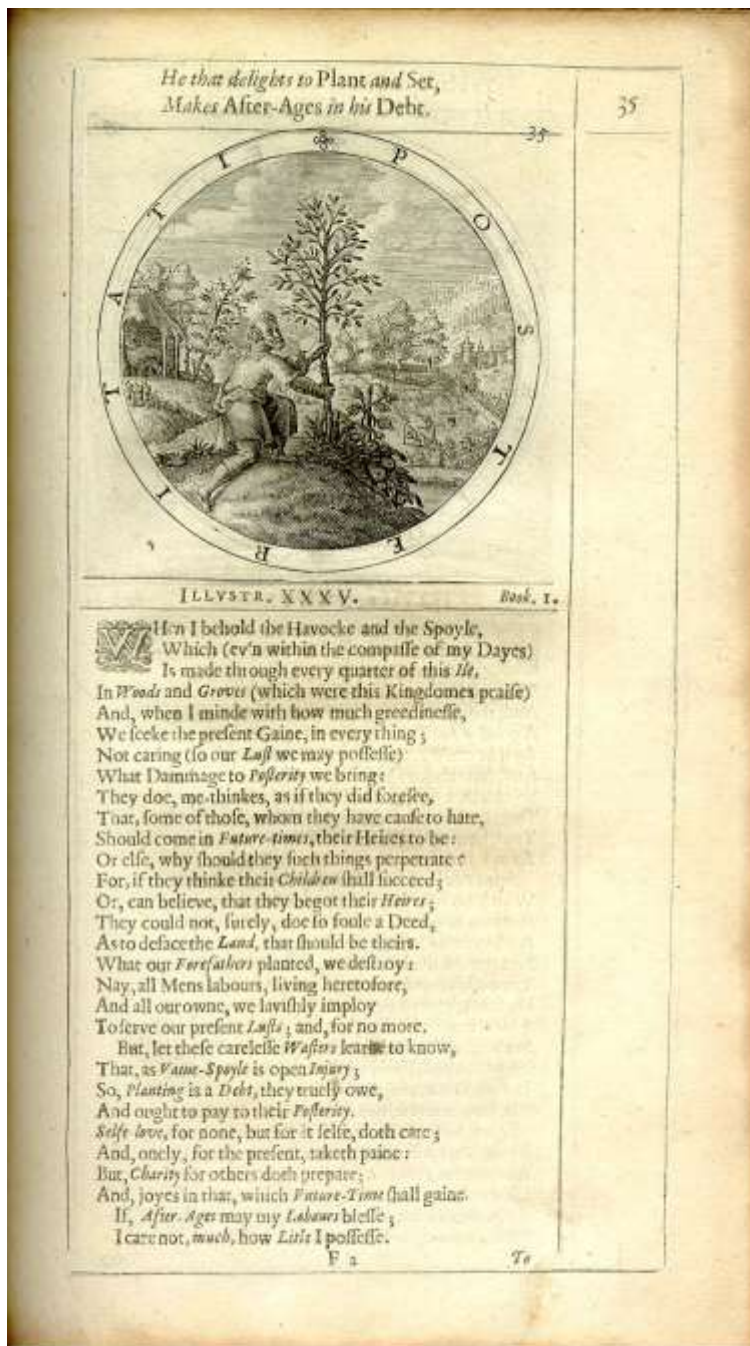


Fig. 1.1 Withers, George. "Ill. XXXV, book I." (1635). Engraving. By Crispin de Passe. *A Collection of Emblemes*. By George Withers. London: Printed by A. M. for Henry Taunton, 1635. *The English Emblem Book Project*. Penn State University Libraries. Web. 17 Sept 2012. Public Domain.

She [wisdom] is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her. (Prov. 3.18)

When first the eye this forest sees
It seems indeed as wood not trees:
As if their neighborhood so old
To one great trunk them all did mold.

--Andrew Marvell, *Upon Appleton House*, 63.497-500

Chapter 2: The Matthew Bible, Eco-Typology, and the Tree of Life in Milton's Eden

In this first body chapter, we will consider the Tree of Life as a “living tree” within the Edenic environment presented in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The epigraph from Marvell's *Upon Appleton House* alludes to the old adage, *you can't see the forest for the trees*: “When first the eye this forest sees / It seems indeed as wood not trees: / As if their neighborhood so old / To one great trunk them all did mold” (63.497-500). Marvell's statement about the trees surrounding Lord Fairfax's property at Appleton House speaks to the health and longevity of the forest that features trees of “neighborhood so old.” Today, we have many forests here in the United States and across the Atlantic in Britain, although fewer perhaps that can boast the kind of antiquity to which Marvell refers when the forest appear to have grown together into “one great trunk.” This is the kind of forest ecology that Milton describes in Eden. If we reverse the adage which is at play in Marvell's poem, a single tree—the Tree of Life—comes to stand for the health of the forest in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. If we can come to understand the ecological connection

between the Tree of Life and the groves of Eden, perhaps we have moved one step closer to attaining the wisdom of Milton's eco-typology in his great poem.

A Brief History of the Matthew Bible

John Rogers, a colleague and friend of Tyndale, continued his friend's mission to make the *whole* Bible available in English after Tyndale's execution in 1536. Rogers undertook to make a complete translation of the Bible into English, creating what would eventually become known as the "Matthew" Bible.²⁵ Published in 1537, the Matthew Bible incorporated Tyndale's earlier published translations—the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Book of Jonah—with fresh additions of his translations from Joshua to 2 Chronicles, a major portion of Tyndale's work that Rogers had apparently managed to rescue from Tyndale's lodgings just prior to his arrest. To fill out the remainder of the Old Testament, Rogers borrowed heavily from Miles Coverdale's Bible of 1535. Unlike Tyndale's diminutive and illegal New Testament, Rogers's Matthew Bible was published in a grand Folio edition and printed from Antwerp with "the King's most gracious licence."²⁶ (Price and Ryrie 53).

Even though the Matthew Bible of 1537 consisted of approximately two-thirds of Tyndale's translation work, it was welcomed (just a year after Tyndale's death) by both ecclesiastical and political powers. Gordon Campbell writes, "[Archbishop] Cranmer wrote to Thomas Cromwell, sending by the same messenger a copy of the Matthew Bible; his comment on the translation was wholly positive: 'as for the translation, so far

as I have read thereof I like it better than any other translation heretofore made' (20).”

Publishers Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch arranged to import 1,500 copies of the Matthew Bible into England from the printer Matthew Crom in Antwerp.²⁷

Although the Matthew Bible had the potential to become the official Bible of the new formed Church of England, it was superseded in favor of the Great Bible of 1539, probably because Rogers's (and Tyndale's) editorial matter was deemed too inflammatory by the Crown. The Matthew Bible, however, supplied Coverdale with the basis for the Great Bible even more than his own Bible translation of 1535 (Brake 134). The Great Bible became the first English Bible to be officially “authorized” for distribution throughout the kingdom, bringing to fruition Thomas Cromwell's ambition to “place an English Bible in every parish church” (Campbell 20). Unfortunately, the Matthew Bible did not inspire a large readership, even in its later editions. According to John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt, “the Matthew translation and its revisions by Richard Taverner and Edmund Becke were published in only nine among close to two hundred Bible and New Testament editions produced prior to the King James Bible” (67). The real legacy of the Matthew Bible was as a source for later translations up to the King James Bible, through which it preserved the most complete body of Tyndale's translations. Donald L. Brake writes, “This very version [the “Matthew” Bible] became known as the ‘primary version’ of the English Bible. All later versions would draw deeply from it” (129). The Matthew Bible's impact on the history of English Bible translation seems to have been one of groundbreaking and of absorption into later translations, rather than circulation among a large readership.

Like Tyndale, Rogers was himself a Lutheran at heart, moving to Antwerp in 1534 to serve as a pastor to the congregation of English exiles, who had gathered there to escape Henry VIII's persecution. Daniell records Rogers's movements after translating the "Matthew" Bible. By about 1544, Rogers had become an influential member in the Lutheran church in Germany, taking a pastorate in Meldorf, a rural Lutheran outpost in northwest Germany (191-192). A year after Edward VI's ascension to the throne (in 1547), Rogers decided to return to England "to the evident grief of his people" in Meldorf (Daniell 192). He returned to England with his family in 1548, settling in London, where he continued to teach, preach and write. Rogers was eventually appointed lecturer at St. Paul's Cathedral.²⁸ In 1555 he was burned at the stake, the first execution under Mary I's notorious reign.

Reading Around the Tree: The Eco-typology of a Reformation Bible Title Page

John Rogers's first edition of the Matthew Bible may not have reached the masses in terms of readership. To my knowledge the single press run of 1,500 copies for the first edition is the total number of copies to reach England; and surviving first editions are extremely rare. What makes the 1537 "Matthew" Bible so provocative for a study of the Protestant ethos toward the natural environment at the time is its grandly illustrated title page. (To my knowledge this title page was not reproduced in 1549 second edition of the Matthew Bible, published in London, or in later variant editions of the text.)²⁹ The major motif of the general title page for this Bible, which is also reprinted as the title page for the New Testament, is a magnificently illustrated woodcut of a large tree. (See **Fig. 2.1** at

the end of the chapter.) This visually striking tree stands rooted in the center of the picture, surrounded by side panels that tell the story of the Fall and its redemption through Christ. David Price and Charles C. Ryrie note that

this title page “depicts the Lutheran concept of the Law and the Gospel The doctrine holds that the laws of the Bible are replaced by the promise of redemption in Christ. Consequently, adherence to laws does not ensure salvation; salvation is attained through faith alone, a free gift from God. In this image, concepts of “law” are associated with damnation, while belief in Christ, as conveyed by the Word of God, is depicted in the way to salvation. (50)

The iconographic emphasis on Luther’s depiction of salvation through “faith alone” makes sense in the overall scheme of the picture and the general theme of Rogers’s apparatus for his Bible. Rogers preserved Tyndale’s Lutheran theology by reprinting many of Tyndale’s prefaces in the New Testament; he also preserved some of Tyndale’s notes. However, Rogers added many of his own explanatory and illustrative notes to the text based on his own deeply-held Lutheran theology. Finally, the title page itself derives from a woodcut used as the title page for an earlier edition of Luther’s Bible. R. B. McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson explain: “It has been said that this compartment is printed from the same block as was used for the title of the first edition in Low German of Luther’s *Bible*, printed at Lübeck by L. Dietz in 1533-4 . . . ; *but it is a close copy*” (31) (my emphasis). A facsimile of the original title page, by Erhard Altdorfer, can be found in Alfred Forbes Johnson’s book *German Renaissance Title-Borders*. The German woodcuts reproduced in Johnson’s book demonstrate the high standard of craftsmanship

and artistry at this time in German xylography. However, the image by Altdorfer stands quite alone in terms of both subject and artistry. Among the selections in Vol. 1 of Johnson's study, no other engraver imagines typology or sacred history in terms of a living tree.

The Tree of Life itself is the dominant figure of the woodcut title page to the Matthew Bible and thus deserves the most careful attention; however, its symbolic meaning is largely the sum of the typological panels that surround it, as if suspended within its branches. If we are to read the panels that encircle the Tree of Life in the Matthew Bible woodcut after a traditional Protestant manner, the pictures on the left side record the process by which the Law cannot free the soul from sin unleashed by the Fall, ultimately leading to spiritual death, while the panels on the right hand provide the typological fulfillment of the Law through the sacrificial grace of Christ, leading to the release of the soul from the "sting" of death (I Cor. 15.55 KJV).

Rogers's title page is arranged in a typological pattern that moves from left to right, beginning in the upper left-hand side of the frame. It is interesting to compare the visual layout of the Matthew Bible's title page to that of the earlier Coverdale Bible, published in 1535. The Coverdale Bible woodcut is attributed to the famous Hans Holbein the Younger, and it, too, situates itself in a left-to-right layout that suggests an analogical reading of the Scriptures, with Old Testament figures and scenes depicted down the left-hand side of the page, with their New Testament antitypes arranged in parallel order down the right-hand side of the page. The entire Coverdale title page rests upon the sovereign image of Henry VIII distributing a copy of the Bible to his bishops and nobles, making the Act of Supremacy in 1534 appear to be upholding the entire

typological frame above. The Matthew Bible, on the other hand, follows a similar typological layout, but its imagery sets forth the biblical story of redemption with less political intrusion.

Instead of the heavy image of the king, his bishops and nobles at the bottom of the frame, the Matthew Version title page features a common man on a rock receiving aid from what appears to be two passersby. The two travelers, like Evangelist and the Interpreter of the later *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, Part I), are instructing the lone man in the way of salvation. The traveler on the left is well-dressed in a fine hat, cloak, and pair of shoes; he also carries a folio-sized book in his right hand—a Bible printed in folio. The traveler on the right appears to have once been well-dressed but is now without a hat, without shoes, and is wearing a tattered cloak, which reveals a torn hair shirt underneath (representing his conversion from Roman Catholicism and perhaps also his penitent state). The travelers represent two things to the reader (and to the man seated beneath the tree): the gospel is for both rich and poor, people of all “faiths” or no faith at all, and belief may be attended by trials and tribulations (as Rogers’s own martyrdom under Mary I in 1555 would attest). Both of the travelers point toward the upper right side of the frame, which indicates their belief in the Lutheran concept of Grace. Interestingly, the seated man’s head is turned toward the right hand side of the page, looking that way; however, both of his hands are clasped together, stretching toward the left hand side of the page, as if he is still struggling to make a commitment. Immediately to the man’s left is a corpse resting on a bier, which emblematically represents death; to his immediate right is the image of Jesus rising out of a grave, raising a standard of victory on the ground, which pierces through a skeleton representing death. This image visually

represents Ephesians 4.15, “Awake thou that slepest, & stand vp from the dead, & Christ shal giue thee light.”³⁰

The emblematic symbolism represented by the closed bier on the left (death) and the open bier on the right (resurrection, life) is connected to the typological story suspended, as it were, by the Tree of Life. The typological panels are arranged in parallel sequence along the margins of the left and right sides of the frame, cascading from top to bottom. At the upper left, an anthropomorphic figure of God the Father hands the Decalogue to Moses. This giving of the Law, the written Word, is parallel with the panel directly across from it, at the upper right, which depicts the Annunciation, or the giving of the Incarnate Word. In this panel the infant Christ-Logos descends from heaven carrying a cross on his shoulder. The Virgin Mary awaits his arrival on bended knee.

By arranging the giving of the Law parallel to the Annunciation, the Matthew Bible title page marks a major departure from traditional Reformation iconography because it places the giving of the Law *before* the Fall. Typically, Reformation iconography follows biblical chronology by blocking the frame so that the Fall, which occurs in Genesis chapter 3, visually precedes (and thereby provides theological rationale for) the giving of the Law, which is described in Exodus chapter 20.³¹ By featuring the Tree of Life—itsself a symbol of the beginning and end of the Scriptural narrative and of sacred/historical time—the Matthew woodcut provides a more literal reading of the Logos, John 1.1-2, 14a: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. . . . And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.”³² This is an interesting anticipation of the type of biblical typology presented in *Paradise Lost*.

The next set of side panels to be paired in the typological story surrounding the Tree of Life on this title page, follows more traditional Protestant iconography: to the left is the Fall and opposite on the right hand side is a picture of the Crucifixion. The typological reading of these two parallel panels is that the Fall brings separation from God and death; Christ, through the cross, reconciles sin and redeems life. In the panel depicting the Fall, Eve and Adam mutually hold the yet untasted fruit in front of a diminutive Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. According to Diane Kelsey McColley, for the artist to portray Eve and Adam grasping the fruit together was a typical representation of the Fall in Renaissance iconography, particularly within the English Bible tradition (*A Gust* 20-21; 24). The Serpent, of course, is coiled around the trunk of the Tree of Knowledge with his head pointed toward Eve, as is also traditional.

Opposite the Fall, on the far right of the frame, is its typological fulfillment—the Crucifixion. This illustration, portrays a cross on which Christ hangs. Two interesting details emerge upon close study: first, Jesus' head is diverted from the scene of the Fall; and, second, a branch of leaves from the Matthew Bible's Tree of Life just lightly brushes against the left crossbeam of the cross, suggesting the complex symbolism associated with the cross. From the time of the Patristic Church, artistic representations of the cross have associated the Cross of Calvary as a unifying symbol of both the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge. Gerhart B. Ladner puts it this way:

Ever since the early centuries of Church history the Tree of Life was identified both with the Cross and with the Crucified Christ, the true life. This identification was symbolic in a special way, . . . namely in the typological or figurative or allegorical sense of Holy Scripture, which

looked at the events of the Old Testament as adumbrations of the New.

Thus the *Lignum vitae* of Paradise was the prototype or prefiguration of the Cross, the *Lignum vitae* of the new dispensation. (236)

The long-enduring tradition of the *Lignum vitae* can be seen in iconography illustrating the magnificent Macklin Bible, published in London by Thomas Macklin at the turn of the nineteenth-century (see **Fig. 2.2**). The cross in the Matthew Bible woodcut is further complemented by an image of the Paschal Lamb, yet another prototype associating the Old Testament celebration of Passover with Christ's sacrifice.

As we conclude this first prefatory section on the visual representation of the Tree of Life in the Matthew Bible title page, I would like to suggest a brief ecyptological reading of this illustration. On the lower left of the frame, just above the picture of the corpse lying on a bier, there grows a stunted and bent fruit tree. This crooked fruit tree is rooted precariously on the leeward side of the stream bank, where erosion has cut away the soil, exposing the tree's roots: some even hang in the air, dangling dangerously above the streambed. The crooked tree appears ready to fall at any moment, and it proves a stark contrast to the towering Tree of Life in the center frame, which is rooted on solid ground. The erosion of the crooked tree's roots, its bent and stunted trunk, and its rotting fruit suggests grave mismanagement and extreme lack of attention. Long established Christian symbolism would associate the crooked fruit tree's evident lack of husbandry as a metaphor for the dead man's soul. I would suggest we may also read this imagery as representative of a lack of both spiritual and ecological consciousness in the person now resting on the bier.

A very different sign of eco-typology associated with this illustration can be seen in the way in which the title compartment is hung on this Tree of Life. Notice that the title compartment is made to hang like an unfurled banner or tapestry from one of the upper branches of the tree. The compartment looks light and airy, rather than the heavy marbled appearance of many title tablets. A leafy fringe borders the compartment, aiding in the lightweight appeal of the piece, giving it the appearance that it, too, is an extension of this living tree. The top the compartment is supported by an elaborately carved header, also with finely carved leafy fringes. Curiously, mythological ornaments are absent from the header, giving it the appearance of elegantly crafted wood, but that of an artist attuned to beauty in simplicity of design. The entire compartment is supported by a thick piece of ribbon, string, or fine rope *tied* to an upper branch of the tree. I find this example of restraint and/or respect remarkable. It would have seemed more in keeping with the figural symbolism of the Tree of Life/Cross of Christ to have *nailed* the compartment to the tree; however, Erhard Altdorfer and his copyists thought differently.

A “Woodie Theatre”: Forest Ecology in Milton’s *Paradise Lost*

The forest ecology Milton portrays in *Paradise Lost* begins long before the reader reaches the Tree of Life. The reader’s, and Satan’s, passage into the Garden of Eden is halted by a dense mixed forest of trees growing along the rising plateau walls that encircle the paradisiacal home of Adam and Eve. Following his cosmic flight to the shores of paradise, Satan, the “Monarch” of Hell (2.467),³³ does not find himself welcomed by a cathedral-like grove of *Quercus rober* at the outskirts of his hard-won

goal. The prohibitively dense “woodie Theatre” (4.141) surrounding Eden leaves Satan “perplexed” (4.176)—an apt description of his state of mind and of his inability to penetrate this tangled grove. So unlike the “Undaunted” (2.955) campaign he made through Chaos, where “So eagerly the fiend / Ore bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare, / With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way” (2.947-49), at the sight of this forest, “Satan . . . journied on, pensive and slow” (4.173).

Even more than the storms of Chaos, the abundant, ecologically-manifest life of Eden put Satan at a pause. The undergrowth alone repels him: “Access deni’d” (4.137). This thick border guard “Of shrubs and tangling bushes” forms “one continu’d brake” around the base of the terrain (4.175-76). From an ecological viewpoint, the entire passage is worth quoting:

So on he fares, and to the border comes,
Of *Eden*, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, Crowns with her enclosure green,
As with a rural mound the champain head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairie sides
With thicket overgrown, grottesque and wilde,
Access deni’d; and over head up grew
Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and Pine, and Firr, and branching Palm,
A Silvan Scene, and as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade, a woodie Theatre
Of stateliest view. Yet higher then thir tops

The verdurous wall of paradise up sprung: (4.131-43)³⁴

Milton's Eden is guarded by a "verdurous wall" (4.136) of trees and undergrowth. Bushes, vines and herbs "grotesque and wilde" (4.136) bristle along the lower edge of this living fence, while a variety of evergreen and oriental trees—"Cedar, and Pine, and Firr, and branching Palm" (4.139)—guard the upper regions overlooking the *hortus conclusus* within.³⁵

The ecology of Milton's border forest rings with literary precedents that echoes amid this wood. Milton describes the trees or "ranks" as "ascend[ing] / Shade above shade" (4.140). This line is actually about sunlight rather than shade. As one variety or species of tree rises above another (always stretching its growth toward the sun), it casts its shade upon the tree(s) beneath it. Thus, Milton's use of the word "shade" draws attention to the mixture of species and growth on this steep hillside. We can also consider the phrase "Shade above shade" as a way to look at the literary allusions that lie embedded in this particular text, or are literally "shaded" by Milton's description. Jeffrey S. Theis observes that the act of interpretation for the reader in this passage is similar to the reader's attempt to navigate this entangling grove. He writes, "This part of Eden's topography appears contradictory in its ability to confuse through its material density yet also clarify via its similarities to literary woods with which Milton's readers would have been familiar" ("The purlieu" 235). One example easily overlooked is Milton's brief visualization of the protective boundary of trees from the perspective of *inside* Eden, where it appears "As with a rural mound the champain head / Of a steep wilderness" (4.132-35). This description is very similar to that used in Shakespeare's *King Lear* as Lear describes the portion of his kingdom due to Goneril for her false flattery. Lear says

that the rich land is bordered “With shadowie Forrests, and with Champains rich’d” (1.1.79).³⁶ In other words, the rolling open pasturelands, or green glades, Goneril is about to inherit are enclosed by a dense border of woodlands, much like the boundary surrounding Milton’s Eden.³⁷

Editors and critics have attempted to explain away the forest ecology of Milton’s “woodie Theatre” based on the dense palimpsest of literary or classical allusions that inform its description. Merritt Y. Hughes, a renowned editor of *Paradise Lost* and Milton’s *Works*, sees the arrangement of trees in this description as a visual interpolation of a passage from a Samuel Purchas travel narrative, portraying the forest of a foreign land as a “‘naturall Amphitheatre’ amid ‘woodie hils’” (87). C. S. Lewis reads lines 139-141 above as the culmination of all Western pre-existing images of Paradise, the guardian wall being one of many components readers have come to expect in these descriptions. He sees Milton’s trees as no more than an “upward progression, a vertical serialism” (48). Lewis writes, “The trees are ladder-like or serial trees . . . They stand up like a stage set . . . They go up in tiers like a theatre” (48). Although Lewis is a superior critic, he has overlooked the fact that Eden and its boundary are not arranged according to the rules of “nice Art” . . . “but Nature boon / Powrd forth profuse on Hill and Dale and Plaine” (4.241-43). This “profuse” forest is so much more than a players’ backdrop; it is, in fact, a pristine wilderness, even in a modern ecological sense.

Milton’s use of word choice and the allusions embedded in this *locus classicus* serve to enhance the total picture of his ecological ethos in *Paradise Lost*. The trees on this steep slope rise up in “ranks” (4.141). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Milton’s use of the word here means “[a]ny number of rows or lines of things placed at

differing heights; a level, tier” (n.II.8.). From this definition we get the imagery of trees growing in “[a]ny number of rows and lines . . . at differing heights.” A thoughtful application of this definition suggests that this hillside does not consist of *straight* rows of trees clinging to its side in lines going either directly up or down the slope; this does not reflect Milton’s environmental ethos even in a postlapsarian context.

This same word is used by Milton to describe the arrangement of the forest trees in his poem *Arcades*. This early poem (dated between 1632-34) is in the form of a masque and was presented as an “entertainment” for the Lady Alice, Countess Dowager of Derby. The main speaker, the “Genius of the Wood,” is charged by Jove to be the physical and spiritual overseer of the forests surrounding Lady Alice’s estate, Harefield. The Genius declares:

And early ere the odorous breath of morn
Awakes the slumbering leaves, or tasseld horn
Shakes the high thicket, haste I all about,
Number my ranks, and visit every sprout
With puissant words, and murmurs made to bless, (56-60)

The Genius of the Wood’s speech here provides yet another meaning to the word “ranks”—that of daily, observant care, as he visits the trees in his grove every morning “to bless” their growth with his silviculture and words. In *Arcades*, the Genius uses his pattern of husbandry in the woods to praise his Lady’s works and wisdom, the numbering of her “ranks” or family (many of whom were performing in the entertainment) through the years. If we read the connotations of nurture and careful observation the Genius associates with his “ranks” back into the passage from *Paradise Lost*, we may see

Milton's "steep savage hill" (4.172) as an ecosystem, complexly arranged in "ranks" designed by the "sovrain Planter" (4.691).

Milton's literary allusions also serve to enhance the ecological features of his epic. Virgil's *Aeneid* is one of the more prominent texts to which Milton alludes in the passage above.³⁸ In book 1, Juno's vengeful plot nearly destroys Aeneas and the Trojan fleet at sea. When the survivors finally reach a safe harbor, through the intervention of Neptune, they find a secluded harbor, a *silvis scaena coruscis*—literally a "theater," perhaps shaped like a Greco-Roman amphitheatre, of "shimmering" or "trembling" trees.³⁹ The meaning has something to do with the play of light and shadow on the leaves of the grove of trees. John Dryden renders the passage this way in his translation of *The Aeneid* (1694-97):

Betwixt two rows of rocks a sylvan scene
Appears above, and groves for ever green;
A grot is formed beneath, with mossy seats,
To rest the Nereids and exclude the heats.
Down through the crannies of the living walls
The crystal streams descend in murmuring falls. (I.163-68)

We can see within Dryden's translation of Virgil an obvious literary precedent for the rocky rim, or mount, studded with trees in Milton's wall around Eden. The Virgilian allusion, however, also carries overtones of Satan's impending seduction of Eve and Adam. Virgil's "living walls" provide shelter for the Trojans, but the scene that follows foreshadows Aeneas's conquest of Dido's heart. In Dryden's translation, "Aeneas climbs the mountain's airy brow / And takes a prospect of the seas below" (1.180-81). Perhaps,

Dryden is alluding to *his predecessor*, Milton, in this case, who writes, “Yet higher than thir tops / The verdous wall of paradise up sprung: / Which to our general Sire gave *prospect large*” (4.142-44) (my emphasis). From his vantage point upon the “living walls” of the bay of safety, Aeneas spots a herd of deer grazing in a meadow—venison to feed his sea-worthy people. The pun is too full, however, when “pious” Aeneas slays the “hart” moments after landing on the shores of Lybia. Satan, of course, is looking for a “prospect” (4.200) as well when he encounters the mighty wilderness blocking his way into Eden.

Burglary in Paradise: Eco-typology and Epic Simile

Ecology is rendered into terms of biblical typology when Satan jumps over the wall of paradise and, taking on the biblical imagery of a wolf and a thief, steals into the groves and meadows of Eden. Since Satan cannot penetrate the living fence of trees that surround Eden, he subverts its boundaries and jumps over the forested slope and wall: “At one slight bound high over leap’d all bound” (4.181). The pun on the word *bound* sheds light on just how “slight” a task it may have been for Satan, the hierarch of hell, to overcome any kind of natural barrier on earth. Another possible reading I see in this passage is the word “bound” used twice in line 181 to complement “Of Hill or highest Wall” in line 182, suggesting the *struggle* instead of ease with which the fiend gains entrance into the enclosed garden by hurdling the “Hill” with the first leap only to have to surmount the “highest Wall” with the next. How one reads Milton’s pun depends upon the degree to which Satan is viewed as a heroic figure in the epic; it may also depend on

how one credits the Edenic environment as an active participant in the poem. At any rate, the reader is well aware by Milton's wordplay that Satan has broken through *all* barriers, even verbal ones, between himself and the environment within the garden.

A gate, of course, is the antithesis of a mad leap: "One Gate there only was, and that look'd East / On th' other side" (4.178-79). If Satan can jump over the wall in a *single* bound, he could certainly have skirted the forested wall of Eden easily to use the gate instead. During his journey from Chaos to the heavens above earth, Satan had used the stairway leading down from heaven (Jacob's Ladder) to reach this globe, rather than making his own way down to earth (cf. 3.510-25; 540-43). However, at the sight of the gateway into Eden, Satan "disdaind" it, holding the single entrance built into the garden's wall "in contempt" (4.180). This reaction on Satan's part and his subsequent action—jumping the defenses of Eden—lead the reader directly into an epic simile that portrays Satan as the ultimate physical and spiritual predator of Eden. Through multiple metaphorical comparisons melded harmoniously into this single epic simile, Milton describes Satan's first attack on Eden in terms of theft: the theft of innocent creatures and the heisting of accumulated wealth. Eco-typology makes this complex epic simile understandable in terms of its application to greater textual themes.

The first part of Milton's epic simile compares Satan to a "prowling Wolfe" (4.183)—ravenous with hunger—that springs over the wall of a sheep pen to kill a sheep (or two) for a meal. The language of this first comparison reflects Satan's own "[Leap]" (4.187) over the forested wall of Eden, but it also compels the reader to imagine Satan as a stealthy adversary, which prefigures the guise of the guileful Serpent he will assume later in the epic. Milton's description of Satan's ever-changing façade begins

As when a prowling Wolfe,
Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
Watching where Shepherds pen thir Flocks at eeve
In hurdl'd Cotes amid the field secure,
Leaps o're the fence with ease into the Fould: (4.183-87)

In terms of metaphor, Satan is acting *like* a wolf—at least the wolf of folklore—by “Leap[ing] o're the fence” (4.187) in order to seek his “prey.” There is little need to dwell on this rather obvious comparison between Satan and a predatory animal, except to note that soon he literally will transform himself into recognizable postlapsarian predators, as if to continue the hunt for Adam and Eve (cf. 4.396-408). Outside the gates of hell, Satan had assured his progeny Sin and Death that “ye shall be fed and fill'd / Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey” (2.843-44). Like a pack of predators, the duo of this perverse tri-unity, Sin and Death, are poised to join Satan in his triumph and to gorge themselves on all creatures after the Fall, including humans. Milton's portrait of Satan is startling: he invades Eden with the same legendary ferocity that a wild wolf would attack penned-up sheep. However, there is yet another dimension to this metaphorical language that further develops Satan as a deadly predator once inside the boundaries of the Eden.

Seventeenth-century readers of *Paradise Lost* likely would have noticed the allusion to the Parable of the Good Shepherd in the first part of this epic simile; in fact, the allusion is so strong at times that Milton appears to be poetically rewriting the Scripture text. Located in the Gospel of John, this parable is memorable because in it Jesus describes himself metaphorically as a “door” or gate and as a “shepherd.” Jesus says, “I am the door of the sheep” (Jn. 10.7, 9), meaning in Christian theology that he, as

the Incarnate Word, embodies the way into paradise—as the creator of prelapsarian Eden, as the redeemer of believers in the postlapsarian world, and as the millennial king in the New Jerusalem in heaven. In *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, Part I), John Bunyan portrays Christ as an allegorical doorway, or the “Wicket Gate,” through which Christian must pass to begin his spiritual journey to the Celestial City. In the text, Evangelist instructs Christian to “*Strive to enter in at the strait gate, the [Wicket] Gate to which I sent thee; for strait is the gate that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it*” (68).⁴⁰

Likewise, Satan embodies a literary and biblical identity as a “wolf” (Jn. 10.12) and a “thief” (10.10) by stealing into the garden: “He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber” (Jn. 10.1). In his edition to *Paradise Lost*, John Leonard glosses Milton’s allusion to John 10.1 in this passage (760). However, he turns too quickly away from the biblical metaphor sustained in the epic simile to look for Classical allusions.⁴¹ By doing so, Leonard neglects to adhere to advice he gives in another insightful essay, where he writes, “Many of Milton’s allusions . . . jar with and against their contexts” (“Milton’s Jarring” 78). Milton’s picture of Satan entering Eden like a wolf threatening sheep in a shelter begs the question: where is the protective shepherd? The allusion to John 10.1 tells us that metaphorically-speaking the shepherd is the door itself, or to put it another way, all sheep entering this shelter must pass through or by the shepherd. Since this wolf (Satan) has trumped the door by jumping “o’re the fence” (4.187), we must ask again: what has happened to the shepherd?

When Jesus declares that “I am the good shepherd” in John 10.11 and 14, he is presenting himself as the embodiment of a long-standing biblical trope. In biblical

typology this trope also came to represent figural types of Christ. A definitive discussion of the topic is beyond the scope of this chapter, but let it suffice for me to mention a few of the most memorable pastoral figural types from Scripture: Abraham, Moses, and, of course, King David, all of whom were literal shepherds in their lives and are represented as types of the “good shepherd” to follow in the New Testament. Leonard goes to great length in his essay to point out what he sums up in the following sentence: “An allusion need not forfeit its status as an allusion just because it is also a topos” (“Milton’s Jarring” 73). Milton does not make an explicit reference to the later verses in John chapter 10 by his choice of words or phrasing; however, the trope of the “good shepherd” is automatically invoked by Milton’s strong allusion to John 10.1.

If we read this first comparison as an allusion to the entire Parable of the Good Shepherd, rather than just a single verse, it becomes indeed what Leonard calls a “jarring” allusion because it echoes for readers well steeped in biblical story—as Milton’s seventeenth-century readers were—several key Scriptural moments, such as the protevangelium and the Crucifixion, which resonate richly for Christians as points in historical time that give meaning to the cosmic, spiritual battle between Satan and Christ.⁴² An example of this deep resonance comes from the following four verses in John 10.11-14:

I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.
But he that is a hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth: and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth, because he is

a hireling, and cared not for the sheep. I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine.

Returning to Milton's metaphoric comparison, the question has to be asked: How can a "prowling Wolfe" (4.184) sneak into a sheep pen in a field not only described as "secure" (4.186), but also, by virtue of allusion, watched by the typological fulfillment of the "good shepherd"? We know from book 3 that Milton is already thinking about the Crucifixion, and the Son has already offered to "lay down [his] life for the sheep" in 3.236-38, so that the intrusion into Eden portends more than the immediate context of the comparison might suggest. Leonard writes, "Jarring allusions are of value to Milton criticism because they open the poems up. Editors and critics have tended to close things down by privileging allusions that are safe. This is a pity because Milton's poetry draws much of its power from allusions that are unsafe" ("Milton's Jarring" 97). The ultimate answer to the question of how and why a "good shepherd" would allow a wolf to get into the sheepfold may be unsettling, if not unknowable. However, biblical typology gives us a framework from which to further probe the rich language of Milton's simile, and language can lead us to the kind of new discoveries Leonard suggests above.

As we turn to the second half of Milton's epic simile, we can begin to analyze the eco-typological implications of this metaphoric imagery. Milton extends his portrayal of Satan from a hunger-driven wolf to a cat-burglar about to pull off a heist:

Or as a Thief bent to unhoord the cash
Of some rich Burgher, whose substantial dores,
Cross-barrd and bolted fast, fear no assault,
In at a window climbs, or o're the tiles (4.188-91)

Milton's second comparison both parallels and contrasts the first comparison of the wolf and the sheepfold. The most obvious contrast in the two comparisons is between the pastoral setting (and themes) of the first comparison and that of the city in the second comparison. The *Oxford English Dictionary* shows that "burgher" had come into the English language in the sixteenth century from the Continent as "An inhabitant of a burgh, borough, or corporate town; a citizen" (n., 1.a.). With the word's Continental origins, "burgher" suggests ownership, dignity, proprietorship, and active participation in the civic and political life of the city. Shepherds, by contrast, are transient by nature, finding available pasture for their flocks on common land, or following the orders of a landowner.

The first and second comparisons rival each other in yet another significant way. Once again, the language of Milton's thief and citizen refers the reader back to Satan's "[d disdain]" (4.181) for the single gate into Eden by imaging the entrance to this citizen's house stoutly shut up to outsiders: the "substantial dores" at the threshold are "Cross-barrd and bolted fast" (4.189-90). This is both a point of connection between Milton's first and second comparisons and a major departure: through the allusion to John 10.1, the comparison between the wolf and the sheepfold conjectures an (eternally) open gateway into the sheep pen, which the wolf dodges; in the context of the city merchant's house, the doors have been strongly secured against all-comers, presumably for the night. This aspect of the second half of the simile resembles that of Shakespeare's Brabantio in *Othello* I.i.67-143, a Venetian burgher who thinks he has "all [his] family within" his secured villa for the night (I.i.84). "What tell'st thou me of robbing?" the sleepy and angered Brabantio asks from his window, peering down toward the murky

images of Roderigo and Iago looking up at him from the darkness below. “This is Venice: / My house is not a grange,” he asserts with confidence (I.i.105-6). Brabantio is replying to Iago’s satiric description of Desdemona’s elopement with Othello in the mocking terms of anti-pastoral: “Even now, now, very now, an old black ram / Is tugging your white ewe” (I.i.88-89).⁴³ The similarities between this scene from Shakespeare’s play and Milton’s simile are intriguing because in both cases a seemingly secure, powerfully wealthy citizen’s house is found to be vulnerable to theft in the middle of the night.

Ecologically, Milton’s comparison of Satan’s entry into Eden to a household under threat of larceny speaks to one of the founding definitions of ecocriticism applied to *Paradise Lost*. Satan acts as a thief who comes into Eden as one “bent to unhoord the cash” (4.188) of the house; this line anticipates Satan’s first view of the landscape of Eden, which Milton creates as a *locus amoenus* (literally a “pleasant place, a beautiful neighborhood,” or as Milton later translates it for the reader “A happy rural seat of various view” [4.247]). Satan, however, myopically views the munificent landscape he finds before him as plunder: “In narrow room Natures whole wealth” (4.207) there for the taking. Milton records that Satan “Saw undelighted all delight” (4.286), because he has come for commodity, rather than to join the harmonic society of species living in Eden.

If we read Milton’s epic simile of Satan’s entry into Eden against the actions it elaborates, the sum of the simile, or tenor of its vehicle, emphasizes God’s presiding presence over the house of creatures. Before we proceed, it will be helpful to reproduce the epic simile in its entirety:

As when a prowling Wolfe,

Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
 Watching where Shepherds pen thir Flocks at eeve
 In hurdl'd Cotes amid the field secure,
 Leaps o're the fence with ease into the Fould:
 Or as a Thief bent to unhoord the cash
 Of some rich Burgher, whose substantial dores,
 Cross-barrd and bolted fast, fear no assault,
 In at the window climbs, or o're the tiles;
 So clomb this first grand Thief into Gods Fould:
 So since into his Church lewd Hirelings climbe. (4.183-93)

In the final two lines of the epic simile, Milton sums up Satan as the “first grand Thief,” and then embracing the fullest meaning of McColley’s definition of ecology as *oikos* or language about the house of nature, Milton epitomizes all of Eden as “Gods Fould” (4.192). In essence the epic simile presents Satan’s invasion of Eden as an attempt to steal into God’s house on earth, pictured in this first instance as a sheep fold, a shelter under his special watch and care.

Milton uses eco-typology to connect the two summary statements of his epic simile in a way that reflects the imagery of Eden as a type of the Church.⁴⁴ In *Lycidas*, Milton alludes, once again, to John, Chapter 10.11-14 in his description of the corrupt clergy of his day. He writes, “Anow of such as for their bellies sake, / Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold? / Of other care they little reck’ning make” (114-16). The “other care” Milton is referring to in this passage is on one hand “the worthy bidden guest (118) whom I have described above in the words of St. John as the “good Shepherd,” or the

Son of God. This “other care” also can be said to include a broader understanding of the pastoral vocation that Milton is arguing for in both *Lycidas* and *Paradise Lost*. Satan in his various depictions as a “prowling Wolfe” about to devour his “prey” and as a “Thief bent to unhoord the cash” embodies the commodification of Creation. What God intended, according to Milton, was instead a “Fould,” a place where even the weakest, most vulnerable of all creatures would find safety and succor. This was part of Adam and Eve’s (the first ministers’) vocation on earth, and the “other care” that is spoken of in *Lycidas*. The other part of Adam and Eve’s vocation was worship, through work, song, prayer, creativity, and obedience to the Word(s) of God—a Church in the forest of Eden.⁴⁵ Wendell Berry calls this kind of care for the whole household of God “charity.” He states that “all Creation exists as a bond. . . . Once begun, where it [charity] begins, it cannot stop until it includes all Creation, for all creatures are parts of a whole upon which each is dependent . . . Charity for even one person does not make sense except in terms of an effort to love all Creation in response to the Creator’s love for it” (“The Gift of Good Land” 273). Milton refutes those who, like Satan, willingly destroy the earth and imperil the church whose sisterly mission is to care for all earth’s creatures.

Eco-typology and the Tree of Life in Eden

The forest ecology represented by Milton’s poetic portrayal of the Tree of Life is worth noting for its major departure from Reformation biblical iconography. The 1537 Matthew Bible title page is dominated by a single Tree of Life, with a smaller Tree of Life and Tree of Knowledge (or Tree of Death) lining its left border; however all of the

pictorial trees on this title page appear single, rather than in the context of a forest or grove. The other two biblical images of the Tree of Life we will examine in chapters 3 and 4 also exhibit the Tree of Life as an individual, rather than as an example of a species. The tradition of the single iconographic tree reaches back to Patristic and medieval forms of representation.⁴⁶

Unlike the iconography of the Tree of Life found in Reformation Bibles, which typically present a single tree or individualized blocks of the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge, Milton's Tree of Life (and Tree of Knowledge) exists within a life-affirming context—the forest ecosystem of Eden.⁴⁷ In lines reminiscent of Genesis 2.9, Milton provides beautiful details of the forest surrounding the Tree of Life: “Out of the fertile ground he caus'd to grow / All Trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste; / And all amid them stood the Tree of Life, / High eminent” (4.216-19). Milton's sensory imagery presents Tree of Life embedded within the “spicie Forrest” (5.298), invoking the glorious aromas of flowering fruit trees comingling with the musk of pine and cedar. These “goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit / . . . of golden hue” (4.147-48) are likely the same “Trees of God” whose fruit Eve uses to “[heap] this Table” (5.390-91) when she banquets Adam and Raphael. The visiting angel Raphael, also provides a context for the Tree of Life that is quite different from Reformation iconography:

He brought thee into this delicious Grove,
This Garden, planted with the Trees of God,
Delectable both to behold and taste;
And freely all thir pleasant fruit for food
Gave thee, all sorts are here that all th' Earth yields,

Varietie without end; but of the Tree
Which tasted works knowledge of Good and Evil,
Thou mai'st not; (7.537-42)

The Tree of Life (as a *individual* tree) is not singled out specifically in Raphael's version of the Garden; in fact, the only exceptional tree is the Tree of Knowledge. During the retelling of his creation story, Adam's account of forest ecology mirrors that of Raphael quite closely in terms of placing the Tree of Life within the context of a vibrant ecosystem of "goodliest Trees" (8.304). Only in the context of an alternative to God's prohibitive command to avoid the forbidden tree (spoken by Adam in 4.421-32) is the Tree of Life spoken of as a single tree standing beside the Tree of Knowledge: "So neer grows Death to Life" (4.425). Milton immerses the Tree of Life within "So various" (4.423) a forest ecosystem to point out the abundant natural and spiritual life represented by this living arboreal symbol. Conversely, the Tree of Knowledge, equally arboreal, is syntactically and semantically individualized, isolated.

Despite the iconographic tradition, some Reformation writers were open to the possibility that the Tree of Life may have existed as a nurturing wood, rather than an individual tree. In their commentaries on Genesis, Martin Luther and John Calvin both believed that the Tree of Life (and the Tree of Knowledge) may have existed as a species, despite traditional portrayals. Luther writes compellingly in his *Lectures on Genesis*:

Moreover, someone may ask here whether there was only one tree [of life] or several, and whether, in the fashion of Scripture, the singular is used for the plural, just as we speak collectively and say pear and apple when we have in mind the species and not the individual fruits. To me it

does not appear at all preposterous that we understand the tree of life as a definite area in the midst of Paradise, a sort of grove in which there stood several trees of the species called arborvitae. It is also possible that the tree of knowledge of good and evil is designated collectively as a wood or grove, because it was somewhat like a chapel in which there were many trees of the same variety, namely, the trees of the knowledge of good and evil, from which the Lord forbade Adam to eat anything, or he would surely die. (95)

Luther does not think it “preposterous” to imagine a variety of trees identified as trees of life, growing in the middle of Eden. For him, the forbidden “wood or grove” in which the trees of knowledge of good and evil grow is likened to a “chapel”. With a broad stroke, Luther candidly identifies the taxonomy of the Tree of Life as belonging to any of “several trees of the species called arborvitae.” Sir Thomas Browne takes this opinion to task in *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1646, 1672), where he assures the reader that it was no more likely for the forbidden fruit to be an apple than “*Arbor vitæ*, so commonly called, to obtaine its name from the tree of life in Paradise” (VII.i.536).

Not surprisingly, Calvin is less boisterous in his departure from traditional representations of the Tree of Life than Luther. In fact, Calvin attempts to make his interpretation of the biblical text a matter of good reason. “It is uncertain whether he [Moses] means only two individual trees, or two kinds of trees,” he observes in his *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses Called Genesis*. “Either opinion is probable, but the point is by no means worthy of contention; since it is of little or no concern to us, which of the two is maintained.” Whether the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge

existed as individual trees or distinct groves of species, Calvin does not care to dispute a case that cannot be proven and is not essential to proving one's salvation. Calvin's cautionary, yet open-handed attitude toward the Tree of Life is connected to his theology which defines a different purpose for the Tree of Life than that of Luther. What was the purpose of the Tree of Life and its fruit, after all? The theological and physical role of the fruit of the Tree of Life will be discussed further in chapter 3.

Milton certainly had a written context for his portrayal of the Tree of Life (and the Tree of Knowledge) existing within a vibrant wooded ecosystem. However, he takes his ecological portrayal of the Tree of Life farther than either Luther or Calvin by arguing for the corporeality of heavenly groves filled with trees of life. At the banquet with Adam and Eve, Raphael assures them that the celestial foods the angels consume is similar to that of their earthly repast, "though in Heav'n the Trees / Of life ambrosial frutage bear, and vines / Yield Nectar, though from off the boughs each Morn / We brush mellifluous Dewes, and find the ground / Cover'd with pearly grain" (5.426-30). Raphael provides another example of the heavenly forests following the Divine proclamation of the begotten Son when the angelic hosts retire to their camps "By living Streams among the Trees of Life" (5.652). As a final example, when the Father pronounces judgment on Adam and Eve for their sin, the angels are summoned "from thir blissful Bows / Of *Amarantin* Shade, Fountain or Spring, / By the waters of Life, where ere they sate / In fellowships of joy" (11.77-79). These lines illustrate Milton's heavenly landscape as a living forest of life-sustaining trees. From these lines we also can glimpse the centrality of the woods and their environs in the daily life of heavenly beings.

One of the best ways to more clearly understand the radical corporeality of Milton's heavenly forest, quite ironically, is by its destruction during the war in heaven. On the eve of the first disastrous day of battle, Satan begins a catalog of heaven's plant and mineral wealth in order to catalyze celestially organic and inorganic matter into a devilish commodity—gunpowder. But he must first prepare his war captains to take a Mammon-like attitude toward the heavenly landscape:

Which of us who beholds the bright surface
Of this Ethereous mould whereon we stand,
This continent of spacious Heav'n, adorn'd
With Plant, Fruit, Flour Ambrosial, Gemms & Gold,
Whose Eye so superficially surveys
These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
Deep under ground, materials dark and crude (6.472-79)

On the surface, the language employed by Satan appears ecologically sound. He invites his followers to avoid “[superficial] surveys” (6.476) of the things that surround them on the “Ethereous mould” (6.473) of the heavenly forest floor. He even seems at first to admonish his minions to “mind from whence they grow / Deep underground” (6.478-79), which could suggest on one level the health of biotic root systems and tilth of soil, or on another level a *deeper*, more intimate knowledge of the workings of the “mould” beneath them.

But we should be far more wary of the satanic gaze that organizes “Natures whole wealth” (4.207) into categories or kinds for easy exploitation. Jeffrey S. Theis notes that “as opposed to valuing the forest as a whole, the fallen perspective particularizes nature

in idolatrous ways” (“The purlieus” 251). This attitude is first displayed by the devil Mammon, whose lust for wealth is proverbial in *Paradise Lost*.⁴⁸ Milton points out that ecological desecration has its origins in the trades of Mammon, writing that by this demon’s instruction men first “Ransack’d the Center, and with impious hands / Rifl’d the bowels of thir mother Earth / For Treasures better hid” (1.686-88). Today, we would call this kind of “idolatry” consumerism. Satan’s attitude toward the celestial environment is fueled by his lust for an end product; thereby, all natural systems, species, and individuals are analogous to *natural resources*: the natural environment exists as a storehouse for the “inventor” (6.499) to make his “Engins” (6.484) and other mechanical “implements of mischief” (6.488). Satan not only endorses strip mining in heaven, he also deforests the groves of life in order to make his cannonry. As Raphael explains, they appeared “(like to Pillars most they seem’d / Or hollow’d bodies made of Oak or Firr / With branches lopt, in Wood or Mountain fell’d)” (6.573-75). Milton parenthetically expresses Raphael’s simile of the destruction of the heavenly forests in terms economically and nationally alarming to his English readers, who, as we have discussed below, recognized the English oak as the wooden “pillar” of the nation.⁴⁹

Coming back down from heaven to earth, we can see Satan’s myopic utilitarianism continue in Eden. An inability to see the natural world as anything other than a resource or commodity with a terminable end use is a key component of the fallen condition, as Theis has noted, and it is a film we must intentionally wipe from our eyes, or perhaps have “purg’d” away (12.414). Once inside the protective barrier of Eden, Satan immediately singles out the Tree of Life because it provides a good “prospect” (4.200). As the reader continues to experience initial impressions of Paradise in terms of

the conflict between edenic perfection and satanic evil, the fiend transforms from thief to spy.⁵⁰

Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life,
The middle Tree and highest there that grew,
Sat like a Cormorant; yet not true Life
Thereby regaind, but sat devising Death
To them who liv'd; nor on the vertue thought
Of that life-giving Plant, but only us'd
For prospect, what well us'd had bin the pledge
Of immortality. (4.194-201)

Being the tallest tree in the middle of the garden, this Tree of Life provides an excellent post for reconnaissance. Satan gets the lookout he wants from his perch, but he cannot attune himself to the complexities of this “High eminent” tree, “blooming Ambrosial Fruit” (4.219); he completely neglects the tree’s identity as an earthly Tree of Life and misses its “life-giving” properties (4.199).⁵¹

Satan demonstrates his further dislocation from the forest ecology of Eden by his choice of avatar. He chooses to hide his form by embodying that of a “Cormorant” (4.196)—a bird traditionally associated with greed. Shakespeare was familiar with the emblematic representation of cormorants. In his opening speech to *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, Ferdinand, King of Navarre, describes death in terms of “cormorant devouring Time” (I.i.4). The slow march of death, says Navarre, is like a ravenous cormorant, devouring everything in its ravenous maw, even time itself. Likewise Satan’s presence in the branches of the Tree of the Life in the form of an emblematic bird of death represents the

entrance of death and death's bedfellow time into prelapsarian Paradise. After Satan perches on the branch with the best view, he "Sat like a Cormorant; . . . / . . . devising Death / To them who liv'd" (4.197-98). The cormorant is actually the second bird associated with death ascribed to Satan's actions and habits of mind in *Paradise Lost*. In book 3 Milton compares the arch fiend's journey into the Paradise of Fools to that of a "Vultur" (3.341). When all of nature experiences the wounding of the Fall ("Earth trembl'd from her entrails" [9.1000]), Death enters Eden like a vulture coming to a feast: "he [Death] snuff'd the smell / Of mortal change on Earth. . . . So sented the grim Feature, and upturn'd / His Nostril wide into the murkie Air, / Sagacious of his Quarry from so farr" (10.272-73, 279-81). These predatory birds, vitally important to any healthy postlapsarian ecosystem, were weighted with grim associations in the seventeenth century.

To describe Satan in terms of a cormorant roosting in a tree yielding "Fruit / Of vegetable gold" (4.219-20) jars the reader because this bird is clearly out of place. Prelapsarian cormorants could not have eaten fish due to God's command in Genesis 1.30: "And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is* life, I *have given* every green herb for meat: and it was so." However, given Milton's emphasis on the household of creatures, which emphasizes each kind of creature inhabiting its ecosystem, we can safely assume that this cormorant belongs by the water. Once again, Milton uses Satan's actions to expose habits of thought that "[pervert] best things / To worst abuse, or to thir meanest use" (4.203-4). This cormorant is clearly out of its natural habitat, exposing Satan's desire to consume,

rather than commune with this place. The Tree of Life and its forest environment to a mind like this is so much lumber.

I would like to add a final, though equally important, reason why Milton may have chosen to present Satan “like a Cormorant” at the moment Milton also introduces the reader to the Tree of Life. The Jewish Law in the Old Testament provides a list of “unclean” birds—mainly birds of prey and carrion feeders—that the Israelites were forbidden to eat.⁵² In translation several familiar English birds are listed, including the cormorant:

And these *are they which ye* shall have in abomination among the fowls; they shall not be eaten, they *are* an abomination: the eagle, the ossifrage, and the osprey, and the vulture, and the kite after his kind; every raven after his kind; and the owl, and the night hawk, and the cuckow, and the hawk after his kind, and the little owl, and the cormorant, and the great owl, and the swan, and the pelican, and the gier eagle, (Lev. 11.13-18)

This list of birds is repeated in Deuteronomy 14.17 almost verbatim with the exception of the pelican, which does not appear in the latter list. The cormorant also appears in a verse associated with the judgment of God’s enemies: Isaiah prophecies that after the armies of the Lord lay waste to the land “the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it” (Isa. 34.11 KJV).⁵³ These biblical references may foreground the cultural imagination of the cormorant as a bird filled with greed, which may be yet another reason why Milton chose this particular bird.⁵⁴

Another factor guiding Milton’s poetic portrayal of Satan as a cormorant may have been the emblematic tradition surrounding yet another sea bird. The pelican had

long been associated in Christian symbolism with Christ's sacrifice, and Milton may have used the cormorant, a dark-feathered bird of ill-omen, to set a striking contrast against this white-feathered bird of self-sacrifice associated with Christian grace. In fact, the self-wounding pelican feeding her young is figured prominently on the title page to the 1611 King James Bible (see **Fig. 2.3**). Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown write, "The pelican with her young as a symbol of Christ's sacrifice can be traced back to the end of the second century. Since the representation is enclosed in a cartouche similar to that surrounding the Paschal Lamb, they may be read together to symbolize the body and blood of Christ and the sacrament of Holy Communion" (110-11). A careful study of the pelican feeding her young on the KJV title page reveals a tree just barely visible in the background behind the bleeding bird in the foreground: an emblematic Tree of Life, perhaps? Without saying the words, Milton uses the imagery of Satan as a cormorant in the branches of the Tree of Life to coningle iconography of the pelican with ecotypology of the Tree of Life.

As I have tried to show in this chapter, Milton's eco-typology of the Tree of Life is rooted in a life-sustaining perspective toward the "household" of all creation. I don't think we should be surprised at all that Satan is bound up, quite literally, with our first introduction to the forests of Eden, both at the wooded wall surrounding the garden and once inside this "Wilderness of sweets" (5.294). As readers we encounter the Tree of Life in Eden at the same moment Satan does and are indicted as he is from the midst of our postlapsarian consumerism: "So little knows / Any, but God alone, to value right / The good before him" (4.201-03). The Tree of Life prefigures its typological fulfillment in the cross and its recapitulation in the biblical Tree of Life in Heaven, which is yet another

type of Christ. These biblical trees of life prefigure the regenerative work of Christ in the lives of believers. Read eco-typologically, however, they extend this work of grace to include a regenerative relationship with all life on earth, providing readers of *Paradise Lost* with a restorative vision for the ecosystem(s) in which they live.⁵⁵



Fig. 2.1. Title page. (1537). Woodcut. Matthew Bible. Antwerp: Matthew Crom, 1537. Courtesy of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Published with permission.

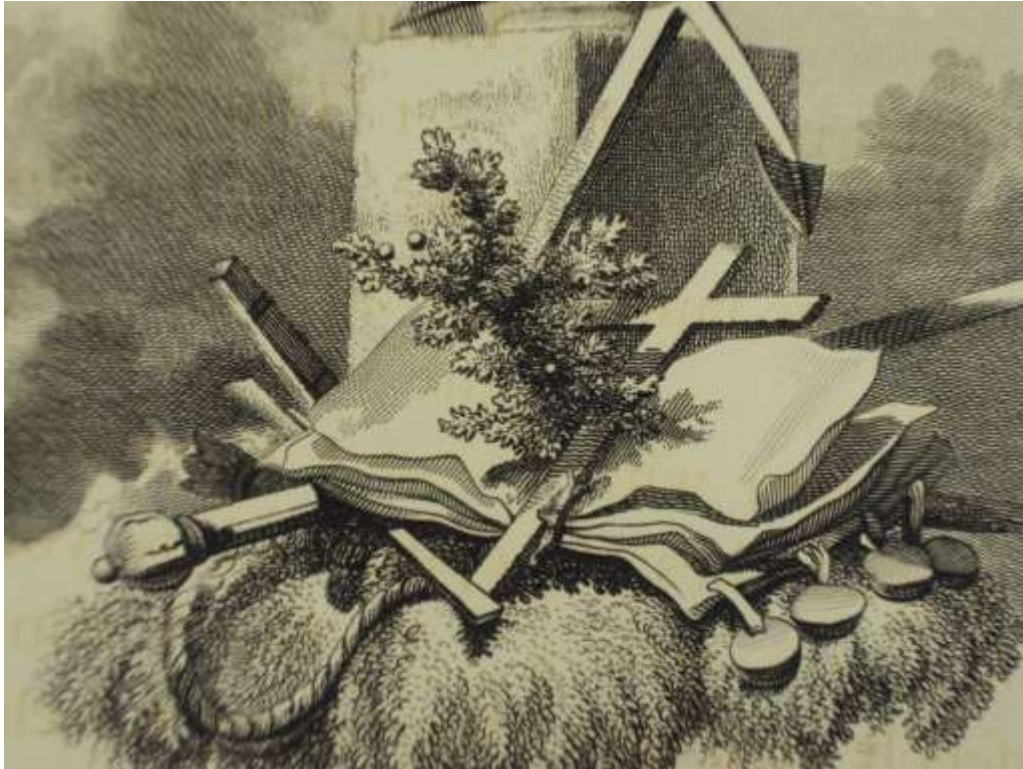


Fig. 2.2. De Louthembourg, P.J. Detail of *Lignum Vitae* from end-plate to Romans 16. Steel-cut engraving. (1800) *The Holy Bible, Embellished with Engravings, from Pictures and Designs By the Most Eminent English Artists*. London: Printed for Thomas Macklin, by Thomas Bentley, 1800. Taylor University Archives, Zondervan Library. Upland, Indiana. Published with permission.

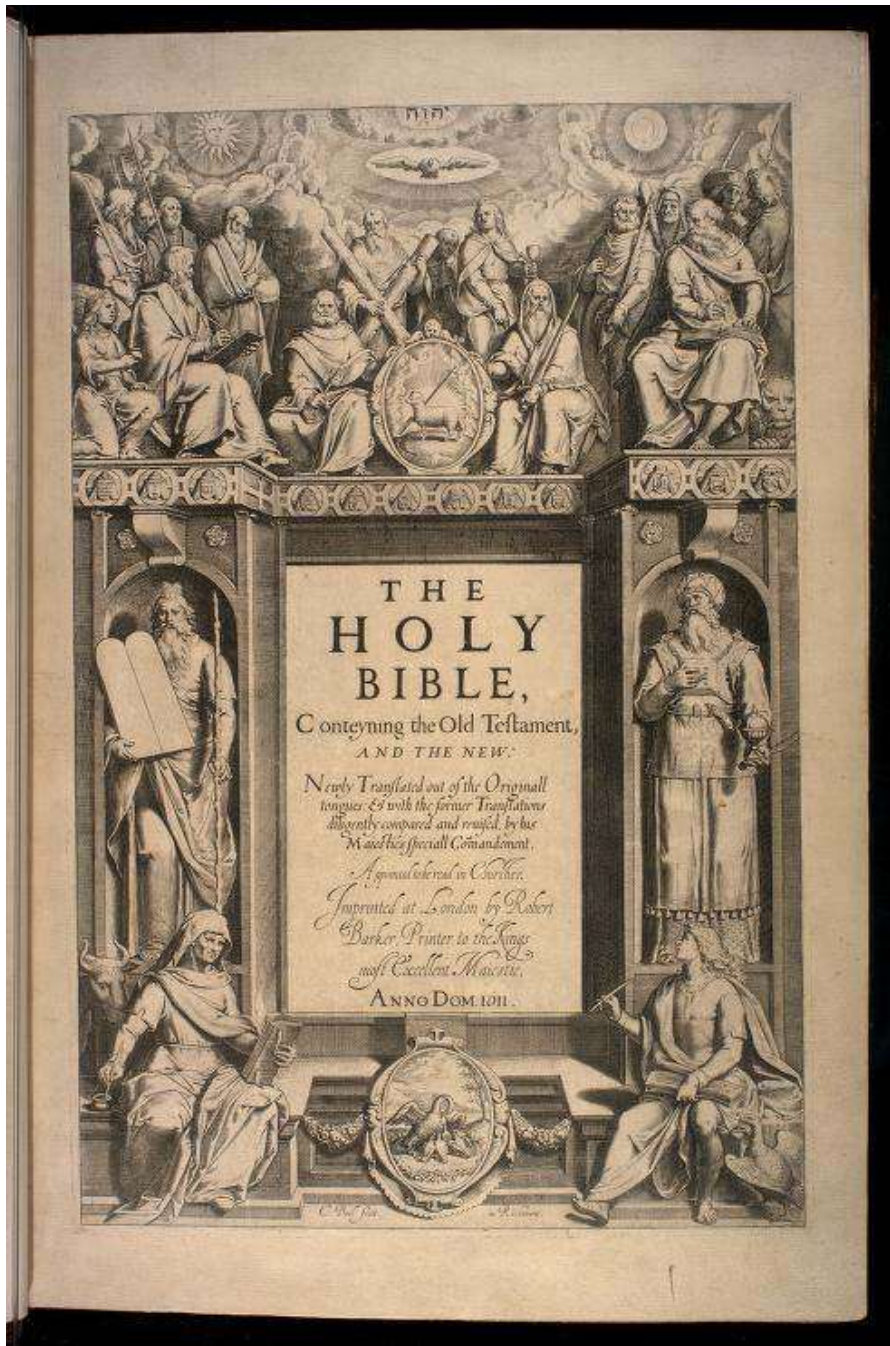


Fig. 2.3. Boel, Cornelius. Title page. (1611). Copper-plate engraving. *The Holy Bible, conteyning the Old Testament, and the New.* London : By Robert Barker, 1611. Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text & Image (SCETI). Furness Collection. Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Web. 19 Sept 2012. Published with permission.

For every tree is known by his own fruit. --Luke 6.43

August

I walke many times into
the pleasant fieldes of the
holye scriptures. Where
I plucke vp the goodlie
greene herbes of sentence
es by pruning: Eate them
by reading: Chawe them
by musing: And laie them
up at length in the hie
seate of memorie by gather
ing them together: that
so hauing tasted thy sweet
enes I may the lesse per
ceau the bitternes of this
miserable life

--Elizabeth I, inscription found on the front flyleaf of a Geneva-Tomson New Testament belonging to Her Majesty, c. 1580⁵⁶

Chapter 3: The Geneva Bible, Eco-Typology, and the ‘Fruit of the Living Word’ in *Paradise Lost*

The focus of the last chapter was on Milton’s portrayal of the tree of life itself as a living organism within the ecological fabric of the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost*. I attempted to show through my analysis that the tree of life was *alive*—an actual timber tree—like the other plants of Eden because this is so important as the first step in understanding Milton’s unique form of eco-typology—a typology that promotes the love of Christ and care for all creatures. This chapter will move to the next stage in the

exploration of the eco-typology of *Paradise Lost*—the fruit of the tree of life, or what I call “the fruit of the living Word.”

The epigraph above by Queen Elizabeth I establishes an appropriate beginning to this chapter because her words describe the very visceral way reading the Word was described metaphorically as *feeding* upon the written words. This verse-like inscription was found inside the front flyleaf of a small, exquisitely embroidered New Testament (c. 1580) owned by Her Majesty, a copy she used for personal, devotional reading no doubt. Kinesthetic verbs combine with garden imagery as the speaker describes her visceral encounter with the Scriptures:

I plucke vp the goodlie
Greene herbes of sentence
es by pruning: Eate *them*
by reading: Chawe *them*
by musing: And laie *them*
up at length in the hie
seate of memorie by gather
ing *them* together (qtd. in King and Pratt 84)

The Queen’s inscription echoes a well-known verse in the Song of Solomon, where Solomon compares the lady’s love for her lover to that of coming into a shady grove of fruit trees: “As the apple tree among the trees of the wood, so *is* my beloved among the sons. I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit *was* sweet to my taste” (2.4).⁵⁷ Since the time of the early Church Fathers, interpreters had tended to shy away from the dramatic poem’s historically-based eroticism, and instead focus their

interpretation of it as an allegory of the love of Christ for his bride the Church.

Reformation exegetes tended to continue this interpretive tradition, but toned down the extravagant allegorizing that had come to be associated with text. Reformation divines favored the typological significance of Solomon's garden of delights. In the Westminster Assembly's *Annotations Upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament* (1651), the Westminster Assembly of Divines provides the following commentary on the last phrase of the verse "*and his fruit was sweet to my taste*":

Or to my palate, or throat, the organs of that sense being put for the faculty. This pleasant fruit is the pardon of sin, justification, joy, peace, and other divine graces and consolations, which grow like golden apples on Christ their Tree, and increase by the very gathering: The more we pluck and taste of them, the more we may, . . . and there is nothing so sweet, could we get enough of them (Song of Sol. ii.4)

It is easy to see from the inscription by Elizabeth I and by the annotation above how readers in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England equate feeding their bodies with feeding their souls. To press the analogy even further, I think we can safely say that they thought of reading the Scriptures as tantamount to eating from a figurative tree of life. Where figure and reality meet blurs when we consider that Christ is "their Tree." To put it another way, these examples show—as I will argue in this chapter—that the fruit of the tree of life was a type for the "fruit of the living Word" prior to and during Milton's lifetime. This is the aspect of his eco-typology of the tree of life we will examine through *Paradise Lost* in this chapter.

Milton and the English Bible

Like Queen Elizabeth I, John Milton was also influenced years later by his reading of the Geneva Bible. Before we turn our attention to Milton's use of the Geneva Bible, however, I think it is appropriate first to consider Milton's relationship to the Bible in general. That Milton knew the Bible well in the vernacular as well as in its original languages is a commonplace among scholars; even undergraduate readers in my Milton course with only a smattering of biblical literacy soon pick up on Milton's deep literary and moral dependence on the Bible. His knowledge of the Bible—as a *text*—strikes me as being that of a person with a photographic memory, especially as he would have depended more and more on the recall of images of printed text or iconography from his memory as his eyesight began to fail. Milton's comprehensive understanding of Biblical stories, exegetical cruxes, and even iconography, was not merely the serendipitous effect of an unusually acute intelligence; Milton's biblical "memory" was tied to years of systematic study and reading.

Milton biographers agree that Milton began reading the Bible at an early age. He writes in his dedicatory "Epistle" to *De Doctrina Christiana* that

I began by devoting myself when I was a boy to an earnest study of the Old and New Testaments in their original languages, and then proceeded to go carefully through some of the shorter systems of theologians. I also started, following the example of these writers, to list under general headings all passages from the scriptures which suggested themselves for

quotation, so that I might have them ready at hand when necessary.

(VI.119)

I don't think Milton is overstating the fact that he began studying Hebrew and Greek as "a boy" because his parents did engage private tutors for him to learn ancient and modern languages when he was quite young. John Milton, senior, ensured that his son received a "gentleman's education," which stressed proficiency in ancient languages—particularly Latin and Greek (Campbell and Corns 16).⁵⁸ In looking back at his childhood experience of the Bible, Milton is clearly overlooking what must have been the most important influence on him as a lad—his parents, John and Sara Milton. The elder Miltons would have laid a solid foundation for the young boy, by modeling their own Protestant beliefs in the primacy of Scripture and the importance of hard work. Although the elder Miltons were moderate Anglicans, it is safe to assume that daily Bible reading in some form was a part of their household. Whether by reciting Psalms from a popular Psalter or by following the Bible readings prescribed in the calendric cycle of the *Book of Common Prayer*, John and Sara Milton surely must have engaged in personal or corporate family Bible reading in the home.⁵⁹

Milton's private and public school teachers also encouraged his education in the Bible. Thomas Young (1587?-1655), a Scots Presbyterian clergyman, became Milton's private tutor a few years prior to his attendance at public school around age 12. According to Lewalski, Young had a reputation for excellence in the classics and Church history and was probably hired to begin training the young Milton in Latin (and possibly Greek), which he did for about three years: the dating is uncertain—either from about 1615 to 1618 or about 1618 to 1620 (5-6). Matthew Stallard notes that "In writing about

his earliest tutor . . . Milton fondly remembers ‘turning the pages of the huge tomes of the ancient Fathers, or the Holy Books of the true God’ (x). The “huge tomes” of the Church Fathers were certainly Latin editions; however, it appears that the “Holy Books of the true God” may have been a Hebrew Bible that Milton and Young perused together. Several years after the two parted ways, Young continued to inspire his former pupil by presenting Milton with a Hebrew Bible as a gift.⁶⁰

Under headmaster Alexander Gil (1565-1635), Milton received a form of biblical instruction at St. Paul’s School unlike anything he had yet experienced. It was here that the innovative Gil used the English Bible to teach morals and what we might now call “language arts.” Margaret Crook writes, “In it [St. Paul’s] the boys studied not only Scripture but English, and an English Bible continued to be essential” (qtd. in Stallard x). Campbell and Corns observe that in 1619 (rev. 1621), Gil published the book that would become his most lasting work, *Logonomia Anglica*, a text that “champions a phonetic system of English spelling” (20). Some of Gil’s principles may have derived from his practice of having the pupils in his school begin their day by reading from the English Bible. Gil’s instruction in the *English* of the Bible may have imparted to Milton a life-long love for his native language. In the autobiographical prologue that begins the second part of *Reason of Church-Government* (1641), Milton describes how his early formal education—“by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools”—and his long-protracted self-education had led him to commit himself “to the adorning of my native tongue . . . to be an interpreter & relater of the best and sagest things among mine own Citizens throughout this Iland in the mother dialect” (I.811-12). I wonder if the early training of Alexander Gil may have played a role in Milton’s commitment to the English

Bible. According to Cook, the daily reading of scripture instituted by Gil at St. Paul's was augmented by Milton's experience at Cambridge, where "the students' day was opened there also with scriptural reading" (qtd. in Stallard x). What began as a practice in the Milton home was cemented into rigid routine by the Protestant public schools Milton attended during his formal education.

Milton not only incorporated the Protestant practice of daily devotional reading into his life as an adult, he also strongly urged the use of the Bible in his own theory of education. Milton follows in the footsteps of his educational models when it comes to instruction in the Bible in both the original languages and in the vernacular. He writes in *Of Education* (1644), "The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him" (II.367). Stallard notes the following: "For Milton, study of the Bible was not merely a mundane intellectual exercise but a project of moral, spiritual, and societal recovery. . . . The idea of education is not reduced to improving the self or to preparing students for the job market. Instead, Milton proposes tools of literacy that will aid his students to be more obedient to the instruction found in the pages of the Bible" (xii). The ideal educational curriculum Milton proposes in *Of Education* follows a diurnal routine of study in the works of classical writers that is "reduc't"⁶¹ at nightfall by a program of Bible reading so that students may "close the dayes work, under the determinat sentence of *David*, or *Salomon*, or the *Evangelis* and *Apostolic* scriptures" (II.397). Milton always comes back to a biblical foundation.

Milton and the Geneva Bible

English Bibles were in great demand during Milton's lifetime for preaching, for exegetical controversy, for private and public educational purposes, and for personal reading. Matthew Stallard writes, "It is the consensus of scholarly opinion that Milton synthesizes the language of a number of English Bible translations including the 1539 Great Bible, the 1560 Geneva Bible (including marginal references), the Bishop's Bible of 1568, the Douay-Rheims of 1610, and the Authorized Version (King James) of 1612 (revised from the 1611 version)" (xxix). The Geneva Bible and the King James Bible were to have the most impact on the reading public of their day, as well as on Milton as we shall see. In the following chapter I will discuss in detail an iconographic image of the tree of knowledge associated with the publication of the KJV in 1611. For the sake of avoiding repetition, I think it appropriate to spend a few moments in this chapter discussing the first of the two English Bibles that had the greatest influence on Milton's major poetry.

It is hard not to think of the 1560 Geneva Bible following in the footsteps of the Tyndale New Testament as a Bible created "for the people." Like Tyndale's breakthrough publication in 1526, the Geneva Bible originated on the Continent, outside the surveillance of the monarch and ecclesiastical authority. Tyndale's Continental printers published his illegal New Testament editions in octavo or smaller formats, making them easier to conceal for smugglers and readers alike. Similarly, the 1560 Geneva Bible, printed by Rowland Hall, appeared in quarto because it was being prepared for publication in the latter days of Mary I's reign. After Elizabeth I acceded to the throne, a second edition was published in folio in 1562. However, the first edition

appearing in quarto set the stage, I believe, for the Geneva Bible to be perceived by readers as a Bible for the people, rather than for the authority of the Church. Its initial reception was as a personal Bible capable of being carried to church or home for private reading. The Great Bible had been the “authorized” Bible of the Church of England since the reign of Edward VI (though Mary had done much to undermine the reading of the Bible in English), and it was called “Great” because of its enormous size, even for a folio text. Another moniker the Great Bible went by was the “Chained Bible” because Archbishop Thomas Cromwell had ordered that one copy of the Great Bible be chained to a lectern in each church for the people to read. Appearing in a handy quarto volume, the Geneva Bible must have seemed strangely personal to those who could afford to purchase one.

The staggering publication numbers of the Geneva Bible make it the most popular English Bible prior to the monopoly of the King James Version. David Daniell summarizes the demand for Geneva Bibles in the following statement:

This remarkable volume, ‘the first great achievement in Elizabeth’s reign’, printed in London and in Edinburgh after 1575, and always in large quantities, became at once the Bible of the English people. It remained so, through 140 editions—editions, not simple reprinting—before 1644. . . . the New Testament was revised by Laurence Tomson in 1576, and new notes by ‘Junius’ replaced those to Revelation in 1599. In 1610, fifty years after the first making, all three versions were in full printing flood, 120 editions of all sizes having been made. (294)

This unprecedented production, carried on at the rate of two to three new editions per year after 1575 (see note), testifies to a large public demand for not only the Geneva Bible but for the Bible in English in general as literacy spread to growing numbers of people.⁶² Even when the King James Version was published in 1611, becoming the second officially “Authorized Version” of the Bible since the Great Bible of 1539, demand for the Geneva Bible in its various permutations did not seem to slacken. One interesting example of the lasting legacy of the Geneva Bible is the publication of KJV Bibles with Geneva notes. Daniell writes, “Between 1642 and 1715, eight editions of KJV were published with Geneva notes, seven of them in folio, and two of them in one year (1769), statistics which tell their own story” (295). One of these unusual editions was printed in 1649, the year of Charles I’s execution. A. S. Herbert provides a most tantalizing note on the 1649 KJV Bible with Geneva notes. He reports, “In general appearance this edition closely imitates the favourite quarto Geneva Bible” (198).⁶³ Perhaps wrapping the entire bound copy in the jacket of an “old friend” and surrounding the KJV text on each page with commentary reminiscent of the Puritanism of the past somehow suggested a new direction for the nation in the days ahead. Such is the powerful rhetoric of the material history of Bible printing.⁶⁴

Three key things—other than size and availability—made the Geneva Bible such a success: reputable textual scholarship, innovative textual layout and helpful notes. From the outset, the Bible translation project that developed on the Continent during the reign of Mary I drew together some of the brightest minds in the nation. The community of Protestant Englishmen and women living in Geneva came to be the torchbearers for a new translation of the Bible in English. By the mid sixteenth-century, Geneva had

become a hub for Protestant intellectuals, drawing the likes of John Calvin, Theodore Beza and Robert (Stephanus) Estienne. The group of translators no doubt drew inspiration from these men who fueled the reputation of Geneva as *the* center for European Protestant Bible printing and apologetics.

The leader of the Marian exiles who became the Geneva translators was William Whittingham, an Oxford scholar well-known for his capacities in biblical Hebrew and Greek.⁶⁵ Whittingham was joined by other outstanding philologists of the day, such as Hebraists Anthony Gilby and Thomas Sampson. Eminent Bible translator Miles Coverdale and the Scots divine John Knox also had some role in the work, though how important or taxing is uncertain. Other contributors included theologians and linguists less well-known today, mostly Oxford and Cambridge divines and scholars. In the “Introduction to the Facsimile Edition” of the 1560 Geneva Bible, Lloyd E. Berry observes that “Whittingham and Gilby were among the most competent English linguists of the time” (11). David Daniell concurs:

For what has often been overlooked is that the Geneva scholars translated the poetic and prophetic books of the Old Testament into English from Hebrew for the first time. Working from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, they had, behind Coverdale’s two versions, the translations of Tyndale directly from Hebrew. But Coverdale thereafter, from Job to Malachi, half the Old Testament, did not translate from Hebrew (297).

The Geneva team used Coverdale’s Great Bible as the English plumb-line for their project, but they also had available to them a storehouse of the latest Continental biblical scholarship in for modern and original language translation work, making literal the

inscription on the title page “*Translated According to the Ebrew and Greke, and conferred With the best translations in diuers langages.*” The beauty of the Geneva Bible is that it was designed with the lay reader in mind, but was also useful to the scholarly divine.

As a result of the influence of Continental print conventions, the Geneva Bible helped introduce innovations in type face and print format to English readers, making the Bible easier to navigate, to cross-reference, and to print in a larger variety of editions. The Geneva Bible was the first English Bible to be printed in roman type, and following in the footsteps of a New Testament also translated by Whittingham at Geneva (printed by Conrad Badius in 1557), the Geneva also divided the scriptural text into verses. The appearance of the neat roman type with verse divisions down the page must have taken some getting used to for Bible readers accustomed to the broad strokes and crowded appearance of continuous blocks of black letter type in their Bible pages. Roman type became especially popular for Bibles in smaller formats than quarto. Book historians frequently note that these smaller (and less expensive) Bibles allowed for flexible marketing of a variety of religious book combinations. The most common arrangement involved a tri-partite binding of *The Book of Common Prayer*, a Geneva New Testament or Bible, and any one of a number of popular Psalters from the time.

Perhaps the innovation for which the Geneva Bible is most well-known is its marginal commentary. The notes of the Geneva Bible have received a lot of criticism over the years for their strong Calvinist bias and anti-Catholic vitriol. This is certainly true of later versions of the Geneva translation. However, as Lloyd Berry points out, “the

notes of the 1560 edition are by and large exegetical and not argumentative” (16). John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt agree, noting that

Though the 1557 New Testament had included a significant number of discursive marginal notes, there are numerous pages in the 1560 Geneva Bible in which its two columns of scripture are almost entirely surrounded by them, thus creating a *mise-en-page* that is similar to manuscript and early printed commentaries. These notes were vilified and caricatured by critics, and some modern scholars have declared that they betray staunch Calvinist beliefs. Nonetheless, they are less polemical than is commonly assumed. (77)

The negative image of the Geneva notes as an apparatus of Puritan terror has been based largely on the later appearances of the Laurence Tomson’s revision to the Geneva New Testament notes in 1576 (later published as the Geneva-Tomson Bible in 1587) and the further revision in 1599 of the notes to Revelation by the addition of material by Franciscus Junius (published as the Geneva-Tomson-Junius edition).⁶⁶

Though later generations came to look down on the so-called “Breeches Bible,” the notes and other Bible study apparatus in the numerous editions of the Geneva Bible of all three versions must have spoken to the spiritual needs of the people. Berry says, “Now for the first time, the English people had a Bible, scholarly in its translation, but also designed for the laity; and it is quite evident that the ‘aids’ the translators provided accounted for its extraordinary popularity among the people” (13). I will add just two additional comments about the history of the Geneva Bible that ought to be mentioned before concluding this brief narrative. In 1579 Scotland printed its first Bible, a reprint of

the first folio Geneva Bible (1562), which became known as the Bassandyne Bible. The Bassandyne Bible was officially authorized by the Church of Scotland to be placed in every parish kirk; by 1580, the Assembly mandated homeowners of means to also possess a copy of this nationalist symbol. The Bassandyne Bible remained the authorized version of the Scots until 1634 when it was finally dethroned by the King James Version.⁶⁷ Additionally, the Geneva was carried across the seas by the Pilgrims who looked for a new life in the wilderness of North America, where it became the center of daily life in the Plymouth Colony, among others (Berry 22).

The literary impact of the Geneva Bible on Shakespeare has long been a commonplace among critics. Daniell writes, “Many of the almost one thousand biblical references in Shakespeare come from the Geneva text. Geneva has, at Jeremiah 13:23, instead of the well-known KJV ‘Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?’, the words ‘Can the black Moor change his skin?’: immediately *Othello* comes into view. It is likely that Shakespeare used a Geneva-Tomson” (354). However, the Geneva Bible seems to receive less credit as a literary influence on John Milton, the greatest English poet following Shakespeare. Most scholars seem to agree that the Geneva Bible and its notes were known and read by Milton; however to what extent is less assured. Matthew Stallard is one scholar who seems to think that too much emphasis has been placed on the 1612 King James Bible owned by Milton as evidence for the more prominent use of the diction and poetic rhythms of the King James Version in Milton’s prose and poetry. In his “Editorial Preface,” Stallard makes an interesting claim for broadening this view:

Studies of Milton's use of the Bible in his prose provide indisputable evidence for Milton's use of the Authorized Version of 1612, a revision of the 1611 Bible printed by Robert Barker. Fletcher notes that the "agreement of the majority of his quotations in English with the Authorized Version is markedly apparent" and figures that Milton used this Bible in his prose 47.7 percent of the time before his blindness. A number of studies of Milton's use of the Bible in his epic poems have accepted the precedent of Fletcher's work to indicate that Milton preferred this translation. I would like to know about the 52.3 percent of other references. Fletcher makes no attempt to read in or consider the possibility of other English Bibles of the period but rather chalks up these aberrations to Milton's knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. (xxxiv)

The purpose of Stallard's edition of *Paradise Lost* is not to exonerate the Geneva Bible, but rather to provide readers with a text of the poem that takes seriously the Bible—in its various English translations—as the single most important source for the Miltonic epic. However, there is a more-than-subtle suggestion in the fact that Stallard has chosen to lean on the 1560 Geneva Bible as his "default translation" for purposes of citing scripture in the notes when other specific translations cannot be identified or when Milton's reference to Bible themes or stories is too general to warrant linking to a specific translation.

Throughout this brief history of the Geneva Bible, I have attempted to demonstrate the popularity of the Geneva Bible among readers of all kinds well into the beginning of the eighteenth century, which makes a very strong case that Milton had read

this Bible well. This logical assertion becomes important because the Geneva Bible was made for typological interpretation of the scriptures. First of all, the new verse layout allowed readers to more easily cross-reference scripture, connecting types in the Old Testament with their antitypes in the New Testament. Daniell observes that “for the Geneva translators Scripture is a vast network of related phrases, particularly connecting the Testaments, and this is wholly right, the New Testament alertness to the Old being rich in every chapter” (298). Not only could readers more quickly locate and mark typological connections for themselves, but, as Daniell suggests, the Geneva notes were also there to alert readers to these interpretative connections.

Contrary to what most people think of the Bible that came to be associated with old-school Puritanism, the 1560 Geneva Bible was quite pictorial. The first edition in 1560 featured 26 woodcuts and engravings of various sizes, most of which were explanatory of things difficult for the average reader to visualize: maps of the Holy Land and illustrations of the Temple and its furnishings. There is also an illustration of Ezekial’s vision.⁶⁸ I argue that even the illustrations of the Geneva aid the reader’s typological interpretation. A full-page engraved map set on the verso side of Numbers Chapter 33 shows the desert wanderings of the Israelites in great detail. The Exodus and the events of the forty-year journey in the wilderness are well-known typological schemes. In John 3.14, the apostle writes, “And as Moses lift vp the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Sonne of man be lift vp” (GE). The marginal note beside this verse sends the reader (if he or she so chooses) back to Numbers 21.9, where Moses made a bronze serpent on a pole to deliver the people from a pestilence of poisonous snakes. The map shows the approximate location of this important historical moment in

the life of the Israelite nation, bringing to a more immediate reality St. John's (and the reader's) typological interweaving of this event with the crucifixion of Christ.

The 1583 Geneva Frontispiece, Eco-typology, and *Paradise Lost*

In 1583 Christopher Barker and his assigns printed a folio-size, black-letter edition of the Geneva Bible. This Geneva edition contained the 1560 text but included twenty-two preliminary leaves, including an "Epistle" to Elizabeth I and an "Address" to the reader. This edition also featured former Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's four-page Prologue (first printed in the front matter of the Great Bible of 1540), an eleven-page genealogy, "An Almanak," calendar, and various popular reformed pedagogical aids to reading the holy Scriptures. Finally, at the end of this labyrinthine tour of front matter, the reader encounters a beautiful full-page engraving of the Garden of Eden at the very moment of Adam and Eve's fatal choice. (See **Fig. 3.1 at the end of the chapter.**) The birds, animals, our first parents—all of Eden—is at the cusp of drastic change. The arresting beauty of this image is that the Fall has not occurred, yet: Eden is portrayed in its unfallen fecundity and innocence; while Eve and Adam ponder their choice. Milton writes quite famously in his tract *Areopagitica* (1644) that "reason is but choosing" (II.527). On the recto side of the frontispiece is the first page of the Old Testament, the beginning words of Genesis, and it seems to suggest to the reformed reader that "reading

is but choosing” as the individual believer seeks to repair the damage of the Fall by *feeding* on the Word of God.

It surprises me how little critical attention this engraving has received from Miltonists to date.⁶⁹ I agree with Matthew Stallard’s assessment above that a bias toward the King James Version’s influence on Milton’s biblical consciousness and linguistic patterns has caused certain richly suggestive aspects of other biblical translations to be overlooked in Milton studies. Scholars may be especially hesitant to suggest links between this frontispiece and Milton because it was always printed in folio Bibles, never in quarto or smaller Bibles, and Milton’s autograph 1612 King James Bible is a quarto. The truth of the matter is that there could have been other English Bibles in the Milton home. Ownership is not really the point, however. The fact that the 1583 Geneva frontispiece was circulated in a number of later editions of not only the Geneva Bible⁷⁰, but also the Bishop’s Bible⁷¹ and the King James Version⁷² greatly increases the chance that Milton could have been familiar with this image. Christopher Barker and his son Robert likely found it convenient to reuse the plate for this “large engraving,” as Herbert describes it, for repeated imprint editions of folio Bibles in black letter. We also do not know if this engraving found its way into any more ephemeral print materials produced by the Barkers; the event seems not to have occurred, but, again, insufficient research leaves the possibility open to question.

The frontispiece to the 1583 Geneva Bible represents a portrayal of Eden not unlike that of Milton’s in *Paradise Lost*. The anthropomorphic images of God the Father and the infant Christ displayed on the 1537 Matthew Bible title page have been replaced here, and instead we have a Godhead represented by the Tetragrammaton. A circle of

light surrounds the Hebrew Name of God streaming out rays of light toward the creation. Milton's invocation to life at the beginning of book 3 creates a verbal image of the deity enshrined in beams of light: "Since God is light / And never but in unapproached light / Dwelt from Eternitie, dwelt then in thee, / Bright effluence of bright essence increate" (3-6). As the light descends from the top of the engraving toward the tree in the center of the viewer's vision, a few rays of light appear to break through the dark nimbus that surrounds the outer ring of light protecting the mysterious sanctity of God. These extended beams of light help to tell the typological story of the entire engraving, which we shall turn to momentarily.

Leaving the depiction of the tree with Adam and Eve aside for the moment, the most obvious figures depicted on the page are the animals. The wide variety of creatures recline at the feet of our first parents and are scattered in various poses throughout the foreground of the frame. Exotic wildlife like lions, tigers, camels, rhinos, an alligator and a monkey is mixed with the more domestic cattle, sheep, horses, dogs, and cats. The artist did not omit smaller creatures either, such as squirrels, a snail, a toad, and a grasshopper. He also includes earth's hugest creature of all—the mythic Leviathan—located in a small sea of water at the bottom right.⁷³ Diane Kelsey McColley observes, "This benign iconography, hinted at in the frontispiece to the Bishop's and Geneva Bibles [i.e. the 1583 Geneva frontispiece] is radically different from the convention of incorporating beasts emblematic of the passions the artist thinks caused the fall" (*A Gust* 58). All of the animals appear in pairs, reinforcing the typological interpretation that saw Noah's ark as a brief recapitulation of the original Eden.⁷⁴ Milton's menagerie is described in *Paradise*

Lost as cavorting for the sheer joy of play and entertainment in direct contrast to the flight and fight actions that characterize prelapsarian animal behavior.

About them frisking playd
All Beasts of th' Earth, since wilde, and of all chase
In Wood or Wilderness, Forrest or Den;
Sporting the Lion rampd, and in his paw
Dandl'd the Kid; Bears, Tygers, Ounces, Pard
Gambold before them, th' unwieldy Elephant
To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreathd
His Lithe Proboscis (4.340-7)

It would be presumptuous to suggest that the 1583 Geneva frontispiece had any direct influence on Milton's description of Eden, but it is hard not to see parallels as in the case of the animals at play.⁷⁵

Before leaving the beasts altogether and moving on to the central figure of the tree of knowledge and our first parents, I would like to mention just one last detail that has thus far escaped comment by both McColley and Furman-Adams. The serpent is centered on the page entwined in the branches of the tree of knowledge with his tail curled down the trunk of the tree like a vine's tendril. As in many representations of the temptation scene, the serpent faces Eve on the left; in this portrayal, the serpent is grossly out of proportion compared to the larger mammals like the elephants, rhinos, bears, and horses. Eve's face is turned toward the serpent's well-detailed head, as if she is listening to the slithering, long tongue that protrudes from his mouth toward her ear. What I find particularly interesting in this picture of the serpent is that it also has a "mate," for lack of

a better word—even the snakes are paired. The other serpent is much smaller; in fact, it is easy to miss in the menagerie because this snake is sized to scale. It seems as if the artist wished to make a distinction between the Satanic-inspired serpent and the snake, a being created “good” in the original Garden and important to its ecology as it remains so today. Milton also makes a clear distinction between the one who appropriates the snake and the snake itself. When Satan finds a snake that will serve his purpose as a ruse to approach Eve undetected, Milton notes that “in at his Mouth / The Devil enterd” (9.187-88). From this moment Satan becomes an “Inmate bad” (9.495) of an intelligently mischievous, but benign creature. Of course, the serpent still receives God’s judgment as a symbolic visual act of His ultimate judgment of Satan, “his doom apply’d / Though in mysterious terms, judged as then best” (10.172-73). Milton goes beyond this, however, to exculpate the creaturely snake as an agent of evil. When the Son of God descends to the Garden of Eden as both “Judge and Saviour” (10.209), he clothes the nakedness of our first parents “with the Skins of Beasts, or slain, / Or as the Snake with youthful Coate repaid” (10.217-18). Milton uses the image of the way a snake regenerates new skin when it sheds to illustrate this redemptive act for the earth’s first humans and for the snake and its kind as well. His use of the archaic “*or slain*” would in modern English read “*either slain*,” suggesting that either animals had to be sacrificed to clothe Adam and Eve, or perhaps the Son made garments from the hair or wool of an animal whose coat or fleece would regenerate like a snake’s new scales through the process of shedding. Milton’s language is characteristically delicate on this point, leaving that refreshing *either/or* to mystery.

The regenerative message of the paired serpents in the 1583 Geneva frontispiece is even more powerfully demonstrated in the central figure of the tree of knowledge. In many respects the presentation of the tree of knowledge in this engraving is quite typical in Reformation biblical iconography of the Fall. The tree of knowledge is prominently displayed with Eve standing on the left side of the tree and Adam standing on the right. Both hold fruit in their left hands, yet untasted. McColley explains that “versions in which Eve holds two unbitten fruits or Adam and Eve each hold one imply, as Calvin taught, that Eve did not eat the fruit before Adam. In the simplest and probably most common motif, the Fall is mutual and simultaneous, Adam and Eve standing on either side of the forbidden tree, each with fruit in their hands or both holding one fruit together” (A Gust 24). Along with the fruit Eve and Adam also clasp a banderole in each of their left hands. The emblematic banderoles coil in a pattern that mirrors that of the Serpent’s tail twisted around the trunk of the tree, and to complete the symbolism, all three point toward the ground emphasizing death. Eve’s banderole is inscribed with the words, “Desire to Knowe / Hath wrought ovr Woe.” The lines descending from Adam’s hand completes the poem: “By tastinge This / Th’ Exile of Blisse.” These elements suggest the imminence of the Fall: indeed, the certainty of it. A message entwined in the Serpent further suggests the inevitability of the Fall by proclaiming his judgment, based on Genesis 3.14: “Dvst for to Eate / Mvst be my Meate.” By all *these* signs this frontispiece enforces an iconography of the Fall, projecting a message of judgment and damnation for our first parents and for all creation.

If that was the final analysis of this engraving, it would lose its relevance to the eco-typology Milton presents through the tree of life in *Paradise Lost*, and my job would

be done. But what I find most interesting about the iconography displayed in the 1583 Geneva Bible is that its message cannot be summed up in the Fall. Wendy Furman-Adams makes a crucial analogy about the frontispiece to the Geneva Bible when she notes that it “like Milton’s first invocation, summarizes all of human history” (182). Milton’s famous Proem to the first book reads:

Of Mans first Disobedience, and the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal tast
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of *Eden*, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat (1.1-5)

The story of *Paradise Lost* and of Christian history can be punctuated by the final phrases of these first lines: *the Fruit, mortal tast, our woe, one greater man, regain the blissful seat*. All of these components are portrayed in *Paradise Lost* as they are also illustrated in the spatial terms of this engraving.

Bible typology is the dominant way the artist of this illustration and Milton knit their two parallel stories together in two different forms of media. Going back to the message of the engraving, the banderoles displayed in our original parents’ right hands tell the story of redemption from the Fall. These banners curl upward toward the light of God at the top of the page, and their design is that of a loose swirl, as if held aloft by a pleasant breeze. This insinuates the work of the Holy Spirit, as Christ says in the Gospel of John, “The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit” (3.8). The rising action of these two banderoles also symbolizes the promise of the

resurrection for believers, which is what the message on them states: “By Promis made Restord we be / To Pleasvres of Eternitye.” Interestingly, Eve holds her right hand downward across her torso in a gesture of modesty so that the banner must rise from this lower position; however, Adam holds his right hand up in the air as if to signal his joy or victory.⁷⁶

What preserves this image from being a portrayal of the “fortunate Fall,” however, is the way it presents the central tree. A banderole weaves through the uppermost branches of this curious tree of knowledge, reading, “Created Good and Faire / By Breache of Lawe a Snare.” This aphorism seems to agree with the basic Reformation teaching that the tree of knowledge did not possess any power in itself or its fruit to cause humankind to sin; disobeying God’s spoken word originated sin. Thus, the tree of knowledge was like the rest of the earth “Created Good and Faire.” Of course, goodness can always be perverted to accomplish evil ends, as suggested by the word “Faire” dangling temptingly at the end of its line, like a ripe fruit. As Eve states in *Paradise Lost*, the forbidden fruit was “*Fair to the Eye*” (9.777).

From the sun, the moon and its stars in the heavens, to the birds soaring in the air and the menagerie of beasts in the foreground this image figures forth the goodness of God’s creation before the Fall. Even the central tree is robust, bearing as it were “Ambrosial fruit” (4.219). The abundant ecology displayed in this picture represents iconography associated with the tree of life. This is the most remarkable characteristic of the 1583 Geneva Bible frontispiece.

Iconography of the original blessedness associated with the tree of life is further reinforced by the labyrinthine river that twists its way across the lower half of the frame,

encircling the central tree in a winding oxbow as it completes a meandering course toward a kind of sea in the lower right corner. The artist's conception of the river of Eden follows that of its biblical description in Genesis 2.10: "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads." There are also four distinct headwaters engraved into the river course of the 1583 frontispiece.

It is no wonder that when Milton came to describe the Garden of Eden when composing *Paradise Lost*, especially after the loss of his eyesight, he used iconography that had become for him (and numerous seventeenth-century artists) a naturalized way to imagine the biblical garden's landscape. In the following passage Milton portrays the river of Eden in the lush language of his ecologically vibrant prelapsarian world; however, he does so in such a way that it brings to life the topoi of these earlier iconographic manifestations of Eden. Within Milton's garden, the river

Rose a fresh Fountain, and with many a rill
Waterd the Garden: thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the neather Flood,
Which from his darksome passage now appeers,
And now divided into four main Streams,
Runs divers (4.229-34)

Like the 1583 frontispiece and the Geneva Bible map of Eden, Milton's poetic reworking of the Genesis passage emphasizes the division of the river into "four main Streams"; this detail is important because it delineates the irenic fertility natural to such a broad river delta. However, Milton's linguistic exuberance quickly transcends these earlier attempts to capture the full sensual experience of the biblical scene. The Miltonic Bard emphasizes

“How from that Sapphire Fount the crisped Brooks, / Rowling on Orient Pearl and sands of Gold, / With mazie error under pendant shades / Ran Nectar” (4.236-40). The word “error” in line 239 maintains its Latin meaning, as in *errare*, “to wander” or in this case “wandering.”⁷⁷ The diction and meter of these lines also simulates the motion of water riffing over stones in a streambed through the use of iambs juxtaposed against trochees: “crisped Brooks,” “Rowling on,” “mazie error,” and “Ran Nectar.” Thus, the reader can see, hear, and even feel the crisp, clear waters of this river moving through God’s garden. This is reminiscent of the maze-like river that runs across the pictorial landscape of the 1583 Geneva frontispiece. However, the description of the rivers in *Paradise Lost* makes the “fit reader” much more aware of the ecology associated with the abundance of life bursting forth everywhere in Eden.

Many early modern representations of Eden that stress the original innocence and goodness of the earth and all its creatures (including Adam and Eve) can be linked to the beneficent iconography of the tree of life. This is why I argue the 1583 Geneva frontispiece overwhelmingly portrays iconographic typology of the tree of life despite the initial impression given of its central tree as the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The rest of this chapter will investigate Milton’s unique eco-typological response in *Paradise Lost* to the fruit of the tree of life as that of the “living Word.”

Fruit of the Living Word: Reformation Perspectives on Eating From the Tree of Life

Reformation theologians and Bible commentators had various perspectives on the exact nature of the fruit of the tree of life. Some believed the fruit to contain powers for healing the body and prolonging life. Martin Luther is the most famous of the reformers to espouse this literalist view of the fruit of the tree of life. Luther's argument for the medicinal properties of the fruit from the tree of life displays his characteristic directness in correcting allegorical interpretations of Genesis put forth by the Church Fathers (such as Origen and Jerome). These "silly allegories," Luther says, must be corrected with the "historical facts," regarding the efficacy of the fruit itself as well as a proper understanding of the tree of life (93). In his commentary on Genesis 2.9, Luther explains that the tree of life was placed in Eden for the preservation of Adam and Eve's health so that they "might be preserved in full bodily vigor, free from diseases and free from weariness" (92). Apparently, according to Luther's interpretation, fatigue, aging, sickness and even death were part of unfallen creation, and the purpose of the tree of life was to produce an antidote for humans to use against the *natural* processes of decay in the garden. Luther writes:

Here again man is set apart from the brutes, not only in regard to place but also in regard to the advantage of a longer life and one which always remains in the same condition. The bodies of the remaining living things increase in size and are stronger in their youth, but in their old age they become feeble and die. The situation of man would have been different. He would have eaten; he would have drunk; and the conversion of food in his body would have taken place, but not in such a disgusting manner as now. Moreover, this tree of life would have preserved perpetual

youth. Man would never have experienced the inconveniencies of old age; his forehead would never have developed wrinkles; and his feet, his hands, and any other part of his body would not become weaker or more inactive. Thanks to this fruit, man's powers for procreation and for all tasks would have remained unimpaired until finally he would have been translated from the physical life to the spiritual. Therefore the remaining trees would have supplied delightful and most excellent food, but this one would have been like medicine by which his life and his powers were forever maintained at their utmost vigor. (92)

Because human health, physical vigor, sexual potency, and longevity are all maintained by eating the "vegetable Gold" (*Paradise Lost* 4.220) hanging from the boughs of the tree of life, Luther is careful to distinguish Adam and Eve's consumption of this "medicine" from that of the rest of the created order on earth. Even if animals were to consume the fruit of this tree, he stresses, they would not experience the *physic* inherent in the fruit. Adam and Eve will live by the "fruit" until some future date when they will be translated from "physical life to the spiritual." In other words, Adam and Eve (and their offspring since the fruit preserves sexual potency) would be taken up to heaven through an event like that of Enoch, who "walked with God: and he *was* not; for God took him" (Gen 5.24).⁷⁸

According to Luther's interpretation of these early chapters of Genesis, it is the tree of knowledge, rather than the tree of life, which is the source of Adam and Eve's worship toward God. The one thing withheld from Adam and Eve—the fruit from the tree of knowledge—becomes the object by which they show their rightful worship of

God “by not eating from it” (94), the single command before the Fall. This perspective is, of course, based on the curative powers of the tree of life’s fruits. Luther observes, “Adam was so created that if anything troublesome to his nature had happened, he would have a protection against it in the tree of life, which preserved his powers and perfect health at all times” (93). The purpose of the tree of life, and of eating its fruit, is that of reparation, not worship. The tree of life is part of God’s overwhelming benevolence to humankind, a goodness that engenders the human couple with gratitude and a native sense of obedience. The tree of knowledge, on the other hand, requires submission, the proper attitude of worship.

John Calvin presents a completely different view of the fruit on the tree of life and its purpose for our first parents in Eden. Calvin opposes Luther’s interpretation of the fruit as a healing medicinal agent for Adam and Eve by insisting on its function as a symbol. In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin provides the following definition of the word “sacrament”:

It seems to me that a simple and proper definition would be to say that it [a sacrament] is an outward sign by which the Lord seals on our consciences the promises of his good will toward us in order to sustain the weakness of our faith; and we in turn attest our piety toward him in the presence of the Lord and of his angels before men. Here is another briefer definition: one may call it a testimony of divine grace toward us, confirmed by an outward sign, with mutual attestation of our piety toward him. (II.1277)

Calvin uses *symbol* and *sacrament* interchangeably to distinguish created things or miraculous events which God uses to confirm his Word to His people. In this case,

sacrament does not refer to the Host of the Eucharist; rather, he explains that symbols (or sacraments) “are exercises which make us more certain of the trustworthiness of God’s Word. And because we are of flesh, they are shown us under things of flesh, to instruct us according to our dull capacity, and to lead us by the hand as tutors lead children” (*Institutes* II.1281). The fruit of the tree of life is one example of this kind of earthly sacrament that confirms God’s spoken/written Word, thus becoming the original type of the “fruit of the living Word.”

Like Luther, Calvin wanted to avoid the allegorical extravagances of the medieval church fathers; however, Calvin took a far different path than his fellow reformer because he believed the ultimate purpose of humankind, and of the fruit, “was not simply to have a body fresh and lively, but to excel in the endowments of the soul” (*Commentary* 118). In *Commentary Upon the Book of Genesis*, Calvin provides his specific exegesis of Genesis 2.9, focusing on the symbolic—or sacramental—role of this fruit:

He gave the tree of life its name, not because it could confer on man that life with which he had been previously endued, but in order that it might be a symbol and memorial of the life which he had received from God. For we know it to be by no means unusual that God should give to us the attestation of his grace by external symbols. He does indeed transfer his power into outward signs; but by them he stretches out his hand to us, because, without assistance, we cannot ascend to him. He intended, therefore, that man, as often as he tasted the fruit of that tree, should remember whence he received his life, in order that he might acknowledge that he lives not by his own power, but by the kindness of God alone; and

that life is not (as they commonly speak) an intrinsic good, but proceeds from God. (116-17)

In other words, the tree of life lived in the garden as a symbolic reminder of the bounty Adam and Eve have “received from God.” Eating its fruit was a “memorial”—a sacramental act—in which our first parents acknowledge their great dependence on their Creator, remembering that everything—even life itself—“proceeds from God.” Although this memorial service reflects the Eucharist in some ways, I think Calvin would have considered Adam and Eve eating from the fruit of the tree of life as no more than a reflection of the Lord’s Supper—“a mirror of spiritual blessing”—rather than a prelapsarian enactment of the Eucharist—the memorial of the Eucharist being a distinctly postlapsarian act of worship (*Institutes* II.1278).

Milton’s theological perspective on the fruit of the tree of life modifies that of Calvin through the brief definition he puts forward in *De Doctrina Christiana*: “I do not know whether the tree of life ought to be called a sacrament, rather than a symbol of eternal life or even perhaps the food of eternal life: Gen iii.22: *lest he eat and live for ever*; Rev. ii.7: *to the victor I will give food from the tree of life* (VI.353). The progression suggested by John Carey’s translation moves from *sacrament* to *symbol* to *food*. One has to grant the locutions in Milton’s prose: *I do not know whether . . . ought to be . . . rather than . . . or even perhaps*. He appears less than sure how to define the fruit. Another translation by C. R. Sumner provides a slightly more confident rendering of Milton’s Latin prose: “The tree of life, in my opinion, ought not to be considered so much a sacrament, as a symbol of eternal life, or rather perhaps the nutriment by which that life is sustained. Gen. iii. 22. ‘Lest he take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.’”

Rev. ii. 7. ‘to him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life’” (qtd. in Steadman “Milton’s ‘Tree’ 385-86).⁷⁹ John M. Steadman reads Sumner’s translation in *De Doctrina* through the poetic portrayal of the tree of life in the scene of Christ’s victorious feast in *Paradise Regained*:

Then in a flowry valley set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of Celestial food, Divine,
Ambrosial, Fruits fetcht from the tree of life (4.586-89)

According to Steadman, Milton’s overall interpretation of the fruit is symbolic, but it signifies the immortality of paradise, or heavenly blessedness (“Milton’s ‘Tree’ 385). For Christ to eat the fruits of the tree of life in the passage above emphasizes his triumph over Satan’s temptation in the desert wilderness, and symbolically portrays the ultimate conquest of love, bounty, and creative harmony over despair, destruction, and impious selfishness. Steadman concludes his observations concerning the tree of life in *De Doctrina* and the paradisaical banquet in *Paradise Regained* by suggesting a synergy that points toward biblical typology. He notes that “Milton’s Messianic banquet is precisely such a ‘signifying’ and ‘sealing’ of ‘immortal life . . . in the Sonne of God’—a divine confirmation of ‘Recover’d Paradise for all mankind’” (“Milton’s ‘Tree’” 386).

First Fruits, First Matter: Eco-typology, Fruit of the Living Word, and Raphael’s Tree of Life in *Paradise Lost* Book 5

Taking a step back from the heavenly banquet offered to Christ by angels at the end of his temptation in *Paradise Regained*, I want to focus on a similar banquet in Milton's poetry. In *Paradise Lost* book 5, Raphael, "the sociable spirit" (5.221), descends from heaven at God's behest to warn Adam and Eve about the danger of Satan in the vicinity of Eden. Raphael makes his way through "the spicie Forrest" (5.298) toward the bower of Adam and Eve, where he is treated to the "Silvan" hospitality (5.377) of our first parents. The entire scene is reminiscent of the hospitality Abraham and Sarah display in Genesis 18.1-8, when three messengers from heaven visit their tents under the great trees of Mamre. As James R. Sims point out, this passage ends with the three heavenly visitors enjoying the hospitality of their earthly hosts: "And he [Abraham] stood by them under the tree, and they did eat" (Gen. 18.8).⁸⁰ In like manner, the banquet hosted by Adam and served by Eve consists of earthly fruits, nuts, and liquors that are served to Raphael. Eve determines that their board will not lack for anything that can inspire the palate so that their angel guest "Beholding shall confess that here on Earth / God hath dispenst his bounties as in Heav'n" (5.329-30).

Milton places particular emphasis on *tasting* the fruits of this meal, insisting against "the common gloss / Of Theologians" (5.435-36) that Raphael *eats* earthly food with a hearty appetite and digests it in a way perfectly appropriate for his spiritual body. Milton's emphasis on the gustatory physicality of this Edenic feast reminds the reader of the figurative association between reading and eating. I don't think there is any coincidence in the fact that Milton uses the verb *taste* 10 times in the 168 lines from 5.299 to 5.467. An excellent example comes from the following passage describing the way Eve goes about composing the meal for her guest:

She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent

What choice to chuse for delicacie best,

What order, *so contriv'd as not to mix*

Tastes, not well joynd, in elegant, but bring

Taste after taste upheld with kindest change (5.332-36) (my emphasis)

This passage echoes the epigraph by Elizabeth I, where she likens devotional reading of Scripture to cutting and picking “the goodlie / greene herbes” of the Word and proceeding to “Eat them / by reading” (qtd. in King and Pratt 84). Indeed, Adam invites his heavenly guest “please *to taste*” the fruits heaped upon the table—“bounties which our Nourisher, from whom / All perfect good unmeasur'd out, descends” (5.397-99) (my emphasis). Adam’s invitation alludes to the words of the Psalmist, “O taste and see that the LORD *is good*” (Ps 34.8). In prelapsarian Eden, eating the fruit of the “Trees of God” (5.390) is likened to a postlapsarian reader experiencing the “fruit of the living Word”—the teachings of Scripture.

Another way of realizing the bond between the food of the body and the sustenance of the soul is through Raphael’s analogy of the tree of life in his “one first matter” lesson in the middle of book 5:

O *Adam*, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all
Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and in things that life, of life;
But more refin'd, more spirituous, and pure,
As neerer to him plac't or neerer tending
Each in thir several active Sphears assignd,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportioned to each kind. So from the root

Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
 More aerie, last the bright consummate floure
 Spirits odorous breathes: flours and thir fruit
 Mans nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd
 To vital Spirits aspire, to animal,
 To intellectual, give both life and sense,
 Fansie and understanding, whence the Soule
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse
 Is oftenest yours, the latter most is ours,
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same.
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
 To proper substance; time may come when men
 With Angels may participate, and find
 No inconvenient Diet, nor too light Fare:
 And from these corporeal nutriments perhaps
 Your bodies may at last turn all to Spirit,
 Improv'd by tract of time, and wingd ascend
 Ethereal, as wee, or may at choice
 Here or in Heav'nly Paradises dwell;
 If ye be found obedient, and retain
 Unalterably firm his love entire
 Whose progenie you are. (5.469-503)

Like many ecocritics, I have often read this passage as a proof-text for Milton's monism, a view in which matter and spirit are inseparably and united in material form. Ecocritics have tended to embrace monist readings of this passage because monism-materialism stresses the sanctity of all creatures on earth, not just human beings, and it favors a vitalist, rather than a mechanical orientation of our place in relation to the rest of the cosmos (McColley *Poetry and Ecology* 2). Ruth Summar McIntyre notes that "monist concepts . . . underscore the divinity of God coursing through material forms" (152). Monism is opposed, however, to the dualism inherent in Neo-Platonic forms of Christianity, a philosophical viewpoint which emphasizes the superiority of the soul over the body. This philosophy was especially prominent in seventeenth-century orthodox

Christian teaching, which Milton, as a monist presenting an *ex Deo* conception of matter, resisted. Emphasizing the unity of spirit and body, Milton “resacralizes nature” (McIntyre 152). Thus, feeding the body and feeding the soul may be more alike than we often realize: the food that nourishes the spiritual and the physical body “Differing but in degree, of kind the same” (5.490).

Raphael portrays the cosmos as a tree of life in order to emphasize the joy that abounds in the unfallen world of Eden, a deep-rooted felicity “Proportioned to each kind” from the lowest of living forms to the first human couple, extending even beyond the reaches of the earth to embody the hierarchies of heaven. Raphael uses a botanical metaphor to provide a visual and moral picture of the created order of the cosmos for his two-person audience:

So from the root
Spirits lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More aerie, last the bright consummate floure
Spirits odorous breathes: flours and thir fruit
Mans nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd (5.479-83)

Milton’s ecological language in this passage has generated a robust critical response as literary critics, historians, and ecocritics have attempted to define the “nature” of Raphael’s vehicle in this complex metaphor. A very brief overview yields a variety of perspectives: the tree of history⁸¹; a flowering plant⁸²; “man as a plant.”⁸³ Based on Milton’s eco-typology and the context of Raphael’s dialogue with Adam and Eve, I describe this metaphor as the tree of life.

Food and its proper consumption for an angelic diet is the topic of conversation when Raphael frames his horticultural analogy by way of answering Adam's question how to "compare" earthly life to that of the spirits in heaven. Many critics fail to keep the original topic of the conversation in mind as they seek to apply Raphael's teaching to other aspects of Milton's rhetoric, seventeenth-century philosophies of matter, or political controversies. Tying this famous passage and its dominant metaphor back into the original context of a table conversation, however, draws our attention back to the subject at hand and Raphael's recent comparison between the fruits of Eden and those of heaven: "though in Heav'n the Trees / Of life ambrosial frutage bear, and vines / Yield nectar, though from off the boughs each Morn / We brush mellifluous Dewes, and find the ground / Cover'd with pearly grain" (5.426-30). Barbara Lewalski glosses these lines in her edition of *Paradise Lost* by pointing to the classical origins of "ambrosial frutage" and "nectar," both of which allude to the drink and food of gods of Greco-Roman mythology (134). I suggest, however, that the heavenly fruits, wine and bread Raphael mentions in this passage are rooted in Milton's interpretation of the Christian heaven as the typological fulfillment of biblical promises to believers.

Milton derives the food of angels from descriptions of heavenly produce in the Bible. The "ambrosial frutage" the angels reap from the trees of life has a precedent in the Book of Revelation. In Rev. 2.7, the Lamb of God states, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God." The meaning of this verse is for the individual believer who perseveres in faith to the end—despite trials and persecution. The fruit of the tree of life is extended from the individual to entire people groups as the Apostle John explains the millennial kingdom of Christ

later in Revelation: “In the midst of the street of it, and of either side of the river, *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the tree *were* for the healing of the nations” (Rev 22.2).

Although these texts apply to human access to the fruit of the tree of life in heaven, Milton does not interpret this as meaning the fruit was off limits to angels; in fact, when read from a postlapsarian perspective, Raphael’s statement that “time may come when men / With Angels may participate, and find / No inconvenient Diet” (5.493-95) seem to agree with the biblical text.

The grapes from celestial vineyards also “Yield Nectar,” or heavenly wine, for the angels, according to Raphael. The biblical context for Milton’s typology of heavenly vineyards comes from both the Old and New Testament. In the Old Testament Book of Numbers, Moses leads the Israelites up to the brink of the Promised Land. Before invading the land and its walled cities, he sends a team of spies into the territory. “And they came to the brook of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bear it between two upon a staff” (Ex 13.23). The heavy cluster of grapes the spies returned with represented the great bounty of the land. They also professed to the people that the land of the Canaanites “floweth with milk and honey; and this *is* the fruit of it” (Ex 13.27). Christian tradition uses the same words to describe heaven: it will be a “Promised Land,” a place “flowing with milk and honey” for believers. Thus, Raphael’s description of the angels wiping “mellifluous Dewes” (5.429) from the leaves and clusters of the heavenly grapes suggests both the origin and fulfillment of the Promised Land as a type of heaven, according to Milton’s Christian typology. The seemingly circular logic of heavenly typology is answered by its eternal

perspective, where God, omniscient and omnipresent, sees and foresees “present, past, and future” (3.78) outside the bounds of anthropomorphic chronological, historical time. Lewalski glosses *mellifluous* in Raphael’s line above as “sweet” or “honey-flowing,” confirming Milton’s heaven the typological fulfillment of Israel’s Promised Land (135).

The final “type” of food Raphael describes to Adam and Eve comes to the angels as the morning dew; just like the sweet dew, the angels in heaven “find the ground / Cover’d with pearly grain” each new day. This daily gathering of the “grain of heaven” alludes to the manna that the Israelites ate during their years of wandering in the desert:

And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness *there lay* a small round thing, *as* small as the hoar frost on the ground. And when the children of Israel saw *it*, they said one to another, *It is* manna: for they wist not what it *was*. And Moses said unto them, This *is* the bread which the LORD hath given you to eat. (Ex 16.14)

During his final speech to the people, Moses reminds them of the spiritual as well as natural benefits of this miracle food. In Deuteronomy 8.3, he states, “And he [God] humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every *word* that proceedeth out of the mouth of the LORD doth man live.” These same words are repeated by Jesus during his temptation in the wilderness.⁸⁴ Milton records it this way in *Paradise Regained*: “Is it not written / . . . Man lives not by bread only, but each word / Proceeding from the mouth of God; who fed / Our fathers here with manna (1.347-51). Jesus’ forty-day temptation in the desert is the typological fulfillment of the people of Israel’s forty-year wandering in the wilderness. The people of

Israel lived by manna, or faith in the “God-who-provides” during their wanderings in the wilderness; likewise, Jesus also survived his desert temptation by trusting in the “God-who-provides” and, according to Christian typology, fulfilled the original type by not sinning against God. Thereby the Son of God came to represent the embodiment of the original manna, the “bread of heaven,” the link to faith in God (Jn 6.48-51). Milton switches the metaphor from bread to fruit of the tree of life in *Paradise Regained*, where Jesus describes his coming kingdom “like a tree / Spreading and overshadowing all the earth” (4.147-48).

The typology of biblical food points toward Raphael’s discussion of the tree of life in his “one first matter” speech. According to the salvific *telos* of typological interpretation, Milton’s heaven is as *real* as earth (see chapter 2 above). Thus, Milton would not regard the heavenly foods Raphael mentions—the fruit, the wine and the bread—as merely allegorical representations of things far removed from earthly experience. Instead, they are the perfect embodiment—physical *and* spiritual—of the foods they signify on earth. The typology of these *real* foods nourishes not only the body (the angels’ “spirit form” in this case), but it also *nourishes* the eater’s relationship with its Creator. Through the typology of food, Milton “resacralizes” ecologically-based consumption as an act of divine worship. Raphael’s metaphor of the tree of life in his lesson on the order of the cosmos reorients Adam’s question from the foods of heaven to the fruits of the earth.

Raphael’s metaphoric tree of life shares in many of the kinetic actions of the plants and trees in the garden. McColley states that this figurative tree “behaves like a living tree” (122).⁸⁵ The natural realism of this tree is as important as the spiritual

principle it teaches to Adam and Eve. Sitting at table with their heavenly guest and surrounded by the vibrant vegetative life of the shady bower and the luxurious forest outside, this figure of speech must have had an immediate application for Adam and Eve, especially after listening to Raphael's description of celestial fruits gathered from heavenly groves. As Raphael's metaphor takes shape in the mind's eye, with the real tree of life in Eden as a backdrop, we can imagine the sapling adding girth to its trunk and branches to its expanding bole as "the leaves / More aerie" shoot forth generating buds along each spreading branch. Finally, the "bright consummate floure / Spirits odorous breathes" crowns this imagined tree of life with the sign of complete maturity.

Unlike many critics who see Raphael's flower as analogous to the rise of the soul from materiality to immortality, I read these lines describing the natural state of paradise, where a *spirit* or "movement of the air" or "breath of wind" (*OED*) wafts the delicious fragrance of the tree's blooms all around its local environment.⁸⁶ The odors of the flowers that are by yet another definition of *spirit* called "the breath of heaven" (*OED*) attract pollinators of all kinds, but they also may draw human admirers like Adam and Eve, as well as later generations of gardeners, who recognize in "the Groves, the Fountains, and the Flours / That open now thir choicest bosom'd smells" (5.125-26) an olfactory chorus of morning praise toward the Creator. Fragrant flowers are not the end of the story, however.

Trees and plants flower in order to produce fruit which yields their seed. Raphael's metaphorical tree of life is no different. Therefore, the process of growth in Raphael's metaphor moves toward the production of fruit: "flours and thir fruit / Mans nourishment." And the fruit of Raphael's metaphorical tree is likened by analogy to that

of the actual tree of life in the garden. N. K. Sugimura observes the importance of the word “fruit” ending Raphael’s description of the growth of his figurative tree. Milton’s line endings outline the basic process: from “root” (l. 479) to “leaves” (l. 480) to “floure” (l. 481) to the final “fruit” (l. 483).⁸⁷ Sugimura further adds a powerful etymology of the word “fruit”:

As the final word after the description of this process of transformation [. . .], “fruit” clearly marks out a material end (through a physiological process of digestion no less), and this would seem to support the monist-materialist line. But as Milton knew, the word “fruit” is etymologically rich. Most people think fruition means “bearing fruit,” but it actually means “enjoyment” (derived from the Latin verb *frui* and its participle, *fructus*). In the Christian tradition, the *frui-uti* dichotomy was closely associated with the pagan idea of *utile-dulce*—as expressed by the Roman poet Horace (65-85 BC)—in which the love of enjoyment of a certain thing is distinguished from the love of its use. Broadly speaking, what is *usus* consists in helping attain secondary advantages, but Christian theology says that God should never be reduced to the “means.” God is the final cause that we adore and enjoy for its own sake, so that—as Augustine said—we glorify the “fruition Dei” (enjoyment of God). (47-8)

This dynamic connection between the fruit of the tree of life (actual and metaphorical) and the “enjoyment” of God is deeply incisive and reaffirms the typology of heavenly food offered by Raphael earlier in the banquet. Therefore the unfallen lives Adam and Eve live on the earth are not separated into sacred and secular activities. Eating is no

different; in fact, the manner in which one consumes the gifts of God is intimately tied to the condition of one's soul, as Raphael attempts to demonstrate through his analogy.

The fruit of the tree of life can be seen to represent both sacrament (symbol of God's grace) and embodiment (taste and joy) of the unfallen life Adam and Eve live with the other creatures of Eden. This etymological redefinition of the *fruitful* life gives new meaning to the beginning of Raphael's speech:

O *Adam*, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not depriv'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all,
Indu'd with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and in things that life, of life;
But more refin'd, more spirituous, and pure,
As neerer to him plac't or neerer tending
Each in thir several active Sphears assignd,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportioned to each kind. (5.469-79)

Monists find these ten lines the crux of Milton's philosophy, where he explains how "All things proceed" from the *ex Deo* creation to the "various forms, various degrees / Of substance." The important concept for monists, however, is that God has "created all" from "one first matter all," so that the "All things" of creation—whether a living being like a Downey woodpecker or a dogwood tree, spiritual like Raphael or bodily like Adam—everything under God is imbued with the power of His creative spirit. What is

presented in this first part of Raphael's speech amounts to Jacob's Ladder or the Great Chain of Being by which the various created beings are arranged in descending order: "But more refin'd, more spirituous, and pure, / As neerer to him plac't" (5.475-76). The perspective shifts to reflect that of earthly beings—mankind, in particular—at the word *or* at midline in line 476; from here, the impulse is heavenward: "or neerer tending / Each in their several active Sphears assignd / Till body up to spirit work, in bounds / Proportioned to each kind" (5.476-79).⁸⁸ The progression of matter up and down the Chain of Being, which is the most common understanding of this passage, is countered when one considers Milton's use of biblical typology rather than Greco-Roman or Neo-Platonic philosophy as a basis for the orientation of the cosmos.

Raphael's employment of eco-typology in this passage renders a message to Adam and Eve that leads them toward a sharper focus on the "fruit of the living Word," the origin of his original mandate from God the Father to the happy couple in bliss. Thus, Raphael uses this speech not so much to accomplish a complex philosophical argument as to be faithful to discharge his duty. The seraph's answer in response to Adam's question "yet what compare?" provides an opportunity for the angel guest to "such discourse bring on, / As may advise" (5.233-34) Adam about his current happiness and the danger he may face from Satan. Raphael does this by reminding both Adam and Eve that typology is based on relational bonds of love. Therefore, the opening lines of his speech, "O *Adam*, one Almighty is, from whom / All things proceed, and up to him return," are glossed by Matthew Stallard as a reference to Romans 11.36 that states, "For of him, and through him, and to him, *are all things*: to whom *be* glory for ever."⁸⁹ Beginning with the Bible shifts the focus of this passage from Aristotelian and Neo-

Platonic arguments about the origins of matter to a relational orientation in which the Creator bestows his blessing onto all of his various “degrees” of creatures. They, in return, reflect God’s blessings by inhabiting to the fullest, ecological sense “thir several active Sphears assignd” and by joyfully producing fruit (if a plant) or consuming it (if an animal) within the “bounds / Proportioned to each kind.”⁹⁰ Diane Kelsey McColley writes:

Paradisaal hierarchies are beneficent, flexible, and reciprocal. The purpose of gradation in *Paradise Lost*, from angels to Adam and Eve to the ‘Creatures wanting voice’ (9.199), is not the acquisition of power but the descent of light. Gradation allows diversity of creatures and variety of love, magnanimity and gratitude, responsibility and achievement, humility (from *humus*, earth), and conscience. . . . since all being is contained within the same scale, each species sharing properties with those “below” and “above” it and conferring reciprocal benefits. (“Beneficent Hierarchies” 232-33)

Raphael’s metaphor of the tree of life illustrates this principle of hierarchy based on love rather than power. From the root to the “green stalk” to the leaves to the fragrant flowers and finally the delicious fruit, each part of the plant is dependent on the other in order for the tree to function healthily and produce fruit.⁹¹

Raphael smoothly shifts the conversation from the high-point of his metaphor of the tree of life (and its fruit) back to the actuality of the bower and the real fruits at their fingertips by saying, “Wonder not then, what God for you saw good / If I refuse not, but convert, as you, / To proper substance” (5.491-93). The purpose of moving from the

metaphorical “fruit” to the dinner they are digesting at this point is to remind Adam and Eve that their love toward God is based upon their corporeal daily life as much as it is upon human reason (5.486-87). Raphael’s ability to convert human food to the appropriate use of his spiritual body is the result of the original blessing of God—“what God for you saw good”—and upon Raphael’s reciprocal love for the Creator illustrated here by his *enjoyment* of the meal and the company, which also testifies to his obedience. Raphael’s example to Adam and Eve has been to show them how to remain obedient in the face of the temptation they may soon face. And although Raphael knows nothing of the Israelites eating manna in the wilderness or Christ living by the “fruit of the living Word” in the desert, the “fit reader” of *Paradise Lost* knows that Adam and Eve will only succeed against their foe if they also embrace the “fruit of the living Word.” Jonathan Goldberg explains it this way:

Unifying the terms of Raphael’s image is the typological sense of history as a process of revelation; as the tree grows and becomes lighter it comes closer to the source of light, comes closer to being the light itself. And what is true of the tree will be true of man in time if he remains obedient, and even after he falls The growth of the tree may be indicative of a natural process in time but only because, as Abdiel says, “God and Nature bid the same.” (183)

Milton’s postlapsarian reader is perhaps most aware of the implications of Raphael’s teaching in the “one first matter” speech, a lesson which, according to Goldberg, relates to the iconography of the Tree of Jesse. The tree of life Raphael pictures in this passage is

not simply a botanical tree in the garden, but a type of the Christian iconography of Christ himself.

According to Milton's typology, the Son is ultimate fulfillment of the tree of life. If Milton's eco-typology is correct, then Adam and Eve are wise to feed on the tree of life as a way of avoiding Satan's temptation. Milton is also concerned to show a major difference between the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The tree of knowledge is the "interdicted Tree" (7.46). Their interaction with the tree of knowledge is forbidden, or as Eve says in a line ripe with puns the tree of knowledge is "Fruitless to me, though Fruit be here to excess" (9.648). On the other hand, when Adam invites Raphael into his humble home "To sit and taste" (5.369), he utters the open invitation of the tree of life.

There is something almost Eucharistic about the way Milton portrays Adam and Eve eating from the tree of life. Perhaps it can best be summed up by the final two lines of George Herbert's poem "Love III," which also expresses a Eucharistic relationship between the Host and his guest: "You must sit down, says Love, and taste my meat: / So I did sit and eat" (17-18). The eco-typology of the "fruit of the living Word" is both corporal *and* spiritual nourishment by which Adam and Eve (had they proved faithful) may have been translated at last to heaven without experiencing the shadow of death.

They did not, of course, heed the positive advice of their angel guest. Milton's eco-typology of the regenerative seed in *Paradise Lost* will be the next aspect of the tree of life to which we will turn our attention in the following chapter.



Fig. 3.1. Frontispiece. (1583). Woodcut. *The Bible: translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages; with most profitable annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance. . .* London: Christopher Barker, 1583. Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text & Image (SCETI). Furness Collection. Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Web. 19 Sept 2012. Published with permission.

And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper. --Psalm 1.3

[The Bible] is not an herb, but a tree, or rather a whole paradise of trees of life, which bring forth fruit every month, and the fruit thereof is for meat, and the leaves for medicine. --"The Translators to the Reader," 1611 King James Bible

Chapter 4: Speed's "Genealogies," the King James Bible, and the 'Seed of Grace' in the Later Books of *Paradise Lost*

In this final chapter, we will continue to explore the eco-typology of the Tree of Life in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Through the previous chapters, we have considered the Tree of Life as a living tree (chapter 2), and we have looked at its fruit (chapter 3). This chapter will consider the Tree of Life from the angle of the seed, both as a botanical and emblematic reality in the poem. As we have done in each of the two previous chapters, we will lead-in to the literary text by first examining the iconography of the Tree of Life in an English Bible. This case will be different than the others as we look into the iconography of John Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit," which was bound with the front matter of the King James Bible (1611 edition). Thereafter, Speed's genealogy was printed separately, sold to Robert Barker, the King's Printer, and then inserted into each edition of the KJV that Barker printed. Speed secured two different patents over the years that allowed him and his son to print the "Genealogies" with every edition of the King James Bible from 1611 until 1640, an incredible 29 years.

The 400th Anniversary of the KJV in 2011 has drawn renewed interest in the KJV, its production and its relation to Milton. In honor of the quatercentenary celebrations, John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt published an essay on the material production of Reformation Bibles from Tyndale's 1526 New Testament up to the 1611 King James Bible. While King and Pratt do consider the material role of illustrations in their provocative essay, Speed's "Genealogies" is overlooked as an integral part of the physical appeal and production cost of the early editions of the KJV. In a footnote, King and Pratt state that Speed's work "constitute[s] a distinct bibliographic entity" (98n126), and they fail to integrate the text into their discussion of the publication of the 1611 KJV. Another response to the KJV's anniversary has been the publication of a website, sponsored by The Ohio State University Libraries, and curated by Eric J. Johnson: "*Translation . . . openeth the window to let in the light': The Pre-history and Abiding Impact of the King James Bible.*"⁹² Johnson and his associates have digitized the entire 34 pages of Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit." This effort goes a long way toward establishing the importance of this document as integral to the original binding and look of the King James Bible for nearly three decades of printing. What remains to be explained is how this "restored" understanding of the KJV, which visualizes biblical typological as genealogy or a family tree (the progression of the "seed" of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and finally Mary), may have influenced the way Milton imagined the final books of his epic. In this chapter, I argue that Speed's genealogy had a crucial impact on the way Milton came to envision biblical typology in his final two books of *Paradise Lost* as the eco-typology of the Tree of Life in a prelapsarian world.

Milton and the King James Bible

When it comes to Milton and the King James translation of the Bible, we move from the speculation that clouds Milton's likely ownership of one or more copies of the Geneva translation to the more solid ground of certainty—at least that is what one would think. The history of the famed “Milton Bible” is a fascinating one at that, and it underscores the important influence studying book history and print culture can have on understanding a writer's literary work, as I hope to show in the following pages.

The one extant copy of a Bible known to have belonged to Milton is a 1612 quarto KJV held in the British Library.⁹³ According to A. S. Herbert, the 1612 quarto is the first quarto edition of the King James Bible. It was printed in roman type and featured “an adaptation of C. Boel's design of 1611” for the title page (134). John Speed's “Genealogies of the Holy Spirit” and his “Map of Canaan” were also included, which will be of particular importance later in our discussion.⁹⁴ Surprisingly, Milton's 1612 KJV quarto comprised an entirely separate edition from the original first edition printing of the 1612 King James Bible in quarto, according to Herbert. In his notes, Herbert does not term the separate edition owned by Milton and others a “second edition” or a “reprint” of the original 1612. He states instead, quite vaguely, “This differs throughout from the preceding edition” (135). The one major difference between the original 1612 and the edition Milton owned has to do with the reading of Ruth 3.15. In Milton's Bible (and others like it), the ending of verse 15 reads, “and *she* went into the citie” (emphasis added). Milton's Bible is thus called a “She” Bible. The first edition of the 1612 KJV

quarto reads “he” at this place, making it, like the *editio princeps* folio of 1611, a “He” Bible. Beyond this, however, Herbert provides no further conclusively identifying bibliographic clues concerning the provenance of this edition in regard to the original 1612 quarto or the folio of 1611.

Miltonists first became aware of Milton’s 1612 Bible in 1884.⁹⁵ Milton bibliographers such as Barbara K. Lewalski and Cedric C. Brown agree that there is no way to know for certain who actually owned Milton’s Bible before it came into his possession, nor can it be determined to what extent Milton may have actually used this particular Bible for his own personal reading and study. The two aspects of the 1612 Bible that have attracted the most interest (and controversy) are the genealogical entries of Milton’s family that appear on a flyleaf at the front of the Bible and a rather consistent number of markings, underlining and marginalia in portions of the text. Without a doubt the genealogical entries were recorded by Milton during his lifetime. Seven of the entries are in Milton’s own hand, including his own birthdate and those of his first three children: Anne on July 29, 1648; Mary, on October 26, 1648; and John on March 16, 1651. Milton may have started on his family tree sometime after the actual events unfolded—again, another unknown. However, his entry on the birth of Anne is typical of his style and the specificity of the record suggests some timeliness between Anne’s birth and Milton’s entry in the family Bible: “My daughter Anne was born July the 29 on the fast at evening about half an hour after six 1646” (qtd. in Lewalski *The Life* 207).

Four more entries exist in Milton’s genealogy in the 1612 family Bible, two births and two deaths. The overwhelming consensus is that these entries are recorded by an amanuensis and do not display the characteristics of Milton’s hand. The dates of the

events—all occurring in the year of Milton’s blindness or later—add further weight to the paleographic evidence. Jeremie Picard, a scrivener who had a long professional and personal association with Milton, is thought to be the one who aided Milton with what was no doubt a very personal task. In their biography, Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns help to clarify Milton’s relationship to Picard by noting that the two men shared similar political ideals and that they had worked very closely together on *De Doctrina Christiana*, where Picard served “as one of the two principal scribes of the treatise” (258).⁹⁶ The personal devotion Milton felt toward his theological treatise is well known, so it makes sense that he held Picard in his trust after working with him closely on a project that was deeply meaningful in content and ethos.

Miltonists seem to have reached some sort of consensus regarding the genealogical information written into the 1612 Milton Bible; however, the remaining annotations and markings in the Bible is another story. These “reader marks,” as Cedric Brown calls them (271), have generated a certain amount of controversy and speculation over the years. For the most part, the markings consist of brief notations in the text, underlining, and marginalia. While I will not detail the history of these controversies, I do draw attention to them simply because they underscore the relevance of studying the material book and the process of its production to help us understand a writer’s literary art.⁹⁷ In the final analysis, Brown comes to see the annotations as those belonging to someone a generation older than Milton. However, he argues against earlier theories that have suggested the annotations might be the work of John Milton, senior, or even of the poet himself. Through a meticulous reading of what appear to be patterns of underlining, and external marks such as “NB” and “KJ” (for James I?) clustered around the Old

Testament history books, Psalms, and the minor prophets, Brown scrutinizes the Milton Bible from a political and ideological perspective, one that places the text within the larger context of early Jacobean sermons, political tracts, and historical events. The “reader’s marks” suggest that the annotator “had an obsessive agenda driven by a militant Protestant nationalism,” one that was keenly invested in the perils of the monarchy and the constant threat of Catholicism (277).

Brown shows that the important link between the annotations in the Milton Bible and the poet himself is not one of cause and effect, but rather that of cultural awareness and influence. He writes, “Whoever made these annotations, there are many connections to note with Milton’s surviving boyhood writings, and perhaps beyond” (283). The type of print culture and book history Brown had done with the annotations in the Milton Bible sets a precedent for the type of work I am doing in this study with Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and the iconography of the Tree of Life in Reformation Bibles. As we move forward to consider the publication history of the *editio princeps* of the KJV, I will be considering similar links of cultural influence between the latter two books of *Paradise Lost* and John Speed’s “Genealogies of the Holy Spirit.”

When it comes to Milton’s awareness of Speed’s “Genealogies,” however, the evidence is more conclusive. It is *highly likely* that Milton had read—visually, emblematically and typographically—Speed’s genealogical work during his lifetime, especially since the “Genealogies” was bound with the poet’s own quarto KJV. As McColley points out, “The Adam and Eve page of the Speed genealogies is missing from Milton’s copy of the 1612 Bible in the British Library, but the subsequent pages are there in standard format” (*A Gust* 69n109). The missing first leaf makes an interesting point

for book historians to speculate on how, when and why this most important first page of the genealogy was removed from the 1612 Milton Bible. Regardless, Milton would have been familiar with this iconic image through its wide circulation in other KJV editions up through the Civil Wars. McColley writes that “Milton was surely acquainted with so widespread a publication” as Speed’s “Genealogies” (*A Gust* 69n109). She adds that the engraving on the first page was “[p]robably the most familiar image of Adam and Eve in the early seventeenth-century” because of its association with the KJV, and even the Geneva and Bishop’s Bibles, as we shall see (*A Gust* 58).⁹⁸

The Origins of the 1611 King James Version of the Bible

The bibliographic history of the first edition of the King James Version is a story that attests to a combination of the caprices of history and the unusual quality of the translation itself. The KJV Bible owes its beginnings to the Hampton Court Conference, a three-day conference called by James I to respond to complaints expressed by Puritans about the practices and organization of the Church of England. The conference convened on January 14, 1604, between the King, the Privy Council, influential bishops and divines of the Church of England, and the substantially out-numbered, small party of Puritan delegates.⁹⁹ It was on the second day of debate at the conference that John Reynolds (or Rainolds), the leader of the noticeably small delegation of Puritans, suggested “that there might bee a newe *translation* of the *Bible*” (qtd in Pollard 33). The Geneva Bible had long surpassed the Bishop’s Bible in popularity for devotional use in the home, and a

number of pastors had been using the Geneva Bible in the pulpit for some time, despite the fact that the Bishop's Bible continued to be the officially-endorsed translation of the Bible by the episcopacy. Reynolds, who was president of Corpus Christi College, complained to the King and the rest of the conference that existing translations endorsed by the church (the Great Bible of 1539, in particular) "were corrupt and not answerable to the truth of the Originall" (qtd in Pollard 33). By raising the issue of Bible translation at the meeting, Reynolds may have hoped to advance the cause of the Geneva Bible as the official translation to be used by the church, possibly achieving for this beloved translation a place similar to that of the Bassadyne Bible in the Kirk of Scotland. What actually happened was an unexpected turn of events for Puritans and Anglicans alike.

King James took Reynolds at his word by endorsing the idea of a new translation of the Bible. William Barlow, dean of Chester, recorded the King's response in the *Summe and Substance of the Conference* (1604):

Whereupon his Highnesse wished that some especiall paines should be taken in that behalf for one vniforme translation (professing that hee could neuer, yet see a Bible well translated in English; but the worst of all, his Maiestie thought the *Geneua* to bee) (n.p.) (qtd in Pollard 33-34)

James's response dashed any Puritan hopes to see the Geneva Bible become the official translation of the nation. However, Reynolds's suggestion was the one request made by the Puritans at the conference that James could respond to affirmatively.

Whether James's decision to take Reynolds at his word and order a new translation of the Bible was a stroke of political genius designed to unite Puritans and Anglicans under a single cause, or whether it was another whim for which the new King

would become notorious, the effect set in motion a course of events that would lead to a Bible that would come to bear his name.¹⁰⁰ King James added one “caveat” to this new undertaking. He wished the new translation to be free from the kind of marginal commentary that had come to define the Geneva text, especially in its later Geneva-Tomson (1576) and Geneva-Tomson-Junius (1599) editions. In *The Summe and Substance*, Barlow records the King regarding “some notes very partiall, vntrue, seditious and sauouring too much of daungerous, and trayterous conceites” (Pollard 34). James supports his claim with examples from two glosses to Old Testament verses that, in his opinion, challenge the authority of the monarchy. Thus, the KJV is published without marginal commentary other than alternative translations and meanings for original Greek and Hebrew words.

Following the King’s decision, Archbishop Richard Bancroft appointed six companies of translation teams, consisting mostly of dons from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to work on various segments of the Old and New Testaments.¹⁰¹ One of the six teams was also dedicated to translating the Apocrypha. The group of scholars assembled for this undertaking was unparalleled in the history of English Bible translation, exceeding even that of the well-credentialed linguists who translated the Geneva Bible during the Marian exile. Gordon Campbell observes that “it would be difficult now to bring together a group of more than fifty scholars with the range of languages and knowledge of other disciplines that characterized the KJV translators” (55). Even with such an impressive assembly of the kingdom’s best and brightest, translating and editing stretched on over a period of seven years.¹⁰²

By precept and practice, the translators of the King James Version did not set out to make an entirely new translation of the Bible from the ancient languages. Instead, they were charged with making a Bible that would update and correct previous translations while avoiding the anti-ecclesiastical stance credited to the notes of the Geneva Bible. Miles Smith, who served as a translator on the First Oxford Company, wrote the prefatory “Translators to the Reader” for the *editio princeps* of the KJV. In his preface, Smith clearly lays out the central precept that guided the translation teams: “Truly (good Christian Reader) wee neuer thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one” (n.p.). In practice this led the translators to rules #1 and #14 from a list of fifteen rules written down by Archbishop Bancroft. According to Rule #1, they were to follow the translation of the Bishop’s Bible, the “ordinary Bible read in the church,” leaving the text “as little altered as the truth of the original will permit” (Campbell 35).¹⁰³ To this end, members of translation teams were presented with contemporary copies of the Bishop’s Bible (1602 edition) from which to work. Many scholars take the Bishop’s Bible to be the Bible referred to in the phrase “to make a good one better.”

However, the next rule, #14, demonstrates the ecumenical wisdom with which this task was envisioned by Archbishop Bancroft and others who may have advised him. The fourteenth rule directed the translators to other translations when the Bishop’s Bible rendering was deemed inadequate: “These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishop’s Bible: Tyndale’s, Matthew’s, Coverdale’s, Whitchurch’s, Geneva” (Campbell 39).¹⁰⁴ Alister McGrath adds, “The King James Bible is an

outstanding example and embodiment of the ideals of its own period, by which it must be judged. It is to be seen in light of the Renaissance approach to human wisdom, in which one generation is nourished and sustained by the intellectual achievements of its predecessors” (177). While the KJV translators devoted considerable time to comparative reading of preceding English translations (as well as French, Italian and Spanish translations), they also applied their own expansive knowledge of Hebrew and Greek philology to develop new readings of the English text.

It is widely acknowledged that King James Version renders many of its lines into sonorous, rhythmic prose. Many of the slight alterations in diction, syntax and cadence imposed upon earlier versions of the English text by KJV translators results from penetrating insights into the original biblical languages. In terms of the Old Testament, Peggy Samuels acknowledges that the “explosion of Hebrew learning” occurring during the Elizabethan reign greatly benefitted Stuart readers and translators of the Hebrew Bible who had a growing number of “lexicons, concordances, and polyglots” from which to draw (162). The same is also true of advances in New Testament Greek. However, the example I have chosen showcases the perspicacity of the First Cambridge Company of translators’ work with the Old Testament Hebrew in the book of Ecclesiastes.

A few remarks are in order before we proceed to the biblical text. First, the men working on the KJV most certainly believed that the Bible “containeth the word of God, nay, is the word of God,” as Miles Smith writes in his preface to the 1611 KJV. Approaching the ancient language through an attitude of respect and reverence surely had to have a positive effect on the way individuals within a committee, such as the First Cambridge Company, handled the Hebrew text, parsing difficult words and textual

cruxes. Robert Alter notes that “Because the translators convened by King James believed that the Bible was inspired by God word for word, their representation of the original is on the whole quite literal” (46). The literal-mindedness of the KJV translators can be seen in their determination to imitate the compactness, the “eloquent plainness” and the idiomatic use of repetition that were all part of the original language (Alter 46).

Though I am not versed in ancient Hebrew, I believe a good example of the practices Alter describes above can be found in a verse like Genesis 1.27: “So God created man in his owne Image, in the Image of God created hee him; male and female created hee them.” This verse certainly renders Hebrew into plain Anglo-Saxon words, most of which are monosyllabic, and the rhythm of the lines rely on a series of repeated words and concepts. Gordon Campbell cites another example where the Old Testament translators achieved a concision of expression that reflects that of the ancient Hebrew in one of the most famous lines from the Old Testament, Psalm 23.1. In this case, the Bishop’s Bible had translated the verse: “God is my shepherd, therefore I can lack nothing” (80). By returning to ancient Hebrew’s prominent monosyllable expression, the 1611 KJV gave us the memorable, and far more sonorous, “The LORD is my shepherd, I shall not want.” The majesty of this line also resides in its near perfect iambic pentameter meter.

The KJV translators would have understood the typology of the tree of life as life renewed out of death and wisdom for living in the spiritual sense of the Word of God being fulfilled in Christ. To what extent they would have understood the ecological implication of this particular view of salvation history is a matter of debate. John Speed was not one of the translators for the 1611 King James Bible; however, his extensive

genealogies that were printed with the *editio princeps* provide a complementary way to read Milton's eco-typology of the Tree of Life in the final books of *Paradise Lost* as we shall soon see.

John Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit" and the KJV

The printing of the King James Bible was a major undertaking for Robert Barker, the King's Printer, in 1611. In addition to the translation of the Scriptures, there were 74 pages of preliminary material: a magnificent title page engraving by Cornelius Boel; the "Dedicatory Epistle to King James," probably written by Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Winchester; "The Translators to the Reader" by Miles Smith; and numerous miscellaneous pages. Then there was John Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit," printed by Speed's own printers and consisting of 34 pages, or nearly half the total volume of the preliminary matter for the 1611 KJV. Speed had obtained a "special privilege" from the King that granted him the rights to insert his "Genealogies" into every copy of the KJV for the next ten years, an acute business move that Speed would repeat over the years in order to pass the "privilege" onto his heir.

Surprisingly, Bible historians consistently disregard Speed's work as if it were unnecessary to the integrity of the KJV, or as if it were simply a nuisance to early-modern book-buyers, and something useless to seventeenth-century readers. Alfred W. Pollard wrote disparagingly on the tercentennial of the KJV, "In October 1610 John Speed had obtained a privilege from the king enabling him for ten years to saddle every edition of the Scriptures with his decoratively printed but useless Genealogies, and so the

cost of the book was needlessly increased from sixpence to two shillings a copy, according to the size” (45). In his quartercentury history of the KJV, Alistar McGrath echoes Pollard’s disdain by calling Speed’s genealogies an “interesting but totally unnecessary” part of the 1611 KJV (168). In his eminent study of the textual emendations to the KJV, David Norton states that Speed’s “genealogies . . . are not a genuine part of the text” (141). Norton’s observation may have some merit for the kind of close textual analysis he does of the translators original work and subsequent revisions to KJV editions; however, the tone with which he dismisses Speed’s text is typical.

A respected antiquary and cartographer during his lifetime, John Speed (c. 1551-1629) came to prominence in the print trade during the latter years of Queen Elizabeth’s reign. In 1588-9, he assisted with the publishing of Hugh Broughton’s *Concent of Scripture*. Another work completed as a joint project with Broughton was *Genealogies Recorded in the Sacred Scriptures* in 1592, which “probably formed the basis” for Speed’s later genealogy for the 1611 KJV (“Speed” 771). By the late 1590s, Speed had begun making maps, including a large wall map of Canaan published in 1595. Three years later, he also published Chaucer’s genealogy for Thomas Speight’s edition of Chaucer’s works. That same year, Speed presented several maps to the Queen for which he received the royal privilege as “customs waiter” (“Speed” 771).

Speed continued to enjoy royal patronage after the accession of James I, completing a broadside confirming James VI/I’s genealogical right to the throne in 1603.¹⁰⁵ The broadside, titled “The most happy unions contracted betwixt the princes of the blood royall of the two famous kingdomes of England and Scotland,” was likely a ploy for continued royal favor. Whatever, the motivation, it evidently worked because

Speed earned commissions by the King in 1605 and 1608. Richard Helgerson describes Speed as a firm royalist, in fact, “rabidly so” (68). His two most celebrated works, the *History of the Kings of Great Britain* and its accompanying atlas *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, were published as a two-volume folio set in 1611-12. The *History* and *Theatre* enjoyed great success during Speed’s lifetime and were in many ways a celebration of Stuart supremacy. Helgerson writes, “The monarch’s authority depended on its visibility, depended on making itself known in a real-life theater of power” (80).¹⁰⁶ This is just the sort of visual “theater of power” afforded to James I by Speed’s later masterworks.

Speed’s work marks an important accomplishment in early modern printing and book culture. The “Genealogies of the Holy Spirit” are an important marker of mainstream English Protestantism at the turn of the seventeenth century. These genealogical pages also serve to remind modern readers of the predominant place of biblical typology as a way of reading the Scriptures. Pollard’s and McGrath’s responses above may be based, in part, to the nature of the business dealing between Speed and James I. The deal granted Speed a special “privilege” to insert his genealogies into every copy of the KJV, which made money for both Speed and the coffers of the royal estate, making the genealogies look more like a project for lucre than a serious attempt to edify the Bible-reading public. McGrath notes that James I may have accepted Speed’s proposal in order to raise funds for the Crown, which was facing a serious financial shortfall during the early days of King James’ reign (167-68).¹⁰⁷ Speed’s patent to insert his genealogies into every copy of the KJV printed by Robert Barker was renegotiated two times during his lifetime, extending Speed’s rights and that of his children to 1638.

We cannot underestimate the way in which Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit" shaped the image of biblical history in the minds of seventeenth-century readers. His genealogies were circulated widely in a variety of KJV editions, from the large folios to the palm-sized duodecimos. Using A. S. Herbert's *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525-1961*, I compiled a rough calculation of the number of editions of Speed's "Genealogies" that circulated in each printed format. This list is not meant to be exhaustive or conclusive, but it does give us some idea of the vast number of editions of the KJV that were in circulation among the reading public from 1611-1640 that contained Speed's work. In sum, I counted six folio editions, which includes the *editio princeps* of 1611¹⁰⁸, the 1611, 13 "second folio edition"¹⁰⁹, the 1616 folio with roman type¹¹⁰, the 1632 small folio¹¹¹, and the 1639-40 folio¹¹². I could also count a 1617 large folio, black letter¹¹³ as a separate edition of the KJV with Speed's "Genealogies," which Herbert cites, making the total seven. The number of quartos and octavos is too great to document separately; both begin with editions of 1612 and proceed to 25 and 24 editions, respectively.¹¹⁴ I found only two duodecimo editions containing Speed's work: a 1618 edition that is a reprint of the 1617 KJV, the earliest duodecimo King James Bible,¹¹⁵ and a 1632 edition¹¹⁶. This variety of formats and editions attests to the continued availability of Speed's "Genealogy" through three decades of readers (and for decades beyond). It also testifies to the cumulative power of the genealogies as a cultural artifact, one that most literate Protestants of the early seventeenth-century would have been accustomed to as part of the iconography of biblical typology.

From Adam to Jesus: Typology and Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit"

The woodcut illustrations in Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit" synthesize the genealogies represented by St. Matthew and St. Luke into a single, impressive typological document. Speed's genealogy condenses Old Testament narrative into a series of pictures, tables, names, and marriage unions. Typologically, Speed's genealogy shows how the Fall of the first Adam in the Garden of Eden is redeemed by the last Adam, Christ Jesus. The typological genealogy begins with God's creation of Adam and Eve, their union, the Fall, and the first lineages in Genesis 5. Throughout the genealogies Speed traces important Old Testament types: Noah, builder of the ark; Moses; the line of Judah; Ruth, the Canaanite wife of Boaz, grandfather of King David; King David and Bathsheba; and King Solomon. After the exile of Judah, in terms of the biblical timeline, Speed separates the line of Joseph (Jesus' legal lineage) from that of Mary (Jesus' blood lineage) in order to honor the differing accounts of the gospel writers. The two family lines of Jesus' parentage reunited at the "union" of Joseph and Mary and the birth of Christ, which is announced in a cartouche on the bottom of the last page of the 34-page genealogy. A ribbon tied to the ink line descending from Joseph and Mary to Christ proclaims "By Lawe" on the left side (the male line) and "By Nature" on the right side (the female line).

Genealogies appear in different ways throughout Scripture. In Genesis Chapter 5, the Mosaic narrator records the first genealogy through the line of Adam all the way to Noah.¹¹⁷ After the narrative of the flood, in Genesis Chapter 10, the reader is again provided with a genealogy of Noah and two of his three sons, Ham and Japheth. The lineage that traces Noah to Abram is often called "the table of nations" because the list

provides the names of the principle forebears of family lines—literally the origins of people groups that would go forth to fulfill the Noahic covenant after the Flood: “And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth” (Gen. 9.1). The Mosaic narrator also records the genealogy of the line of Shem (Gen. 11.10-32), which ends with Abram, the father of the people of Israel.¹¹⁸ The genealogy of Shem’s line and the narrative of Abram begin a new emphasis in the Hebrew Bible in which the Scriptures focus increasingly on Abraham and his descendants, who will become the people of Israel, God’s chosen people among the polytheistic nations of the region.

The New Testament opens with the genealogy of Christ in the book of Matthew (1.1-17), which is reinforced by a similar, yet subtly different genealogy of Christ in Luke (3.23-38). St. Matthew begins his genealogy at father Abraham and moves forward in time toward the birth of Jesus; St. Luke’s genealogy traces Jesus’ ancestry all the way back to Adam. Matthew’s family tree portrays Jesus as a true son of Israel, inheritor of the Patriarchal covenants, the Talmud, and the prophecies, while St. Luke portrays Jesus as the universal son of all humankind. According to Eric J. Johnson, author of a sidebar link to Speed’s “Genealogies” and curator of the digital humanities site *“Translation openeth the window to let in the light”*: *The Prehistory and Abiding Impact of the King James Bible*, the lineages in both gospel accounts follow the line of Jesus’ earthly father Joseph:

Although tracing Jesus’ ancestry through Joseph conformed to traditional genealogical practices of recording lineage through a family’s male line, this approach posed a significant problem: according to Scripture, the

Holy Spirit—not Joseph—was Jesus’ father. How, then, could Jesus be proven to be of the royal blood of David? How could he be descended from the Patriarch, Abraham? In an attempt to solve this problem and harmonize the variant accounts of Matthew and Luke, the genealogical tables in the King James version of the Bible adopt an alternative reading of Luke’s Gospel that had been popular since at least the eighth century, namely that Luke’s narrative actually outlines Mary’s ancestry, not Joseph’s. This reading provided biblical scholars and readers with a simple, yet elegant solution to this problem. Christ’s ancestry could now be traced not just through his “legal” father’s family line, but through his mother’s line as well. (“The Genealogy of Christ, 1611 King James Bible”)

This teaching—that the genealogy in Matthew follows the line of Joseph while Luke traces the line of Mary—is still followed among evangelical believers. A footnote to Luke 3.23-38 in the *NIV Study Bible*, a translation with an evangelical emphasis, states, “Although tracing a genealogy through the mother’s side was unusual, so was the virgin birth. Luke’s explanation here that Jesus was the son of Joseph, ‘so it was thought’ (v. 23), brings to mind his explicit virgin birth statement (1:34-35) and suggests the importance of the role of Mary in Jesus’ genealogy” (1543).¹¹⁹ Many seventeenth-century readers of the KJV, including Milton as I hope to show, would have agreed with the Messianic typology implied in this interpretation of Luke’s genealogy.

Reading Death, Reading Life in Speed's "Genealogies"

The opening page of John Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit" is the most visually striking, and it serves as sort of emblematic title page to the overall work. (See **Fig. 4.1 at the end of the chapter.**) The center of the page features a large woodcut illustration of Adam and Eve standing on either side of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The top of the page displays the cosmos with the sun occupying the upper left and the moon the upper right. The artist, perhaps at Speed's instruction, has broken Protestant convention by choosing not to use the Hebrew Tetragrammaton to portray the name of God; instead, "GOD," in all upper case letters, appears at the top center of the page. The name representing the deity is encircled by a flaming ring of light and farther out by a nimbus. Underneath the name of God is a reference to Luke 3.38, indicating that Speed is here following this gospel writer's genealogy, which traces the genealogy of Jesus Christ all the way back to the creation of Adam.

The family tree of humanity begins with the marriage of Adam and Eve. The names of our first parents are displayed prominently in decorated roundels just below the outer nimbus encircling the Godhead. The union of Adam and Eve is confirmed visually by the clasping of hands. Stephen B. Dobranski writes, "Thus, at the start, Adam and Eve's names are joined by an image of two hands, symbolizing both their marriage and the union from which all future generations derive" (282).¹²⁰ The genealogy of the sons of Adam and Eve follows and flows into two separate branches—the descendants of Cain, the son of the curse, on the left side, and the descendants of Seth, the son of the promise, on the right. According to the judgment of Eve after the Fall (recorded in Genesis 3.15), a descendant from her womb, "her seed," would one day "bruise" the

serpent's head, while it would "bruise his heel." These words have been interpreted by Christians as the first promise of redemption from the Fall. Called the protevangelium, the promise was thought to be fulfilled at the coming of Jesus Christ. Speed's genealogy follows this interpretation, distinguishing Seth's line, the lineage of the promise, by an unbroken chain that runs through the table of nations in Genesis 5 from Seth to Noah's son, Shem (the distant forefather of Abraham). The roundels of Cain's line and Seth's line frame the central woodcut of Adam and Eve at the Tree of Knowledge. This emblematic picture portrays the Fall of our first parents from native innocence and goodness into experience and death.

If we compare this portrayal of the biblical Garden of Eden and the Fall of humankind to that displayed by the 1537 Matthew Bible title page and the 1583 Geneva Bible frontispiece, we will immediately notice some interesting parallels and departures, keeping in mind that Speed's image of the Tree of Knowledge serves as an opening to his rather brief genealogy and not to the entire Bible, as is the case with the former two images we have discussed in the earlier chapters. On first inspection, Speed's woodcut most resembles that of the frontispiece to the 1583 Geneva Bible, except that the xylographer of the picture in Speed's genealogy has focused more closely on the human action at the forbidden tree. The fish, birds and animals that animate the 1583 frontispiece are gone, as are the rivers of Eden that entwine the picture in their mazy folds. In Speed's picture, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, and the Tree of Knowledge have moved from the background (as in the Geneva Bible woodcut) to the foreground. The only other signs of life are a few tufts of grass at our first parents' feet and isolated trees and shrubs growing on the hills in the background. In the 1583 frontispiece, Adam and Eve appear to be

suspended at the moment of choice whether or not to eat the forbidden fruit. The creatures surrounding them—both predators and prey—have yet to be infected with the blight of bloodshed and pose peacefully in the foreground, suggesting the prelapsarian state still exists. With Speed's spare woodcut, the viewer is drawn directly into the action of the Fall at the fatal tree. A much more imperiously designed Serpent pushes the fruit directly into Eve's hand, while Adam's outstretched left hand is captured in great detail just opening as if reaching toward the fruit expectantly. At their feet is a skeleton stretched on a bier, signaling that this is in fact the very moment death enters the world.

Although Speed's image seems to share the most conceptual commonality (despite a few basic differences) with that of the 1583 Geneva Bible frontispiece, a closer analysis shows that it also shares some characteristics with the 1537 Matthew Bible title page. These visual connections may be less obvious, but I think they are even more valuable because they relate to each other typologically. The 1537 title page features a large singular tree framed by a series of pictorial panels framing it on each side. Beginning at the top left side, the panels detail the Law, the Fall, and end at the bottom with a corpse representing death. The panels that run from top to bottom on the right side visually tell the story of the Incarnation, the crucifixion, and the resurrection. Speed's picture is not so elaborately cut. However, if we take into account that the picture is not to be "read" separately from the genealogies that frame it, then it is plausible to see the line of Cain and his descendants on the left side illustrating the effects of the Fall and death, while the line of Seth and his descendants on the right side of the picture embody types of regeneration after the Fall. To lend even further credence to this historical and typological comparison, Eve is located on the right side of the Tree of Knowledge, rather

than on the left side (as in the case of the 1583 Geneva frontispiece). This aligns her visually with the promise of the protevangelium, which is recapitulated in the genealogy on the right side of the page. Like the 1537 Matthew Bible title page, the typology of redemption is reckoned on the right side of Speed's page and on the right side of the central tree.

Two areas remain to be examined from the illustration on the first page of Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit": the printed messages and the emblem of death. Three texts are inscribed on Speed's woodcut. Working from bottom upward this time, we first read the words "O Death I will be thy death" from Hosea 13.14 (in the Geneva translation) cut across the side of the bier.¹²¹ This Old Testament verse is interestingly positioned with the corpse below the ground, representing the death associated with the Law, while two typologically associated New Testament verses are arranged above the ground as symbols of the regeneration of death (and the Law) through Christ. Adam and Eve hold banderoles in their right hands. The text reads, "The Sting of death is sinne: The strength of sinne is the Lawe" (I Cor. 15.56 GE). The notes in the 1560 Geneva Bible on this verse and on the previous verse, I Cor. 15.55, link these New Testament verses to Hosea 13.14. In other words, Speed's visual layout shows the unity between the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. In both cases, the origin of the Fall is sin, and sin leads to death.

The answer to the dread grip of death is provided by a tablet hung on the trunk of the Tree of Knowledge. The text reads, "As by one mans disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many also bee made righteous. That as sinne had raigned vnto death, so might grace also raigne by righteousness vnto eternall life

through Jesus Christ our Lord” (Rom. 5.19, 21 GE). The typology of St. Paul’s text is a vital teaching in Speed’s redaction of Christian history, whereby the first Adam, our forebear in the Fallen state, is redeemed by the second Adam, Christ, “who comes thy Savior, shall recure” (*PL* 12.393). By hanging the tablet on the tree of knowledge, the artist visually enacts a Protestant form of the crucifixion, using the Word and the tree to stand in for the *corpus Cristi* and the cross. Speed (and his xylographer) thus avoids the personal, financial and political pitfalls inherent in printing the traditional Crucifix of recusant Catholicism in late-Elizabethan, early-Jacobean English culture. Speed’s Tree of Knowledge is transformed into the Tree of Life by his Reformation commitment to *scriptura sola* and its related iconography of the tree.

However, Speed’s viewers were equally attuned to the emblematic portrayal of death as they were to that of the Tree of Life. A skeleton stretched on a bier lies across the bottom of the frame, as if the very roots of the Tree of Knowledge were anchored in death. The skeleton acts as a *memento mori*, an emblematic figure or “speaking picture” that signals to the reader the brevity of life and the inevitable bond of all earthly life to death and decay, the return of flesh to “dust” and the soil from which it was born.¹²² Emblematic symbols of Death figured as skeletons, skulls, or graves were common in the period. For example, Hamlet performs an emblematic apostrophe to Death when the Gravedigger unearths the skull of Yorick, the old jester of Hamlet’s father’s court: “Alas, poor Yorick. I knew him . . . a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy. . . . Where be your gibes now, your gambols, your songs, your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar? Not one now to mock your own grinning? Quite chop-fallen? (5.1.178-86). Shakespeare’s final word “chop-fallen” is quite grisly, meaning Yorick’s

skull has either the lower jaw hanging down or the bones of the lower jaw have shrunken, pulling the jaw back and holding it ajar (*OED* “chop-fallen”).¹²³ The loss of language seems to be a particular fear of Hamlet’s and prompts the series of questions he self-reflexively asks of the skull, which may be summed up in the over-arching theological question, “How then shall I live?”

Using botanical emblematic symbols rather than the death’s-head, George Herbert employs a similar message in his poem “Vertue”.¹²⁴ The word picture Herbert portrays in this brief lyric is more in keeping with that of the woodcut of the Tree of Knowledge in Speed’s “Genealogies.” In the poem, Herbert presents in a miniature emblematic display what Speed’s xylographer has writ large in the woodcut of the Tree of Knowledge. Instead of the emblematic tree, Herbert presents the following picture of the rose:

Sweet rose, whose hue angrie and brave
Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye:
Thy root is ever in its grave,
And thou must die. (5-8)

The rose, like the Tree of Knowledge, has its roots sunk into the soil, which consists of decaying matter. In one sense, the beautiful rose lives on death.

The brash beauty of the flower petals, “angrie and brave,” can also mislead one into forgetting that rose blooms are intimately linked to thorns in the postlapsarian world.¹²⁵ Helen Wilcox notes that the line “Bids the rash gazer wipe his eye” may be interpreted “the angry rose (and perhaps its thorn) startles the viewer, bringing ‘involuntary tears to his eyes’, the ‘smart of the sensual world’” (318n6). The prick of the thorn reminds the reader of mortality (and perhaps the crown of thorns worn by Christ at

the crucifixion). At this painful moment, the speaker suddenly conflates rose and reader—“Thy root is ever in its grave”—so that the plant and the human life it emblematically represents are indistinguishably cast into the same fate: “And all must die” (12). The skull or skeleton of the conventional *memento mori* has been replaced by a botanical and scriptural one, as recorded in the book of Job, “Man *that is* born of a woman *is* of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down” (14.1-2).¹²⁶

The portrait of the Fall that begins Speed’s “Genealogies” is worth analyzing in detail because it sets the stage for the rest of the typological exegesis to follow in *Paradise Lost*. Without the Fall, genealogy and typology would be unnecessary. The very purpose of genealogy is to trace one’s lineage or to keep track of family or ethnic histories—to memorialize the dead, just as Hamlet memorialized Yorick in his speech above. And like Hamlet, genealogy prompts readers to ask the question, “How shall we then live, given the inevitability of death?” Although many bibliographers of the history of the King James Bible see Speed’s “Genealogies” as a useless (and expensive) addition to the 1611 KJV and later editions, I can’t see a better way to have led contemporary readers into the Scriptures. How to face death with wisdom and hope is one of the main purposes of spiritual inquiry. The other is to seek guidance for living in order to leave a legacy of hope for one’s offspring is perhaps an even more persuasive rhetorical question arising from the study of genealogy. Herbert has titled his poem “Vertue” because reflecting on the certainty of death can lead to a renewal of a person’s present life. Perspectives such as these are raised by the typological genealogies and the stories (and rhetoric) visually represented by Speed’s work.

From Fruit to Seed: Eco-Typology and Eco-Genealogy in *Paradise Lost* Books 11-12

Scholars have long sought to find a literary justification for the Christian typology Milton evinces in books 11 and 12 of *Paradise Lost*. Through the final two books of *Paradise Lost*, Milton uses the archangel Michael to educate Adam (and the reader) in postlapsarian history as it is seen through the perspective glass of redemptive hope, a hope that leads “From shadowie Types to Truth, from Flesh to Spirit” (12.303).

Miltonists have struggled for decades to articulate the artistic value of this rather pedantic *tour de force* through early biblical history when compared to the narrative power of the rest of the epic. C. S. Lewis went so far as to call the final two books of *Paradise Lost* “an untransmuted lump of futurity” (125). Lewis’s bold jibe has generated a flurry of responses. Some critics have attempted to elaborate a defining schematic structure governing the poetics of books 11 and 12; others have searched for sources—biblical, classical, and cultural—to answer the nagging questions of significance.

My study in this chapter engages both cultural and structural analysis by focusing on the influence of Speed’s “Genealogies of the Holy Spirit” as a likely source of influence on Milton, particularly in books 11 and 12. And in the final section of this chapter I will attempt to fuse the genealogical typology offered by Speed in the King James Bible with the eco-typology of the “implanted seed” of the Tree of Life in these latter two books of Milton’s great poem.

A well-established tradition has been established for reading the biblical typology in *Paradise Lost* books 11-12. Barbara K. Lewalski explicates Adam’s education into

“the progressive manifestations of the Covenant of Grace operating throughout human history” (“Structure and Symbolism” 26). Lewalski identifies two major biblical sources for Milton’s typological history—the Old Testament history books (and prophets) and St. Paul’s Epistle to the Hebrews (“Structure and Symbolism” 29). We can never discount or take for granted Milton’s encyclopedic knowledge and memory of the Bible, nor can we forget that he interpreted that knowledge through the lens of his Christian typology. This is where Lewalski can be such an asset. More recently, Walter S. H. Sims has read a number of Old Testament people—Abraham, Samson, Ruth, Solomon, and even Mary Magdalene—as analogues to the character development of Adam and Eve. Sims reads the typology of the final two books back into the poem as the “narrative representation of Adam and Eve’s experiences in innocence, temptation, fall, alienation, and expulsion” (128). Lewalski and Sims provide effective and enlightening readings of the typology in Milton’s final two books in *Paradise Lost*; however, they both overlook the possibility of typological rhetoric being reinforced by the physical book itself, as in the case of Speed’s genealogy providing a visual reinforcement to the biblical typology contained in the words of early editions of the KJV.

Mary C. Fenton approaches Milton’s use of typology from a material perspective by placing books 11 and 12 within the developing culture of land ownership rights in the Restoration period. Fenton quite ingeniously sets up a dichotomous relationship between the Satanic hope vested in possession of territory versus “real hope” that finds its locus when land ownership is subordinated to godly stewardship—when “the ‘promis’d Land’ is extended to and located in the ‘Promised Seed’” (152). I agree, in part, with Fenton’s reading of Satan’s attempt to isolate power in material things, such as land and even

control over the destiny of humankind: “Satan here translates God’s ‘planting’ of humanity into terms of power and possession, a typically Satanic inversion of the horticultural image of hope, and the germination of hope . . . which is repeated in the *protevangelium* in book 10 which promises that Eve’s ‘Seed’ will bruise the head of the serpent” (162). Fenton’s argument cannot after all fulfill its own intentions because her knowledge of material land practices seems limited in this brief article. What she does so well, however, is to remind her readers that the typological history in Milton’s “paradise within” teaches more about a disposition of creaturely care and love for God than it does about an England-as-Israel possessing its own or other faraway “promised lands.” Fenton’s ecological reading of the “Seed of Woman” flowering into stewardship of the earth and love for God makes interesting links to my reading of the “seed” as eco-genealogy of the Tree of Life.

From the moment Death enters Eden through Adam and Eve’s trespass against God’s command against eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good in Evil, the emphasis of *Paradise Lost* changes from fruit to seed. Prior to the Fall, we see the Tree of Life “blooming Ambrosial Fruit / Of vegetable Gold” (4.219-20) and “Earth all-bearing Mother” (5.338) producing a cornucopia of fruits and nuts for the table at which Eve entertains her heavenly guest, Raphael. But after the Fall, seed becomes the focus of the story. The word “seed” bears several separate, but interrelated meanings as it is employed in the latter books of the poem. Naturally, it carries its usual horticultural meaning. In addition to that, Milton uses “seed” to mean offspring (for all creatures, including humankind) generally. In the typological context of the books 11 and 12, “seed” also resonates with the covenantal language of the Old Testament, as in the case of the

protevangelium, the Noahic covenant, and the Abrahamic covenants. Finally, this small word also carries within it the weight of much biblical teaching, particularly the parables of Jesus: in a single Chapter 13 of the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus tells the Parable of the Sower, the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares and the Parable of the Mustard Seed.¹²⁷ These different, but related signs cluster about the word “seed” as it is used to unveil what I am calling the eco-typology of the “Promis’d Seed” in books 11 and 12 (12.623) of *Paradise Lost*.

The Fall and judgment of Adam and Eve changes the way they relate to the world around them, to each other, and most especially to God. After all their shame, misery, pain and confusion, Adam and Eve seek God’s forgiveness and “to the place / Repairing where he jud’g them prostrate fell” (10.1098-99). Milton’s delicate dactylic “Repairing” captures both the direction of their feet and their hearts,¹²⁸ and within the masterful prosody of the line, the reader can hear them stumbling toward their knees as they fall penitent before their Maker. When the “glad Son” intercedes on their behalf (11.20), he changes the focus of the poem from the arboreal Tree of Life to the “paradise within” (12.587):

See, Father, what first fruits on Earth are sprung
From thy implanted Grace in Man, these Sighs
And Prayers, which in this Golden Censer, mixt
With Incense, I thy Priest before thee bring,
Fruits of more pleasing savour from thy seed
Sow’n with contrition in his heart, then those
Which his own hand manuring all the Trees

Of Paradise could have produc't, ere fall'n

From innocence. (11.22-30)

Because of their sin, Adam and Eve's access to the fruits of the original arboreal Tree of Life has been cut off (11.122-25). Now the "[f]ruits of more pleasing savour" are their prayers of repentance, prayers that have matured from seeds of grace "implanted" and "Sow'n" preveniently in their souls. Balachandra Rajan puts it this way: "The small seed of repentance will grow into the tree of redemption" (87).

I would be remiss if I did not pause to mention a source for the above passage in *Paradise Lost* that can be found in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer's "povre" Parson, whom Chaucer, the narrator, compares to the Good Shepherd of the gospels (*General Prologue* 478), uses the heuristic of the tree of redemption to instruct his fellow pilgrims in the right way to pilgrimage in this life. The Parson's homily to the other travelers from the Tabard Inn is couched in the imagery of the tree of penitence:

The roote of this tree is Contricioun, that hideth hym in the herte of
hym that is verray repentaunt, right as the roote of a tree hydeth hym in the
erthe. / Of the roote of Contricioun spryngeth a stalk that bereth
braunches and leves of Confession, and fruyt of Satisfaccioun. / . . . / Of
this roote eek spryngeth a seed of grace, the which seed is mooder of
sikernesse, and this seed is egre and hoot. / The grace of this seed
spryngeth of God thurgh remembrance of the day of doom and on the
peynes of helle. / . . . / The heete of this seed is the love of God and the
desiring of the joye perdurable. (*Parson's Tale* 113-20)

The Parson's tree of penitence conforms to a Roman Catholic growth pattern as it moves through formal stages of Church doctrine fully explained by the good Parson in his brief sermon. Milton's tree of redemption, on the other hand, follows Protestant theology that posits a route of more direct access from the repentant sinner to God. But in both passages, the poets stress that this tree of life begins with a "seed of grace" that "spryngeth of God." The tree of redemption and the tree of penance are ways of reconfiguring life as a form of pilgrimage in the postlapsarian world. Chaucer's Parson puts it this way, "Penaunce is the tree of lyf to hem that it receyven, and he that holdeth hym in verray penitence is blessed, after the sentence of Salomon" (127). I think the Parson may be referring to Proverbs 3.18, which reads, "[Wisdom] is a tre of life to them that laie holde on her, and blessed *is* he that reteineth her" (GE). This is reminiscent of the way Adam and Eve leave Paradise after they have received instruction in the eco-typology of the "Woman's seed" (12.543). Restored, renewed, hopeful, and yet saddened, they are prepared for the pilgrimage that awaits them:

The World was all before them, where to choose
Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:
They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,
Through *Eden* took thir solitarie way. (12.646-49)

This open-ended conclusion to Milton's great poem invites the reader to also consider their life in terms of a pilgrimage through the eco-typology of the latter two books.

Sprouting from seeds of repentance, the tree of redemption becomes a new figure of the Tree of Life though the eco-typology the archangel Michael relates to Adam (and the reader) in the remainder of book 11 and throughout book 12. Rajan writes, "Christ's

compassionate tendering of the first fruits of the faltering movement towards goodness establishes him not only in his theological role as mediator, but more movingly as the spokesman of humanity, foreshadowing that nature he is destined to assume” (87). In other words, the Son not only acts as mediator of the tree of redemption, he *is* the embodiment of that tree, transferring onto himself all the qualities of the original Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden. Diane Kelsey McColley observes, “It comes fittingly from the Son, who in his compassionate humility will suffer mockery and death and has already called himself, though Creator of all, the Seed of Woman” (*Milton’s Eve* 213). What remains to be seen is what is ecological about the embodiment of the Son as the Tree of Life in Milton’s postlapsarian world.

Ecocriticism of *Paradise Lost* tends to overlook the final books of the poem. One of the problems that can result from readings that depreciate Milton’s biblical typology at the end of *Paradise Lost* is that one can miss the forest for the Tree. It is true that the lush sylvan descriptions of the earlier parts of the epic are painfully scarce in books 11 and 12, but readers must avoid the mistake that Milton’s monist conception of Adam and Eve’s relation to the earth has disappeared suddenly with the Fall. The following is just one example of the emphasis some Miltonist ecocritics place on the prelapsarian life of *Paradise Lost*: “Milton gives us a glimpse of an *Earth-friendly prelapsarian life*, not to cause us to lament lost Paradise, but in order to instruct us in how we now should be relating to the Earth” (Hiltner “A Defense” 21) (emphasis added). I cannot disagree with what Hiltner says here, but it is with what he does not say that I take issue. Why do we not consider what Milton says of an “Earth-friendly postlapsarian life” since this is where we actually live? The answer is that we are often prone to read Milton’s biblical typology

in the latter books of the poem as a rather deterministic religious narrative of the coming of Christ into human history. This is true, of course, in part. But Milton's biblical typology also exists, as I have attempted to show above, to reveal a way of living attuned to God, to family and to the larger community, and to the earth itself.

The story of Noah and the ark marks the mid-way point in Michael's narrative to Adam. Both Noah and the ark are also well-established Old Testament types of Christ (both Noah and the ark). This is easier to visualize when one reads *Paradise Lost* from the perspective of Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit" because a key illustration in Speed's genealogy is the Tree of Life (the tree of nations, really) sprouting from the midst of Noah's boat (see **Fig. 4.2**). I argue that Speed's genealogy, which was so well-circulated with editions of the KJV in the early seventeenth-century, surely must have had some impact on Milton's creative memory as he fashioned the eco-typology of this moment of biblical history in his great poem. Michael's discourse to Adam immediately after the Flood begins, "Thus thou hast seen one World begin and end; / And Man as from a second stock proceed" (12.6-7). The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides the following definition—based on this passage from *Paradise Lost*—for the noun "stock" used figuratively as it is above: "The source of a line of descent; the progenitor of a family or race" (n¹, adj. 3.a.). This makes sense given the context of Michael's statement, for now Noah will be the progenitor of all the races on earth, rather than Adam. However, if we explore the etymology of "stock" a bit further, Speed's woodcut and the use of the phrase "second stock" in Milton's poem come into sharper focus. Taken literally, "stock" can mean "[t]he trunk or stem of a (living) tree, as distinguished from the root and branches" (*OED* n¹, adj. 2.a.). In Speed's picture, Noah is both the arboreal and

genealogical “root”; what stems from him and his descendants in terms of the literal tree is a living trunk or, genealogically-speaking, the tree of nations. According to the *OED*, yet another definition of “stock” is [a] stem in which a graft is inserted” (n¹, adj. 4). Reading this etymology into Milton’s lines in book 12 brings the reader full-circle to the original use of the phrase “second stock” in terms of the poem, as we encounter God’s offer of the Son as the new Tree of Life for fallen humankind in book 3 long before Eve and Adam eat the forbidden fruit:

Be thou in *Adams* room
The Head of all mankind, though *Adams* Son,
As in him perish all men, so in thee
As from a second root shall be restor’d,
As many as are restor’d, without thee none.
His crime makes guiltie all his Sons, thy merit
Imputed shall absolve them who renounce
Thir own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
Receive new life. (3.285-94)

All three meanings of the word “stock” are combined above into an image—assisted by that of Speed—in which the Son is portrayed as the Tree of Life. Milton’s passage is based on St. Paul’s teaching in Romans 11.16-25, where Paul explains to Gentile believers how Jewish believers will also share in the promises of Christ, the Tree of Life. Paul states, “For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree: how much more shall these, which be

the natural *branches*, be grafted into their own olive tree” (Rom. 11.24)? As we have noted in an earlier chapter, one of the ways in which Protestant iconography depicts the realization of Christ as the Tree of Life is through a transformation of the Cross (associated as the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil) into a living tree. The Miltonic Bard writes that “he, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure, / Not by destroying *Satan*, but his works / In thee and in thy Seed” (12.393-95).

Finally, Milton’s redaction of the biblical story of Noah and the ark serves as a catalyst for helping Adam understand that the *protevangelium* is not just about God’s redemptive restoration of humankind, but it also proclaims our role in redemptive acts on earth. Adam watches in prophetic vision as the ark comes safely to land, “and thus his joy broke forth” “I revive / At this last sight, assur’d that Man shall live / With all the Creatures, and thir seed preserve” (12.869, 871-73). Adam’s words are uttered in the future tense, of course, because the Flood, has yet to take place: “Man *shall* live / With all the Creatures” (emphasis added). Even in Milton’s day, as McColley notes, England faced environmental woes that were spreading as a result of technological advances that allowed humans to manipulate nature in a veritable laundry list of destructive ways: “deforestation, air pollution, confinement of rivers and streams, draining of wetlands, overbuilding, toxic mining, maltreatment of animals, uses of land that destroy habitats and dispossess the poor” (*Poetry and Ecology* 2). Today, we face a matrix of environmental problems that have only increased in terms of their proportions and global impact since seventeenth-century England. If we wish to live with the plant and animal species who remain with us in this world (many creatures have disappeared into local and

global extinction over the centuries), then we must take responsibility for preserving the “household of nature” in which we live and share a part.

The insistent portrayal of the eco-typology of the Tree of Life throughout *Paradise Lost* keeps us as readers mindful that the realities of our lives can be (and should be) expressed in terms that value natural, richly botanical metaphors over more common metaphors that arise from our own ephemeral, technologically-driven society. According to Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and the hermeneutics of the biblical typology he espoused, metaphor crosses over into the reality of history. The “seed of grace” is for all creatures. As the Son states, “man shall find grace; / And shall grace not find means, that finds her way, / The speediest of thy winged messengers, / To visit *all* thy creatures” (3.227-30) (emphasis added). This, of course is the very essence of love, which in Milton’s poem, as in the KJV, is called charity, “the soul / Of all the rest” (12.584-85).

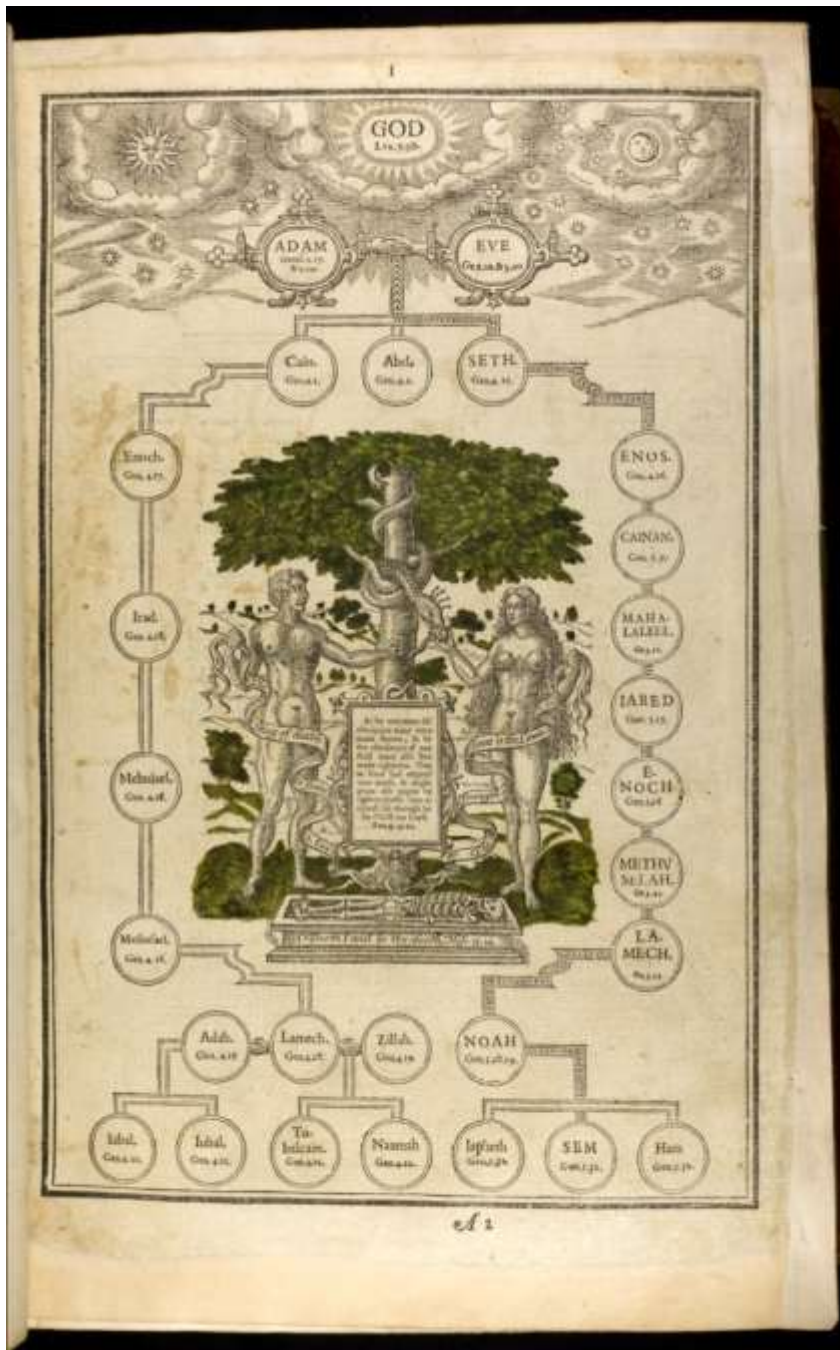


Fig. 4.1. Speed, John. "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit." A2. (1610). Wood engraving. Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Published with permission.

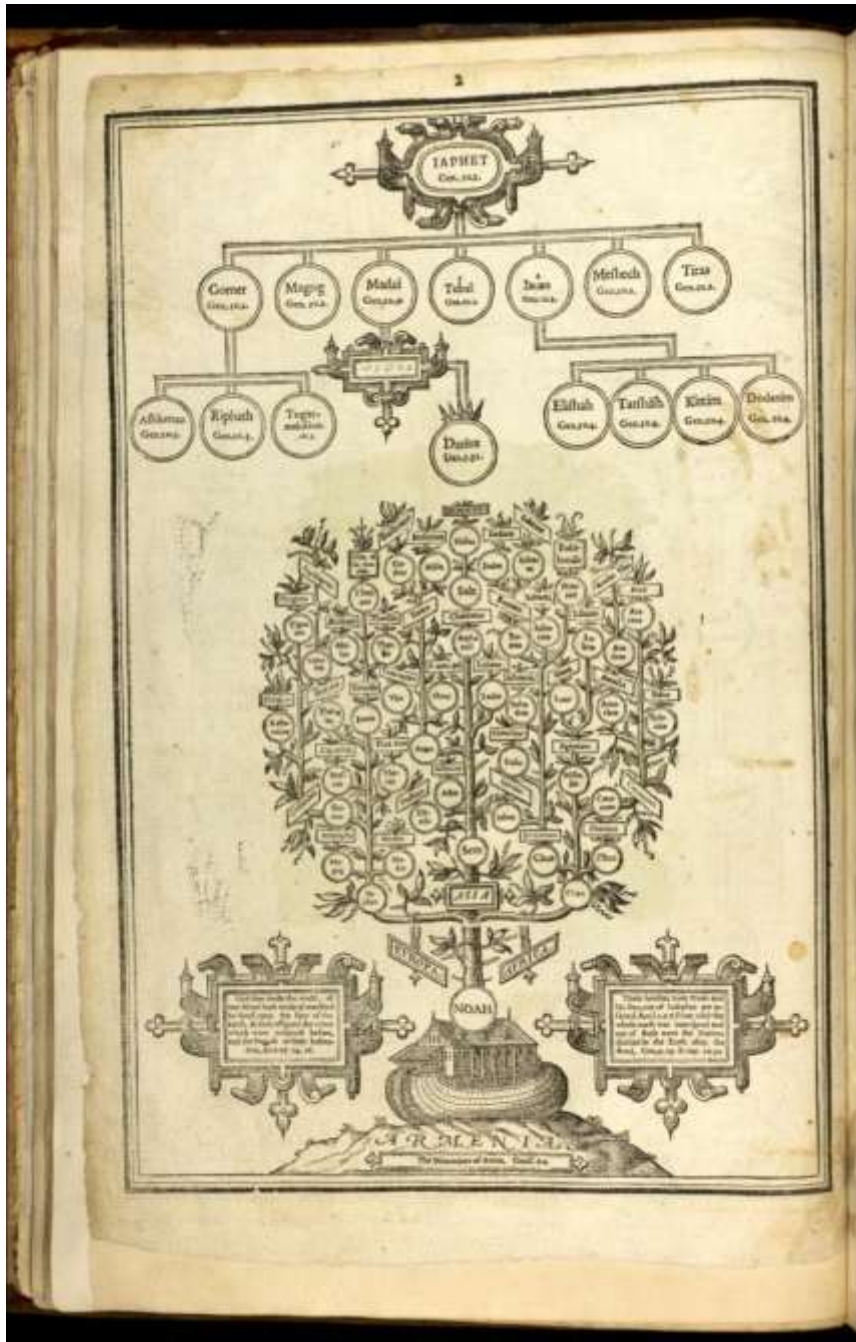


Fig. 4.2. Speed, John. "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit." 2. (1610). Wood engraving. Courtesy The Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana. Published with permission.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Coda: Eco-typology of the Tree of Life and Milton's *Paradise Regained*

Before I reach the conclusion of my thesis I want to suggest the ways in which Milton's eco-typology of the Tree of Life extends beyond *Paradise Lost* into his brief epic *Paradise Regained* (1671). In this brief "Coda," I shall discuss Milton's forest ecology and portrayal of the Tree of Life as the earthly ministry of Jesus; my comments of necessity will be brief and suggestive, rather than extensive and conclusive.

Biblical typology, the Tree of Life, and the wilderness in *Paradise Regained* have received the attention of Milton scholars for decades. However, readings of Milton's brief epic to date have neglected to position *Paradise Regained* within a critical paradigm that encompasses both biblical typology and ecocriticism. Barbara K. Lewalski produced a ground-breaking study of the poem's structure and genre, which resulted in her definition of *Paradise Regained* as "a 'brief epic' on the Jobean model" (8). She also provides a seminal reading of Milton's use of biblical typology in the poem. This reading, though not the first to recognize typological influence in *Paradise Regained*, has opened the way for later critics to apply the layers of biblical types that overlap each other through Milton's retelling of Christ's forty-day temptation in the wilderness.

One such study that applies biblical typology specifically to the Tree of Life in *Paradise Regained* is that of John Steadman. Steadman articulates three ways in which

the “Fruits fetcht from the tree of life” prove that Paradise has indeed been restored by the conclusion of the poem. Firstly, the fruit from the Tree of Life “is a ‘symbol of eternal life’ (Steadman 386), and as such this fruit supersedes previous types of rewards for heroes. Adam and Eve brought Death and Sin into the world by eating the fruit from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil; Christ eats from the Tree of Life, symbolizing “an affirmation of eternal life,” the moral opposite to Death’s mortal wound within the structure of the poem (Steadman 388). Secondly, argues Steadman, the fruits are fitting recompense for obedience to God (388). This is the essence of Jesus’ reward for resisting Satan throughout the temptation. Finally, since “the tree of life was peculiarly indigenous to Paradise,” the specially prepared banquet of fruits from the Tree of Life from which Jesus eats at the end of the poem signifies that he has claimed his Messianic identity as the Incarnation sent from heaven (Steadman 388).

Recent scholarship also has examined the “wast Wilderness” (1.8) in *Paradise Regained* as a type of the biblical wilderness journeys of Moses and the children of Israel. In a discussion of the overlapping typological “wildernesses” in which the Son’s desert wanderings occur, N. H. Keeble notes that Milton has sacrificed all sense of geographical reality to that of biblical typology (89). Keeble observes, “The location of the temptation of Christ has become a conflation (or identification) of many wildernesses” (89). The details of the desert in which Jesus sojourns, says Keeble, “do not derive from observation” (92). While I support Keeble’s typological reading of the Son’s temptation in the wilderness, I disagree with the way Keeble overlooks the forest ecology of the place Milton does present in the poem.

I read Milton's "brief epic" as a forested poem. In Milton's desert, the Son of God moves "from shade to shade" (2.243) and sleeps at night "Under the hospitable covert nigh / Of Trees thick interwoven" (2.261-63). Milton even goes so far as to name single trees, often associated with the Son's nightly rest: "each night / Under the covert of some ancient Oak, / Or Cedar, to defend him from the dew" (1.305-06). Later, he finds protection "Under a Juniper" (2.272). Milton's frequent reference to the thick "shades" (4.404) of the desert brings forest ecology into the foreground of the text. Satan even showcases his power at one point just prior to his temptation to worldly wisdom by nearly destroying the forest via a thunderstorm, or perhaps a tornado. The storm ravages "the vext Wilderness, whose tallest Pines, / Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest Oaks / Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts, / Or torn up sheer" (4.416-19). While the setting of *Paradise Regained* is clearly meant to portray an environment in the postlapsarian world, the forest ecology Milton presents in the poem suggests the regenerative potential of the wilderness as an ecological place.

Finally, the forest ecology in *Paradise Regained* extends the eco-typology of *Paradise Lost* to the earthly ministry of Christ: "Know therefore when my season comes to sit / On *David's* Throne, it shall be like a tree / Spreading and over-shadowing all the Earth" (4.146-48). This passage draws upon a cluster of biblical types: the recognition of Christ's role as an heir to the royal and prophetic line of King David; the millennial fulfillment of his ministry as the Tree of Life in heaven; the prophetic expanse of a kingdom unlimited by geo-political space or historical time; and the mission of the New Testament Church (Revard 435n19). Regina M. Swartz sees this passage as evidence of Milton's Arminianism "that offers grace freely to all" (36). Swartz adds, "Here is Jesus'

most explicit . . . allusion to the cross, as a tree that overshadows (and typologically shadows) redemption for all the earth” (36). Swartz’s reading of this passage from *Paradise Regained* links well with my research on the eco-typology of the Tree of Life in *Paradise Lost*, where I argue that the arboreal imagery of the Tree of Life in Milton’s epic (and now brief epic) can be conflated typologically with the cross.

What interests me even more is the forest ecology embedded in Jesus’ statement above. The Miltonic Bard’s employment of botanical language in this simile complements and complicates the eco-typology of the Tree of Life we have discussed thus far. In this statement, Christ puts himself into the postlapsarian cycle of the seasons, proclaiming that “when my season comes” (4.146). Like a living plant, the Son has grown to maturity from “the Womans Seed” (*PL* 12.601), and following the years of his ministry, he will die, or be cut off from his people. The Resurrection represents the “season” of renewal when the Son brings new life from the grave, or earth as it were. The Son’s earthly Messianic ministry is described in terms of a great tree “Spreading and over-shadowing all the Earth” (4.148). The comparison of the work of Christ to that of a rooted tree presents an interesting picture of God’s kingdom on earth as that which is committed to a place and to a locality. This is significant to the poem since Jesus returns “Home to his Mothers house” (4.639) after his peripatetic trials in the desert. Finally, the simile projects a tree in which *all* creatures might find shade or protection—human and non-human beings alike. This is a brief analysis of the eco-typology of the Tree of Life as it relates to *Paradise Regained*.

Conclusion

I have argued that throughout Milton's *Paradise Lost* the imagery and ontology of the Tree of Life supersedes that of Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Even though the narrative plot of the poem propels the reader toward the moment of the Fall, the underlying message of Milton's great epic emphasizes renewal and reparation of Adam and Eve and the earth through the eco-typology of the Tree of Life. Eco-typology combines ecocritical theory with the biblical hermeneutics of typology to assess the ways in which *oikos*, or "language of the household" of nature, intersects with Reformation exegetical reading of the Bible. In *Paradise Lost*, eco-typology is expressed in three particular ways: (1) through biblical types of the Tree of Life and the forest ecology of Paradise; (2) through biblical types of the fruit of the Tree of Life and the earthly banquet in Paradise; and (3) through biblical types of the seed and the "Paradise within."

In addition to reading the eco-typology of Milton's Tree of Life in *Paradise Lost*, I have positioned this great poem within the context of the iconography of the Tree of Life in Reformation Bibles. The Protestant Reformation's focus on the Word of God as the foundation of religious authority changed the way people visualized their world, especially as Protestant nations like England strove to re-imagine their religious iconography in terms of the "Scripture alone." During the Reformation, iconography associated with the Tree of Life replaced Roman Catholic iconography, such as crucifixes, in many Protestant Bibles. Each body chapter of this dissertation has featured a different print image from an English Bible to demonstrate the various ways in which

the Tree of Life was portrayed visually and emblematically to Bible-reading audiences in the later sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. The importance of these biblical images on the development of Milton's portrayal of the Tree of Life in *Paradise Lost* cannot be overlooked. Even though Milton was blind when he composed his epic poem, compelling images of the Tree of Life encountered during his years of sight while reading the Bible surely were viscerally powerful and lasting.

This work brings to an end what I consider an overview of the eco-typology of the Tree of Life in Milton's greatest poem. However, I feel like my *real* work is just beginning. The eco-typology of the Tree of Life needs to be applied thoroughly to the rest of Milton's corpus, particularly to *A Mask at Ludlow Castle*, *Lycidas*, and *Paradise Regained*. Beyond Milton, I am keen to also apply eco-typology to Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* (1611), especially her country house poem "The Description of Cooke-ham" published at the end of *Salve Deus*. Finally, I have only scratched the surface on what needs to be done with Milton and the iconography of the Tree of Life in Reformation Bibles. There is much archival research that remains on this subject, but what calls most for attention is John Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit" and his "Map of Canaan." This text demands to be reevaluated in terms of its relation to the King James Bible and its influence on Milton's later books.

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Notes to Chapter 1

¹ In *Milton and the Science of the Saints*, Georgia B. Christopher writes, “Luther had not set out to abolish the Mass, but he nonetheless introduced an alternative means of grace that shifted the locus of religious experience from visual symbol and ritual to verbal action” (4). Due to this transformation from the medieval experience of mystery toward a “theology of the word,” Reformers and their followers had to find new ways to imagine their view of God, the word/Word, and the place in which they lived their lives (Christopher 18). William A. Dyrness states in *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, “This calling involved a reordering of life according to God’s Word. According to Ignatian spirituality believers are to place themselves into the biblical story. Reformed believers face a different challenge: they seek to remake the world after the biblical patterns, to read their story as an extension of biblical narratives” (141).

² According to the Creation account in Genesis Chapter 2, which functions as an expansion and elaboration of Genesis Chapter 1, Adam is alone when God places him in the Garden of Eden. Eve is created out of Adam’s body later, after Adam is given the command not to eat from the Tree of Knowledge and after he names the animals. Only when a suitable mate cannot be found for Adam among the other creatures, does God create Eve out of one of the ribs from Adam’s body, which occurs in Genesis 2.21. For a different, more compressed account of Adam and Eve’s simultaneous creation, see Genesis 1.26-27. All references are to the King James Bible (1873 rev. ed.) unless otherwise stated in the text.

³ For an excellent synopsis of the forest history of England, see Theis *Writing the Forest* 9-19.

⁴ I am indebted to McColley for leading me to this poem and for presenting me with some original background to Cavendish; however, this reading of the Cavendish’s poem is my own. See McColley *Poetry and Ecology* 102-103.

⁵ This epithet can be found in the catalogue of 13 species of trees in Chaucer’s *The Parliament of Fowls* ll. 176-182.

⁶ Although it has been noted often that as an unrepentant member of the parliamentary side Milton does not invoke the royal oak in *Paradise Lost*, the fact remains that he was an Englishman during the seventeenth-century, a time when England thought of itself as *the* “arboreal kingdom.”

⁷ For more on the development of the term *ecocriticism* and the emergence of this form of literary criticism, see Glotfelty’s introduction to Glotfelty and Fromm xvii-xx, xxviii; McKusick 11-19; and Rigby 155-57.

⁸ I was pleasantly surprised to find a similar use of the word *oikos* in a book of theology by Catholic theologian Scott Hahn, where he writes, “It is interesting to note that even the word ‘economy’ has a familial meaning. It comes from the Greek words *oikos* (‘home’) and *nomos* (‘law’). Creation’s economy is the law of God’s household. It is how He fathers His family throughout Salvation history” (53).

⁹ See O’Dair 17 for the ecocritical perspective on the “real and experiential.”

¹⁰ For a postmodern critique of ecocriticism, see Opperman 103-128.

¹¹ Citations from *A Mask Presented at Ludlow-Castle* and the rest of Milton’s poems, other than *Paradise Lost*, come from Stella P. Revard’s edition of *John Milton’s Complete Shorter Poems*.

¹² The problem of deforestation and seacoal mining and pollution can actually be traced back to the fourteenth-century. See Hiltner 294-95; Merchant 66-68; and Thomas 244.

¹³ For more on Evelyn and his plan in *Fumifugium*, see McColley "Milton's Environmental Epic" 57; Hiltner 301-02.

¹⁴ For more on the geographical location of Ludlow Castle and the eco-political setting of Milton's masque, see Campbell and Corns 76-79.

¹⁵ Revard's gloss suggests "pin-fold" in line 7 may be read "pen for cattle or sheep."

¹⁶ Paul J. Korshin states, "Definitions of typology, however, almost always fail to point out that this figural mode is not exclusively Christian but pre-Christian" (27). Korshin explains "three roads in the history of ideas" that influenced the development of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century typology:

The first route is through Pauline exegesis, the refinements of the Fathers, and the further refinements of the medieval church. The second is through the introduction, in Christian Europe, of the study of the rabbis in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of this interest focused on Jewish mysticism, especially on cabalism, but there is a gradually increasing knowledge of midrashic typology as well, particularly among English writers like Milton who were well read in Continental theology or in the rabbis themselves. The third source for European knowledge of pre-Christian typology is the hermetic writings, the ancient theology whose study attained cultic proportions in the seventeenth century. (27)

The infusion of midrashic typology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may explain similarities between what is called the traditional methods of Torah commentary and the medieval Christian "Four-Fold" method of biblical interpretation. The traditional four-fold method of Christian biblical scholarship appears in the list below; complementary terminology from Torah midrashic typology is listed in parentheses to the right and is taken from Benjamin Edidin Sclonic's "Traditional Methods of Bible Study," appended to the *Etz Hayim*:

1. historical—literal meaning in text (like *p'shat*)
2. allegorical—when things in Old Testament "shadowe out" things in New Testament: i.e. typological (like *remez*)
3. moral meaning—when the text points to some other type or manner of living; tropological meaning; exhortation (like *d'rash*)
4. anagogical—when things literally expressed signify a heavenly mystery (like *sod*)

¹⁷ See also Korshin 27.

¹⁸ We might also suggest that Mather has been influenced by that of Milton in *PL*.

¹⁹ For more on Milton's relationship to John (Giovanni) Diodati and the rest of the Diodati family (most importantly Charles Diodati [1609-1638], his childhood friend), see Campbell and Corns 22-23 and Lewalski *The Life* 9.

²⁰ Aston notes that the title-page to the 1535 Coverdale Bible does use the Tetragrammaton, rather than an anthropomorphic figure of the Godhead. She explains that "the tetragrammaton appeared so conspicuously heading the Coverdale title-page. Perhaps this deserves more attention than it has been given. The tetragrammaton was an iconographic innovation that signaled a new relationship with the divinity of God the Father, a symbol, it might seem, for redrawing boundaries between Creator and created" (24). Interestingly the Coverdale Bible includes anthropomorphic woodcuts of the Christ-Logos during the six days of creation on the frontispiece

for the Book of Genesis, something I have observed in a Coverdale Bible held at The Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.

²¹ For a nuanced history of the use of the Tetragrammaton in English Bible printing, see Corbett and Lightbrown 39-41. for a more nuanced history of the use of the Tetragrammaton in English Bible printing.

²² McColley notes that “[t]hese changes form a part of a long-term pattern in Protestant Bibles that focuses on the Word of God (literalized in the Name)” (*A Gust* 57).

²³ For more on English versions of Bibles Milton may have had in his possession, see Boswell, *Milton’s Library: A Catalogue of the Remains of John Milton’s Library and Ancillary Readings* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1975. Print)

²⁴ Thomas N. Corns discusses literary production and consumption in *A History of Seventeenth-Century English Literature* 2-14; however, Corns resists putting a definite percentage on the number of readers in England at the time. Sharon Achinstein cites the following numbers for literacy rates at the time of the English Revolution: “30% for adult males” nationwide and estimates as high as “60% for adult males” in London (53).

Notes to Chapter 2

²⁵ For more on the unusual name of the Matthew Bible, see Campbell, 18-20; a slightly different analysis is available in King and Pratt, 67; for yet another version of the how the Bible received its moniker, see Alfred W. Pollard in the “Bibliographical Introduction” to the 1611 KJV Bible (Hendrickson Publishers Facsimile Edition) 14.

²⁶ The 1537 Coverdale Bible also claimed to be printed with the king’s license.

²⁷ See Daniell 157

²⁸ See Daniell 192; see also Brake 128.

²⁹ I am still tracking down the provenance of the 1537 Matthew Bible title page and its possible circulation in later editions of the “Matthew” Bible or in other versions of the Bible. To date I have not found evidence to suggest it was printed beyond the 1537 edition. The 1549 second edition of the Matthew Bible uses the 1535 Coverdale Bible title page attributed to Hans Holbein the Younger for both the general title page and the title page to the New Testament: see STC 2078. King and Pratt helpfully explain the rather confusing publication rebirth of the “Matthew” Bible in the early 1550s: see note 30 on pg. 67, as well as 71-73. I have personally checked STC 2083 – STC 2088. These various editions were all printed in approximately 1551 and may contain revisions by Richard Taverner and/or editorial emendations by Edward Becke. Title pages for these editions vary from the Coverdale blocks to the printer’s device; none employ the unique iconography of the 1537 Matthew title page.

³⁰ This verse is taken from the 1560 Geneva Bible.

³¹ See, for example, Hans Holbein the Younger’s woodcut title page to the Coverdale Bible of 1535. Holbein represents the Fall prior to the giving of the Law.

³² The King James Bible (1873 rev. ed.) is used for all biblical quotations in this dissertation, unless otherwise indicated in the text.

³³ All quotations for *Paradise Lost* are taken from Barbara K. Lewalski’s edition, unless otherwise noted.

³⁴ Theis also cites this passage in “The purlieus” 229-257. He expands his reading of Milton’s passage in *Writing the Forest*.

³⁵ Milton's "enclosure green" (4.133) is reminiscent of early modern biblical hermeneutics of the Song of Solomon, or Canticles, which stresses the *hortus conclusus*, or walled garden of delights, as a figural type of the church, the virginal bride of Christ. Song of Solomon 4.12 is a keystone text for this type of exegesis: "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a spring shut up, a fountain sealed." Katherine Bootle Attie analyzes the many ways "the Canticlean trope of the female body" was hailed in seventeenth-century discourse to represent enclosure of common land (146). Contrary to the prevailing call for enclosure of the commons, the poetic rhetoric of *Paradise Lost*, she argues, displays the failure of "private bounds" (149).

³⁶ Interestingly, the phrase "with Champains rich'd" appears in the 1623 Folio, but not the 1608 Quarto of *King Lear*. See *The Parallel King Leare 1608-1623*, Part I, prepared by Michael Warren, 4-5.

³⁷ See *OED* "champaign" (n. and adj.): "An expanse of level, open country, a plain; a level field, a clearing" (def. A. n.1).

³⁸ The other prominent literary allusion in this passage is to Spenser's Garden of Adonis in *The Faerie Queene* 3.6.42-5. See Barbara K. Lewalski 95 and Theis *Writing the Forest* 265-66. Both Lewalski and Theis offer Freudian readings of PL 4.131-42, esp. ll. 132-37, as allusive to the passage in Spenser and readings of paradise as a female body. This is an especially provocative argument, especially if one considers it alongside the language of Donne's "Elegy XIX Going to Bed." This line of argument is beyond the parameters of my study of the Tree of Life, however.

³⁹ I am indebted to H.R. Fairclough's parallel translation of *The Aeneid*.

⁴⁰ In this passage, Bunyan has incorporated portions of Matthew 7.13-14, which reads in full: "Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." I find it interesting that the Wicket Gate itself bears an inscription, reflecting perhaps a literary tradition stretching back to Dante and Chaucer. Bunyan's inscription above the Wicket Gate is another verse related to the metaphor (I use this term in a general sense) of Christ or the salvation experience as entering through a doorway or entrance. The following words, taken from Matthew 7.7, are inscribed above the Wicket Gate: "Knock and it shall be opened unto you" (68). Both Scripture passages come from Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, and are recorded in the synoptic gospels.

⁴¹ Leonard cites for comparison *Orlando Furioso* xiv.130, xvi.20, and xvi.23; he also cites *Aeneid* ix.59-64, 563-65.

⁴² In the Bible, the protevangelium reads, "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy heel, and thou shalt bruise his heel" (Gen 3.15). Lewalski explains the "protevangelium" in "Milton: Divine Revelation and the Poetics of Experience" as "the messianic promise of redemption, which the metaphorical terms of the divine judgment on the serpent (Gen. 3.15) were thought to signify. In Milton's epic this text is the focus of interpretive attention from its first ambiguous pronouncement by the Son when he judges Adam, Eve, and the serpent: 'Between Thee and the Woman I will put / Enmity, and between thine and her Seed; / Her Seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel'" (10.179-81) (15-16).

⁴³ Iago's anti-pastoral language unsettles contemporary binaries of human/animal, city/country, youth/age, and black/white. For a brief introduction to the anti-pastoral tradition, see Terry Gifford 55-57.

⁴⁴ Commentators on this passage rightly gloss Milton's other texts in which he comments on the corrupt clergy of his day, calling them, most memorably, "Blind mouthes!" in *Lycidas* (119). But Milton also writes of an unscrupulous priesthood that "Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold" (*Lycidas* 115) in "To the Lord Cromwell" and in *Considerations touching the Likeliest means to*

Remove Hirelings out of the Church (see Lewalski's edition of *PL* 97 and Fowler's edition of *PL* 227). In his notes on *Lycidas*, John Carey adds yet another dimension to the parallel between the passage in *Lycidas* in which the narrator excoriates corrupt clergy through the figure of "the grim wolf with privy paw" (l. 128) and epic simile used to describe both Satan and ecclesiastical "lewd hirelings" in *Paradise Lost* 4.193. Carey suggests anti-Catholic symbolism in both passages by noting that the "arms of [the Jesuits] founder, St Ignatius Loyola, included two grey wolves" (252).

⁴⁵ In the midst of their morning prayer, Adam and Eve sing, echoing Psalm 104:

His praise ye Winds, that from four Quarters blow,
Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,
With every plant, in sign of Worship wave.
Fountains and yee, that warble, as ye flow,
Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
Joyn voices all ye living Souls; . . . (5.192-97)

⁴⁶For examples of this tradition in medieval church history, see Gerhardt B. Ladner, "Medieval and Modern Understanding" 223-56. See especially pp. 241ff. and images included.

⁴⁷This description of the Tree of Life reflects that of Genesis 2.9: "And out of the ground made the LORD God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil." Genesis 2.9 in the Geneva Version (1560) offers just slightly different wording, and in parentheses that encompass the description of Eden from verse 9 to verse 14. The GE reads as follows for Gen 2.9: "(For out of the grounde made the Lord God to growe euerie tre pleasant to the sight, and good for meat: the tre of life also in the middes of the garden, and the tre of knowledge of good and of euil."

⁴⁸ Matthew 6.24 reads, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."

⁴⁹ Oak trees are used in another of Milton's epic similes in *Paradise Lost* to describe condition of the fallen angels: "As when Heavens Fire / Hath scath'd the Forrest Oaks, or Mountain Pines, / With singed top thir stately growth though bare / Stands on the blasted Heath" (1.612-15). See Theis "The purlieus" 252.

⁵⁰ The metaphoric transition of Satan from a thief to a spy may figuratively allude to the 10 corrupt spies who went up to the Promised Land. See Numbers 13.26-34.

⁵¹ In his edition of *PL*, Leonard glosses the word "ambrosial" in this line by denoting its definition from the *OED* as "divinely fragrant" (def. 1c) (761). He further adds the word can mean, etymologically, "immortal," from the Greek *ambrotos* (761).

⁵² The Law's injunction against eating these predatory birds not only protected the Jewish people from disease transmission, but it also established a moral boundary that ensured diverse species survival.

⁵³ See note in Fowler's edition of *PL* 288.

⁵⁴ To provide an alternative, positive image of the cormorant, Gifford tells the story of the monks of Lindisfarne who incorporated imagery of cormorants into the illustrated initials of the Lindisfarne Gospels (7th cent. A.D.). See Gifford 61.

⁵⁵ In *A Gust for Paradise*, McColley writes, "At present, so many people think that faith is opposed to reality, or a sense of the eternal opposed to a sense of the present human and environmental needs, that it is difficult even to talk about their relations; a dualism that presupposes conflict colors the expectations we bring to language" (5).

Notes to Chapter 3

⁵⁶ This text is cited in John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt's "The Materiality of English printed Bibles from the Tyndale New Testament to the King James Bible" 84-85. According to King and Pratt, the Queen's New Testament in which this text appears is "black-letter sixtteenmo," so it is a very small book, easily carried in a pocket or hand. The description they provide in the notes is "STC 2881.5 (c. 1580). Bodl. Arch. G e.48 (formerly MS e. Mus. 242)" (n116 98). The Queen's New Testament is imperfect, lacking the Gospels. Remarkably, King and Pratt write, "This text is neither cited nor included in bibliographies of Elizabethan verse or collections of the writings of Elizabeth I" (85).

⁵⁷ All biblical citations are from the King James Version of the Bible (1873 rev. edition), unless otherwise noted.

⁵⁸ For more on Milton's education, see Keeble "'Till One Greater Man'" 6-7.

⁵⁹ Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns go to great length to prove that the Milton family held fairly conventional Anglican sensibilities. They content that John Milton, the poet, became radicalized by Puritanism sometime after the publication of *Lycidas*. For more on this see Campbell and Corns 88-102.

⁶⁰ See Milton's "Letter 1, To Thomas Young, 1627 (?)" in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, Vol. 1, 310-11. Hereafter cited as *CPW* in notes.

⁶¹ Literally "led back." See *CPW* II.397n133.

⁶² J. Paul Hunter writes, "Literacy rose sharply during the seventeenth century, with more than twice as many literate Britons in the eighteenth century as at the beginning of the seventeenth (20)." Hunter adds, "By 1750 at least 60 percent of the adult men in England (and perhaps more) could read and write" (20). Compare with my notes at 23n24.

⁶³ See Herbert #178, STC 2136.

⁶⁴ See King and Pratt 88; an illustrated page of a 1672 KJV with Geneva notes is reproduced in Price and Ryrie 87 (Fig. 5.6).

⁶⁵ Accounts of the translators and their backgrounds can be found in the following: Berry 7-9; Daniell 277-79 and 294; Price and Ryrie 80-4.

⁶⁶ To go further into the fascinating topic of the transformation of the Geneva Bible notes is beyond the scope of this dissertation; however, the most thorough and sensitive revisionist reading of the Geneva notes can be found in Daniell 304-10.

⁶⁷ The history of the Bassandyne Bible is quite ironic because it was dedicated to James VI, who was then monarch of Scotland. According to Daniell, James VI/I claimed to have little knowledge of this Scottish treasure at the time of the 1604 Hampton Court Conference (295). In the end, a version of the Bible dedicated to James I, but never officially "authorized" by his government, would supplant the first Bible printed on his native soil. This makes for an interesting postcolonial narrative written in the pages of biblical print culture. For more information, see Brake 156-60 and 204; Daniell 295.

⁶⁸ Later Geneva-Tomson-Junius editions would heavily illustrate the Book of Revelation; the Apocalypse in the 1560 is without pictures or ornaments other than a rather plain woodblock capital initial.

⁶⁹ I have been able to locate only three Miltonists to date who have included this engraving or commented on it in their work. Roland M. Frye includes the frontispiece to the 1583 Geneva Bible in the "Appendix" to his seminal *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts* (1978). The engraving is offered as one of several Reformation Bible illustrations of the Fall. Curiously, Frye

does not provide reference to this image in the margins or body of his text, which is an oversight to be regretted especially for a significant frontispiece that was quite widely circulated in various versions of the Bible as we shall see.

In *A Gust for Paradise: Milton's Eden and the Visual Arts* (1993), Diane K. McColley remedies Frye's oversight by including the 1583 Geneva frontispiece among her examples of Reformation Bible illustrations at the end of the second chapter of her book, "The Iconography of Eden," but also providing both general and specific commentary on the imagery in the engraving. McColley is the first Miltonist to push her bibliographic interpretation toward an ecocritical critique of the imagery common to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century biblical iconography. McColley states that "the Fall is not the most important event in the story" of Genesis (21). Her emphasis throughout is two-fold. She strives throughout to point out the ways in which most early modern biblical iconography stresses the goodness of prelapsarian human and nonhuman life, shattering stereotypes of the period's biblical art as biased toward depictions of earth, humans, and creatures blighted by the Fall. A second main concern is sexuality as McColley repeatedly isolates iconography that reverses misogynist renderings of the Fall, pointing out instead many Reformation images that portray Eve and Adam in various postures of mutual complicity. Although I am very indebted to McColley's analysis of a "good earth" in Reformation iconography in general, my argument concerning the 1583 Geneva frontispiece differs from hers because in significant ways because I am not only taking a closer look at the image (she devotes only one paragraph to it in her book), but I am focusing on the way this engraving portrays a simultaneous image of the tree of life/tree of knowledge, which differs greatly from her focus on the image as a locus for reading the topos of gender and sexuality.

Of the three scholars, Wendy Furman-Adams's essay "Visual Arts," published in *Milton in Context* (2010), provides the most illuminating analysis of this frontispiece. Her source is a 1610 Geneva-Tomson folio, black-letter edition printed by Robert Barker. Furman-Adams helpfully describes the iconography in terms of "its typological—moral, spiritual, and ultimately anagogical—meanings" (182). By reading the typology visualized in the picture, she rightly sees this frontispiece as a discourse ultimately about redemption rather than the Fall. The typological argument Furman-Adams's draws from this piece in highly suggestive but not fully developed because a full discussion of the topic stretches beyond the scope of her essay which was focused on a survey of artistic contexts and responses to *Paradise Lost*. My analysis of the imagery in this Biblical illustration will flesh out Furman-Adams's suggestive reading more fully, although the interpretation of the iconography of the tree of life is, once again, entirely my own.

⁷⁰ See Herbert # 210, STC 2157; #225, STC 2165; #268, STC 2185; #301, STC 2208 ;and #348, STC 2244.

⁷¹ See Herbert #185, STC 2141; #198, STC 2149; #209, STC 2156; and #227, STC 2167.

⁷² Herbert #349, STC 2245.

⁷³ The largest of earth's creatures, the Leviathan, is also portrayed in the bottom right corner of the engraving. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton uses the metaphor of a Leviathan to describe Satan:

or that Sea-beast

Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugest that swim th' Ocean stream:
Him haply slumbring on the *Norway* foam
The Pilot of some small night-founder'd Skiff,
Deeming some Island, oft, as Sea-men tell,
With fixed Anchor in his skaly rind
Moors by his side under the Lee (1.200-07)

This simile has drawn a lot of critical attention. A helpful discussions of Milton's metaphor is provided by Stephen Hequembourg's "Monism and Metaphor in *Paradise Lost*," see especially 142-55.

⁷⁴ Furman-Adams notes that the 1610 Geneva frontispiece features "a veritable ark full of animals" (182).

⁷⁵ Neither McColley or Furman-Adams mentions Milton's portrayal of the animals in *PL* 4.340-52 in their assessments of the 1583/1610 Geneva frontispiece.

⁷⁶ A more detailed study of the gender and sexuality of Eve and Adam in this engraving has not been pursued in the criticism that I have found; however, it would make a fascinating study due in part to the hand gestures I have noted in the text. Another interesting point of comparison can be made between this full-page engraving and the title-pages of the Coverdale (1535) and Matthew (1537) Bibles, both of which utilize a left hand to right hand, law to grace arrangement. In this frontispiece, and in many others, Eve is located on the left side of the tree of knowledge.

⁷⁷ See Lewalski, *Paradise Lost* 98n239.

⁷⁸ The prophet Elijah was also taken up into heaven without experiencing death. Elijah is parted from his assistant Elisha, who will become the next prophet of Israel by taking up the mantle of his mentor both literally and symbolically in the following passage: "And it came to pass, *as* they still went on, and talked, that behold, *there appeared* a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind *into* heaven. And Elisha saw *it*, and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof. And he saw him no more: and he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in two pieces. He took up also the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and went back, and stood by the bank of the Jordan" (2 Kings 2.11-13).

⁷⁹ Sumner's translation of Gen. 3.22 and Rev. 2.7 follows the exact phrasing of the King James Bible. Steadman's translation appears to be more literal, perhaps following Milton's Latin translation of the Greek New Testament. This difference in translation—Sumner working in 1883 and Steadman in 1973—marks an interesting shift in the dominance of the King James Bible in terms of Milton studies and culture at large.

⁸⁰ Sims's explication can be found on 28-29.

⁸¹ Jonathan Goldberg identifies Raphael's metaphor as "the tree of history" in "*Virga Iesse*: Analogy, Typology, and Anagogy in a Miltonic Simile" 185. Goldberg further adds: "Milton's imagery reflects his historical concern, and the decorum we were seeking in analyzing Raphael's simile of the tree can be found not in the traditional species of analogy connected with the unmoving hierarchies of the great chain but in the movement of history to its atonement with Christ. Christian history . . . ascends to the light, and the growth of the tree to its full flourishing provides an analogy for the processive revelation of Christ in history" (186).

⁸² Ruth Summar McIntyre writes, "Raphael explicitly mentions 'blossoms', a fact that lends support for reading the analogy as a flowering plant. Milton's silence on this matter, however, allows the plant metaphor to convey the higher truth it also embodies. This floral form, I argue, precedes and is not bound to the categorical imperative that would follow in the eighteenth century. Whether the metaphor is a hydrangea or a rhododendron is not important; rather, that Milton mindfully chooses a flowering plant to dramatize the condition(s) of Being to Adam and to his readers illustrates the significance of flowers in *Paradise Lost*" (160). Hequembourg also describes Milton's metaphoric analogy in terms of "the unfolding plant" (156).

⁸³ For a "history of ideas" reading of "man as plant" metaphor, see A. B. Chambers 'I Was But an Inverted Tree': Notes Toward the History of an Idea." N. K. Sugimura provides a Miltonic perspective on "man is a plant" (45) through Raphael's analogy in *Paradise Lost* 5.479-83.

Sugimura's reading is based on the tension she sees in this passage between Aristotelian materialism and the Neo-platonic process of spiritual growth (45-46).

⁸⁴ The Temptation is found in the Synoptic Gospels: Matt. 4.1-11, Mark 1.12-13, and Luke 4.1-13.

⁸⁵ McColley provides a close reading of Raphael's language within the tree of life metaphor in *Poetry and Ecology* 122-23. The reading here, however, is my own, although I am indebted to McColley for many helpful suggestions.

⁸⁶ Sigimura summarizes a spiritual reading of the "bright consummate floure" as a figure of immortality on 45-47. See also McColley *Poetry and Ecology* 122-25.

⁸⁷ This is my reading, not Sugimura's.

⁸⁸ I am indebted to Goldberg's insightful reading of the "Miltonic 'or'" at 5.476. For more of his analysis, see 179-81 in "*Virga Iesse: Analogy, Typology, and Anagogy in a Miltonic Simile.*"

⁸⁹ To maintain consistency, I cite Rom. 11.36 from the KJV, whereas Stallard uses the Geneva Bible (1560) in his citation. The differences between the two are minimal. For another application of Rom. 11.36 to the opening of Raphael's speech, see Sims 30.

⁹⁰ McColley's argument in "Beneficent Hierarchies" has shaped the contour of my criticism. I am particularly indebted the argument she develops on 231-34 and 239-46.

⁹¹ St. Paul uses a similar organic metaphor to describe the operation of the Church, a single organization made up of many different kinds of believers, but with a single goal. See I Cor. 12.12-31. The quintessence of Paul's organic metaphor of "the one body, many members" follows in I Corinthians 13, the "love chapter."

Notes to Chapter 4

⁹² The website for the OSU Libraries KJV digital exhibit can be found most easily by using the search phrase "The King James Bible Virtual Exhibit." Curator Eric J. Johnson notes that he originally curated this exhibit for the 400th anniversary celebration of the King James Bible, which ran from May to August 2011. I viewed the original exhibit at "The King James Bible and Its Cultural Afterlife, an International Conference," hosted by The Ohio State University English Department and the Ohio State University Libraries, May 5-7, 2011. The traditional exhibit did not offer the ability to view Speed's "Genealogies" bound with OSUL's 1611 KJV. The digital exhibit makes Speed's work highly accessible. The digital exhibit is temporary and will be available only through May 5, 2013.

⁹³ Add Ms 32310

⁹⁴ See A. S. Herbert 313, STC 2219.

⁹⁵ A full account of the provenance of Milton's 1612 KJV quarto can be found in J. Milton French's "Notes on Milton's Bibles" in *The Works of John Milton*, Vol. 18, 559-61; for a brief review of and correction of French's much older account, see Cedric C. Brown "A King James Bible, Protestant Nationalism, and Boy Milton" 271-73.

⁹⁶ For Pickard's identification as amanuensis of the genealogical entries in Milton's Bible, see Brown 271; for more on Picard's involvement in composing *De Doctrina Christiana*, see Lewalski 415-16.

⁹⁷ A detailed history of the "readers marks" in Milton's 1612 Bible can be found in Brown's essay "A King James Bible, Protestant Nationalism, and Boy Milton." See the complete citation above.

⁹⁸ McColley notes another tantalizing biographical connection between Milton and John Speed: they share adjacent burial plots at the cemetery in St. Giles, Cripplegate. She observes that John Speed is interred next to both John Milton, Sr., and John Milton, the poet. See *A Gust* 69n109.

⁹⁹ Alister McGrath notes that King James I summoned the Privy Council and several important bishops by proclamation on October 24, 1603. Just days before the Conference was to begin James and a committee of bishops “selected more compliant members of the Puritan constituency” (156). McGrath writes, “When the King’s Privy Council is taken into account, there were nineteen representatives of the establishment; only four Puritans were invited to attend (156). For more information, see McGrath 155-61.

¹⁰⁰ It is not inconceivable to imagine the KJV as a response to the publication, in 1582, of the Douai-Reims New Testament; the Douai-Reims Old Testament would follow in 1609-10. Gordon Campbell writes, “The scholarly probity of the Douai-Reims Bible meant that it had to be taken seriously by later translators, as indeed was its New Testament by the translators of the KJV” (31).

¹⁰¹ The total number of men involved seems to have been about 50. Pollard prints the following in his “Bibliographic Introduction” to the 1611 King James Bible: “The interest taken by James is further shown by a circular sent out by Bancroft to the other Bishops . . . from the king, stating that he had appointed ‘certain learned men to the number of four and fifty.’” Pollard’s footnote indicates that no more than 47 names have been reliably accounted for to date.

¹⁰² The length of time it took the translators to complete their work may have been due, in part, to a lack of remuneration. It is widely known by scholars today that slight payment the translators finally received came from Richard Barker, Printer to the King, and not from James I, whose own coffers seem to have been straightened at this time. In addition, the revision process drawn up Archbishop Bancroft was a tediously slow process by which the six translation committees would pass on their completed translation work to a delegate body of twelve reviewers (2 from each company) for final revisions. The committee’s completed draft then passed on to Thomas Bilson (author of the “Dedicatory Epistle” to King James) and Miles Smith (author of the prefatory “Translators to the Reader”); finally, Archbishop Bancroft reviewed the completed work, making his own corrections, before sending it off to the printers. See, McGrath 178-79 and Campbell 61-64.

¹⁰³ Archbishop Bancroft’s list rules for the translators to abide by can also be found in McGrath 173-75 and Pollard 39.

¹⁰⁴ Campbell writes, “Whitchurch’s Bible was the common name for the Great Bible” (39).

¹⁰⁵ See STC 23039g.3.

¹⁰⁶ I want to raise a bit of caution in my use of Helgerson here to avoid misrepresentation. The basis of Helgerson’s essay, “The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England,” is that even though many of the chorographers like Speed may have been staunch royalists, their work, in fact, undermined the authority of the monarchy by emphasizing the primacy of the land, its place names, and the names of those who own it. He writes, “The function of such books is precisely to make the land visible, to set it before us in such a way that we will know both its greatness and its particularity, a particularity in which its primary viewers, the land-owning gentry of England and Wales, had their part” (80).

¹⁰⁷ The straitened royal finances accounts for why the KJV translators did not receive promised remuneration from James I. Robert Barker paid the translators, instead. McGrath writes, “It is estimated that the royal estate was six hundred thousand pounds in debt in 1604. The precarious situation of the royal finances helps us understand why James I would make no contribution toward the translation and production costs of the new Bible. It would have to support itself”

(167). The deal for a share of Speed's profits from the sale of the genealogies was a strong incentive to grant Speed's request for a royal privilege.

¹⁰⁸ See Herbert 309, STC 2216.

¹⁰⁹ See Herbert 319, STC 2224.

¹¹⁰ See Herbert 349, STC 2245.

¹¹¹ See Herbert 466, STC 2305.

¹¹² See Herbert, STC 2335.

¹¹³ See Herbert 353, STC 2247.

¹¹⁴ See Herbert 313, STC 2219 for the 1612 quarto edition with Speed's genealogy; the 1612 quarto can be found at Herbert 315, STC 2221. I did count black letter and roman type quartos as separate editions. As noted above, Milton's 1612 quarto should be counted in this group.

¹¹⁵ See Herbert 361, STC 2252.

¹¹⁶ See Herbert 466, STC 2305.

¹¹⁷ Interestingly, a brief genealogy of the homicide Cain and his descendants precedes that of the "godly" descendants of Adam. See Gen. 4.17-24.

¹¹⁸ The genealogies I have highlighted here are not the only ones compiled in the Hebrew Bible. See, for example, the genealogy of Esau's family in Gen. 36.

¹¹⁹ According to a note on Matthew 1.1-2.23 in the New American Bible, a Roman Catholic translation, "While the genealogy shows the continuity of God's providential plan from Abraham on, discontinuity is also present. The women Tamar (1:3), Rahab and Ruth (1:5), and the wife of Uriah, Bathsheba (1:6), bore their sons through unions that were in varying degrees strange and unexpected. These "irregularities" culminate in the supreme "irregularity" of the Messiah's birth of a virgin mother" (11).

¹²⁰ Dobranski makes a keen connection between the imagery of clasped hands in Speed's "Genealogies of the Holy Spirit" and Milton's recurring motif of hand-grasping, hand-clasping and hand-holding in *Paradise Lost* (282).

¹²¹ Interestingly, all of the biblical quotations in the "Genealogies" are taken from the Geneva Bible, not the King James Version as one might think. This is probably due to Speed's printers having their work completed in 1610, prior to the publication of the 1611 KJV, but it also may be a testament to the enduring popularity of the Geneva Bible, as are the quotations from the Geneva translation used by Miles Smith in his prefatory "The Translators to the Reader" in the 1611 KJV.

¹²² Rosemary Freeman notes that emblems relied on a "close interrelation between the arts of poetry and painting. . . . poetry was regarded as a 'speaking picture' and painting as 'dumb poetry'" during the time emblem books flourished in England (1582-1678) (5). According to the self-avowedly strict criteria followed in her book, the skeletal *memento mori* I discuss from Speed's "Genealogies" and the literary passages from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Herbert's "Vertue" are not *technically* to be called emblems. Freeman insists that the traditional order of picture or "Emblem," the motto or "Word," and the poet's verse explanation (38).

¹²³ Figuratively, Hamlet may also be pointing to Yorick's state with "Not one now to mock your own grinning" since "chop-fallen" can also mean "dejected, dispirited, miserable, [or] crestfallen" (*OED* "chopfallen").

¹²⁴ I am indebted to Freeman's chapter on George Herbert in her *English Emblem Books* for leading me to this poem. Her single citation of the line "Thy root is ever in its grave," (155) led me to "Vertue." The rest of the reading herein is mine, except where noted otherwise.

¹²⁵ This is certainly not the prelapsarian world of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, where flowers of all plant species bloom in a bright and fragrant bouquet, "and without Thorn the Rose" (4.256).

¹²⁶ Other biblical locations also develop the analogy between the time span of a blooming plant and the life span of human kind. See, for example, in the King James Version, Ps. 103.15-16, Is. 40.6-8, and Jas. 1.10-11.

¹²⁷ For the Parable of the Sower, see Matt. 13.3-8; the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares, Matt. 13.24-30; and the Parable of the Mustard Seed, Matt. 13.31-32. The Parable of the Grain of Wheat can be found in John 12.24. Cp. Isaiah 55.10-11 and I Peter 1.23.

¹²⁸ See *OED*, *repair*, v¹ 1.a. and *repair*, v² 7.b. Another aspect of the aesthetic pleasure of Milton's word choice here is the hymnody he employs through repetition. Adam suggests to Eve:

What better can we do, then to the place
Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
Before him reverent, and there confess
Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears
Watering the ground, and with our sighs the Air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek. (10.1086-92)

These lines are echoed nearly word for word, except from the third person perspective the Miltonic Bard, in 10.1098-1104. Like Eve's love lyric in 4.641-56 and her blank verse sonnet at 12.610-23, this is one of the places in the epic poem where I want to stand and silently acknowledge the work of a true Master of his art.