





Seeing Through Screens: The Gothic Choir Enclosure as Frame

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IN THE LATER MEDIEVAL West, the “sacred screen” at the threshold between clerical sanctuary and congregational space went by many names.¹ Some arose from its liturgical function as a platform for the reading of Scriptures: thus the Germans, adapting the Latin term *lectorium*, called it a *Lettner*, and the French, citing the benediction that opened the Gospel reading (*Iube domine benedicere*), called it a *jubé*. Some designations emerged from the structure’s spatial positioning: in Italy, for example, it might be named *ponte* in reference to its bridgelike form, whereas in the Netherlands the term *doxaal* signaled its location at the rear portion (in Latin, *dorsale*) of the liturgical choir. Other names indicated the role of this furnishing as a monumental pedestal for works of representational art: the English term *rood-screen* or *rood-loft* directs attention to its purpose in supporting the monumental sculpted crucifixion group—Christ, Mary, and John the Evangelist—that dominated the church interior from on high.

1 For an overview of the morphology and terminology of French and German choir screens, see G. Servières, “Les jubés (origine, architecture, décoration, démolition),” *GBA*, 4 ser., 14 (1889): 355–80; E. Doberer, “Der Lettner: Seine Bedeutung und Geschichte,” *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 9.2 (Dec. 1956): 117–22; K. Gamber, “Der gotischen Lettner: Sein Aussehen und seine liturgische Funktion, aufgezeigt an zwei typischen Beispielen,” *Das Münster* 37 (1984): 197–201; and J. E. Jung, “Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches,” *ArtB* 82 (2000): 622–57, esp. 624–26. For Italian screens, see M. B. Hall, “The Italian Rood Screen: Some Implications for Liturgy and Function,” in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, ed. S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence, 1978), 2:213–19. For the Netherlands, see J. Steppe, *Het koordoksaal in de Nederlanden* (Brussels, 1952). For England, see Aymer Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens, Being Great Roods, Screenwork and Rood-Lofts in Cathedral, Monastic, and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales* (London, 1947); and F. Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London, 1908).

The modern Anglophone designation *choir screen* diverges from this long-standing nomenclature in significant ways. It is the only term that explicitly highlights the furnishing's role as a partition—more specifically, a partition attached to a distinct liturgical space, the choir. Far from offering a neutral description, this name thus implicitly confirms the modern stereotype, articulated most influentially by Viollet-le-Duc, of the structure as a superfluous accessory, inserted into Gothic interiors so as to keep laypeople far removed from liturgical proceedings and thereby to heighten the clergy's prestige.² The negative view of the screen as both aesthetic and social barrier is familiar enough to require no further elaboration here.³ Yet a second aspect of the term "screen" has heretofore received little attention from art historical commentators: the sense of a screen's porosity (think of a window screen), and the movement that, through its paradoxical combination of solidity and permeability, a screen at once limits and facilitates.⁴ It is this facet of the Gothic choir screen that I examine here. I am concerned less with the solid structure that encloses or divides than with the negative spaces its surfaces frame—specifically, the open doors that faced congregants in the nave and invited them, even if just for a moment, to let their gazes, if not their bodies, move from one space to another across the threshold.

Let me begin with two late medieval pictures that, for all their differences in style, subject matter, and medium, illuminate this function in similar ways and with special clarity: a fresco from the Life of St. Francis sequence at Assisi, painted by Giotto (or an assistant) around 1300, and the central panel of an altarpiece produced by the Haarlem artist Albert van Ouwater around 1455–60, now in Berlin (figs. 1–2).⁵ Both images feature a miracle set within an enclosed choir of a European church, a setting that in each case departs from the natural outdoor location specified in the respective text: on the one hand, Francis's reenactment of the Nativity, which by all accounts took place in a rustic grotto outside Greccio, and, on the other, Christ's Raising of Lazarus from a cave outside Bethany. In both images, despite the presence of various social groups within the choir, our expectation of this privileged space as a unified domain of harmony and "concord," as medieval commentators such as William Durandus defined it, falls short.⁶ At Assisi, the male witnesses to Francis's devotional performance are clearly divided by social identity, with clerics on the right and laymen on the left. In the Ouwater panel, St. Peter strains to draw together the pale, restrained friends of Christ on the left and the swarthy, animated, ostentatiously garbed men on the right. The contrasting coloration of the marble columns at the boundary of choir and ambulatory concretizes the spatial and behavioral division of these two groups, making Peter's expansive gesture of inclusion appear to be in vain.

In both images, the empty center of the polarized choir is filled, and thereby masked, by a cluster of figures who gaze at the proceedings with rapt attention. At Assisi, a group of women crowds the screen door at the center of the composition.⁷ Whereas the screen marks them as inhabiting a space separate from that of the men, the door visually pulls the women forward so that, though they remain marginal to the represented space, they form the crux of the pictorial composition—a status reinforced by their central positioning along a vertical axis that connects the large wooden cross atop the screen with the figure of Francis below. In the Berlin panel, the figures visible within the square barred window anchor the composition similarly. Though physically excluded from the proceedings, these figures, who frame Peter's head like a square nimbus, embody precisely the unity that the open-armed saint tries to achieve within the choir.

2 See E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, "Jubé," in *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1863), 6:147–50.

3 See the critiques of this approach, with reference to specific examples, by W. Sauerländer, "Mod Gothic," review of *French Gothic Architecture* by J. Bony, *New York Review of Books* 31.7 (Nov. 1984): 43–45; M. B. Hall, "The *Ponte* in S. Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy," *JWarb* 37 (1974): 157–73; and Jung, "Barrier," 622–24.

4 For a useful discussion of screens and screening as a conceptual tool, see R. Furnari's entry "Screen" in the *Theories of Media Keywords Glossary*, published online under the direction of W. J. T. Mitchell at the University of Chicago, 2002, <http://humanities.uchicago.edu/faculty/mitchell/glossary/screen2.htm>.

5 On the Francis sequence at Assisi, see E. Lunghi, *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi* (Florence, 1996), 62–67; J. H. Stubblebine, *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art* (New York, 1985), 1–15; E. Rosenthal, "The Crib of Greccio and Franciscan Realism," *ArtB* 36 (1954): 57–60. On the Ouwater panel, see J. Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Arts from 1350 to 1575* (New York, 1985), 142–43 and 161, color pl. 24.

6 *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, para. 18, 26–27 (Neal and Webb trans.): "The Choir is so called from the harmony of the clergy in their chanting, or from the multitude collected at the divine offices. The word *chorus* is derived from *chorea*, or from *cornea*. For in early times they stood like a crown round the Altar, and thus sung the Psalms in one body.... Others derive *chorus* from *concord*, which consisteth of charity." For a perceptive new interpretation of Durandus's presentation of ecclesiastical space, see K. Faupel-Dreves, "Bildraum als Kultraum? Symbolische und liturgische Raumgestaltung im 'Rationale divinatorum officiorum' des Durandus von Mende," in *Raum und Raumvorstellungen im Mittelalter*, ed. J. A. Aertsen and A. Speer (Berlin, 1998), 665–84.

7 On the use of some screens to segregate by gender rather than social station, see M. B. Hall, "The *Tramezzo* in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed," *ArtB* 56 (1974): 325–41 at 333.



Fig. 1 Workshop of Giotto, *Christmas Miracle at Greccio*, before 1297. Assisi, upper church of San Francesco (photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York)



Fig. 2 Albert van Ouwater, *Raising of Lazarus*, ca. 1455–60. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie (photo: Art Resource)

They represent the integrated community of the faithful—women and men, laypeople and religious, even, perhaps, converted Jews.⁸ Here, too, those who appear spatially distant are sanctioned through meaningful planar alignments: in this case, the resurrected body, the leader of the Christian church on earth, and the luminous expanse of the arched window. Thus the physical placement of the lay masses outside the screen reverses our expectation of what such marginality means;⁹ whereas half the occupants of the choir turn away from or thumb their noses at Christ's action, the men and women beyond the barrier strain to see.

Although the view they gain is hardly optimal—blocked on the one hand by a lectern, on the other by St. Peter—the figures in the screen openings, who act as models of proper response for beholders, raise important questions about the framing of space in real architecture and the center-periphery hierarchy such framing establishes.¹⁰ If the architectural circumscription of these outside figures serves to create meaning within the larger pictorial compositions, would not the opposite view—the view into the choir from the nave, framed again by a door or window—be no less significant? If the solid body of the choir screen was meant to conceal, what, and how, did its negative spaces reveal?

Although the boundary between nave and choir had been marked by some kind of structure—typically a low-lying wall or elevated beam—since Early Christian times, it was only during the second quarter of the thirteenth century that screens began to be erected in Western cathedral, monastic, and collegiate churches as tall, permanent architectural structures.¹¹ Surely this phenomenon must be seen as part of the reception of the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, some of which display an unprecedented interest in defining and controlling the behavior of the laity.¹² Yet even though the screens physically

8 The turbans or pointed headgear worn by numerous bearded male figures here suggest non-Christian identity. For a related use of a Jewish man as a witness to Christian truths, see the figure identified as Isaiah in the center panel of Rogier van der Weyden's *Columba Altarpiece*, as discussed by A. Acres, "The Columba Altarpiece and the Time of the World," *ArtB* 80 (1998): 422–51 at 444–45.

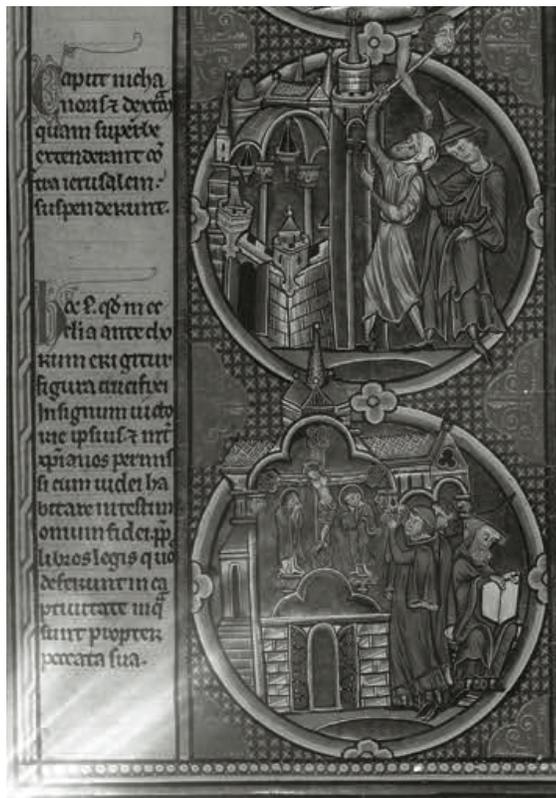
9 Cf. M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

10 See Jung, "Barrier" (above, n. 1), 629–30. On various kinds of subdivisions in medieval churches, see P. G. Cobb, "The Architectural Setting of the Liturgy," in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. C. Jones, G. Wainwright, and E. Yarnold, S.J. (London, 1978), 473–87; and on the issue of visibility despite these, C. Brooke, "Religious Sentiment and Church Design in the Later Middle Ages," in *Medieval Church and Society: Collected Essays* (London, 1971), 162–81.

11 Earlier screens in Western churches tended to be relatively low in height: see, for example, that of Cluny III (dated to 1120–30), which wrapped around the extensive choir at a height of around one meter, according to the reconstruction of C. E. Armi and E. B. Smith, "The Choir Screen III," *ArtB* 66 (1984): 556–73.

12 So, for example, canon 21, which required all laypeople to confess at least once a year. For the effects of the council on clerical relations with and attitudes toward the laity, see A. Vauchez, "The Pastoral Transformation of the Thirteenth Century," in *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices*, trans. M. J. Schnieder, ed. and introduced by D. E. Bornstein (Notre Dame, Ind.—London, 1993), 95–106.

Fig. 3 Typological depiction of choir screen with crucifixion group, from *Bible moralisée*, ca. 1230–40. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1179, fol. 202 (photo: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Bildarchiv)



separating lay and clerical participants in the mass grew in bulk and solidity, recent literature on Gothic church interiors makes clear the extent to which even the most seemingly impenetrable partitions accommodated—even, perhaps, amplified—laypeople’s desire to see the altar.¹³ From windows and squints to doors flung open at the Consecration, those communities who were excluded from the sanctuary had various means of achieving a focused glimpse of this most sacred space.¹⁴ Pictorial artists of the mid-thirteenth century envisioned these new enclosures precisely in terms of such openness. In a picture from the Vienna *Bible moralisée*, produced in the 1220s, the choir screen appears as a wall surmounted by a Crucifixion group and pierced by an open central door (fig. 3).¹⁵ This openness was not merely wishful thinking on the part of the artist: in the mid-thirteenth century, members of religious communities that were otherwise strict about maintaining divisions between themselves and layfolk stipulated that the doors of their screens were to be opened at the Elevation of the Host so as to allow lay congregants to see.¹⁶ Such “ocular communion” represented an increasingly attractive option for many laypeople, who were frightened at the power inherent in physically consuming Christ’s body.¹⁷ By focusing laypeople’s eyes upon the altar while keeping the clerical participants, who typically stood along the lateral walls in choir stalls, discreetly out of view, the openings in screens offered the best of both worlds.¹⁸

16 See, for example, a point in the 1249 decree of the General Chapter of the Dominicans calling for the opening of a window in the screen at the Elevation: “Intermedia que sunt in ecclesiis nostris inter seculares et fratres. Sic disponantur ubique per priores. Quod fratres egredientes et ingredientes de choro non possint videri a secularibus. Vel videre eosdem. Poterunt tamen aliqui fenestre ibidem aptari. Ut tempore elevationis corporis dominici possint aperiri”; published by R. A. Sundt, “*Mediocres domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri*: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century,” *JSAH* 46 (1987): 394–407 at 406. See also Jung, “Barrier” (above, n. 1), 627 and 651 n. 57.

17 See C. Caspers, “The Western Church during the Late Middle Ages: *Augenkomunion* or Popular Mysticism?” in *Bread of Heaven: Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion*, ed. C. Caspers, G. Lukken, and G. Rouwhorst (Kampen, 1995), 83–97; É. Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l’Hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrament* (Paris, 1926); and now S. Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (London, 2002), esp. 140–44.

18 Further studies need to be conducted on the specific seating arrangements of clergy in choirs and whether any correlation exists between these and the location of doors in the screen. C. Wright has discussed the clergy’s arrangement in the enclosed choir of Notre-Dame in Paris in *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1984), 7–12. The church of St. Elisabeth in Marburg is unusual on the continent for its inclusion of a completely solid transverse screen, made in the early 14th c.; here the clergy occupied stalls aligned along the screen’s eastern face. See A. Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1995), esp. 91–98.

13 See E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven, 1992), 95–102; M. T. Davis, “Splendor and Peril: The Cathedral of Paris, 1290–1350,” *ArtB* 80 (1998): 34–66; J. F. Hamburger, “Art, Enclosure, and the Pastoral Care of Nuns,” in *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York, 1998), 35–109; and P. Binski, “The English Parish Church and Its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem,” *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999): 1–25. The issue of visual communication is noted in many of the essays collected in *Kunst und Liturgie: Choranlagen des Spätmittelalters—ihre Architektur, Ausstattung und Nutzung*, ed. A. Moraht-Fromm (Ostfildern, 2003); see esp. C. Freigang, “Chöre als Wunderwerke: Bildinszenierungen, Blickachsen und Materialtranszendenz in der Klosterkirche von Brou bei Bourg-en-Bresse,” *ibid.*, 59–83.

14 These groups could include nuns, whose view of the high altar from their elevated gallery was often obscured by high walls; for a fascinating case study, see G. Weiland, “Alltag einer Küsterin: Die Ausstattung und liturgische Nutzung von Chor und Nonnenempore der Nürnberger Dominikanerinnenkirche nach dem unbekanntem ‘Notel der Küsterin’ (1463),” in Moraht-Fromm, *Kunst und Liturgie* (above, n. 13), 159–87.

15 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1179. The image appears on fol. 202, and, according to its caption, represents the modern analogue of the scene in 1 Macc. 7:47. The triumphal display of the severed hands and head of the vanquished tyrant Nicanor is here likened to “a figure of the Crucified...set up before the choir in the church as a sign of his triumph”: “Hoc significat quod in ecclesia ante chorum erigitur figura crucifixi in signum victoriae ipsius.” On the relation of this image to medieval screen ensembles, see R. Hausserr, “Triumphkreuzgruppen der Stauferzeit,” in *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur*, ed. R. Hausserr and C. Väterlein, exh. cat. (Stuttgart, 1979), 5:131–68 at 136. The design of the portal, with two doors swinging out from a central arched opening, resembles that of the *ostium apertum* in contemporaneous Apocalypse imagery; see R. Freyhan, “Joachism and the English Apocalypse,” *JWarb* 18 (1955): 211–44 at 231–34, figs. 53c (Oxford, New College ms. 54, fol. 12v) and 53d (London, Lambeth Palace Libr. ms. 75, fol. 7r).

This is an aspect of the Gothic choir screen that has long been suppressed. By the beginning of the Reformation, screens had become heavily associated with lay identity, to such an extent that urban guilds, communes, confraternities, and wealthy individuals were funding their construction and renovation.¹⁹ Detached from the sacred precinct of the choir, screens provided the stage and backdrop for secular public spectacles from the thirteenth century well into the early modern era, while also sheltering a variety of commemorative rites and devotional activities. Over time, their deep bays grew crowded with private altars, the pavements in front overflowed with tombs illuminated by candles left in honor of dead loved ones, and votive images dangled from their upper platforms.²⁰ Screens served as monumental pedestals not only for the ubiquitous crucifixion groups but also for painted winged altarpieces and wonder-working statues of the Virgin or other saints.²¹ An engraving produced in 1697 by Nicolas Larmessin for the canons of Chartres Cathedral shows a certain Baron de Beuil offering thanks to such a figure of the Virgin Mary, exhibited on a special platform attached to the screen, for having saved him from harm when he was struck by a cannonball (fig. 4).²² A late Gothic Madonna figure that once stood atop the west choir screen at Naumburg Cathedral was credited with saving the nave of that church by stretching out her mantle and blocking the flames that erupted in the west choir in 1532. The deeply worn stairs on the reverse side of the screen bear witness to the many pilgrims who subsequently journeyed to the top of the screen to offer prayers (and coins) to the wondrous statue (fig. 5).²³

Fig. 4 Nicolas Larmessin, engraving of interior of Chartres Cathedral with choir screen (ca. 1230–40), from *Triomphe de la Sainte Vierge* series, 1697 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)



19 For discussion of secular and quasi-liturgical uses of screens, with further bibliography, see Jung, “Barrier” (above, n. 1), 628–29.

20 On burials associated with screens or portals, see F. Oswald, “In medio Ecclesiae: Die Bedeutung der literarischen Zeugnisse im Lichte archäologischer Funde,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 3 (1969): 313–26. On the placement of altars in the nave, see G. Bandmann, “Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Altaranordnung als Darstellung,” in *Das erste Jahrtausend: Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, ed. V. H. Elbern (Düsseldorf, 1962) 1:371–411, esp. 399. A painting attributed to Vittore Carpaccio (act. 1486–1525) of the interior of San’Antonio a Castello in Venice shows a large porch-type screen whose upper level drips with votives; see L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto: Zeichen, Bild, und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (Zurich, 1972), 62, fig. 10.

21 On Crucifixion groups, see Haussherr, “Triumphkreuzgruppen” (above, n. 15). On the screen ensemble at Amiens, which included a wonder-working Madonna, see F. Baron, “Mort et résurrection du jubé

de la cathédrale d’Amiens,” *Revue de l’art* 87 (1990): 29–41. On the display of altarpieces, see D. Martens, “Autour des retables du jubé de l’église des Chartreux de Cologne: Lumière réelle et lumière fictive dans la peinture flamande et allemande de la fin du moyen âge,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 57 (1996): 65–100. On the frequent conflation of screens and paintings in partitioning space, see D. Cooper, “Franciscan Choir Enclosures and the Function of Double-Sided Altarpieces in Pre-Tridentine Umbria,” *JWarb* 64 (2001): 1–54.

22 See W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140–1270*, photos by M. Hirmer, trans. J. Sondheimer (New York, 1972), 429, ill. 59.

23 Johann Carl Schoch, *Kurtze Nachricht von denen Merckwürdigkeiten der hohen Stifts-Kirche zu Naumburg* (manuscript, 1773, Naumburg Stadtarchiv, Sa 50), chap. 6, fol. 45: “Ober auf dieser Emporkirche stund ein gross Marien-Bild von Holz, mit Flam(m)en umgeben, in der lincken Hand das Kindlein, in der Rechten ein Scepter haldent. Als 1532 ein gross Feuer in dieser Capella war, die Orgel und alles was hölzernde Tafeln verbrante,

gaben die damahligen Geistlichen vor, das oben stehende Marienbild habe ihren Mantel ausgebreudet, dass das Feuer nicht ins Mittel der Kirche und hohe Chor habe eindringte kön(n)en, welches zu damahliger Zeit grossen Aberglauben erwecket, das zu diesen Marien Bilde eine Wahlfahrts, durch die 2 steinerne Stiegen sind gehalten worden. Hinten diesen Bilder stund ein grosser stainerner Kasten, worrin das Opfer eingelegt war.” The reference to “hölzernde Tafel” lost in the fire suggests that panel paintings were likewise attached to the screen; no traces of these survive. I am grateful to Frau Kröner at the Naumburg Stadtarchiv for allowing me access to this manuscript.



Fig. 5 Naumburg, Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, west choir screen, ca. 1245–55, reverse side (photo: author; all unattributed photographs in this chapter by the author)

In the early modern period, the aesthetic interest in classical simplicity cultivated by Italian humanists and the critique of Catholic excess presented by northern Reformers had devastating effects on Gothic choir enclosures. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the vast majority of continental examples were pulled down and smashed into rubble to make way for grilles that, despite their greater transparency, kept laypeople farther away from liturgical services.²⁴ From that time straight through the nineteenth century, the excuse for their demolition was largely the same: screens obstructed the laity's view of services and thus were hindrances to lay participation.²⁵ Most modern scholarship has tended to accept the notion of complete visual impermeability of Western choir enclosures; until very recently, published photographs reinforced this assumption by showing screens with their doors artificially blocked off.²⁶ But the multimedia ensembles of altars, retables, sculpture, and stained glass that appear distracting to modern eyes would have been precisely the goal of many medieval beholders' process of looking. Like the *ostium apertum* that marked the beginning of John's heavenly visions (Rev. 4:1), the opening of screen doors at moments of heightened liturgical import would have signaled a moment of literal revelation to people in the nave—both clerics whose processions directed

24 On this phenomenon, see Gamber, "Lettner," 198; and Jung, "Barrier" (both above, n. 1), 629. For studies of grilles, which were themselves often removed later because of their distancing effects, see J. Salin, "La grande grille en fer forgé de la cathédrale de Sens," *GBA* 107 (Feb. 1986): 75–77; and M.-F. Lacoue-Labarthe, "La grille d'entrée du chœur de la cathédrale de Soissons, du dessin de Michel-Ange Slodtz, dans le vignoble de Saint-Émilion," *GBA* 128 (Sept. 1996): 91–102. As recently as 1967, the fine 19th-c. grille of Hereford Cathedral was dismantled and sold to the Victoria and Albert Museum; see E. Moncrieff, "Hereford Cathedral Screen, a Heavy Metal Headache: The V & A's Ironwork Gallery," *Apollo* 137 (Mar. 1993): 144–46.

25 The notion that their inability to participate directly in masses performed at the high altar mitigated laypeople's ability to participate in liturgical culture more generally is contested, with ample documentation, by Duffy, *Stripping* (above, n. 13), esp. 109–30.

26 See, for example, the picture of the Naumburg west screen portal, to be discussed below, in *German Cathedrals*, intro. by J. Baum, photos by H. Schmidt-Glassner (New York, 1956), 82.

them to various stations in the church and laity who, at least in principle, were supposed to remain in place—as opaque surfaces gave way to a glowing vision of the divine.²⁷ Of course, this visual experience at once enhanced and was enriched by other kinds of sensory perception: the seemingly disembodied voices and the aroma of incense emanating from the choir surely heightened the allure of that concealed space and imbued even a quick and circumscribed view—such as is gained by the observers in Ouwater’s altarpiece and the Assisi fresco—with all the more force.²⁸

Illusionistic depictions of Gothic church interiors from the late Middle Ages demonstrate the impact of such tightly controlled visual experience on sensitive beholders. By the fifteenth century, painters such as Jan van Eyck used the view through the screen as an analogue of the painted panel itself, playing on the tension between the compression of space in the portal frame and its expansion within the frame of the picture. Created some two hundred years after the construction of the Gothic screens I consider here—though concurrent with many other important screen projects—such pictures offer unparalleled evidence of both the reception of these architectural furnishings and the kind of viewing such furnishings demanded and entailed.²⁹ By examining some of our earliest surviving screens in conjunction with painted versions of similar structures, I hope to recover some glimpse of this lost dimension of late medieval visuality.

The spacious screen ensembles of early modern northern Europe—from Jean Gailde’s exuberantly ornamented *jubé* in Sainte-Madeleine in Troyes (1508–17) to the elegant triumphal-arch *doxaal* made for Sint-Jan in s’Hertogenbosch (1610–13, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London)—typically feature one or more bays that are completely punched through, allowing a clear vista to open out into the choir.³⁰ Although both this pronounced openness and the more elaborate formal vocabulary of these late screens give them an appearance quite distinct from that of surviving thirteenth- and fourteenth-century examples, the basic structural elements—division into several bays, deep platform on top, and at least one doorway visible from the nave—remained the same from at least the early thirteenth century. The earliest enclosure to have survived in situ, the massive vaulted structure at the eastern end of Naumburg Cathedral (ca. 1230; fig. 6), does not provide the kind of visual access to the choir that would characterize the open screens of later centuries or even decades.³¹ Resembling less a screen than a porch—or a very squat triumphal arch—this structure masks the convergence of the ceiling of an older, raised crypt with the floor of the elevated crossing. Despite its blockage of vision into the choir,

30 On the beautiful screens produced in the Netherlands and parts of France during the 16th and 17th centuries, see A. M. Koldewey, “Pieter Saenredam had al getekend wat Matthieu Brouerius de Nidek beschreef: Het doxaal en de koorbanken in de Sint-Jan te s’Hertogenbosch,” *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 38 (1987): 185–200; E. M. Kavalier, “The Jubé of Mons and the Renaissance in the Netherlands,” and M. Westermann, “A Monument for Roma Belgica: Functions of the *Oxaal* at s’Hertogenbosch,” both in *Beelden in de late middeleeuwen en Renaissance/Late Gothic and Renaissance Sculpture in the Netherlands*, ed. R. Falkenburg, special

volume of *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 45 (1994): 348–81 and 382–446 respectively; and I. Wardropper, “New Attributions for Domenico del Barbieri’s Jubé at Saint-Étienne, Troyes,” *GBA* 118 (Oct. 1991): 111–28. On the ornamentation of screens and other furnishings at this time, see E. M. Kavalier, “Renaissance Gothic in the Netherlands: The Uses of Ornament,” *ArtB* 82 (2000): 226–51.

31 See E. Schubert, *Der Naumburger Dom*, with photos by J. Stekovic (Halle an der Saale, 1997), 52–56. On the formal origins of this type in Italy, see W. Greischel, “Die sächsich-thüringische Lettner des drei-

27 Reliquary shrines and monstrances of the 12th and 13th centuries likewise employ a format that allows for a meaningful alternation of closure and opening; see H. Stahl, “Heaven in View: The Place of the Elect in an Illuminated Book of Hours,” in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. W. Bynum and P. Freedman (Philadelphia, 2000), 205–32, esp. 223–25. On the dynamics of opening and closing winged altarpieces, see P. Crossley, “The Man from Inner Space: Meditation and Monument in the Choir of St. Laurence in Nuremberg,” in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives: A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker and T. Graham (Manchester, 1998).

28 On extravisual components of the liturgy, see the section on “The Setting of the Liturgy” in Jones, Wainwright, and Yarnolds, eds., *Liturgy* (above, n. 10), 432–92.

29 When considering the impact of framed vision through doors or other apertures, it is important to keep in mind the active, dynamic, even tactile nature of vision in medieval scientific theory; for a useful overview, with discussion of previous literature, see Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment* (above, n. 17). On changing interpretations of medieval architecture in postmedieval painting, see W. Sauerländer, “Gedanken über das Nachleben des gotischen Kirchenraums im Spiegel der Malerei,” *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 45 (1994): 165–82.

zehnten Jahrhunderts: Eine Untersuchung über die Herkunft und die Entstehung ihrer Typen” (Ph.D. diss., University of Freiburg im Breisgau, 1914), 1–27. On the visual and liturgical relation of this screen to its counterpart at the west end of the church, see J. E. Jung, “The West Choir Screen of Naumburg Cathedral and the Formation of Social and Sacred Space” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, N.Y., 2002), 76–100.



Fig. 6 Naumburg Cathedral, east choir screen, ca. 1230

this screen provides distinct spaces for lay involvement in rituals: the central bay shelters the Cross Altar where lay masses were performed, while a niche immediately above marks the location whence lectors and preachers addressed congregants in the nave. The clergy gained access to this upper level (and the east choir beyond) through two diminutive doors in the flanking bays, accessible by means of curved, tapering stairways.

When open, these doors do not offer a view of the crossing space but rather of further stairs, calling attention, visually and spatially, to the process of figurative ascent associated with moving from nave to choir. Pre-Reformation missals and breviaries from Naumburg Cathedral indicate that the clergy’s passage into the choir from stations elsewhere in the church was most often accompanied by triumphal antiphons imbued with imagery of resurrection (“Christus resurgens”) and the “glorious light” of heaven (“O gloriosum lumen”).³² Another text frequently used during processions through the screen referred explicitly to the role of St. Peter, co-patron (along with Paul) of the cathedral, as gatekeeper of heaven (“Simon bar Iona tu vocaberis cephas quod interpretatur Petrus ianitor celi pulsantibus aperi”).³³ During the course of ritual performances, then, the furnishings and spatial layout of the church were instrumentalized to reinforce the liturgical texts; conversely, the language of the texts imbued the church interior with theological significance. Even for laypeople who remained in the nave, the tiny doors of the choir screen, with their view of ascending stairs, held the promise of upward movement into the luminous and lofty realm visible above the screen. The resonance of this kind of design is apparent in the scene of

³² I refer to the *Missale secundum rubricam Numburgensis* (Nuremberg, 1501; now Naumburg Stadtarchiv R8) and the *Diurnale horarum secundum ordinem veri Breviarij ecclesie Numburgensis* (Nuremberg, 1492; now Naumburg Stadtarchiv R4).

³³ For example, in Sunday Prime hours between Easter and Ascension; see *Diurnale*, 123v.

heavenly ingress in Rogier van der Weyden's *Last Judgment Altarpiece* of 1443–51, in Beaune (fig. 7): in suggesting heaven by means of an enclosed, golden staircase, rather than showing it directly, the painter heightens the sense of anticipation, inviting viewers to join the Elect in anticipating the glowing world that awaits them at the end.³⁴

The polygonal pulpit screens (*Kanzellettner*) that began to enjoy widespread popularity in German-speaking lands around the time the Naumburg east screen was completed offered more direct visual access to the choir, though these too demanded that viewers assume an active role in achieving that view. The sculptural program of the influential example from the west choir of Mainz Cathedral (ca. 1230–40) included lively processions of the Elect and the Damned, which moved away from the central Deesis group toward either end of the screen.³⁵ Regrettably, only the rear halves of the processions survived the screen's demolition between 1680 and 1683, so the goals of their respective journeys are lost to view. But a smaller, well-preserved screen in the collegiate church of St. Mary at Gelnhausen (ca. 1240–50), whose reliefs are clearly modeled on those at Mainz, gives us some idea of the original Mainz program and its spatial design (fig. 8).³⁶ Although the small size and oblique placement of the two trefoil-arched doors of the Gelnhausen screen make these impossible to see through from a central standpoint, the program of sculpture on the screen's polygonal outer surface is designed to lead viewers around to the outer edges. From a central axis defined by the triumphal crucifix atop the screen and the altar cross below, we are invited to join two oppositional processions. On the right-hand side, the Damned follow a gesticulating demon toward the south spandrel where a hell-mouth awaits, emitting a burst of curling, tonguelike flames. The standpoint that provides the optimal view of both the procession and its fearsome end is located in front of the south door; from here, the open mouth of the demon and the gaping maw of hell can be recognized as antitypes of the elegant doorway through which the main altar slips into view (fig. 9). On the opposite side, the Elect, led by a smiling angel, prepare to move through the doors of a little Gothic building (fig. 10),³⁷ as the nude bodies of the rising dead push their way out of sarcophagi in the north spandrel. In contrast to the fearsome nature of passage through an organic open mouth, redemption takes the shape of movement through solid architectural (or, in the case of the coffins, sculptural) openings;³⁸ carried over to the actual door below, this imagery thus imbues the act of physical passage with eschatological import.

36 On the Gelnhausen screen, see H. Krohm and A. Marksches, "Der Lettner der Marienkirche in Gelnhausen: Grundlagen einer Neubewertung," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 48 (1994): 7–59, with further bibliography.

37 The association of the church edifice with heaven was a common topos in Western exegetical literature in the 12th through 14th c.; see L. H. Stookey, "The Gothic Cathedral as Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and Theological Sources," *Gesta* 8 (1969): 35–41.

38 On the association by 12th- and 13th-c. writers of heavenly bliss with solid architectural objects, as opposed to the organic mouths of hell, see C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995), esp. 292–93; Stahl, "Heaven," esp. 221–27; and M. Camille, "Mouths and Meanings: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art," in *Iconography at the Crossroads*, ed. B. Cassidy, Papers from the Colloquium Sponsored by the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University, 23–24 March 1990 (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 43–58. æ

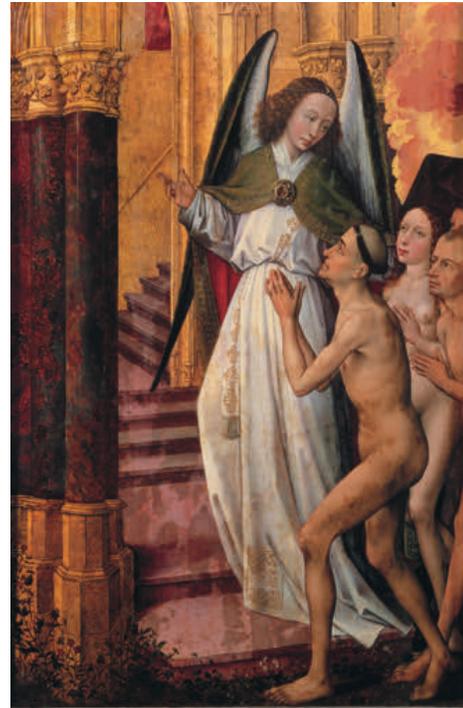


Fig. 7 Rogier van der Weyden, *The Elect at the Gate of Heaven*, detail of left-hand panel of *Last Judgment Altarpiece*, 1443–51. Beaune, Musée de l'Hôtel-Dieu (photo: Art Resource, New York)

34 On this altarpiece, see Dirk De Vos, *Rogier van der Weyden: The Complete Works* (New York, 1999), 252–63.

35 See Jung, "Barrier" (above, n. 1), 643–44 and figs. 22–23. For a convenient overview of the vast literature on the Mainz screen and its sculpture program, produced by the workshop subsequently responsible for the west screen at Naumburg, see C. Kitzlinger and S. Gabelt, "Die ehemalige Westlettneranlage im Dom zu Mainz," in *Meisterwerke mittelalterlicher Skulptur*, ed. H. Krohm (Berlin, 1996), 205–44. The 14th-c. screen at Meissen, which was configured similarly to the Mainz example, is the subject of many studies in *Architektur und Skulptur des Meissner Domes im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. Magirius (Weimar, 2001). The screen at Wechselburg also falls into the category of pulpit screen, though certain elements of its reconstruction, undertaken in the 1970s, are problematic; see E. Hütter and H. Magirius, *Der Wechselburger Lettner: Forschungen und Denkmalpflege* (Weimar, 1983).



Fig. 8 Gelnhausen, church of St. Mary, choir screen, ca. 1240–50

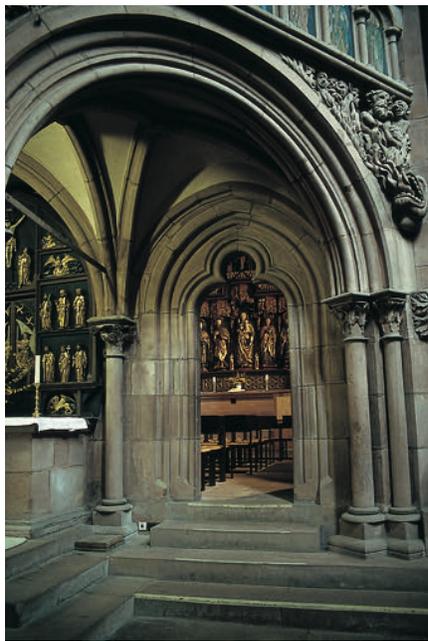


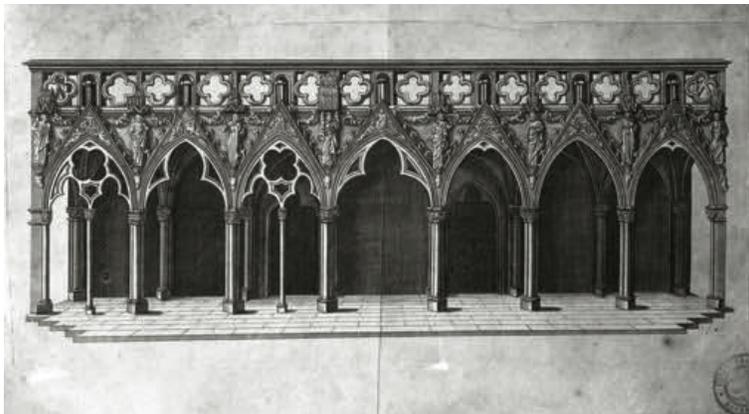
Fig. 9 Gelnhausen, church of St. Mary, choir screen, view of high altar through south door



Fig. 10 Gelnhausen, church of St. Mary, choir screen, procession of the Elect toward north door

Whereas several pulpit screens have survived in Germany, our examples of porch screens (*Hallenlettner*), the prevalent type in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France, are known chiefly through later drawings and prints. These screens, which once graced the interiors of the cathedrals at Amiens, Bourges, Chartres, Noyon, Paris, Reims, Sens, and Strasbourg, were lightweight, vaulted structures consisting of a frontal arcade opening onto a solid rear wall with varying numbers of doors.³⁹ In the porch screen at Strasbourg Cathedral, created circa 1260 and demolished in 1682, two doors flanked the central bay where the Cross Altar stood, while secondary altars occupied the outermost bays (fig. 11). The otherwise closely related exemplar at Chartres (1230–40) contained just one central opening (see fig. 4).⁴⁰ Whereas our elevated, slightly off-center vantage point in Larmessin's engraving does not allow us to enjoy the view through the door, the baron and his companions kneel in the nave in such a way that their sightlines could easily penetrate the choir. It was probably with such viewing practices in mind that the medieval clergy of Chartres took to suspending a brilliant purple cloth behind their main altar during Mass, ensuring the visibility of the host during its Elevation even for those standing far away.⁴¹

Illusionistic paintings from the late Middle Ages demonstrate the impact of this tightly controlled visual process, confirming that observers for whom these screens were an integral and expected part of the church interior perceived a view through the open doors not only as possible but indeed as a crucial component of their experience of the space. In Jan van Eyck's *Madonna in a Church* of 1437–38, for example, a crowned and sumptuously garbed Virgin Mary occupies the nave of a church demarcated by a shallow wooden porch screen (fig. 12).⁴² Like its thirteenth-century counterpart in Strasbourg Cathedral—which contained, on the responds, a series of standing apostles and a Virgin figure, and, in the gables, reliefs of the Seven Works of Mercy—this screen's delicate outer surface is embellished with a variety of figural carvings.⁴³ In the closed left-hand bay, an altar supports an unpolychromed statue of the Virgin carrying the Christ Child, which commentators have long recognized as a fictive counterpart to the Virgin in the nave.⁴⁴ Not only do the female figures stand in nearly identical poses, but both are also accompanied by a pair of lights: two candles flank the carved figure, while two highly focused pools of sunlight emerge from the open door of the north portal to illuminate the pavement near the Madonna's feet. While these glowing orbs certainly highlight the structural identity of the “living” Mary with her candlelit counterpart on the altar—both embodiments of the Christian Ecclesia—their axial alignment with the open door of the screen also invites us to follow the path from the Virgin in the nave to the twin



39 See Baron, “Mort” (above, n. 21); F. Joubert, *Le jubé de Bourges* (Paris, 1994); J. Mallion, *Chartres: Le jubé de la cathédrale* (Chartres, 1964); E. Lefèvre-Pontalis, “Le jubé de Noyon,” *Bulletin monumental* 82 (1923): 442–49; D. Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame of Paris and Its Role in the Fourteenth-Century Choir* (New York, 1977); I. Lachat, “Le jubé de la cathédrale de Sens et son rôle dans les cérémonies liturgiques,” *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Sens* 43 (1942): 369–88; H. Reinhardt, “Le jubé de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et ses origines rémoises,” *Bulletin de la Société des amis de la cathédrale de Strasbourg*, ser. 2, 6 (1951): 18–28. For further discussion and bibliography, see Jung, “Barrier” (above, n. 1).

40 See the slightly varied reconstructions by H. Bunjes, “Der gotische Lettner der Kathedrale von Chartres,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 12 (1943): 70–100 at 76; and Mallion, *Chartres*, 84.

41 See P. Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Rome, 1967), 56 n. 80; also discussed in Jung, “Barrier,” 627. On the relative visibility of the host and important reliquaries in English churches, see Brooke, “Sentiment” (above, n. 10); for various methods of involving laypeople in masses despite the presence of multiple screens, see Duffy, *Stripping* (above, n. 13), 95–102, 109–21.

42 For various interpretations of this painting, see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 1:144–48 (hereafter *ENP*); E. Herzog, “Zur Kirchenmadonna van Eycks,” *Berliner Museen: Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 6 (1956): 2–16; C. Purtle, *The Marian Paintings of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton, N.J., 1982), 144–56; and C. Harbison, *Jan van Eyck: The Play of Realism* (London, 1991), 169–87.

43 Wooden screens such as the one pictured here were common in Netherlandish and French churches in the late Middle Ages; see Steppe, *Het Koordoksaal*; and Servières, “Jubés” (both above, n. 1). On the closely related Strasbourg screen, see Reinhardt, “Le jubé de la cathédrale de Strasbourg” (above, n. 39).

Fig. 11 Jean-Jacques Arhardt, engraving of Strasbourg Cathedral choir screen (ca. 1260), before 1682. Strasbourg, Musée de l’Oeuvre de Notre-Dame (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)



Fig. 12 Jan van Eyck, *Madonna in a Church*, 1437–38. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Jörg P. Anders/Art Resource, New York)

angels, clad in brilliantly colored liturgical garments, who sing from a large open book in the choir.⁴⁵ Were the latter figures absent, our gaze would plunge back as far as the high altar—a point confirmed by the gilt winged altarpiece that frames the angels’ heads.

Even as the screen distinguishes the physical and symbolic domains of nave and choir, its open portal reasserts the continuity of those realms. The shape and proportions of the screen embrasure repeat, on smaller scale, those of the panel as a whole, and the Virgin and the angels occupy the same area within each respective frame.⁴⁶ The design thus visually bridges the gap between the Virgin and the heavenly host-cum-liturgical performers and conceptually unifies the otherwise discrete spaces of the church, even as the radical shift in scale confirms their separation. The pictorial implications are

44 The first scholar to point out this connection was M. Meiss, “Light as Form and Symbol in Some Fifteenth-Century Paintings,” *ArtB* 27 (1945): 175–81; see also Panofsky, *ENP*, 1:146–47; Purtle, *Marian Paintings*, 149. On the significance of the north aisle door, likewise embellished by a statue, see *ibid.*, 148; Herzog, “Kirchenmadonna,” 9.

45 Herzog, “Kirchenmadonna,” 9, identifies the garb of the left-hand angel as a green pluvial over a reddish purple dalmatic and that of the right-hand angel as a blue dalmatic. For other instances of liturgically garbed angels in early Netherlandish painting, see M. B. McNamee, “The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting,” *ArtB* 54 (1972): 263–78.

46 The actual height of Van Eyck’s panel is 31.12 cm. Using the image reproduced in my “Beyond the Barrier,” which measures 22.3 cm in height (excluding the frame), I have made the following calculations. The height of the Virgin Mary, from the hem of her red dress to the top of her crown, is 12.8 cm. The choir screen door, measured from the edge of the top step to the apex of the arch, is 3 cm high. The angels in the choir, from the edges of their robes to the top of their wings, stand at 1.7 cm high. The proportions of the figures of Mary and the angels relative to the height of their respective arched frames are thus nearly identical (12.8:22.3::1.7:3).

no less noteworthy, and I shall discuss them at a later point. For the moment, it is important to recognize that Van Eyck's pictorialization of the space beyond the door inverts his spatialization of the picture plane. That is, if the artist's exceptional command of linear perspective and surface realism has enabled him to transform a two-dimensional panel into a convincing three-dimensional space, his framing of the illusory space of the choir calls attention back to composition of the plane.⁴⁷

The gable relief above the screen door, which shows Christ crowning Mary Queen of Heaven, renders palpable the role of the portal as link between realms; it also introduces a temporal collapse that parallels the embrasure's collapsing of space.⁴⁸ Aside from marking the longitudinal passage from one spatial and liturgical zone to another, the image of the Coronation vertically connects the polychromed crucifix rising from the gable with the Virgin and Child in the nave.⁴⁹ In both the space of the picture and the time of the sacred narrative, the Coronation appears or occurs between the Crucifixion and the vision in the nave, for the Virgin who stands before us already wears a glistening crown. The reciprocal gazes of the Infant in her arms and the sculpted crucifix atop the screen—an act of visual communication read across the plane, though it is spatially impossible and temporally illogical—mark the final notch in this telescoping of time and space.⁵⁰

Van Eyck's use of pictorial symbolism—hidden or overt—has generated extensive discussion in the art historical literature.⁵¹ I should like only to add the point that the design of actual choir screens, and long-standing theological interpretations of portals, provided a sturdy basis upon which Van Eyck constructed his depiction of the Madonna as Church. Whereas Christ's identification of himself as the door of salvation in the Gospel of John (10:9) had long made defining the symbolism of portals easy for medieval commentators,⁵² Christ was not the only figure that medieval Christians likened to an entrance. Liturgists stressed the role of the Virgin Mary as both *porta coeli*, the gateway through which the Elect will pass en route to heaven, and *porta mundi*, the gateway through which Christ passed when he entered the world.⁵³ Given Van Eyck's well-known affection for the pregnant detail, it can hardly be a coincidence that the open door of the screen is directly juxtaposed with the exposed red bodice of the Virgin's dress, or that this Christ Child, whose exceptionally tiny size has long puzzled commentators, is scaled to fit precisely into that opening.⁵⁴ If, as this pictorial construction implies, the Child is the key that unlocks the door between heaven and earth, then his Mother is the portal that facilitates the passage. Like glass that allows light to pour through without breaking it, the choir screen is a solid body that is nonetheless penetrable. Van Eyck's picture posits both as metaphors for that great paradox of the Incarnation, the Virgin birth.⁵⁵

Van Eyck's visual identification of the Virgin with a choir screen door may well have been based on his own observation of church interiors, for the placement of Marian images at interior thresholds seems to have been common practice. A configuration quite similar to that in the Berlin *Madonna in a Church* appears, for example, in the beautifully preserved choir enclosure at Havelberg Cathedral, fashioned between 1396 and 1411 (fig. 13).⁵⁶ This unusually complex ensemble consists of a lateral screen with a central pulpit flanked by two portals, as well as two longitudinal walls that divide both choir and crossing from the aisles. At the center of the narrative sculpture program that embellishes the surfaces of these enclosing walls, eight unusually expressive images of Passion episodes surround the Cross Altar.

47 On Van Eyck's complex uses of architectural perspective, see J. Kern, "Perspektive und Bildarchitektur bei Jan van Eyck," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 35 (1912): 27–64. The connection between Van Eyck's pictorial presentation of interiors and the real space of Gothic architecture is brilliantly drawn by W. Hager, "Ein Spiegelmotiv bei Jan van Eyck und das gotische Raumsymbol," in W. Hager, M. Imdahl, and G. Fiensch, *Studien zur Kunstform* (Münster–Cologne, 1955), 41–70.

48 The question of time in early Netherlandish painting has been explored most perceptively by Acres, "Columba" (above, n. 8). For an analysis of Eyckian space in terms of ritual theory, with all its temporal implications, see C. Hasenmueller, "A Machine for the Suppression of Space: Illusionism as Ritual in a Fifteenth-Century Painting," *Semiotica* 29 (1980): 53–94.

49 As Purtle, *Marian Paintings* (above, n. 42), 148 rightly points out, the positioning of the crucifix with regard to the screen is ambiguous; the cross certainly is suspended by chains hanging from the vaults, but it appears to come to rest on the finial of the cross above the screen's central gable. The figure of the mourning Virgin to the right of the cross clearly stands on a finial ascending from the screen's balustrade.

50 See Acres, "Columba," 424–25 for discussion of the crucifix nailed to the shed in Van der Weyden's Nativity image—another instance of the "Proleptic Passion" in 15th-c. art.

51 The debate over how precisely to talk about the apparent infusion of seemingly mundane objects drawn from the real world with theological or symbolic content derived from texts—which Panofsky famously called "disguised symbolism"—in the work of Van Eyck and other early Netherlandish painters continues unabated. For recent assessments and standpoints, see B. G. Lane, "Sacred versus Profane in Early Netherlandish Painting," *Simiolus* 18 (1988): 107–15; C. Harbison, "Religious Imagination and Art-Historical Method: A Reply to Barbara Lane's 'Sacred versus Profane,'" *Simiolus* 19 (1989): 198–205; and J. L. Ward, "Disguised Symbolism as Enactive Symbolism in Van Eyck's Paintings," *Artibus et Historiae* 29 (1994): 9–53. For a different approach to the question, see W. Wilhelmy, *Der altniederländische Realismus und seine Funktionen: Studien zur kirchlichen Bildpropaganda des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Münster–Hamburg, 1993).



52 See, for example, Durandus, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, para. 26, p. 29: “The door of the church is Christ: according to that saying in the Gospel, I AM THE DOOR (Jn. 10:9). The Apostles are also called doors.”

53 See, for instance, Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum Beatae Mariae ubi exponitur Cantica Canticularum*, cap. vii, “Laus Ecclesiae convertendae de Virgine,” PL 172:513A–D at 513C, on Songs 7:4: “Porta est perpetua Virgo, per quam clausam Rex coelorum ad nos intravit in mundum. Et haec est filiae multitudinis, quia multitudo fidelium per eam intrabit coeli palatium.” For other medieval interpretations of the Virgin as door, see Herzog, “Kirchenmadonna” (above, n. 42), 7; and, for Eastern articulations of this idea, N. Constanas in this volume.

54 Purtle, *Marian Paintings* (above, n. 42), 149 describes this as “the smallest of all Jan’s infants.” Meiss, “Light” (above, n. 44), 180, likewise points out that “the Child...is unusually small and relatively unformed,” and suggests that this choice expresses “extreme infancy and recent birth.” On my reproduction of the panel at 22.3 cm (see n. 46), the door to the choir screen measures 3

cm and the body of the Christ Child, from the sole of his right foot where it meets Mary’s hand to the crown of his head, measures 2.5 cm. Using a straightedge to trace alignments across the picture’s surface, one finds that the bottom of the Child’s right foot coincides exactly with the height of the top step leading into the choir, and the top of his head with the very upper register of the gilt altarpiece. If he were shifted approximately 3 cm to the right, the Child would be “standing” on the floor of the choir, with just enough vertical clearance to avoid hitting his head on the hanging tracery in the door’s outer arch.

55 On the motif of light passing through glass in painting, see Meiss, “Light”; Herzog, “Kirchenmadonna,” 7–8. For textual sources, see C. W. Atkinson, “Precious Balsam in a Fragile Glass: The Ideology of Virginity in the Later Middle Ages,” *Journal of Family History* 8 (Summer 1983): 131–43. For this and other metaphors for the Virgin birth in Byzantium, see N. Constanas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity* (Leiden, 2003). I am grateful to Dr. Constanas for introducing me to this material.

Fig. 13 Havelberg Cathedral, choir screen, 1396–1411, view from nave

56 See C. Lichte, *Die Inszenierung einer Wallfahrt: Der Lettner im Havelberger Dom und das Wilsnacker Wunderblut* (Worms, 1990); and I. Schulze, “Die Havelberger Lettner- und Chorschrankenreliefs: Inhaltliche Problematik und stilistische Kriterien,” and C. Lichte, “Der Havelberger Lettner als Bühne: Zum Verhältnis von Bildprogramm und Liturgie,” both in *Die mittelalterliche Plastik in der Mark Brandenburg*, ed. L. Lambacher and F. M. Kammel (Berlin, 1990), 93–100 and 101–7, respectively.

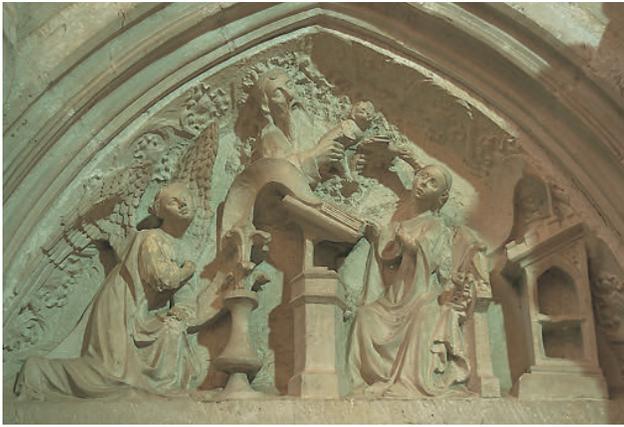


Fig. 14 Havelberg Cathedral, choir screen, tympanum above south door to choir, Annunciation

Precisely because these Passion panels are so uncompromising in their depiction of Christ's degradation by brutal—and brutally caricatured—tormenters, the reliefs surmounting the two doors to the choir come all the more as a surprise; for here, in place of violent conflict, we find scenes of communication and joy. Between images of the Flagellation and the Crowning with Thorns, a lively depiction of the Annunciation surmounts the south portal (fig. 14), visualizing with exceptional literalness the overcoming of spatial boundaries between God and Man and the temporal aspect of Mary's transformation from ordinary woman to God-Bearer. The Virgin is set apart from her angelic visitor by a large pulpit, over which the angel's words, inscribed on a banderole, must float to reach her. This verbal message, however, seems to be made superfluous by the presence of God the Father himself, who stands behind the pulpit and plants the Christ Child on a tubular apparatus that runs straight to the Virgin's ear.⁵⁷ On the north tympanum, another moment of contact between human and divine and of change from one state to another takes place, as Christ crowns his Mother Queen of Heaven—the same image that Van Eyck would slightly later place over the door of the screen in his Berlin panel (fig. 15). Although the iconography of the Annunciation and Coronation has become so familiar that it is easy to mistake these for static, iconic images,

⁵⁷ See also the 15th-c. tympanum on the Würzburg Frauenkirche, in which God the Father is shown blowing the Christ Child into the Virgin's ear via what looks like a hookah pipe; this is discussed by R. Berliner, "The Freedom of Medieval Art," *GBA*, ser. 6, 28 (Nov. 1945): 263–88 at 265, 267. The idea of the Virgin's conception through the ear was explored as early as the 5th c.; see Constatas, *Proclus*, esp. 273–313.



Fig. 15 Havelberg Cathedral, choir screen, north door to choir, tympanum with Coronation of the Virgin

it is important to keep in mind that both episodes thematize changes of state—on the one hand, Mary’s ontological passage from normal woman to miraculous mother, on the other, her social passage from mother to queen—and that they visualize those changes as communication between man and woman. They are thus supremely appropriate images for choir screen doors as sites where two domains, symbolizing heaven and earth, flow together—even if many medieval beholders were able to experience that convergence of realms visually rather than physically.

Like the painted sanctuary images discussed by Sharon Gerstel in this volume, the tympana on the reverse side of the Havelberg screen, visible only inside the choir, reminded the clergy of their importance as facilitators of that meeting of realms, that is, as purveyors of God to man. Behind the Coronation scene, they saw the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple (fig. 16). The eucharistic and liturgical connotations of this episode, already indicated in the relief by the draped Gothic altar that supports the Child, are reinforced by an angel in the apex of the tympanum, who extends a cloth behind the Child’s head in the same way that clerics might frame the elevated Host for people in the nave.⁵⁸ In the tympanum of the neighboring door, the now slightly older Christ Child teaching in the Temple assumes the guise of a lector expounding the word of God from an elevated pulpit (fig. 17). As the clergy in the choir glanced through these doors, their view into the nave was thus crowned by images that highlighted both their own privileged position as types of Christ and their responsibility to transmit God from altar and pulpit to the eyes and ears of their congregations waiting outside.⁵⁹

58 See above, p. 196 and n. 41.

59 This is in keeping with the early 14th-c. reliefs on the choir enclosure at Notre-Dame in Paris, which Gillerman, *Clôture* (above, n. 39), interprets as powerful statements of clerical authority. The tympana at Havelberg, with their emphasis on communication rather than exclusion, present a somewhat more inclusive picture despite the fact that they appear inside the clerical precinct. On the use of textiles inside choirs to promote clerical agendas, see L. Weigert, *Weaving Sacred Stories: French Choir Tapestries and the Performance of Clerical Identity* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2004). On the similarly cleric-oriented programs in Eastern churches, see S. E. J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle–London, 1999); and her essay in this volume.



Fig. 16 Havelberg Cathedral, choir screen, reverse side, tympanum above south door to nave, Presentation in the Temple



Fig. 17 Havelberg Cathedral, choir screen, reverse side, tympanum above north door to nave, Christ Child in the Temple



As noted earlier, painted representations of choir screens suggest that it was not only in their symbolic significance that doors held meaning for viewers on both sides: there seems to have been something about the process of actively looking through these apertures—gaining access to a separate world without physically moving—that heightened the perceptual experience of the Gothic interior. The structural connection, in the Berlin *Madonna*, between the angels in the embrasure and the Virgin in the picture frame extends the visual metaphor of Mary-as-door to the illusionistic image itself. Just as Christian theologians posited Mary’s body as the bridge between Man and God, so this picture allows the same body to mediate and direct the movement of the viewer’s gaze from the material world of the eyes, through a sequence of two arches (the picture frame, the frame of the screen door), to the immaterial heavenly world (the choir) deep in the fictive space. In this way, the active gaze of the viewer transforms the panel into a type of the Virgin Mother—the plane, like the choir screen, is at once (physically) solid and (visually) penetrable.⁶⁰

Although theories of pictorial illusionism since Alberti have employed the metaphor of the window to describe the picture plane, the interior constructions of Van Eyck and his peers show, often unambiguously, that artists of this time also conceived of the plane as a door.⁶¹ In the Berlin *Madonna*, the view through the frame and the view through the screen are equivalent in that both involve the convergence of separate worlds and the optical penetration of a solid body. This aspect of the painting, though to my knowledge unremarked

Fig. 18 Rogier van der Weyden, *Seven Sacraments Altarpiece*, 1453–55. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (photo: Giraudon/Art Resource, New York)

60 In their deliberately complex perspectival constructions and their frequent inclusion of mirrored surfaces that expand the room behind the viewer, Van Eyck’s works manifest an acute interest in pushing the limits of the surface medium; see Kern, “Perspektive”; Hager, “Spiegelmotif”; D. G. Carter, “Reflections in Armor in the Canon van de [sic] Paele Madonna,” *ArtB* 36 (1954): 60–62; D. Farmer, “Further Reflections on a van Eyck Self-Portrait,” *Oud Holland* 83 (1968): 159–60. Hasenmueller explores the effects of the longitudinal axis of Van Eyck’s *Rolin Madonna* and its implications for the space of the viewer in “Machine.”

61 On the use of doors and windows as visual metaphors for paintings in later art, see V. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting* (Cambridge, 1997).

in the vast Van Eyck literature, did not go unnoticed by the artists who copied this work. Both the so-called Bruges Master of 1499 and Jan Gossaert, in his rendition of 1513, widened the screen door to match the stouter proportions of their respective panels, despite the fact that this upset the spatial logic of the polygonal apse still visible above each screen.⁶² In each case, the Christ Child is likewise appropriately sized so as to fit exactly into the door. The same structural analogy between panel and screen can be found in images with quite different iconography. In Rogier van der Weyden's great *Seven Sacraments Altarpiece* of 1453–55, for example, the tripartite structure of the choir enclosure, with its arched entryways surmounted by squared-off platforms, echoes the shape and, roughly, proportions of the triptych itself (fig. 18).⁶³ In this case, the panels offer a view into the church that the grilles in front of the screen withhold.

The role of screens in shaping visual experience comes to view even more forcefully in a mid-fifteenth-century panel from an altarpiece attributed to a student of Rogier named Vrancke van der Stockt (fig. 19).⁶⁴ Though frequently disparaged as a confused conflation of Van der Weyden's *Seven Sacraments Altarpiece* and Van Eyck's *Madonna in a Church*,⁶⁵ this picture reveals much, precisely in its calculated divergences from those earlier works; I am especially interested in the insistence with which Van der Stockt reflects on the nature of visual experience in partitioned church interiors and uses that experience as the organizing factor in its production of illusionistic space. The artist chooses, for example, to complicate the illusionistic effects of his predecessors' painted interiors by inserting an arched doorway into the immediate foreground, thus pulling the Crucifixion group away from the choir boundary where it properly belongs.⁶⁶ The three principal figures stand beneath a historiated arch that is flanked, in the jambs, by renderings of six of the Seven Sacraments; though these vignettes are scaled and arranged as if they were sculpted, the figures' lively movements and bright coloration indicate that they were meant to be interpreted as "real" scenes.⁶⁷ Van der Stockt further blurs the boundaries between reality and representation by pressing the seventh sacrament, the eucharist, deep into the pictorial space: in the south bay of the choir screen, we see the Elevation of the Host before a lay witness, and in the opposite bay, the distribution of the eucharist to another layman.⁶⁸ The shallow, stagelike platform on which this liturgical activity takes place closely resembles that on which the Crucifixion group stands, not only reinforcing the visual parallel of this foreground portal to that of the screen but also positioning us, the viewers, at a spot directly in front of a threshold and thus amplifying our awareness of looking in.

67 Although architectural sculpture continued to be polychromed in the 15th c., most contemporary panel painters depicted it with natural stone or wooden surfaces to indicate its difference from figures conceived as living. On this issue, see P. Philippot, "Les grisailles et les 'degrés de réalité' de l'image dans la peinture flamande des XVe et XVIe siècles," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 4 (1965): 225–42; D. Coeckelberghs, "Les grisailles et le trompe-l'œil dans l'œuvre de van Eyck et van der Weyden," in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art offerts au Professeur Jacques Lavalleye* (Louvain, 1970), 21–34; and A. Legner,

"Polychrome und monochrome Skulptur in der Realität und im Abbild," in *Vor Stefan Lochner: Die Kölner Maler von 1300–1430*, exh. cat. (Cologne, 1974), 140–63.

68 For an alternative reading of this composition, see Birkmeyer, "Arch Motif" (above, n. 64), 100.

62 For these images, see Purtle, *Marian Paintings* (above, n. 42), figs. 65–66. Herzog, "Kirchenmadonna" (above, n. 42), 14–16 argues that the Berlin panel represents the left wing of a devotional diptych, similar to that of the Bruges Master of 1499 now in Antwerp; for this view, see also Harbison, *Jan van Eyck* (above, n. 42), 175–77. I leave aside the question of the panel's original context, for the aspects of pictorial composition I have been describing remain the same whether or not the panel was conceived as part of a pair.

63 L. Jacobs, "The Inverted 'T'-Shape in Early Netherlandish Altarpieces: Studies in the Relation between Painting and Sculpture," *ZKunstg* 54 (1991): 33–65 at 37–40 calls attention to the visual analogy between the shape of the altarpiece and the tripartite cross section of the basilical church in Rogier's altarpiece and others of the time.

64 On this artist's life and work, see C. Périer-d'Ieteren, "Stockt [Stocht; Stoct], Vrancke van der," in *The Grove Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner (London, 1996), 29:691–93. Van der Stockt is documented as having worked in close association with Rogier van der Weyden: both men were active in the Guild of St. Eloy in Brussels in the same years, and Vrancke was buried next to Rogier in the church of St. Gudule: see De Vos, *Rogier* (above, n. 34), 163–65; and P. Lefèvre, "Relations des peintres Roger vander Weyden (+1464) et Francon vander Stoct (+1491) avec la cathédrale bruxelloise," *Arca Lovaniensis* 4 (1975): 352–60. This panel forms the center of a large triptych sometimes known as the *Cambrai Altarpiece*, currently housed at the Prado. For a rare reproduction of all three panels, see K. Birkmeyer, "The Arch Motif in Netherlandish Painting of the Fifteenth Century: A Study in Changing Religious Imagery," *ArtB* 43 (1961): 1–20 and 99–112, at figs. 19–21.

65 For a particularly damning assessment of this painting, see Birkmeyer, "Arch Motif," 99–102.

66 On the origins and effects of the so-called diaphragm arch, see Panofsky, *ENP*, 1:58–59. For examples of sculpted Crucifixion groups very similar to Van der Stockt's painted version, see J. Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture: The Burgundian Netherlands*, exh. cat. (Ghent–New York, 1994), 108–15, 165–68, 235, 251.



Fig. 19 Vrancke van der Stockt (active ca. 1420–95), center panel of a triptych from Convent of the Angels, Madrid, *Crucifixion in a Church*. Madrid, The Prado (photo: museum)

Despite the prominence of the devotional group, our attention is continually pulled back into space through the powerful linear perspective and forward again through the careful alignment of background and foreground elements.⁶⁹ Christ's horizontally extended hands, for example, overlap two vertical clusters of colonnettes, one behind Mary in the nave, the other deep in the apse; the latter flows downward into the right-hand bay of the screen where it is picked up by a statue of the Virgin and terminates in the elevated Host. Especially significant is the visual connection between St. John and the cleric who stands reading a book in the choir; the raised left hand of the Evangelist overlaps the feet of this figure, giving John the appearance of balancing him on his fingertips like a tiny puppet.⁷⁰ This saint has no need for the book that is his usual attribute in otherwise very similar sculptures: the act of reading, visible through the screen door, asserts John's role as Evangelist, while the clerical reader gains sanction through his direct conjunction with the Gospel writer.

The complicated optical effect that results from the expansion of the three-dimensional space through strong linear perspective and its compression through planar alignments is mediated here by the body of Christ, whose central positioning imposes a symmetrical balance on an interior space that is obliquely perceived. The crucifix, moreover, fits into the arch in such a way that the vertical beam forms a trumeau and the horizontal arm forms a lintel, thus positioning Mary and John in discrete entryways that yield autonomous, but complementary, pictures. John, surrounded by human activity in the choir screen, embodies the active mission of the church in the world. As he looks upward at the corpus with alert expression and open gesture, his gaze passes

69 The significance in early Netherlandish painting of the tension between surface design and spatial illusion was discussed early on by O. Pächt; see his 1933 article "Design Principles of Fifteenth-Century Northern Painting," trans. J. E. Jung, in *The Vienna School Reader: Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s*, ed. C. Wood (New York, 2000), 243–321.

70 Harbison points out that in van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Chancellor Nicolas Rolin*, Rolin appears to balance on his fingertips a tiny church in the distant background, perhaps "his own parish church, dedicated to [the Virgin]," while a huge Gothic cathedral crowns the head of the Christ Child; see his *Jan van Eyck* (above, n. 42), 112, and "Religious Imagination" (above, n. 51), 200. Ward, "Enactive Symbolism" (above, n. 51), 13 further calls attention to the bridge that appears to spring toward Rolin from Christ's blessing fingers. Ward calls this phenomenon "conjunctural symbolism" (in a lecture of 1985, as noted by Harbison), and the process by which it is recognized "enactive symbolism."

over several artistic objects characterized by sumptuous physical presence: the painted wing of an altarpiece on the high altar in the choir, an elaborately carved tabernacle set into the choir wall, and, on the front of the choir screen, a gilt statue of St. Jerome, whose gently twisted posture echoes the curve of Christ's side. Mary, by contrast, folds her arms across her chest and lowers her eyes in prayer; no liturgical activity goes on around her, and the forms of devotional paraphernalia that link her face to the body of her Son are minimal and highly abstracted: a simple print of the Holy Face, a written prayer tacked onto a column. Framed only by the light-drenched arcades, she appears to demonstrate the contemplative life of imageless prayer.

Formally and iconographically, the crucified body at once pulls these oppositional sides together and holds them apart, forming the steady organizing anchor for Van der Stock's dizzying illusionistic and symbolic play. But here too the artist was not so much inventing a new world as he was drawing on visual experiences already at hand in church interiors. If, by taking seriously the perceptual experiences suggested in the work of Vrancke and his peers, we recognize that the view through screen doors was of paramount importance in structuring their perception of Gothic space, then those rare choir ensembles that have survived intact assume even greater significance than has hitherto been appreciated.

Such is the case with the west choir of Naumburg Cathedral, a liturgical space whose ensemble of architecture, sculpture, and stained glass was constructed in its entirety between ca. 1245 and 1255 (fig. 20).⁷¹ The choir screen leading into this space is a particularly elegant example of a *Schrankenlettner*, or partition-type enclosure, in which the central doorway and deep upper platform are retained even as the open frontal arcade and back wall of porch screens merge together to form a single surface.⁷² Although the apparent layering of stone across the

71 On the unusual degree of unity of the program, see W. Sauerländer, "Integrated Fragments and the Unintegrated Whole: Scattered Examples from Reims, Strasbourg, Chartres, and Naumburg," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. V. C. Raguin, K. Brush, and P. Draper (Toronto, 1995), 153–66. The most recent monograph is Schubert and Stekovic, *Dom* (above, n. 31), with large color photographs of the sculptures. For helpful overviews of the extensive literature, see the numerous essays on Naumburg in Krohm, ed., *Meisterwerke* (above, n. 35).

72 For further analysis of the west screen's formal and spatial aspects, and discussion of prior interpretations, see Jung, "West Choir Screen" (above, n. 31), 78–83, 93–111; on the portal specifically, see 112–17.

Fig. 20 Naumburg Cathedral, west choir screen, ca. 1245–55



façade, with blind arcades surmounted by inverse gables and a socle-bench at the lower level, does much to soften the sense of surface closure, the feature that most dramatically disrupts the sense of partitioning in this example is the huge portal at its center. In contrast to the modest doors of the east screen, the portal of the Naumburg west screen forms a shallow porch, composed of a projecting façade and recessed rectangular openings that are raised from the nave floor by three stairs. Pre-Reformation liturgical documents inform us that the Hours of the Virgin were recited “next to” the west choir, that is, in the area just in front of the screen.⁷³ As the site of commemorative services for the dead and masses in honor of the Virgin performed by the cathedral chapter—as well, perhaps, as the recitation of the Divine Office by a separate group of secular canons—the west choir was the goal of regular processional movement by diverse communities, who were beckoned through the doors by the pointing gestures of the portal’s life-sized jamb figures.⁷⁴

As one proceeds along the central axis of the nave toward the choir, one notices that the layered design of the portal triggers a kind of optical compression, as the dangling arch on the frontal plane—highly unusual in Gothic architecture—appears to rest upon the crucifix-trumeau.⁷⁵ The sense of smooth continuity along the portal’s vertical axis is radically disrupted at the sides, where figures of Mary and John, standing in niches on the diagonal walls, direct attention to the springing of rib vaults at a point near their shoulders, thereby reasserting the spatial separation of the portal façade from the actual doorway. The visual disjunction between the vertical axis, with its apparent planarity, and the horizontal axis, with its confirmation of depth, leads to a sense of instability and flux; in this portal, no less than in the illusionistic paintings by later masters, we find a complex interplay of two- and three-dimensional effects.

The spatial ambiguity inherent in this design invites a lateral extension of the optical compression—a pulling forward of the visual field beyond the doors. Being physically centered around the body of Christ, like Van der Stockt’s painted arch, the Naumburg portal yields an optical picture imbued with both eucharistic connotations and local content (fig. 21).⁷⁶ Viewed from a standpoint in the center of the nave, adjacent to the door to the (now-destroyed) north cloister, Christ’s feet appear to alight upon the altar dedicated to his Mother, and his arms to canopy it like a fleshly ciborium. The apparent contact of the suffering body with the altar surface calls to mind Gregory the Great’s famous vision of the Man of Sorrows, as if that private experience were materialized here and made accessible to the public.⁷⁷ The lower portions of the central stained glass windows of the apse, containing roundels with bust-length figures of early Naumburg bishops, extend to Christ’s hips and occupy the expanse between his armpits and elbows.⁷⁸ The pictorialized crucifix thus resembles the painted altar crosses from Italian churches, which likewise filled the gap under Christ’s arms with long rectangular apron strips; these were sometimes embellished with narrative panels, sometimes with full-length figures, and sometimes with ornamental patterns resembling stained glass.⁷⁹ As in Van der Stockt’s painting, the hands of the sculpted Christ are directly aligned with the two clusters of colonnettes attached to the wall of the apse; from this standpoint, these appear to flow from Christ’s open hands, their width corresponding exactly to the length of his hands from palm to fingertips.⁸⁰ And standing before these responds—indeed, carved from the same stone blocks as these—are two armed male figures.

These figures, identified by the inscriptions on their shields as the early twelfth-century Thuringian counts Sizzo and Wilhelm, stand roughly in the center of

73 The rubric introducing the Hours of the Virgin in the *Diurnale Numburgensis* (above, n. 32), fol. 71 specifies that these prayers be recited “iuxta chorum antiquum”; this was the common designation for the west choir after the renovation of the east choir during the 14th c. Because the west choir screen spans the entire width of the nave, this can only mean the area in front of the screen, in the nave.

74 Many other scholars, most notably H. Küas, *Die Naumburger Werkstatt* (Berlin, 1937), have emphasized the choir’s primary function as a commemorative space; see, more recently, M. V. Schwarz, “Liturgie und Illusion: Die Gegenwart der Toten sichtbar gemacht (Naumburg, Worms, Pisa),” in *Grabmäler: Tendenzen der Forschung an Beispielen aus Mittelalter und frühen Neuzeit*, ed. W. Maier, W. Schmid, and M. V. Schwarz (Berlin, 2000), 147–77. However, surviving pre-Reformation liturgical documents, which describe frequent processional movement into and out of the choir, belie the pervasive idea that the choir had only one function; see also A. Mann, “Doppelchor und Stiftermemorie: Zum kunst- und kulturgeschichtlichen Problem der Westchöre,” *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 111 (1961): 149–262. E. Schubert, *Der Westchor des Naumburger Doms: Ein Beitrag zur Datierung und zum Verständnis der Standbilder* (Berlin, 1964) argued that the west choir was an institutionally distinct church used by a group of secular canons dedicated to the Virgin Mary; in his view, the choir screen was not a screen at all but rather the façade to this church. This view has been queried by Jung, “West Choir Screen” (above, n. 31), 103–11, and G. Lutz, “In the Presence of the Founders—Form and Function of the West Choir of Naumburg Cathedral,” paper presented at the 55th Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Richmond, Virginia, 17–21 April 2002.

75 The striking optical effect of this design is also noted by D. von Winterfeld, “Zur Baugeschichte des Naumburger Westchores: Fragen zum aktuellen Forschungsstand,” *Architectura* 24 (1994): 289–318, at 315–16.

76 The following analysis is adapted from chap. 5 of Jung, “West Choir Screen,” 185–229



Fig. 21 Naumburg Cathedral, west choir screen, portal with view of donors Sizzo and Wilhelm

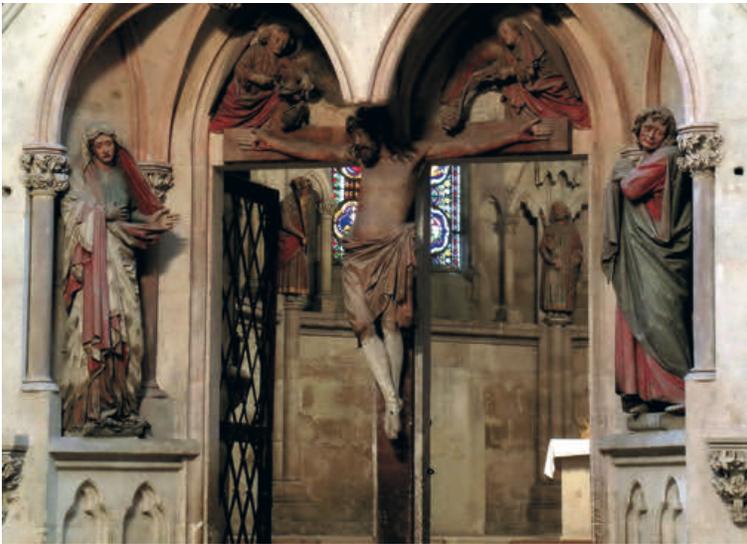


Fig. 22 Naumburg Cathedral, west choir screen, portal with view of donors Dietmar and Sizzo

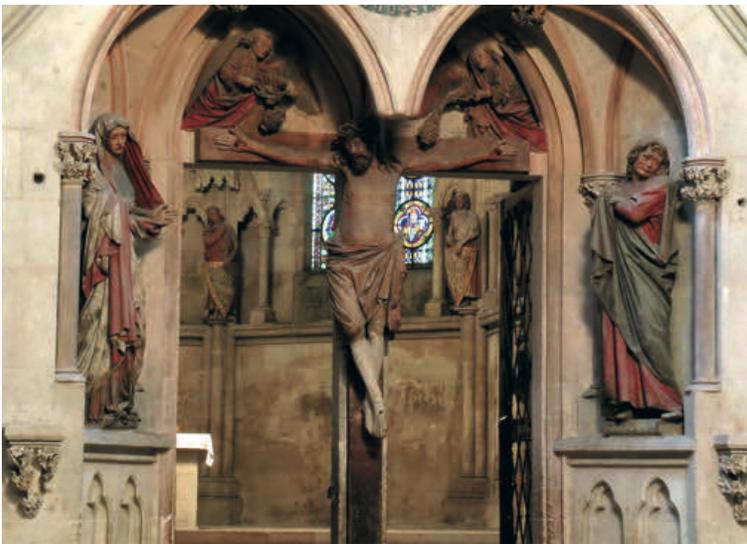


Fig. 23 Naumburg Cathedral, west choir screen, portal with view of donors Wilhelm and Timo

77 At Naumburg, the alignment of crucifix with altar appears from any standpoint along the central axis of the nave, not only from the point perpendicular to the north cloister door. But it is only at the latter spot that the feet come to rest exactly on top of the altar. Hamburger, “Enclosure” (above, n. 13), 70–71 describes a related instance of this kind of meaningful—and desired—occlusion of the altar by “an image depicting the revelation of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist” in a Benedictine convent.

78 The roundels in this bay are 19th-c. replacements of lost originals. Today they bear the names of Dietrich II (1243–72), the patron of the west choir, and Eberhard (1045–79), during whose tenure the episcopal see was transferred from Zeitz to Naumburg; see Schubert and Stekovic, *Dom* (above, n. 31), 123.

79 For narrative images beneath the arms of Christ, see A. Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge, 1996), 3–9; for full-length figures, see the painted cross by the Master of the Blue Crosses in S. Francesco, Assisi, in H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter: Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1995), 269, fig. 104.

80 Figs. 21–23 were shot from the center of the nave at a distance of 13.25 m from the lower step of the portal. Naturally the viewing position will shift according to the height of the beholder; what is most important is that the arrangement comes to view on a processional path from either the cloister or from the east choir toward the west. With my limited technical expertise, I could only reproduce the optical compression by bringing the donor figures into focus at the expense of the crucifixion figures. Standing in the nave, the effect is more powerful; first, of course, all the figures appear with equal clarity, and second, the donor figures appear closer to the body of Christ.

each door opening and occupy the space from Christ's knees to his chest.⁸¹ If we continue to collapse the distant space so as to picture these statues on the same plane as the Crucifixion group—a task much easier in real space than in photographs—then each small figure appears emphatically preoccupied with the larger figure to his right (fig. 21). In the left-hand door opening, Sizzo turns to gaze at the Virgin Mary with furrowed brows and a mouth that, like hers, is opened slightly as if in speech, his upright sword reiterating the diagonals of her outstretched mantle and Christ's right leg.⁸² In the adjacent opening, Wilhelm twists his upper body toward Christ, while his right arm, wrapped tightly in his cloak, points toward the left, a bidirectional pose that mirrors that of St. John.⁸³ The congruence in bodily stances continues in the colorations of the costumes: Sizzo and Mary both wear blue tunics beneath red cloaks (although Mary's is white with a red pattern on the outside, its inner lining, visible where she pulls it away from her chest, is bright red);⁸⁴ Wilhelm and John, red tunics with blue cloaks. The figures cohere further through their zigzagging chain of gazes: Wilhelm looks up toward Christ, Christ looks down toward Sizzo, Sizzo looks up toward Mary. This visual chain is brought to completion by viewers in the nave, who are the recipients of the gazes of Mary and John.

As one shifts a step or so to either side, though still remaining within the breadth of the door, new figural groupings click into view. From a standpoint to the right, Count Dietmar moves into the left-hand door (fig. 22).⁸⁵ As he peers over the rim of his shield, his gaze falls directly on the wound in Christ's side; Sizzo now turns his agitated face toward Christ. Stepping to the left (fig. 23), one sees Wilhelm gazing up at the Virgin, his head following the diagonal line of her mantle hem, while Count Timo of Köstritz takes his place in the right-hand door, turning, in tandem with John, to glower at viewers from beneath deeply furrowed brows.⁸⁶

With the exception of Wilhelm, who has received almost universal approbation in the art historical literature, the polygon figures have often been derided for a hardness of carving, roughness in detail, and theatricality in facial expression—all qualities that distinguish them from the more subtly expressive and more supplely carved male and female figures (including the famous Uta) surmounting the canons' stalls in the square bay of the choir.⁸⁷ Moreover, as W. Sauerländer has noted, while the twelve donor figures collectively constitute a kind of visual *Fürstenspiegel*, demonstrating various aspects of an idealized aristocratic culture through their highly stylized gestures and comportment,⁸⁸ there is a sharp distinction between the graceful and refined brand of courtliness demonstrated in the square bay and the rough and extroverted displays of male secular authority in the apse: military in the case of Dietmar, judicial in the case of Sizzo and perhaps Wilhelm, even emotional, in the form of the "righteous anger" of Sizzo and Timo.⁸⁹ Whereas Sauerländer left the reasons for this disjunction among the figures open, both the stylistic and the contextual disparity between the polygon figures and those

89 Recent historical studies of emotion make clear the extent to which open emotional displays were (and are) bound to social position. See, for example, G. Althoff, "Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: 'Emotionen' in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996): 60–79. S. D. White, "The Politics of Anger," in *Anger's*

Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages, ed. B. H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 127–52, argues that secular, devotional, and political literature on the Middle Ages alike show that "displays of anger did not in themselves carry pejorative connotations, were not practiced only by unrestrained, violence-prone laymen, and need not be read as signs or symptoms of

81 Painted inscriptions on the shields read SIZZO COMES DO (probably meaning "count of Thuringia") and WILHELMUS COMES VNVS FVNDATORVVM; see E. Schubert and J. Görlitz, *Die Inschriften des Naumburger Doms und der Domfreiheit* (Berlin, 1959), 18. The significance of these four figures in particular has long puzzled commentators; when seen from the choir, their bold gestures and facial expressions appear to have no object. The most important study of the historical background, iconography, and reception of the donor figures is W. Sauerländer, "Die Naumburger Stifterfiguren: Rückblick und Fragen," in *Die Zeit der Staufer* (above, n. 15), 5:169–246; Sauerländer's conclusions are discussed further in Jung, "West Choir Screen" (above, n. 31), 208–13.

82 For details of this figure, see Schubert and Stekovics, *Dom*, 97–99 (above, n. 31).

83 See *ibid.*, 105–7.

84 On the polychromy of the Virgin statue, see K. Riemann, "Polychromierte Bildwerke aus Stein und Stuck des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," *Palette* 36 (1970): 15–24 at 22–24.

85 See Schubert and Stekovics, *Dom*, 92, 94. The shield of this figure reads DIETMARVS COMES OCCISVS. The historical person in question, and the circumstances of his death, remain unclear; see W. Schlesinger, *Meissener Dom und Naumburger Westchor: Ihre Bildwerke in geschichtlicher Betrachtung* (Münster–Cologne, 1952), 69–71.

86 See Schubert and Stekovics, 100, 102–3. The shield reads TIMO DE KISTERICZ QVI DEDIT ECCLESIE SEPTEM VILLAS.

87 On prior interpretations of the figures, see Jung, "West Choir Screen," 206–9.

88 Sauerländer, "Stifterfiguren," 191–213.

either high emotionalism or political irrationality" (p. 137). Moreover, "public displays of anger" had strong social connotations, "almost always [being] made by kings or other males whose noble status entitles them to express anger" (p. 139). Thus the very fact that both Sizzo and Timo appear full of rage may well have been a sign of their worldly power for 13th-c. viewers.

in the square bay may be explained, I suggest, with reference to their visibility from various standpoints in the church. The supposed lack of technical finesse that characterizes the apse figures may strike some commentators as distracting up close, but it allows their movements and gestures to be clearly apprehensible through the doors of the screen, from a distance of nearly 30 m. Meanwhile, the choice to give heightened emphasis to the worldly authority of the apse figures may be closely tied to their visibility to lay viewers, whose proper domain, at least in principle, was the nave. The placement of these men in the highly charged area beneath the arms of Christ was a surefire way of sanctioning the exercise of lay power on behalf of the church—a matter of urgent interest on the part of the bishop and chapter, who were locked in increasingly humiliating conflict in these years with the local margrave and needed help from those who were allowed to bear weapons.⁹⁰

When observed from the nave, the small scale of these apse figures relative to the Crucifixion group, their extreme expressiveness, and their positioning in close proximity to the body of Christ associate them with two other pictorial conventions current in mid-thirteenth century Crucifixion images: the insertion of diminutive donor portraits at the foot of the cross and the inclusion of Longinus and other Roman soldiers, typically rendered in contemporary military garb and with a wide range of expressive demeanors, under the arms of Christ.⁹¹ Despite the antagonistic status of these characters in the Gospels, their close contact with Christ's body allowed them to play a dual role in medieval art: as testifiers to the divinity of Christ—often looking out of a picture to exclaim “Truly this man is the Son of God”⁹²—and as models of lay devotional response exemplified by active gazing, as in a page from the Goslar Gospels, produced for a convent near Naumburg in the very years the sculptures were made.⁹³ With these pictorial conventions in mind, we can recognize the apse figures in the Naumburg west choir, when viewed as part of the portal ensemble, as assuming several overlapping functions: even as they call to mind early donations to the cathedral, the figures, with their contemporary garb and stylized gestures, also serve as vehicles of religious identification for people in the nave as they witness and respond to the historical and ongoing event of Christ's Crucifixion.

The use of spatially distant sculpted figures to play the part of conventional model-witnesses such as Longinus brought with it certain problems but also opened up radically new artistic possibilities. Both resulted from the shifting visual configurations effected by a viewer's movement in the nave. A major problem was that, because the figures slid from one door to the other, they could not always be looking at the crucifix. Only in the view from the right do both donor figures turn toward the corpus, Dietmar's shielding of his face drawing attention to the direct line of his gaze toward Christ's side wound. For the two central donors, who might appear in either door, the solution was to orient them so that they would be paying attention either (Sizzo) to the body of Christ or (Wilhelm) to the mourning Virgin—who was, after all, the patron of the choir and the subject of devotions performed in front of the screen. From no standpoint, on the other hand, does a figure look at John. Timo, the only apse figure who looks at neither Christ nor Mary, turns, rather, toward us. In this, he performs the same role as the Centurion in pictorial imagery, who directs his proclamation of Christ's divinity as much to beholders as to his companions. In thirteenth-century devotional practice, looking at a crucifix was intimately tied to self-examination: Timo's angry gaze from beneath the arm of a suffering Christ exemplifies an empathetic mode of viewing manifested in liturgical plays and devotional literature in which Christ himself, the Virgin, a saint, or another

90 For a review of the historical circumstances in which the choir was built, see Jung, “West Choir Screen,” 9–30. For an alternative interpretation—namely, that the margrave of Meissen was responsible for building the west choir—see H. Wiessner and I. Crusius, “Adeliges Burgstift und Reichskirche: Zu den historischen Voraussetzungen des Naumburger Westchores und seiner Stifterfiguren,” in *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, ed. I. Crusius (Göttingen, 1995), 232–58.

91 For tiny donors inserted in Crucifixion scenes, see the Crucifixion page from the Psalter of Henry the Lion, produced in Helmarshausen ca. 1160; cat. no. 755 in *Die Zeit der Staufer* (above, n. 15), 1:584–85 and 2: fig. 547; see also that from the Legend of the Dominicans of Holy Cross, Regensburg, ca. 1271, now in Keble College, Oxford; in G. Schiller, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, 4 vols. (Gütersloh, 1968), 2:494, fig. 452. For a mid-12th-c. Longinus image, see E. C. Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal* (Los Angeles, 2001), 61–65. Further examples are provided in Jung, “West Choir Screen,” 216–27.

92 See, for example, the panel added to the back of the Klosterneuburg Altarpiece in 1331; see F. Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar*, 4th ed. (Klosterneuburg, 1955), 45–47, 89–90 and pl. 54. For earlier examples of this iconography, see Schiller, *Ikongraphie*, 2: figs. 348, 376, 505.

93 See R. Kroos and F. Steenbock, *Das Goslarer Evangeliar* (Graz, 1991), 23–25 on the Crucifixion miniature and p. 5 for questions of dating. It is interesting to note the difference in representational modes on the two halves of this miniature: whereas the soldiers are rendered with the supple drapery folds and animated gestures that characterized Saxon sculpture at this time, the figures of Mary, John, and the Holy Women display a distinctly Byzantinizing style. On this issue, see H. Belting, “Zwischen Gotik und Byzanz: Gedanken zur Geschichte der sächsischen Buchmalerei im 13. Jahrhundert,” *ZKunstg* 41 (1978): 217–57.

interpolator addresses the audience directly, insisting that people contemplate and internalize the sufferings Christ underwent on their behalf.⁹⁴

Moving from right to left, then, what one witnesses through the screen doors is nothing less than an unfolding pictorial drama of the devotional process. It begins with contemplative immersion in the suffering body of Christ (fig. 22), expands to include the Virgin as an equal object of contemplative pity (fig. 21), and ends with a reproachful call for self-examination (fig. 23). The doors of the portal thus provide visual access to something in addition to the static altar; they open onto a *moving picture* of proper devotional behavior for the laity, enacted by contemporary representatives of the worldly elite and given order and direction by the sculptured body of Christ.

The Naumburg west choir stands today as a monument that is singular in its design, effects, and level of technical and conceptual sophistication. In its own day, it was probably not unique; the bishopric of Naumburg, continually plagued by financial concerns and the political encroachments of the margrave of Meissen, and overshadowed institutionally by the older and richer sees of Bamberg, Magdeburg, and Mainz, could hardly have occupied a position of leadership in cultural matters.⁹⁵ Although our knowledge of the thirteenth-century screens from the latter cathedrals is tragically thin, the surviving evidence points to an extremely high level of artistry, and it is not unreasonable to surmise that the kind of complex integrated alignments of interior architecture, sculpture, and stained glass found in the Naumburg west choir may, at the time, have represented the norm rather than the exception. I would contend, in any case, that it was such arrangements that would later fire the imaginations of fifteenth-century painters, prompting them to reproduce the pictorialized experience of actual space that the partitioning in their churches allowed, indeed demanded.⁹⁶ Only the effects of motion parallax, which involves the apparent movement of stationary three-dimensional bodies in accordance with a viewer's physical motion, were impossible in the painted worlds of the fifteenth century—but even the perceptual slips occasioned by the architectural framing of sacred space could be captured in paint.

In his *Miraflores Altarpiece* (ca. 1442–45), now in Berlin, Rogier van der Weyden used fictive architectural frames to destabilize, and thereby call attention to, the act of looking-in, creating in two dimensions a similar sense of ambiguity and flux to that observable in the spatial composition of the Naumburg portal (figs. 24–26).⁹⁷ The triptych is framed by a series of three fictive wooden arches with inset stone sculptures, which give way to barrel-vaulted canopies over the heads of the main actors—a form similar to the porch screens in use for some two hundred years (see fig. 6).⁹⁸ The arches on the two wings lead to solid enclosed rooms whose back walls are visible, though a contrast is drawn between the blockage of our vision by the cloth of honor in the Nativity scene on the left and its expansion through the open doors in the scene of Christ's Appearance to his Mother on the right, where a deep landscape invites us to follow the path of both the Resurrected Christ and the Three Marys who seek him.⁹⁹



Figs. 24–26 Rogier van der Weyden, *Miraflores Altarpiece*, ca. 1442–45. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (photo: Art Resource)

94 For this kind of empathetic devotion, see the pseudo-Bonaventurian *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illuminated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century*, trans. and ed. I. Ragusa and R. B. Green (Princeton, N.J., 1961), 338. The early 13th-c. Benediktbeuren Passion Play positions the grieving Mary in front of a crucifix, lamenting the death of her son and imploring the audience to do likewise; see *Carmina Burana: Die Lieder der Benediktbeurer Handschrift*, ed. A. Hilka and O. Schumann (Munich, 1974), 794–95, lines 248–60. For further discussion of these sources and their relevance to the Naumburg program, see Jung, “West Choir Screen” (above, n. 31), 156–68.

95 See W. Schlesinger, *Kirchengeschichte Sachsens im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1962).



96 Although few comparable ensembles of integrated architecture and interior sculpture have survived the centuries unscathed, there is evidence that medieval designers were adept at pictorializing liturgical space early on through either meaningful alignments of images across the interior or the strategic placement of architectural frames within it. In the lower level of the two-story church of Schwarzhemdorf near Bonn, created around 1180, the walls of the Heavenly Jerusalem were painted concentrically around an oculus in the eastern vault. As one approaches the altar, the oculus gradually reveals the epiphany vision of Revelation: the huge image painted on the apse of the upper church, of an enthroned Christ in Majesty, slips into place at the center of the Heavenly City. See E. Kluckert, "Romanesque Painting," in *Romanesque: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting*, ed. R. Toman (Cologne, 1997), 382–460 at 434–35, 437. For other examples of meaningful alignments of images with altars, see U. Nilgen, "Die Bilder über dem Altar. Triumph- und Apsisbogenprogramme in

Rom und Mittelitalien und ihr Bezug zur Liturgie," in *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter*, ed. N. Bock et al. (Munich, 2000), 75–90; and Freigang, "Wunderwerke" (above, n. 13). For a later example, see T. Puttfarcken, "Tizians Pesaro-Madonna: Maßstab und Bildwirkung," in *Der Betrachter ist im Bild: Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik*, ed. W. Kemp (Berlin, 1992), 94–122.

97 The most comprehensive analysis of the triptych is R. Grosshans, "Rogier van der Weyden: Der Marienaltar aus der Kartause Miraflores," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 23 (1981): 49–112. See also Panofsky, *ENP*, 1:259–65 and De Vos, *Rogier* (above, n. 34), 226–33, with further bibliography.

98 Birkmeyer, "Arch Motif" (above, n. 64), 2–20 offers an extended treatment of this framing device in Rogier's triptych and its sources. De Vos, *Rogier*, 226–27 and Grosshans, "Miraflores," 64 point out the resemblance of the three framing arches to the triple portals of Gothic cathedrals, though

none of these authors note that if these arches were indeed meant to evoke an exterior portal, the ecclesiastical spaces would be too short to function properly. Although I do not suggest that Rogier's framing device is meant to duplicate any specific structure, both their explicitly canopy-like form and the kind of vision they facilitate are much closer to that of screens. At the time Rogier was painting—and until the end of the 16th c.—Netherlandish screens employed precisely this design of three completely open arches that visually framed various segments of the choir; for examples, see Kavalier, "Jubé of Mons" (above, n. 30).

99 Acres, "Columba" (above, n. 8), 437–39 offers a brilliant analysis of Rogier's treatment of space and time in this panel.

The central arch, beneath which Mary, John, and Nicodemus weep over the dead Christ, seems, at first glance, to open onto a similar structure to that of the Resurrection panel (fig. 25). Here, too, rectangular openings give way to an expansive landscape, though this one is devoid of people. When we try to picture the room, however, Rogier's trick becomes clear: what looks like a double doorway, with a simple trumeau and lintel built into the arch, is in fact the empty cross, spatially distant. The scene of Lamentation, then, plays out not in a closed interior but in a shallow, permeable structure very much like a choir screen. As at Naumburg, this central door-cross both organizes and disrupts the space, pulling together foreground and background and then pushing them apart.

Given Rogier's well-known interest in visualizing the emotional nuances of human relationships, it is noteworthy that, within this triptych, it is only here, at the point where spatial and optical perception conflict, that the distance between persons is also effaced. In the wings, this distance is expressed through the emphatic display of crossed or raised hands and accentuated by the background elements, such as the inverted triangle of the cloth of honor between Mary and Joseph in the left-hand panel and the trumeau of the distant door in the right, which insert themselves like wedges between the characters. But here the vertical beam of the cross rises from a circle of hands that caress and grasp and from a pair of faces that press tightly together.¹⁰⁰ Rogier thus uses the perceptual experience of looking through a screen, with all its richness and ambiguity, to comment on human sensory experience: at the very moment our optical sense collapses space onto the plane, we witness tactile communication collapse the distance between the figures, allowing them comfort even in deepest grief.

The recognition that Rogier, Vrancke, Jan, and other late medieval artists may have been drawing on actual visual experiences with architectural partitions—though, it must be emphasized, they need not have been drawing on actual architectural models—only enhances the appeal and importance of their works.¹⁰¹ Like the tiny openings they so beautifully portray, these paintings allow us to gain a glimpse, however fleeting and fragmentary, into a mode of viewing that is largely lost in our modern age of minimalism and instant visual gratification.¹⁰² Whereas modern beholders generally prefer a clean and uncluttered view of an interior all at once, our medieval counterparts seem to have prized partitions for their ability to trigger desire for what lay beyond. The pictorial evidence I have been discussing confirms a point that theologians in East and West had insisted upon for centuries, a point also made, in very different ways, by many contributors to this volume: revelation was effective only when something was hidden. In the same way that, as V. Stoichita recently explained in a different context, “it is the rectangle of the window that transforms the ‘outside’ into a ‘landscape,’”¹⁰³ so it is the arched or rectangular aperture, yielding a partial but tightly focused view, that transformed an open polygonal room into a mysterious realm charged with divine power, and that helped imbue the seemingly simple act of looking with complexity and force. It is small wonder that when it came to portraying the experience of heaven in Last Judgment programs, medieval artists typically showed it not as a state of rest or of worship, as it was so often described in texts, but as joyful movement, at last, through doors (see figs. 7, 10).¹⁰⁴

This study benefited from earlier presentations at the University of California, Berkeley and the University of Toronto in March 2003 and at Stanford University in April 2003; since then, I have read versions at Harvard University

100 The kiss of Mary and Christ, as Panofsky, *ENP*, 1:261–62 explains it, was derived from the Byzantine *Threnos* motif by way of Italian painting.

101 For all their meticulousness in describing the details and layouts of church interiors, early Netherlandish painters only rarely copied directly from existing models, choosing rather to invent new structures using preexisting forms; see Harbison, *Van Eyck* (above, n. 42), 170–75; Meiss, “Light” (above, n. 44), 181; R. Maere, “Over het afbeelden van bestaande gebouwen in het schilderwerk van Vlaamsche Primitieven,” *Kunst der Nederlanden* 1 (1930–31): 201–12. There is no reason to expect them to have treated choir screens differently.

102 For a critique of the modern preference for open, uncluttered interiors, see Sauerländer, “Mod Gothic” (above, n. 3).

103 Stoichita, *Self-Aware Image* (above, n. 61), 34.

104 The image of the Elect entering a Gothic portal was a staple of exterior portal programs in France; see Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture* (above, n. 22), pls. 160–61 (Amiens Cathedral, center portal). For medieval interpretations of heaven as a place of stasis and solidity, often defined as architecture, see Bynum, *Resurrection* (above, n. 38), 292.

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