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Ever since early Christianity, Christians have sought to turn the written
word into images. Whatever reasons there were – and whatever measures
were taken in the past to suppress the seemingly irresistible wish to pic-
torially represent Scripture – Christian imagery has a productive history indeed.
Many stories told in the Gospels were visually standardized and frozen into a
single image as early as the third century. The iconography of Pentecost, how-
ever, was established somewhat later. Although the Descent of the Holy Ghost
was a crucial event in the legitimation of Christendom, it was an event without
much human activity, taking place while the participants sat still and prayed.
Despite the mighty wind and fiery tongues, the filling of the apostles with the
Holy Ghost – the key moment – is difficult to picture because of its static char-
acter. For this reason, as we shall see, in rendering the event the dogmatic im-
port was soon to overshadow the historical narrative.

The Descent of the Holy Ghost on the fiftieth day after Jewish Pesach – or,
for most Christian denominations, fifty days after Christ’s Resurrection – is
told in the Acts of the Apostles. The twelve apostles, sitting together in prayer
in an upstairs room, play the leading parts. Also present are Mary and a few

1 This paper was written in 2001. I thank Henry Mayr-Harting and Mayke de Jong for their
valuable suggestions.

2 Act 2, 1-5 (King James version): “And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they
were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a
rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto
them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them. And they were all filled with
the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance. And
there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews devout men, out of every nation under heaven”.

other women. Suddenly there is the sound of a rushing, mighty wind and “cloven tongues like as of fire ... sat upon each of them” (Acts 2, 3). The whole world, “Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven” (Acts 2, 5), is in attendance when, inspired, the apostles start to speak in all and every language.

Today, Pentecost or Whitsun is not a major festival in the Christian Church. In patristic times, however, it marked an important point of departure in the Christian story: the beginning of the New Law and the founding of the Church itself. For this reason, St. Jerome (ca. 350-420) labels the first part of Acts “Ecclesiae initia in Jerusalem”. It was from that very moment that the apostles were to go and preach all over the world (cf., e.g. Mt 28, 19) enabling not only Jews but people from every nation, class and religion to convert by their own free will and to believe in the Jewish Messiah.

I will focus here on the visualization of the birth of the Church, the Christian community, which promises Paradise to all humankind. I will argue that Paradise and Pentecost became strongly related visually towards the end of the Middle Ages.¹

Pentecost is not found among the events painted in the early Christian Roman catacombs. Nor is it represented on smaller objects of art until the late sixth century. The earliest extant representations come from the Eastern empire: the Rabbula Codex transcribed in the monastery at Beth Sagba, Mesopotamia, and one of many Syrian ampullae brought to the West in the sixth and seventh


² MS Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. 1, 56, f. 14v. According to its colophon, the manuscript was copied by the monk Rabbula in the monastery of St. John at Beth Sagba in 586. Facsimile by C. CECCHELLI, G. FURLANI and M. SALMI, The Rabbula Gospels (Oulton and Lausanne, 1959). K. WEITZMANN, “Loica sancta and the representational arts of Palestine”, Dunbarion Oaks Papers 28 (1974), pp. 31-55. Weitzmann argues that the miniature reflects a monumental composition, apparently of a niche casting a shadow. The chapel of the Holy Spirit in the Sion Church in Jerusalem may have been the prototype.
centuries. Both witnesses seem confusing at first sight, as they show a parallel between Pentecost and Christ’s Ascension, two events which until the fifth century were celebrated on the same day. Amid the standing apostles is the Virgin Mary, her arms stretched out in prayer. The presence of the Mother of God underlines the two natures of Christ, an issue much debated at the time. Although it is not her main role here, Mary also personifies the Church.

The Church was often depicted in the person of a woman. In her fundamental study on the representation of Ecclesia in early Christian iconography, Marie-Louise Thérel stresses that, although it is a woman who represents the Christian community, she is not necessarily identical with the Virgin Mary. Often she is an emblematic antique personification, a veiled middle-aged woman. As such she appears in the two mosaics near the entrance of the church of Santa Sabina and in the Adoration mosaic of the triumphal arch in the Santa Maria Maggiore, both in Rome. The apostles Peter and Paul may also stand for the Church: Peter for the Ecclesia ex Circumcisione and Paul for the Ecclesia ex Gentibus. The idea was familiar in monumental art in the early fifth century, when the mosaic in the apse of the church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome was created.

After the iconoclastic period of the eighth and ninth centuries, when the imaging of the Christian narration had been in jeopardy, Pentecost was initially rendered as a strictly male event in both East and West: Mary was no longer depicted as part of the congregation. She was, however, to return in an impressive manner in Western representations of Pentecost.

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The Iconography of Pentecost in the East

In the East, the iconographical scheme for Pentecost was drawn up according to those of several distinct and recognisable assemblies. Usually (following the story told in Acts), the twelve apostles sit together talking or praying. They are arranged in single files left and right, with Peter and Paul towards the centre, and are looking towards each other. An early example is an icon from Mount Sinai, previously assigned to the seventh to ninth centuries, but dated by Kurt Weitzmann in the ninth or tenth century. In the apostles’ midst a little golden dove hovers. Heaven, in the form of a medallion, encloses a bust of Christ from which tongues of fire issue in broad streams. It is important to note that the groups of apostles are aligned on a slightly curved ground. According to Weitzmann, the semicircle derives from the mosaic in the cupola of the church of the Twelve Apostles in Constantinople. It is, however, also the classical way of rendering a gathering.

The ninth century was a creative period: an architectural setting was added to the iconography of Pentecost. Although the gathering of the apostles remained the subject of the story, the upper room in which they had come together – the coenaculum or cenacle – gained importance both visually and symbolically. Antique personifications were not the only sources to which a Byzantine artist could turn to enhance a historic moment with dogmatic symbolism. He could adapt other well-known formulas to meet the requirements of his subject. By suggesting iconographical parallels between the seating arrangements of the apostles and that of other groups of seated dignitaries, artists did not only increase the intrinsic meaning of the latter. They also turned the communal room in which the apostles gathered into an instrument for making the biblical event topical. They compared it with contemporary meetings such as Church councils and other clerical conclaves. One can understand the definitive

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9 No. B. 45.
10 K. Weitzmann, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons, 1: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century (Princeton, 1976), pp. 73-76 and pls. XXX, XCIX-CI; Schiller, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, 4.1, pl. 4.
12 It is reminiscent of the stibadeion or semicircular bench, common in classical and early Christian pictures as e.g., in the scene of the Last Supper in the Rossano Gospels, in the Vienna Genesis, and in the mosaic of the S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.
exclusion of female attendance in Eastern depictions of Pentecost: these types of clerical meetings simply did not allow for the presence of women.

The Pentecost gathering may assemble around an empty throne, the *Hetoimasia*, on which the Holy Ghost has alighted.14 A miniature in a copy of St. Gregory of Nazianzus’s Homilies (from Constantinople, now in Paris), is among the earliest surviving examples of a *Synthronon* (fig. 1).15 The image refers directly to the early council tradition, in which an empty throne was placed in the room as proof of Christ’s omnipresence (fig. 2). Symbol replaces theophany.16 The assembled dignitaries compared their conclave formally to Pentecost, hoping for the same divine inspiration as that bestowed upon the apostles. Charles Walter, when discussing this conformity, also pointed out the resemblance with the liturgical disposition of the *cathedra* and stand in the apse of early Christian churches.17

Ultimately, but still before the end of the ninth century, the semicircle of apostles in the Eastern iconographical tradition assumed the form of a horse-shoe. The foreground of the images was usually occupied by various tribes, the “devout men out of every nation”. These could also be represented by one old man standing in the middle of the open space in the foreground, holding a cloth with twelve scrolls or leaves in his hands, with the word “kosmos” written above his head. This tradition can be found in a treatise written on Mount Athos by the monk Dionysius of Fournia (1670-1744), who prescribes an old man in a grotto as a symbol of the cosmos. In images of Pentecost the old man was sometimes replaced by Joel, who prophesied the Descent of the Holy Ghost:

16 In reference to this tradition, the first Vatican Council of 1869 had a gilded empty throne made by Virginio Vespignani to hold a manuscript of the Gospels (MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Urb. lat. 10) during the assembly. The Gospel according to St. John was laid open at the opening words “In principio erat verbum”.
“And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh” (Joel 2, 28 and Acts 2, 17).18 Apparently, the scheme with its separate groups of people and the empty grotto in the foreground was understandable to the Byzantine beholder, although it is very different from the biblical narrative on which it was ultimately based. Evidently, through its iconography Pentecost was seen as a cosmic event with a strongly dogmatic character rather than a mere historical moment (cf. fig. 3).

Fixed in the ninth century, the Eastern iconography of Pentecost hardly changed afterwards. This elicited the remark from Grabar:

Il n’y a probablement pas de scène évangélique qui ait moins nourri l’imagination créatrice des artistes byzantins: depuis le IXe siècle, ils répètent invariablement le même schéma dépourvu de toute vraisemblance réaliste.19

The Iconography of Pentecost in the West

Looking at an early fifteenth-century triptych in the Utrecht Museum Het Catharijneconvent (fig. 4), one might be led into believing that the Western iconography of Pentecost obediently followed Byzantine models.20 The wooden panels show the stylistic elements typical of the Middle Rhine region.21 The central part of the altarpiece is now lost; the two remaining wings are covered on both sides with lively and colourful scenes taken from the life of Christ. The Descent of the Holy Ghost, on the inside of the wing painted on a golden background, takes place in an open, round room. A turreted entrance with an enormous door in the centre of the picture accentuates that the building is closed. Inside, the twelve apostles sit in prayer around a central figure, the Virgin

18 Translation: “The descent of the Holy Spirit. A house: the twelve apostles are sitting in a circle. Below them is a small chamber in which an old man holds before him in his hands, which are covered by the veil, twelve rolled scrolls; he wears a crown on his head, and over him these words are written: The World. Above the house is the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove; a great light surrounds it, and twelve tongues of flame come down from it and rest on each of the apostles” (quoted from The Painter’s Manual of Dionysius of Fourna, tr. P. Hetherington (London, 1978), pp. 40, 103).


Mary. The formal resemblance to the Byzantine composition of a Russian icon of the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries (fig. 3 and Colour Plate 1) is striking. The door in the foreground of the Utrecht retable matches exactly the open space in the Orthodox icon, and the apostles are grouped in a similar way. However, the meaning of the retable must be different. Mary’s presence requires an explanation. Moreover, the firmly shut door suggests the opposite of an open space. Why is there formal similarity between the two images when there is a more than probable difference in meaning? Or could the open space and closed door possibly mean the same thing? To answer these questions, we must go back and investigate the iconographical development of the rendering of Pentecost in the Latin West.

Since iconoclasm, the West has imitated its Byzantine neighbour willingly whenever it suited its purpose. A good example is the Benedictional commissioned by bishop Aethelwold of Winchester (963-984) (fig. 5).22 Although the Anglo-Saxon miniaturist had a different sense of style and space, the miniature echoes the Byzantine scheme in every way. The twelve apostles sit in a semicircle facing each other, and fiery tongues come from the Dove hovering above them in a mandorla. Little towers left and right are shadowy reminders of the holy cenacle. Western artists, however, because of the lack of an iconic tradition, were free to create their own images of Pentecost. They did so, and varied according to symbolic interpretations the East could not have imagined.

1. Peter is Represented as the Central Figure

A first Western predilection when depicting Pentecost is the principal place given to St. Peter at the centre of the group of apostles. Peter was the apostle who addressed the crowd immediately after the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Most important, however, is that he was the first apostle, the rock upon which Christ said he would build the Christian Church (Mt 16, 18-19) (fig. 6). The predominance of Peter seems to express the wish to underline the primacy of the Roman patriarch within the Christian world. In Rome, however, Paul was revered almost as much as Peter. Until the late twelfth century, the composition with Peter and Paul as the two protagonists of the Church remained alive side by side with that in which Peter is the more notable of the two.

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2. *The Central Composition*

Instead of a semicircle or a curved row of apostles, the West seems at times to prefer a rounded composition for Pentecost, with groups of apostles sitting in a circle or facing the crowd.²³ According to Schiller, this reflects both the cosmic character of the event and the togetherness or oneness of the group.

A circular composition may require the accentuation of its centre. An example is the Pentecost miniature in the Codex Egberti, made on the Reichenau around 980, now in the library of Trier (fig. 7).²⁴ The apostles sit in the upper row and overlook a crowd of people standing with their backs to the spectator. In the middle of the image is a small octagonal basin looking like a well, with little golden round bread rolls in it; above it is written “communis vita”, communal life, a reference to Acts 2, 44: “And all that believed were together and had all things common...”. Henry Mayr-Harting detects a direct influence of the Gorze reform of monastic life, which started in the diocese of Metz in the 930s.²⁵ Indeed, establishing a form of *vita communis*, or a community of living and worship, was an essential feature of this reform, which had considerable influence on monastic life in the Ottonian empire.


The central position of the basin full of bread might also be an early example of an iconography that was to become very common later in the Middle Ages. The *communis vita* can also be a metaphor for the Christian Church, established on the day of Pentecost through baptism by the Holy Ghost, thanks to Christ’s Redemption. Christ’s sacrifice, announced during the Last Supper, may be symbolized by the golden bread rolls in the Reichenau miniature.

The idea of the Church or Christian community and its relationship with the events of Pentecost is symbolized in a different way in an early twelfth-century manuscript with Pericopes from Echternach (fig. 8). The Pentecost miniature shows a composition similar to that from the Reichenau, but the basin and the crowd have been replaced by the Tree of Life from the garden of Eden, bearing twelve golden flowers. The parallel between these ideas (Paradise, Redeemtion, Church and Pentecost) must have been relatively easy to understand, since it dates back to early Christianity. St. Ambrose (ca. 340-397), in his *De Spiritu Sancto*, identifies the “pure river of water of life” from Paradise (Apc 22, 1) with the Holy Ghost: “Flumen est spiritus sanctus”.

The house of God on earth – the Church – refers to the house of God in heaven – Paradise. The founding of the Christian Church at Pentecost was made possible because of Christ’s sacrificing his body through the Crucifixion. Paradise, the Fountain of Life, the Tree of Life and the Cross, standing in an enclosed garden, gradually develop a single meaning with various interchangeable interpretations.

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The parallel with Paradise was to have a long and fecund life. In Hrabanus Maurus’s (780-856) famous encyclopedia *De universo* (or, as the author called it, *De rerum naturis*), the correlations between water, or, more specifically, the “fons vitae” (the source of all virtue: “*initium omnium bonorum, et origo virtutum*”), the four gospels, the enclosed garden and the Church are manifold. The word *paradisus*, Hrabanus explains in the chapter “*De paradiso*”, is synonymous with *hortus*. Paradise is virtually identical with the Church. In its centre is a well, from which four streams originate; they are the four gospels. The streams from paradise carry the image of Christ, who irrigated the Christian Church with his word and his baptism. The significance of water compared with Christ’s house, the grace of the Holy Ghost, and with eternal life is clarified in the chapter “*De fontibus*”.  

Both East and West adopted the idea of the Cross standing in the paradisical garden as the symbol of salvation and as the fountain of life. It occurs in both manuscript painting and monumental art. A few examples may suffice. The beautiful little Harbaville Triptych, now in the Louvre but made in tenth-century Constantinople, shows the Cross standing on flowers with a backdrop of flourishing plants, while heavenly stars surround its top (fig. 9). The mosaic in the apse of the church of San Clemente in Rome (ca. 1130) displays the Crucifixion framed by scrolls of acanthus leaves as symbols of Paradise; four streams spring from the base of the Cross, and deer have come to slake their

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28 The Persians, the Jews, and the Christians thought paradise a beautiful *hortus conclusus* with clear water, shadow, sunshine, birds and the smell of sweet honey. The Christians understood the four rivers from Gn 2, 10 to water their paradise from a mountain; Church Fathers like St. Augustine (*De civitate dei* 13, 21, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb (Turnhout, 1955: CCSL 48, p. 404); “*paradisum scilicet ipsam ecclesiam*”) and St. Ambrose (*Liber de Paradiso* 3, 13, ed. in: *Pt* 14, col. 296) took over the pre-Christian images of deer, peacocks, doves etc. drinking from a spring and compared them with the soul who slakes his thirst from the fountain of paradise (A. Thomas, “*Brunnen*” in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, cols. 331-336).

29 *De Universo* xii, 3, ed. in: *Pt* 111, col. 334: “Paradisus Ecclesia est: sic de illa legitur in Canticis canticorum: *Hortus conclusus soror mea sponsa. A principio autem plantatur paradisus:quia Ecclesia Catholica a Christo, qui est principium omnium, condita esse cognoscitur. Fluvius de paradiso exiens imaginem portat Christi de paterno fonte fluminis, qui irrigat Ecclesiam suam verbo praedicationis, et dono baptismi (…) Item allegorice quattuor paradisi flumina quattuor sunt Evangelia ad praedicationem in cunctis gentibus missa*”.

30 *De Universo* ix, 9, ed. in: *Pt* 111, col. 317: “*Fons quoque aut Dominum Christum mystice signifiicat, aut gratiam Spiritus sancti, aut Baptistam lavacrum, aut originem virtutum. Nam Christus signifiicat in eo, quod in Genesi legitur, fontem esse in medio Paradisi, unde quattuor flumina procedebant, hoc est, quattuor Evangelia de fonte salutaris procedentia ad irrigationem generis humani. Item fons Spiritus sancti gratiam designat in eo, quod Dominus dicit in Evangelio: *Qui biberit aquam, quam ego do, fiet in eo fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam*” and col. 318: “*Fons ergo originem virtutem significat*”.  

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thirst. Right under the foot of the Cross, the Serpent is slain (fig. 10). Christ crucified once stood on top of the so-called Moses Well in the Carthusian monastery of Champmol near Dijon, carved by Claus Sluter around 1400 (fig. 11). The life-sized prophets remain in situ in what has been a hospital since it was built. They are as witnesses to a better world, imperturbed by the sometimes harrowing sounds of the patients around them. The most complex example of the association of ideas discussed here can be found in a manuscript containing the Horloge de Sapience, a French translation of Henricus Suso’s (ca. 1295-1366) Horologium sapientiae. The manuscript dates from the 1460s and is illustrated by the François Master and his circle (fig. 12). At the centre of a cycle of scenes from Christ’s passion, an enclosed garden with a central fountain promises the Paradise Christ died for, shown on the left in the miniature. The Crucifixion does not take place on Mount Calvary, but rather in a church building decorated with golden fleurs-de-lis.

The all-encompassing idea of the Tree of Life as a centre piece in the gathering of the apostles at Pentecost was to be amplified. The Church, as a metaphor for the Christian community, was considered to be a continuation of the Jewish temple, and a replacement at the same time. The upper room in which, according to the Acts of the Apostles, the Descent of the Holy Spirit had taken place, had been a palpable construction. How could one imagine the Church as Heaven and Paradise, if human actions could take place inside it? The Descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles took place inside a building. Through this event the building became a paradisiacal place. How was this double meaning visualized and emphasized?

3. The Tree of Life as the Axis of the World

The Tree of Life as a symbol of earthly Paradise could also be considered as the axis, the spindle of the world. On the authority of the prophet Ezechiel, the world’s central point (the “umbilicus mundi”) was Jerusalem: “The city of Jerusalem I have set among the nations, with the other countries round her” (Ez 5, 5). There once had been a real column in Jerusalem to mark the world’s centre. In the seventh century, Abbot Adamnan of Iona (ca. 624-704) gave one of the oldest descriptions of Jerusalem in his redraft of the travel-record of the monk Arculf. In De locis sanctis, Adamnan speaks of:

"a very tall column which stands in the middle of the city. ... During the summer solstice at noon the light of the sun in mid heaven passes directly above this column and shines down on all sides, which demonstrates that Jerusalem is placed at the centre of the earth. This
explains why the psalmist used these words to sing his prophecy of the holy places of the Passion and Resurrection which are in Aelia. “Yet, God, our King, of old worked salvation in the midst of the earth”. This means “in Jerusalem”, which is called the “Mediterranean” and the “Navel of the Earth”.

Christians saw the presence of the column in conjunction with the passage from Ezechiel as justification for centring maps on Jerusalem (cf. fig. 13).

And so we find images of Pentecost with the apostles assembled around the pivot of the universe. The cosmos is present amongst the apostles just as it was in Eastern representations of the same events, in which a the personification of the cosmos was standing in their midst. A sacramentary from the Cathedral Treasury in Mainz, made there around 1000, arranges the twelve apostles around a central tall column (fig. 14). This column doubles as the middle one of seven beams of light, representing seven fiery tongues descending from heaven; the Dove of the Holy Ghost hovers on the column’s top. The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, in Rouen since the eleventh century, includes a lively representation of Pentecost on f. 29v (fig. 15). Compared to the Benedictional of Aethelwold (fig. 5), a column and coloured atmospheric striations have been added to the miniature. Desham hesitates about this column and suggests a relation with the apostolic “columns” of the Church, but we now know that the column emphasizes the cosmic nature of the event.


33 MS Mainz, Diözesanmuseum, Cod. Kautsch Nr. 4, f. 108v. See: Vor dem Jahr Tausend: Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit Kaiserin Theophanou, catalogue of an exhibition (Köln, 1991), No. 22 (with bibliography).


Paradise and Pentecost

The Pentecost iconography also developed associations with Paradise. In the Bertold Missal, commissioned by Bertold, abbot of Weingarten around 1200-1235, the significance of the Pentecost scene is further enhanced (fig. 16). The four streams of Paradise have been added in the corners, and we are almost in Paradise. At the end of the thirteenth century, the diptych from the golden altar now in Bern was made for the Hungarian King Andreas III. It shows influences from both East and West (fig. 17). Although we see the old-fashioned Eastern Pentecost, the Tree of Life rather than the personification of the world is situated in its centre.

4. From a Single Column to the Seven Pillars of Wisdom

The single column, when not understood as the axis of the world, is an odd and at times uneasy phenomenon, as in the miniature of the eleventh-century Bernulphus codex, made on the Reichenau and now in Utrecht (fig. 18). Its central place makes the column an almost hostile object between the two groups of apostles. Indeed, the Reichenau masters often omitted it, as in an early eleventh-century sacramentary. This uneasiness is expressed in the monumental forms of the Pentecost image in the Stavelot Retable in Paris (fig. 19). Now in the Cluny Museum, but manufactured for the abbey of Stavelot around 1160, the gilded altarpiece is a *magnum opus* of the goldsmiths of the Meuse Valley. The building in which the scene takes place is supported by seven columns. Renewed in the nineteenth century, these columns are faithful copies of the original columns. The middle column, however, supports

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nothing but air and seems a displaced component of the design. 41 Peter Bloch, an eminent specialist in typology, seems right in supposing a symbolic meaning of this middle column. Together the columns symbolize the seven pillars of wisdom (Prv 9, 1: “Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars”). The Old Testament Temple of Wisdom is the Christian Church of the New Law. Honorius of Autun (ca. 1180-ca. 1137), closely associated with the theological schools of the Liège region, was one of the first to stress the parallel between the seven pillars and the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. In his *Speculum ecclesiae* he writes:

_Hae sunt VII columnae quibus domus sapientiae fulcitur quia donis VII spiritus sancti Ecclesiae, quae est domus, insignitur._ 42

These are the seven pillars upon which the house of wisdom is built, and because of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit the Church, which is the house, shines forth in all her glory.

The seven gifts of the Holy Spirit from Isaiah 11, 2 will rest upon the rod out of the stem of Jesse:

_And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord._

The chain of associations could be lengthened and turned from abstract ideas to concrete persons. Ever since St. Jerome connected the “virgo” of Isaiah 7, 14 with the “virga” of Isaiah 11, 1, the Virgin Mary has had a place within the lineage of Jesse and David. 43 Combining the two prophecies, one might surmise that Mary would be depicted receiving the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost. However, it was not until the twelfth century that, due to Bernard of Clairvaux (ca. 1090-1153) amongst others, the veneration for the Virgin Mary became

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41 In ‘remaking’ the retable in the 1930s, the goldsmith B. Witte ‘improved’ the original design by omitting the middle column. See Bloch, “Zur Deutung”, p. 257.
42 Ed. in: PL 172, col. 962.
43 Is 7, 14: “Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel”; Is 11, 1: “And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots”. Jerome, *Commentarium in Isaiam prophetam, IV*, 11, ed. in: PL 24, col. 144: “Nos autem virgam de radice Jesse, sanctam Mariam Virginem intelligamus, quae nullum habuit sibi fruticem cohaerentem; de qua et supra legimus: Ecce Virgo concipiet et pariet filium”. 
more articulated. Sometime in the twelfth century Mary returned among the apostles in the iconography of Pentecost, taking the place of the column or of St. Peter.

The most illuminating picture, visualizing the long chain of exegetical commentaries in a single image, can be found in the Gospels of Henry the Lion, transcribed and illustrated in Heilmarshausen around 1185 (fig. 20). The Virgin Mary sits in the middle of the group of apostles, while seven doves hover above their heads. They represent the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost; each is named individually in golden capitals on a purple background. In the same cosmic moment they symbolize the seven pillars of the temple, with the fiery tongues acting as the temple’s roof. Mary represents the Christian temple, the Church, upon which the seven gifts have come to rest. Since early Christian times, as we have seen, Ecclesia had been a female personification without being identified necessarily with Mary. Thus, both Ecclesia and Mary could stand at Christ’s right-hand side under the Cross in many Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures and ivories. It is only in the twelfth century that the visual arts combine the two women into a single venerable image of Mary.

After the middle of the twelfth century, the central position of Mary was a matter of course in the Western iconography of Pentecost. She became the personification of the Church and the focus of veneration by the apostles. Her central position received extra weight because a crown was posed upon her head. This was not because she happened to be there when the Holy Ghost descended from heaven, nor because she was Christ’s mother, and not even because she had become Ecclesia. It was rather because she, as Ecclesia, was the bride of Christ. As Ecclesia, Mary represents the spouse from Paul’s letter to the Ephesians: “Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it” (Eph 5, 25). And as Ecclesia, she also sits in the middle of the Christian community in pictorial representations of Pentecost.

44 For the worship of the Virgin Mary in medieval society and its impact on the arts, see the excellent: Marie: Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale, ed. D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo and D. Russo (Paris, 1996).


47 There are a few earlier exceptions, notably in England, the best known being the Gospel book from Bury St. Edmunds of ca. 1120-1140 (Schiller, Ikonographie, 4.1, fig. 33).

48 Eph 5, 23-26: “For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church … Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word”.
As both bride and mother of Christ, she is a virgin: the enclosed garden, the *hortus conclusus*, is her attribute.

Bearing this in mind, let us turn again to the Eastern iconography of Pentecost, with its open space in the middle (as in the thirteenth-century retable in Bern (fig. 17)) and compare this to the altarpiece from the Middle Rhine now in the Utrecht Museum Catharijneconvent (fig. 4). The formal and seemingly accidental similarity turns out to possess a strong iconological meaning, even if the empty dark space has been replaced by a firmly closed door. The *hortus conclusus* is an attribute of Mary, not in her role of *Ecclesia* but as bride and virgin. The garden also refers to Paradise. In the Bern altarpiece, the dark space that represented all humankind in the world, also represents Paradise because of the Tree of Life in its centre.

A miniature from the Pericopes of Kuno of Falkenstein dating from 1380, in the Cathedral treasury of Trier, has transformed the idea into a symbolic image (fig. 21). In the lower half a fountain stands in an open space with the inscription “communis vita”, and four streams run underneath its basin. In the fountain, small round loaves of bread are being eaten by the community, and even a dog gets his share (cf. Mt 15, 27: “yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters’ table”). In the upper half, Mary is the central person of a Pentecost scene. The parallel between the Virgin and the fountain of communal life is emphasized. In a woodcut in an illustrated printed book of hours, Mary and the apostles have come to join the Christian community around the fountain, drinking from its heavenly liquid (fig. 22). The dove of the Holy Ghost has spread its wings above them, and fiery tongues melt with the contents (wine, blood, fire) of the fountain.

By Way of Conclusion

A church as a paradisiacal garden to the community was visualised near Amsterdam, as witnessed by the Gothic Growth Project in the polder at Almere (fig. 23). Martinus Boezem (born Leerdam, 1934), artist and professor of Fundamental Form Studies at the Department of Architecture at the Technical University of Delft (1979-1986), in 1980 filled the heaven with doves. They had first eaten pigeon seed laid out as the outline of a cathedral. In this way, the...
doves carried the cathedral up to heaven. In 1987, Boezem planted 174 Italian poplars according to the original ground plan of the cathedral of Reims, 150 meters long and 75 meters wide. A cathedral grows towards the light, just as trees do, he explained. Every town grows and has its own history. The newly-built city of Almere, however, situated in one of the large, recent polders in the IJsselmeer at the centre of the Netherlands, was laid out in one go. Boezem was asked to give the town a work of art. As he told a journalist, this city was built on newly acquired land, taken from the sea. “A city without history needs a cathedral. But a medieval church takes a hundred years to be completed. Poplars need thirty years, so that is why I planted the poplars”. In the same interview he recalled his difficulties with bureaucracy, but also with the deer that came to rub their antlers against the young trees, and with the sheep he had rented to graze the land, but that subsequently disappeared. Although Boezem may not have been familiar with the symbolic meaning of sheep and deer, medievalists are: they have their place in paradise on earth. They help to remind us that the image of the Green Cathedral, with all its ideology and modern concepts, has its textual roots firmly in the writings of the Church fathers. Only by reading them do we grasp the Cathedral’s seminal meaning.

Fig. 1  Pentecost, from a copy of Gregory of Nazianzus, Homilies, datable to ca. 880, ms Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 510, f. 301r. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Fig. 2  First council of Constantinople, from Gregory of Nazianzus, Homilies, ms Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 510, f. 335r (ca. 880). Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
Fig. 3  Russian icon, seventeenth century, present whereabouts unknown. See also Colour Plate 1.

Paradise and Pentecost

Fig. 4  Pentecost, retabel from the Middle Rhine region, early fifteenth century. Utrecht, Museum Het Catharijneconvent.
Fig. 5  Pentecost. Benedictional of Æthelwold, MS London, British Library, Add. 49598, f. 67v.

Fig. 6  Pentecost. Sacramentary of St. Gereon, ca. 1000. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 817, f. 77r. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
Fig. 7  Pentecost with communio vita in the centre. Codex Egberti, ca. 980. Ms Trier, Stadtbibliothek 24, f. 103r.

Fig. 8  Pentecost with Tree of Life in the centre. Pericopes from Echternach, early twelfth century. Ms Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 9428, f. 104v.
Fig. 9  Harbaville Triptych, ivory, late tenth century. Back, wings closed. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 10  Apse, Church of San Clemente, Rome, ca. 1120-1130.
Fig. 11 Claus Slater, Well of Moses, Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, 1395-1406.

Fig. 12 Henricus Suso, *L'Horloge de sapience*, ca. 1450-1460. ms Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, IV 111.
Fig. 13 Map of the world, centred on Jerusalem, from an English psalter of the first half of the thirteenth century. Ms London, British Library, Add. 28681, f. 9r.

Fig. 14 Pentecost from a sacramentary from Mainz, around 1100. Ms Mainz, Domschatz (Diözesanmuseum), Cod. Kautzsch 4, f. 100v.
Fig. 15 Pentecost with column in the centre. Benedictional of Robert de Jumièges, second quarter of the eleventh century. Ms Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Y 7, f. 29v.

Paradise and Pentecost

Fig. 16 Pentecost. Béato Missal, ca. 1200-1235. Ms New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M 710, f. 64v.
Fig. 17 Diptych of King Andreas III of Hungary, 1290-1296. Chrysal miniatures on lime wood, canons, pearls, etc. Detail left wing: Pentecost. Bern, Historisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 361.

Paradise and Pentecost

Fig. 18 Pentecost with one column. Evangelista (Bemalplus codex). Reichenau, ca. 1040-1050. St. Urban, Museum Het Catharijneconvent, ABM h. 3.
Fig. 19 Pentecostal altarpiece (Stavelot Retable), gilded copper on wood, ca. 1060-1070. Musée de Cluny, Cl. 13247.

Fig. 20 Pentecost, Gospels of Henry the Lion, 1185-1188, ms Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. GuStF. 155 Noviss. 2' / München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30555, f. 112v.
Fig. 21 Gospels of Kuno of Falkenstein, c. 1380. Pentecost and fountain. MS Trier, Domhochschule 66.

Fig. 22 Pentecost, with fountain of wine or fire, woodcut from the Grandes Heures Royales, printed by Vérard (Paris, after 20 August 1490). New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 127725 (ChL 1523B), fol. 101v.
Fig. 23 Marinus Boezem, Gothic Growth Project ("Green Cathedral"), in Almere-East, Flevoland, Parcel KZ 45. 1978-1987-present. 174 Italian poplars (Populus nigra italica), stone, concrete, shells. After E. VAN DUYN and F. WITTEVEEN, Boezem (Bussum, 1999), pp. 76-77.