

READING IMAGES AND TEXTS

MEDIEVAL IMAGES AND TEXTS AS FORMS OF COMMUNICATION

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Edited by
Mariëlle Hageman *and* Marco Mostert

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Paradise and Pentecost¹

CLAUDINE A. CHAVANNES-MAZEL

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 pictorially 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, however, 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 character. For this reason, as we shall see, in rendering the event the dogmatic import 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.² 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 Ierusalem*”. 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.³

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,⁴ and one of many Syrian *ampullae* brought to the West in the sixth and seventh

³ An abundant literature exists on the iconography of Pentecost. Fundamental studies are: A. GRABAR, “Le schéma iconographique de la Pentecôte”, in: IDEM, *L’art de la fin de l’antiquité et du Moyen Age*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968), 1, pp. 615-627 (originally published in Russian in: *Seminarium Kondakovium* 2 (Prague, 1928), pp. 223-239); S. SEELINGER, *Pfingsten: Die Ausgießung des Heiligen Geistes am fünfzigsten Tage nach Ostern* (Düsseldorf, 1958); A. ESMEIJER, “Cosmos en *theatrum mundi* in de Pinkstervoorstelling”, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 15 (1964), pp. 19-44; S. SEELIGER, “Pfingsten” in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. KIRSCHBAUM, 8 vols. (Rom etc., 1968), 3, cols. 415-423, with bibliography; G. SCHILLER, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1: *Die Kirche* (Gütersloh, 1976), pp. 11-33 and pls. 1-85, gives, apart from an extensive overview, an ample amount of illustrations. Recent contributions are: E. LEESTI, “The Pentecost illustration in the Drogo Sacramentary”, *Gesta* 28.2 (1989), pp. 205-216, and P. LOW, “The city refigured: a Pentecostal Jerusalem in the San Paolo Bible”, in: *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, ed. B. KÜHNEL (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 265-274.

⁴ 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. CECHELLI, G. FURLANI and M. SALMI, *The Rabbula Gospels* (Olten and Lausanne, 1959). K. WEITZMANN, “*Loca sancta* and the representational arts of Palestine”, *Dumbarton 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.⁵ 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.⁶ 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.⁷

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 Thérél 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.⁸ 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.

⁵ Monza, Cathedral Treasury, ampulla no. 10, reverse. A. GRABAR, *Les ampoules de Terre sainte* (Paris, 1958), p. 42.

⁶ R. CABIÉ, *La Pentecôte, l'évolution de la cinquantième pascale au cours des cinq premiers siècles* (Tournai, 1965); J. DANIELOU, "Grégoire de Nysse et l'origine de la fête de l'Ascension", in: *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, ed. P. GRANFIELD and J.A. JUNGSMANN, 2 vols. (München, 1970), 2, pp. 663-666.

⁷ St. Augustine, *Enchiridion de fide, spe et caritate*, 34, 10, ed. J. BARBEL (Düsseldorf, 1960: *Testimonia* 1): "*Ecclesia quae imitans eius matrem quotidie parit membra eius et virgo est*". See H. RAHNER, *Symbole der Kirche: Die Ekklesiologie der Väter* (Salzburg, 1964), pp. 63-64; M.-L. THÉREL, *Les symboles de l' "Ecclesia" dans la création iconographique de l'art chrétien du III^e au VI^e siècle* (Rome, 1973); K. DELAHAYE, *Erneuerung der Seelsorgsformen aus der Sicht der frühen Patristik* (Freiburg i. Br, 1958), translated into French under a better title, as: *Ecclesia Mater chez les Pères des trois premiers siècles: Pour un renouvellement de la Pastorale d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1964); SCHILLER, *Ikonomie* 4.1, pp. 84-89.

⁸ THÉREL, *Les symboles*, pp. 106-109 and 124.

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,⁹ previously assigned to the seventh to ninth centuries, but dated by Kurt Weitzmann in the ninth or tenth century.¹⁰ 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.¹¹ It is, however, also the classical way of rendering a gathering.¹²

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.¹³ 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

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, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, pl. 4.

¹¹ K. WEITZMANN, "Narrative and liturgical gospel illustrations", in: IDEM, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago and London, 1971), p. 261.

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.

¹³ Ch. WALTER, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris, 1970: *Archives de l'orient chrétien* 13), pp. 209-212.

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 Fournà (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:

¹⁴ WALTER, *L'iconographie des conciles*, ch. 5: "les analogies de l'iconographie des conciles dans l'art chrétien", pp. 187-214; N. OZOLINE, "La Pentecôte du Paris grec. 510: Un témoignage sur l'église de Constantinople au IX^e siècle", *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 63 (1987), pp. 245-255.

¹⁵ MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 510, f. 355r, made in Constantinople for the Emperor Basil II around 880. See S. DER NERSESSIAN, "The illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris grec. 510: A study of the connections between text and images", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), p. 206; *Byzance: L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises*, catalogue of an exhibition (Paris, 1992), No. 258. An even earlier example of a *Hetoimasia* is the Chludov Psalter, MS Moscow, State Historical Museum, 129, made in Constantinople in the middle of the ninth century, with later additions. Facsimile by M.V. SCEPKINA, *Miniatury Khudovskoi Psaltiri* (Moskova, 1977). See *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, ed. K. VAN DER HORST a.o., catalogue of an exhibition (Utrecht, 1996), No. 2.

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 principium erat verbum*".

¹⁷ WALTER, *L'iconographie des conciles*, pp. 209-212, 236.

“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 IX^e 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).

¹⁹ A. GRABAR, “Le schéma iconographique”, p. 615.

²⁰ Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, inv.-nos. 25-28. S. BEEH-LUSTENBERGER, in: *Die Parler un der schöne Stil 1350-1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern*, ed. A. LEGNER catalogue of an exhibition, 7 vols. (Köln, 1978), 1, pp. 262-263 (with bibliography).

²¹ G. Bott sees a direct relationship with workshops in Cologne: G. BOTT, “Beobachtungen am Siefersheimer Altar in Darmstadt”, in: *Vor Stephan Lochner: Die Kölner Malerei van 1300 bis 1430*, catalogue of an exhibition (Köln, 1974), pp. 46-47.

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.

²² MS London, British Library, Add. 49598, f. 67v. R. DESHAM, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold* (Princeton, 1995: *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 9), pp. 89-92 and colour plate 26.

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.

²³ Schiller finds the earliest example in the San Paolo Bible (SCHILLER, *Christliche Ikonographie* 4.1, pp. 18-19 and pl. 17). For a thorough discussion of the miniature, see: P. LOW, “The city refigured”, pp. 265-274, and H. SCHADE, “Studien zu der karolingischen Bilderbibel aus St. Paul vor den Mauern in Rom, 2. Teil”, *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 22 (1960), pp. 24-43. Schiller discusses the round composition on pp. 20-22. Additional examples can be found in manuscripts from the Echternach school: MS Bremen, Staatsbibliothek b 21, f. 72v, and MS Gotha, Landesbibliothek I. 19, f. 112v. See A. BOECKLER, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III.* (Berlin, 1933), Abb. 173, 185.

²⁴ H. SCHIELE, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier: Voll-Faksimile-Ausgabe und Textband* (Basel, 1960); G. FRANZ and F.J. RONIG, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier: Entstehung und Geschichte der Handschrift* (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 49 and pl. 3. The text above the miniature reads: “*SPIRITUS HOC EDOCENS. LINGUIS HIC ARDET ET IGNE*”; below: “*QUA CAUSA TREMULI CONUENIUNT POPULI*”; the text in the middle reads: “*COMMUNIS VITA*”.

²⁵ H. MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2 vols. (London, 1991), 1, pp. 83-86 and 2, pp. 79-80. On the Gorze reform, see K. HALLINGER, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols. (Roma, 1950-1951: *Studia Anselmiana* 22, 25), 2 esp. chapter 4: “Die Stellungnahme zur Frage des Zentralismus”, pp. 736-764; *L'abbaye de Gorze au X^e siècle*, ed. M. PARISSÉ and O.G. OEXLE (Nancy, 1993), and J. NIGHTINGALE, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c. 850-1000* (Oxford, 2000). An ivory book cover now in the J. Rylands Library Manchester, also from the Trier region, shows the same iconography. See F. STEENBOCK, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Gothik* (Berlin, 1965), No. 110, Abb. 150.

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).²⁶ 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, Redemption, 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*".²⁷ 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.

²⁶ MAYR-HARTING, *Ottonian Book Illumination*, 2, p. 187; BOECKLER, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch*, pp. 69-72 and Abb. 180, 182-184; *Het geïllustreerde boek in het Westen*, catalogue of an exhibition (Brussels, 1977), No. 9 and pl. 1.

²⁷ *De Spiritu sancto* I, c. XVI, 156, ed. in: *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series latina*, ed. J.P. MIGNE, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864) (henceforth *PL*) 16, col. 740: "*Spiritum sanctum flumen esse magnum, cujus munere mystica Jerusalem irrigatur*"; I, c. XVI, 157, *ibidem*: "*Ergo flumen est spiritus sanctus, et flumen maximum, quod secundum Hebraeos de Jesu fluxit in terris, ut ore Esaiiae accepimus prophetatum. Magnum hoc flumen, quod fluit semper*"; III, c. XX, 153-154, col. 812: "*Ergo flumen est Spiritus*". Apc 22, 1: "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb". The relation Pentecost-Apocalypse is visualized *in extenso* in the Sherborne Missal, MS Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, Library of the Duke of Northumberland 450, dated AD 1396-1407 (U. REHM, "*Accende lumen sensibus: illustrations of the Sherborne Missal interpreting Pentecost*", *Word and Image* 10 (1994), pp. 230-261.

The parallel with Paradise was to have a long and fecund life.²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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*".³⁰

Both East and West adopted the idea of the Cross standing in the paradisaical 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

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: *PL* 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: *PL* 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 quatuor paradisi flumina quatuor sunt Evangelia ad praedicationem in cunctis gentibus missa*".

³⁰ *De Universo*, ix, 9, ed. in: *PL* 111, col. 317: "*Fons quoque aut Dominum Christum mystice signifiact, aut gratiam Spiritus sancti, aut Baptismi lavacrum, aut originem virtutum. Nam Christus signifiact in eo, quod in Genesi legitur, fontem esse in medio Paradisi, unde quatuor flumina procedebant, hoc est, quatuor 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 signifiact*".

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, unperturbed 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".³¹

Christians saw the presence of the column in conjunction with the passage from Ezechiel as justification for centring maps on Jerusalem (cf. fig. 13).³²

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.³³ The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, in Rouen since the eleventh century, includes a lively representation of Pentecost on f. 29v (fig. 15).³⁴ 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,³⁵ but we now know that the column emphasizes the cosmic nature of the event.

³¹ Adamnan, *De locis sanctis*, I, 11.1-4, ed. D. MEEHAN *Adamnan, De locis sanctis*, (Dublin, 1958: *Scriptores latini Hiberniae* 3), p. 56. The translation is after by J. WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), pp. 93-116, at p. 99.

³² J.F. NIEHOFF, "Umbilicus mundi: Der Nabel der Welt: Jerusalem und das Heilige Grab im Spiegel von Pilgerberichten und -karten, Kreuzzügen und Reliquiaren", in: *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, catalogue of an exhibition, 3 vols. (Köln, 1985), 3, pp. 53-72 (with bibliography); M. WERNER, "The Cross-carpet page in the Book of Durrow: The cult of the True Cross, Adamnan, and Iona", *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), pp. 202, 205; *The History of Cartography*, 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. B. HARLEY and D. WOODWARD (Chicago and London, 1987), p. 340, and the bibliography on pp. 369-370. J.M.F. VAN REETH, "The Paradise and the city: Preliminary remarks on Muslim sacral geography", in: *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650-1450*, ed. D.A. AGIUS and I.R. NETTON (Turnhout, 1997: *International Medieval Research* 1), pp. 235-254.

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

³⁴ MS Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Y. 7. D.N. DUMVILLE, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 1992: *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History* 5), pp. 87 ff. Dumville dates the manuscript to the second quarter of the eleventh century. Anton von Euw keeps to the end of the tenth century: A. VON EUW, "Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Y 7", in: *Vor dem Jahr Tausend*, No. 46, p. 158.

³⁵ DESHAM, *The Benedictional of Aethelwold*, p. 268.

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).³⁶ 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).³⁷ 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).³⁸ 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.³⁹ This uneasiness is expressed in the monumental forms of the Pentecost image in the Stavelot Retable in Paris (fig. 19).⁴⁰ 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

³⁶ MS New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 710. R.G. CALKINS, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (London, 1983), pp 180-197, and colour plate 14. See also M. VAN VLIJRDEN, *Utrecht, een hemel op aarde* (Utrecht, 1988; *Clavis Kunsthistorische Monografieën* 6), chapter "De Wereldorde", pp. 16-25.

³⁷ P. HUBER, *Bild und Botschaft: Byzantinische und venezianische Miniaturen zum Alten und Neuen Testament* (Zürich, 1973), pp. 147-148 and 191, pls. 1-27.

³⁸ MS Utrecht, Museum het Catharijneconvent, ABM h 3. Evangelistary, Reichenau, mid-eleventh century. See H.W.C.M. WÜSTEFELD, *Middeleeuwse boeken van het Catharijneconvent*, catalogue of an exhibition (Utrecht, 1993), No. 6, pp. 30-31; A. KORTEWEG, "Der Bernulphuscodex in Utrecht und eine Gruppe verwandter spätreichenauer Handschriften", *Aachener Kunstblätter* 53 (1985), pp. 35-76.

³⁹ MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 18005, f. 94v. MAYR-HARTING, *Ottoman Book Illumination*, 2, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁰ P. BLOCH, "Zur Deutung des sog. Koblenzer Retabels im Cluny-Museum", *Das Münster* 14 (1961), pp. 256-261. The retable was in Koblenz in the nineteenth century, hence the German name 'Koblenzer Retabel'.

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

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.⁴⁴ 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 Helmarshausen around 1185 (fig. 20).⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

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).⁴⁸ 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).

⁴⁵ MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 105 Noviss. 2°, f. 112v and MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30055. Cf. *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125-1235*, catalogue of an exhibition, ed. J. LUCKHARDT and F. NIEHOFF (München, 1995), No. D 30, pp. 206-210 (with bibliography).

⁴⁶ RAHNER, *Symbole der Kirche*, and THÉREL, *Les symboles de l'Ecclesia*.

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, *Ikongraphie*, 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).⁴⁹ 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 revisualised 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

⁴⁹ MS Trier, Domschatz, 6, completed 5 May 1380. See *Die Parler und die schöne Stil*, 1, p. 265; F.J. RONIG, “Die Buchmalerei-Schule des Trierer Erzbischofs Kuno von Falkenstein”, in: *Florilegium artis: Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft und Denkmalpflege: Festschrift für Wolfgang Götz*, ed. M. BERENS a.o. (Saarbrücken, 1984), pp. 111-115.

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".⁵⁰ 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.

⁵⁰ "De geest wil vliegen" ("The spirit wants to fly"): Interview by B. STIGTER in *NRC-Handelsblad*, 9 September 1996, "Cultureel supplement", p. 1. See also: Boezem, ed. E. VAN DUYN and F. WITTEVEEN (Bussum, 1999), pp. 73-80 and Nos. 145, 275.



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.

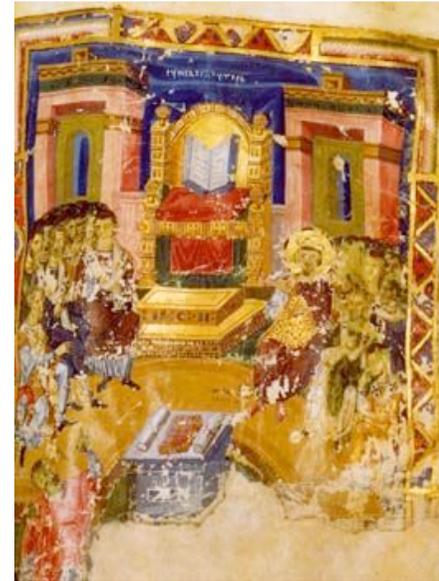


Fig. 2 First council of Constantinople, from Gregory of Nazianzus, *Homilies*, MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, grec 510, f. 335r (ca. 880). Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Fig. 3 Russian icon, seventeenth century, present whereabouts unknown. See also Colour Plate 1.

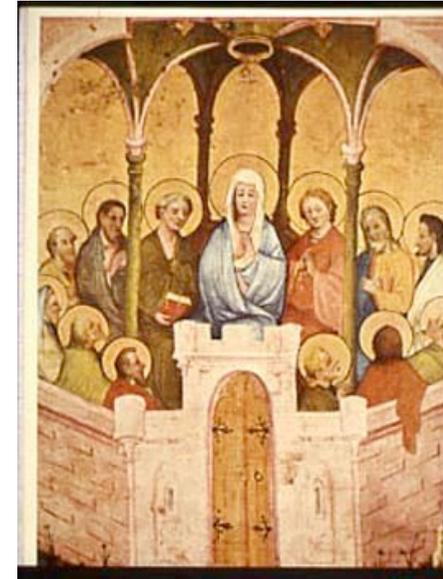


Fig. 4 Pentecost, retabel from the Middle Rhine region, early fifteenth century. Utrecht, Museum Het Catharijneconvent.

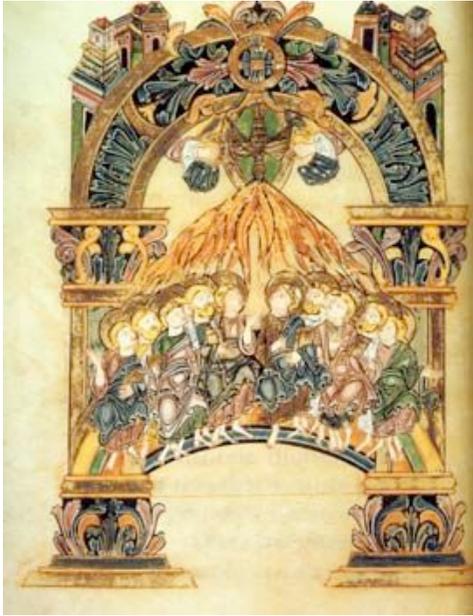


Fig. 5 Pentecost. Benedictional of Æthelwold, MS London, British Library, Add. 49598, f. 67v.

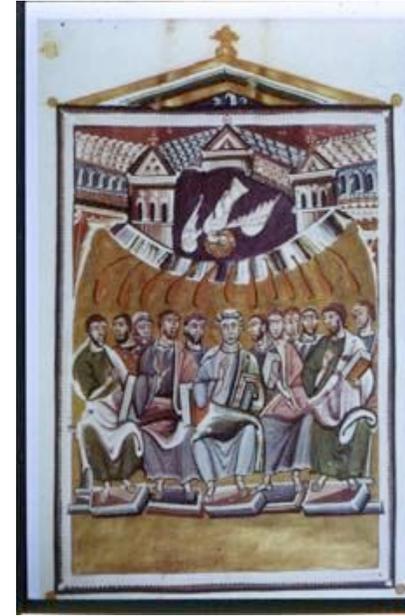


Fig. 6 Pentecost. Sacramentary of St. Gereon, ca. 1000. MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 817, f. 77r. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.



Fig. 7 Pentecost with *communis 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 Tryptich, 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 Sluter, 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. 108v.

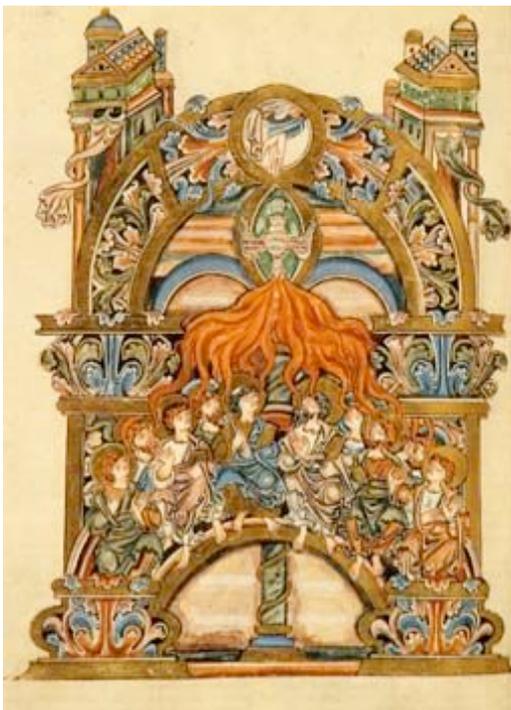


Fig. 15 Pentecost with column in the centre. Benedictional of Robert de Ju-mièges, second quarter of the eleventh century. MS Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Y 7, f. 29v.



Fig. 16 Pentecost. Bertold 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. Chrystal miniatures on lime wood, cameos, pearls, etc. Detail left wing: Pentecost. Bern, Historisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 301.

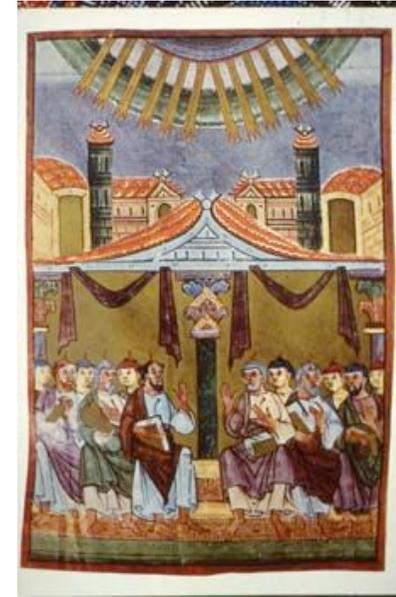


Fig. 18 Pentecost with one column. Evangelistary (Bernulphus codex), Reichenau, ca. 1040-1050. MS Utrecht, Museum Het Catharijneconvent, ABM h 3.



Fig. 19 Pentecostal altarpiece (Stavelot Retable), gilded copper on wood, ca. 1060-1070, 7 columns. Paris, Musée de Cluny, Cl. 13247.

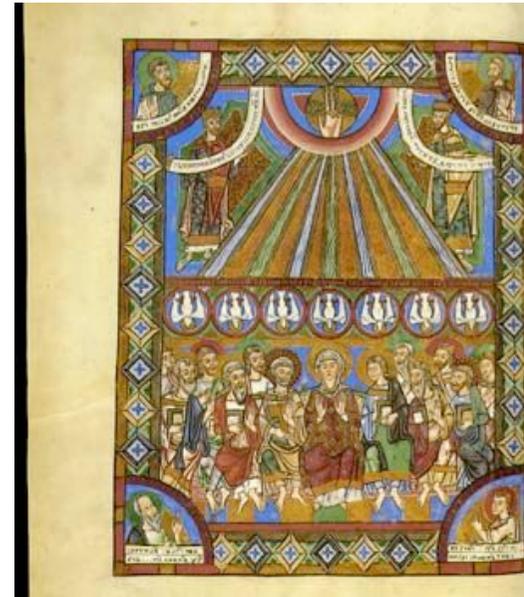


Fig. 20 Pentecost, Gospels of Henry the Lion, 1185-1188, MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 155 Noviss. 2° / München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 30055, f. 112v.

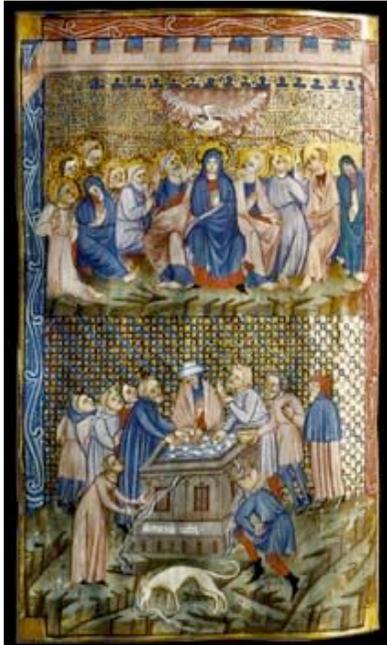


Fig. 21 Gospels of Kuno of Falkenstein, c. 1380. Pentecost and fountain. MS Trier, Domschatz 66.



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), f. a5r.



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.