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Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches

Jacqueline E. Jung

Thomas Hardy's early novel *A Laodicean* (first published in 1881) focuses on the relationship between Paula Power, a spirited young woman intent on breathing new life into a ruined medieval castle, and George Somerset, a brilliant neo-Gothic architect she hires to carry out the renovations.¹ Wavering between the romanticized medieval past and a speedily progressing era of modern technology, the two find in each other the balancing pole between those worlds. Their mutual contentment and self-fulfillment are thwarted, however, by obstacle after obstacle: rival suitors, greedy con men, illnesses, and calculated misunderstandings combine to ensure that the lovers remain apart.

Toward the end of the novel, George, his reputation ruined through the devious machinations of his rivals, falls into despair and deserts the castle to study medieval molding profiles on the Continent. Just then, of course, his blamelessness is suddenly revealed to Paula, and she undertakes a frantic rush around France and Germany, hoping "to casually encounter Somerset in some aisle, lady-chapel, or crypt to which he might have betaken himself to copy and learn the secret of the great artists who had erected these nooks" (402). Having barely missed him in several far-flung towns, she ends up in Caen, at the church of the Abbaye-aux-Dames—a favorite haunt of Somerset's, we have already learned. Encountering Somerset's father, who is also seeking his son there, Paula is relieved to be on the right track. But now, when the loose ends are to be neatly tied up and all parties gratified at last, Paula and the old man are confronted with a difficulty seemingly more insurmountable than all the convoluted intrigues that have blocked everyone's happiness so far: a choir screen.

The church seemed absolutely empty, the void being emphasized by its graceful coolness. But on going towards the east they perceived a bald gentleman close to the screen, looking to the right and to the left as if much perplexed. Paula merely glanced over at him, his back being towards her, and turning to her aunt said softly, "I wonder how we get into the choir?" "That's just what I was wondering," said the old gentleman. . . . (402)

Paula and Somerset Sr. cannot get past the screen and into the choir—where they are certain, naturally, that Somerset lingers. They must leave the church and reenter through a separate door in the choir proper.²

Like Paula Power, scholars and churchgoers alike have long understood the function of choir screens to separate and exclude. Recent art historical scholarship has tended to present choir screens in much in the same way that their Renaissance and Counter-Reformation dismantlers did: as signs of either social or aesthetic disunity.³ As social signs, they are (and were) understood as hindrances to lay participation

in church rituals, "anti-pastoral devices"⁴ designed to prevent ordinary people from gaining access to the sacred mysteries. As aesthetic objects, they are (and were) perceived as disruptive to the sweeping vistas of uninterrupted lines and open space so admired by modern viewers, barriers that "[demonstrate] a contemporary trend toward the break-up of the traditional unity of the cathedral."⁵ Two important studies published within the last twenty-five years can serve as paradigms of these viewpoints.

In a groundbreaking 1977 volume, Dorothy Gillerman stressed the exclusive quality of the fourteenth-century choir enclosure in the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, both as an enclosing structure that barred the laity from the privileged space of canons and bishop and as an ideologically charged sculptural program that foregrounded clerical authority and power.⁶ In the context of a massive multimedia program, which, along with the sculptured choir screen, included a series of stained-glass windows and tombs designed to reinforce the chapter's institutional identity,⁷ the *clôture* served both "as an escape from the world in the form of the congregation and as a declaration of the priesthood's exclusive relationship to the body of Christ."⁸ This it accomplished, by Gillerman's account, in two ways. As architectural construction it blocked the view of the Eucharistic Host—the true body of Christ—which played an increasingly important role in popular devotions following the establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1264.⁹ On the other hand, the narrative images on its outer surface, with their manifold references to liturgical activities, including the Eucharistic ritual, reinforced the privileged position of the clerics within. As Gillerman presents it, the space of the choir was thus marked by a radical self-referentiality: the canons sought not only to seclude themselves from the outside world but also to surround themselves with imagery that would mirror their own activities, interests, and roles. It is little wonder, then, that the motivating concern of Gillerman's study was to determine "when and why such divisions were introduced into the formerly open interior space of France's major cathedrals"—a question that presupposes the intrinsic foreignness of screens there.¹⁰

Jean Bony's masterwork, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, could hardly differ more from Gillerman's social-historical account of Notre-Dame's liturgical accoutrements, but it shares the unspoken assumption that screens are fundamentally incompatible with the basic spatial plan of a Gothic building.¹¹ A tour de force of penetrating visual analysis, his book manifests a modern reverence for clean lines and steady rhythms in medieval interiors. Bony's accordance of primacy to the bare bones of Gothic architecture, unencumbered by the clutter of liturgical paraphernalia, has come under fire by such scholars as Willibald Sauerländer, who regards this approach as a "disturbing" "estrangement



1 Jan van Eyck, *Madonna in a Church*, 1437–38. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz Gemäldegalerie (photo: Jörg P. Anders)



2 East choir screen, ca. 1230.
Naumburg Cathedral (photo: author)

of the art-historian from actual history.”¹² But to proclaim this a peculiarly “modernist” trend, while certainly apt, does not do full justice to a traditional and deep-rooted distaste for choir screens extending nearly uninterrupted from Giorgio Vasari. A common excuse for destroying screens in the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries was, after all, aesthetic: that choir screens were disruptive to the spatial unity of any church.

Despite its continued prevalence in much art historical literature, however, this claim is not necessarily accurate. Even disregarding their liturgical functions, the surviving ensembles in, for example, St. Elisabeth in Marburg or Meissen Cathedral appear seamlessly and harmoniously integrated into their architectural surroundings, indeed, enhancing rather than detracting from the overall space.¹³ It would be difficult to summon more dazzling testimony to the aesthetic impact choir screens held for contemporary beholders than Jan van Eyck’s *Madonna in a Church* (Fig. 1), where it is not the open sanctuary but the lacy, flickering surface of the sumptuous sculptured screen that frames and echoes the Virgin’s body. Adding their liturgical functions into consideration, it becomes clear that choir screens played such an integral—and even integrating—role in church buildings that the question as to their aesthetic compatibility with Gothic space takes on secondary importance. The first two sections of this paper will demonstrate that, far from acting only as social and spatial dividers (both of which they were in a literal sense), choir screens fulfilled a wide variety of incorporative functions. Through internal structural elements such as doors and platforms, they united the discrete spaces of choir and nave while simultaneously asserting the integrity of each spatial unit. Through those same elements they integrated laity with clergy even while reinforcing the distinct roles of those groups. The screens as architectural structures, I argue, are fundamentally complex things fraught with paradox, markers of a highly charged site of transition and passage.

Having outlined the visual, liturgical, and anthropological ways that choir screens unify as well as divide, I turn in the following two sections to the sculptural programs that charac-

teristically covered a screen’s nave-facing surface. As screen ensembles at Strasbourg (known through drawings and fragmentary remains) and Havelberg (still in situ) demonstrate, designers exploited the dual orientation of these structures, using a distinctive visual vocabulary on each side for messages aimed at the socially differentiated viewers who inhabited the respective spaces.¹⁴ The imagery on screen facades must be understood, I argue, with respect as much to the lay audiences to whom it was directed physically as to the clerical designers who conceived it. Through a particular stylistic idiom (traditionally associated with the Naumburg workshop) and specialized choices of imagery, choir screen sculpture addressed itself to and thereby incorporated precisely those nonclerical viewers whom the screens appear structurally to exclude.

This represents a remarkable shift in the function of monumental ecclesiastical sculpture. The primary purpose of these images is not simply to instruct by reminding illiterate people of the events of sacred history, but also to teach through empathy and identification—to draw their viewers into the stories emotionally, both by couching these in solid, easily legible forms and by offering multiple spurs for personal identification. The final section of this paper takes up some aspects of this change in representational function, arguing for an understanding of this genre of sculpture as a visual mode, analogous to vernacular languages and sermon exempla, which in its directness and ease of comprehension was expected to resonate most fully in lay hearts and minds.

Getting Past the Barrier:

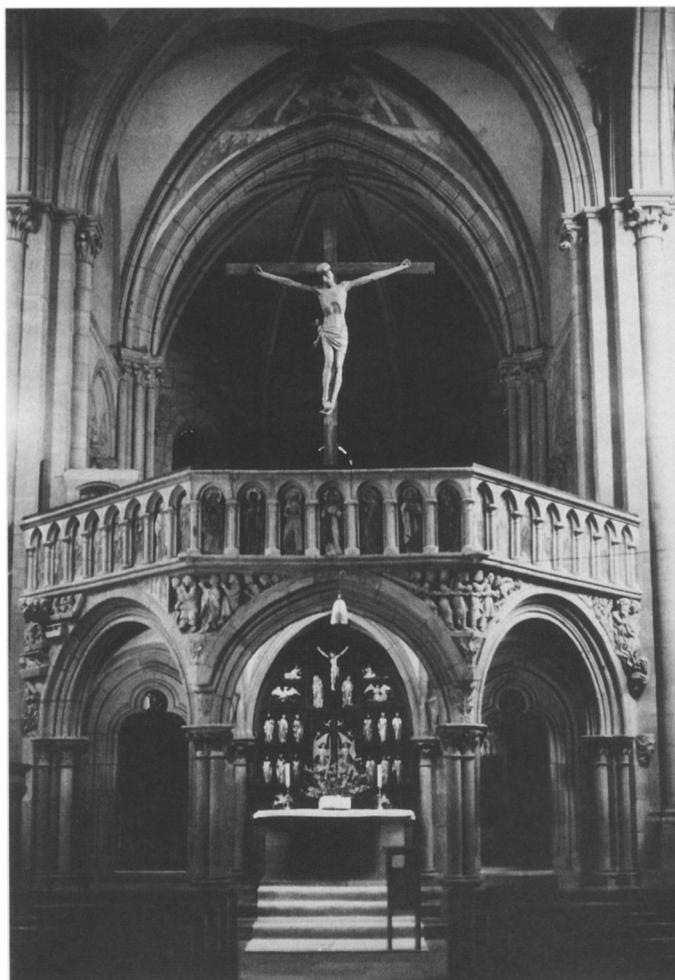
Types and Functions of Choir Screens

As it appeared in cathedral, monastic, and collegiate churches during the first third of the thirteenth century, the choir screen (also known as a *jubé*, *Lettner*, or rood screen)¹⁵ was a deep structure spanning the width of the liturgical choir, which generally corresponded to the width of the nave, not including the aisles.¹⁶ Exact placement depended on the size of the community using the choir regularly; in churches with fewer clerical members, the screen might span the distance between the eastern crossing piers, while for larger groups it

might be shifted westward or even well into the nave.¹⁷ Some of the earliest screens were built to connect a crypt with an elevated choir; these *Kryptenlettner* acted as both structural supports and visual masks for the meeting point, above the nave floor, of the crypt's ceiling with the choir's floor. The best surviving example of such a screen in Germany stands at the eastern end of the nave of Naumburg Cathedral (Fig. 2), dated about 1230.¹⁸ The lower level of this structure consists of a triple-bay porch, with quadripartite groin vaults springing from a series of broad, round arches that open out toward the nave. In the central bay stands the altar at which laypeople attended Mass (and still do today);¹⁹ in the side bays, two tapering stairways lead to diminutive doors through which the clergy could enter the crossing beyond. At the top, a blind arcade of shallow, rounded niches, which enframe painted figures of the Apostles and Christ in Majesty, forms the balustrade of an elevated platform from which clerics addressed the laity in the nave (a central niche marks that spot).²⁰

Freestanding screens are more common, not least because of their greater formal and structural flexibility. The chancel-type screen (*Kanzellettner*), represented by the remarkably well-preserved example at St. Mary in Gelnhausen (ca. 1240), was favored in German churches throughout the thirteenth century (Fig. 3).²¹ Here, the reading platform does not span the entire structure (as it did on the Naumburg east screen) but rather consists of a centralized pulpit jutting out of the screen's main body. This polygonal stage overhangs the altar dedicated to the holy cross, or cross altar, and thus serves as a monumental ciborium for liturgical activity below.²² As in the east screen at Naumburg, doors leading into the choir flank the altar. At Gelnhausen, sculpted images of the Last Judgment, from the resurrection of the dead to the torments of Hell, fill the spandrels at each oblique corner, inviting the viewer to move from one side to the other.²³

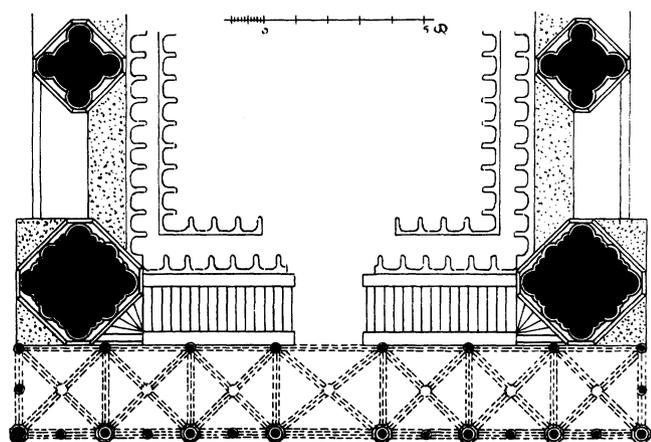
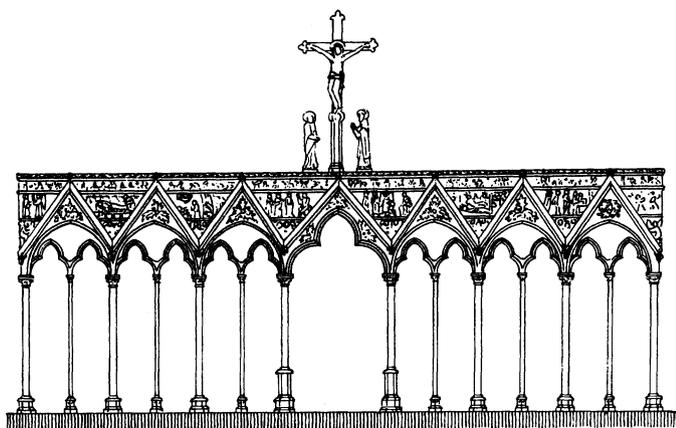
By the middle of the thirteenth century, the German author of the courtly epic *The Younger Titurel* (ca. 1260) could assume sufficient familiarity with chancel screens among his readers that he confidently presented the screen of the Grail Temple itself as such a structure.²⁴ But a French author of the period might have chosen for his model a *Hallenlettner*, or what I shall call simply the porch type, or porch screen.²⁵ This was a light, vaulted structure consisting of a solid rear wall with a central door and an open frontal arcade, whose gables and vaults served (as Erika Doberer explains) the triple function of "supporting the spacious rectangular platform above, creating a row of ciboria over the lay altars . . . and acting as vestibule to the choir."²⁶ The arcade also serves the aesthetic purpose of mitigating the effect of the choir's enclosure through the chapel-like arrangement of the frontal bays.²⁷ Such was the configuration of the screen from Chartres Cathedral (1230–40), which with seven bays and a total height of between 17 and 23 feet was one of the largest we know to have existed (Fig. 4). Relief panels containing scenes from the Childhood of Christ filled the triangular spandrels between the gables dominating the screen's facade.²⁸ In contrast to the chancel-type layouts favored in Germany at the time, the *jubés* at Chartres and elsewhere in France (for example, Bourges, Amiens, Paris) were pierced with a central opening leading into the choir, while lay altars stood in the



3 Choir screen, ca. 1240. Gelnhausen, church of St. Mary (photo: author)

side bays.²⁹ Assuming this door (or pair of doors) remained open during any part of the High Mass, lay participants in the nave could gain some glimpse of the choir interior, at least from certain vantage points.³⁰ Meanwhile, clerics could gain access to the upper platform by means of stairways located on the reverse side; often the dramatic potential of the stagelike platform space was exploited by the inclusion of two sets of stairs, which allowed for continuous movement across the screen.³¹

Another type of screen, frequently used in English churches, replaced the open, arcaded front of the porch screen with a solid surface while retaining the central doorway and upper platform.³² Such screens, designated in the literature as *Schrankenlettner*, or what I will call the partition type, appear more like walls than the deep open screens we have considered so far; their lack of vaulted spaces can present problems in determining the original location of altars.³³ Despite their structural solidity, however, partition screens were typically designed so as to minimize the effect of closure, through a highly sculptural or decorative treatment of the facade. In England the wall surface dissolves into lacy configurations of niches and baldachins containing sculptured figures; such is the case with the screen at York, to cite only one among many surviving English examples, as well as at St. Elisabeth in Marburg.³⁴ At Naumburg, the surface of the west choir screen



4 Reconstruction of the choir screen of Chartres Cathedral, 1230–40 (from Bunjes, “Der gotische Lettner,” 76, photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

appears to consist of thin slices of stone overlaid one on another, creating the illusion of considerable disparity between innermost and outermost surfaces and the effect of openness rather than enclosure (Fig. 5).³⁵ This impression is deepened by the inclusion of a socle bench topped by a blind arcade. The niches formed by the arcade’s trefoil arches, with their head-and-shoulders composition, combine with the deep socle bench to constitute a highly inviting arrangement that almost demands an (at least imaginative) insertion of the human body.³⁶

In our post-Enlightenment, post-Conciliar age it is easy to perceive choir screens as outrageously undemocratic devices, designed to exclude the gazes and bodies of laypeople from the sacred precinct of the choir. For all their formal diversity and their sense of spatial openness, choir screens *were* essentially meant to divide nave from choir, and thus to separate lay from clerical participants during High Mass and daily recitations of Divine Offices (in principle, if not always in practice). But whether their medieval users—lay and ecclesiastical alike—perceived them as *hindrances* to lay involvement in church services is a point we would do well to question.

As Marcia Hall has explained, modern scholarship’s prevailing attitude toward choir screens harks back to Eugène Viollet-le-Duc’s influential account of their origins and functions.³⁷ In his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture française*, he assigned to the erection of screens a late date of origin (after

November 1246) and a specific political motivation—the act of union of the barons of France, when Louis IX removed bishops’ power of jurisdiction over secular legal disputes.³⁸ In this view, screens were built as a hostile sign of the bishops’ self-imposed exile:

Unable to make of their cathedrals . . . the seat of every kind of jurisdiction—as they had hoped to do at the beginning of the thirteenth century—they contented themselves with making them into episcopal *churches*, and, motivated by both political and religious factors, they shut themselves up with their chapters in those vast elevated sanctuaries.³⁹

This is a strange interpretation in several respects. First, it offers no insight into the origins and functions of screens erected earlier; the *jubé* at Chartres, which Viollet-le-Duc praises as being “of a rare beauty” and dates to the middle of the thirteenth century, was in fact produced by 1240, well before the hypothetical retreat.⁴⁰ Nor does his explanation account for screens produced in lands untouched by Louis IX’s jurisdictional laws, such as northern Italy and Germany, where a strong tradition of erecting screens existed by 1200.⁴¹ It is surprising, moreover, that so sharp-sighted a historian of architecture would neglect to mention the role of screens as monumental platforms, with stairways and doors providing passage between inside and outside, and hence considerable contact with the lay public.

Hall has already criticized the tendency of modern scholarship to accept and adhere to Viollet-le-Duc’s explanation, “so conspicuously the product of nineteenth-century anticlericalism.”⁴² Indeed, evidence of medieval uses of and responses to screens makes clear that these structures were *not* perceived primarily as barriers by users on either side during their efflorescence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Most broadly, it seems curiously counterproductive for the clergy to go to such lengths (and expense) to discourage laypeople from participating in masses precisely at a time regarded as a “pastoral turning point” in medieval Church history.⁴³ From both a practical and an ideological standpoint, laypeople were *needed* in the church; that many were pursuing alternative forms of religious activity, sometimes beyond the reaches of clerical authority, made their involvement in traditional ecclesiastical institutions all the more urgent.⁴⁴ Moreover, the growing importance of cities and the desire for urban autonomy caused unprecedented friction between lay townsfolk and ecclesiastical authorities, which led to all-out revolts against clerical lords during the mid- to late thirteenth century in towns such as Reims, Beauvais, Cologne, and Mainz.⁴⁵ Here as elsewhere, bishops and chapters knew all too well that their positions of privilege carried little weight without the support of the lay community.

Numerous pleas for financial assistance directed toward “all the faithful of both sexes and every rank” make evident, moreover, that the construction of many churches would have been impossible without the contributions of laymen and -women. Stephen Murray has drawn attention to the critical role lay donations played in the construction of the cathedral church at Troyes at the turn of the fourteenth century;⁴⁶ revenue accounts show that the bulk of income going toward



5 West choir screen, ca. 1250.
Naumburg Cathedral (photo: author)

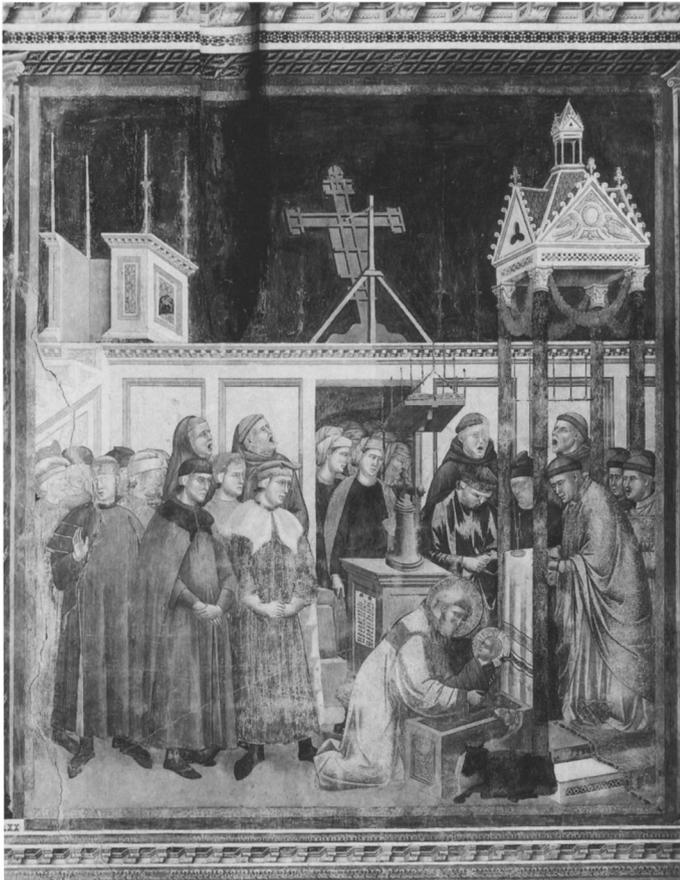
the fabric consisted of monies offered by the faithful either in public fund-raising campaigns or placed in the church's collection boxes. (Certainly the ecclesiastical establishment at Troyes had no reason to discourage good relations with the lay public; funds were frequently diverted straight into the pockets of bishop and canons, who themselves were quite tightfisted in their contributions.⁴⁷) A 1249 plea for donations directed by the bishop and chapter of Naumburg to the general public even offers lifetime membership in a prayer brotherhood as an enticement to potential donors, who could thereby join their noble predecessors in being remembered and thanked for eternity.⁴⁸ The statues of unapologetically secular donors dominating the west choir of this cathedral testify to the frankly acknowledged power of the laity even within supposedly elite clerical spaces.⁴⁹

Liturgical sources further present a picture of thirteenth-century clerics who were hardly insensitive to lay presence and participation at masses.⁵⁰ The elevation of the Host, which formed the core of the liturgy and was supposedly deliberately concealed from the laity by the screens, had been conceived as an inclusive act from its very inception. In the words of its initiator, the Parisian bishop Odo of Sully (d. 1208), it was performed specifically so that the transubstantiated Host "could be seen by all [*ut possi ab omnibus videri*]."⁵¹ Several generations later the elevation of the Host was recognized by Albertus Magnus as a "universal practice" allowing the consecrated Host to be "seen and adored by the people."⁵² When holding it high above his head did not make the sacrament sufficiently visible to the congregation, the officiant could take other measures to ensure its visibility. At Chartres, a brilliant purple cloth was suspended behind the high altar in the choir, so that the elevated Host could be seen more clearly from the nave (apparently, through the central door of the *jubé*); the glow of candles placed on an altar might be used dramatically to silhouette the uplifted body of Christ.⁵³ By the fourteenth century, overzealous celebrants

had to be reminded to refrain from elevating the Host multiple times or from waving it in various directions.⁵⁴ Presumably, such offenses were not enacted for the benefit of the other clergy, who already had access, visual and otherwise, to the holy wafer.

Of course, masses were not restricted to the high altar in the choir; as mentioned above, the bays of the choir screen also contained one or more altars used specifically for public masses or privately endowed services.⁵⁵ But even during services performed inside the choir proper, care was taken to include the laity, if only at the moment of consecration.⁵⁶ The general chapter meeting of the Carthusians in 1261 stipulated that the doors leading to the choir in this order's churches be opened during the elevation of the Host, allowing lay devotees to see the action, and closed again for the remainder of the Mass.⁵⁷ The highlighting of the Host against the purple backdrop at Chartres was undertaken specifically for the benefit of those peering into the choir through the frame of the open doors.⁵⁸ In his visitation protocol of 1340, a bishop of Grenoble complained of the presence in some churches of a wall between choir and nave "that hides the view of the Eucharist"—a good indication that by this time, when most churches possessed a choir screen, people were nonetheless expected to be able to admire the Host.⁵⁹ Analyses of the original visual effects of screens confirm that in many cases, as at Sens, the "imposing and majestic mass of the *jubé* did not in the least break up the perspective of the immense central vessel, and the gaze was able to plunge into the choir as far as the altar."⁶⁰

Choir screens were permeable by laypeople not only visually but also physically; textual and visual sources alike indicate that the passage of laypeople through the screen to participate in services in the choir was hardly a rarity. The liturgy of the Sarum Rite, for example, prescribes the occasional sprinkling with holy water of clergy as well as "the laity sitting in the presbyterium."⁶¹ In 1250, Bishop Odo of Rouen



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

complained that the Eucharistic Host was not set up on the high altar at the cathedral of Séez—“and yet that must be done, so that those people who walk through the choir and who pray there can have it before their eyes and thus increase their devotion.”⁶² In Italian churches, such as S. Croce in Florence, multiple screens might serve to divide not only clergy from laity but also catechumens from baptized Christians and women from men⁶³—not a terribly inclusive arrangement, perhaps, but one that sheds light on a more complex and nuanced use of screens than is often supposed.⁶⁴ A fresco panel from the upper church of S. Francesco in Assisi provides a glimpse into such a space; here, an assembly of laymen stands around the altar inside the choir, while a group of women watches the action through the doors behind (Fig. 6).⁶⁵

By the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the participation of laypeople in services within the choir had become so widespread and so fervent that—ironically enough—it was the clergy whose proper performance of rituals was hindered.⁶⁶ We catch a glimpse of what must have been quite distracting conditions in a decree from the Synod of Angers (1423) prohibiting

each and every person, most especially laypeople, married men and women, to presume to take their places in the chancel of the church while the Divine Offices are being celebrated . . . ; to sit or remain continually at the altar at which a Mass is to be celebrated while [other] Masses are

being celebrated; to meet or linger next to or in front of the same [altar], placing themselves between the singers and that altar.⁶⁷

So common was this practice—especially, it seems, among laywomen—that the Augustinian preacher Gottschalk Hollen cited as “proverbial” the saying, “The worse the whore, the closer she stands to the choir.”⁶⁸ Women, he warned, should not approach the altar in the choir—*except* to take Communion.

Beyond expressing frustration with laypeople’s tendency to interfere with liturgical solemnities by crowding the choir, other textual sources indicate that if choir screens were intended primarily to define and maintain clerics’ authority by shielding their activities from the laity, their success was questionable indeed. For, paradoxically but not surprisingly, in their very act of concealment the screens mystified and thus made more attractive liturgical practices and paraphernalia, fanning rather than stifling the desire of the physically excluded to see what lay behind. Few churchmen can be expected to have believed this would not be the case. After all, Augustine had argued long before that the blessed sacraments not be exposed to catechumens before baptism, “so that they will desire these things the more ardently to the extent that [the sacraments] are respectfully concealed from them.”⁶⁹ There were obvious biblical precedents for the occlusion of holy objects and spaces: God himself had commanded that the Holy of Holies be hidden by a veil (Ex. 27 and 40).⁷⁰ Such acts of mystification did not exclusively or necessarily apply to the laity or the uninitiated; by the later Middle Ages, *Fastentücher*—gigantic cloths embroidered or painted with scenes from Christ’s life and Passion—were being suspended around the high altar of many churches during Lent, obscuring the Host from all the clergy except the celebrant.⁷¹

“The commonest thing,” Oscar Wilde wrote, “is delightful if only one hides it,” and judicial sources indicate that this lure of the concealed was just as effective for thirteenth-century users of churches.⁷² Peter Browe’s studies of criminal reports from this time show that break-ins and thefts of holy items—especially Hosts—from choirs *increased* following the erection of screens, as did the use of (often stolen) Hosts for apotropaic or other magical purposes.⁷³ While they may not have been such strict barricades as has often been supposed, then, choir screens were highly potent in their role as mystifying enclosures.

Beyond this crucial role in structuring sacred space, choir screens were activated through a wide variety of liturgical and secular functions. As their vernacular designations in France and Germany indicate, their primary purpose was to provide a stage from which the Gospels and Epistles would be read to the lay congregation in the nave. The French word *jubé* refers to the formulaic request for blessing prior to the reading of the Gospel, “*Iube Domne [sic] benedicere*”;⁷⁴ while the German *Lettner*, appearing in the sources as early as 1261, simply vernacularizes the Latin word *lectorium*, the place for reading.⁷⁵ In Italy the term *ponte*, while not referring directly to ritual actions, allows us nonetheless to recognize the importance of the screen as a structure that spans a space and that may be crossed both laterally (by walking across the bridgelike

platform on top) and longitudinally (by walking through the doors underneath).⁷⁶ By the later Middle Ages the screen's upper platform was used liturgically not only for the reading of Scripture but also for complete masses; at the Cathedral of St. Stephen in Vienna, for example, two altars occupied that space, one of which had been erected in the fourteenth century by local merchants.⁷⁷ Sermons were delivered and relics displayed from atop the screens, and the choreography of processions and stage directions of liturgical plays frequently integrated the platforms, doors, and lower bays as well.⁷⁸ The early use of screens as the place from which liturgical hymns were sung continued even after the screens lost their concealing bulk in the later Middle Ages and post-Reformation era to become elevated stages, completely open below, for organs or groups of singers.⁷⁹

The role of choir screens extended beyond their use as a liturgical prop to include secular functions as well. In cathedral churches, newly elected bishops greeted their congregations from the screen; at Mainz, for example, the new bishop was introduced "to the people by the deacon of the Mainz church [from] above the 'Synagogue' on the screen [*uf dem lettner*], at the place in which the Gospel is sung. . . ."⁸⁰ (This insertion of the vernacular designation *lettner* within the Latin Ordinary manifests strikingly the deep-seated association of the screen with a lay audience untrained in Latin—a point to which I shall return below.) Screens were also associated with royal interests. At Reims, the newly crowned king greeted his subjects from the *jubé*,⁸¹ and it has been suggested that screens at Mainz and other imperial churches played an important role in the anointing of kings in Germany.⁸² While judicial records from Chartres suggest that the lower bays of the *jubé* not infrequently sheltered less-than-holy activities by laypeople—sleeping, drinking, and fornicating, for example—it was in front of the screen at Sens that Louis IX of France and Margaret of Provence made their wedding vows in 1234.⁸³ Legal pronouncements concerning both ecclesiastical and secular affairs were made from the screen; these included interdictions and excommunications as well as more general judgments.⁸⁴ The judicial function of the screen was deepened by its being a special place of asylum for persons suspected of crimes.⁸⁵

Finally, one practical function must not be overlooked. During the daily and nightly recitation of the canonical hours (which did not involve lay participation), screens protected the ecclesiastical communities from chill and drafts. Marcia Hall has pointed out this warming function of Italian screens, which in some cases were considerably lower than their northern counterparts.⁸⁶ The overzealous clerics who tore down both east and west screens at Mainz Cathedral in the early 1680s recognized this factor too late; the bitter drafts that blew through the now open crossing bay made liturgical performances impossible, and the main altar had to be transferred once again into the apse.⁸⁷

Ironically, the post-Reformation removal of choir screens—ostensibly, to provide a more inclusive setting for the laity—had negative repercussions for laypeople's experience of the Mass as well. As Klaus Gamber has explained, a shift in the focal point of lay masses accompanied the changing spatial configuration of newly unpartitioned interiors, from the cross altar in front of the screen to the high altar in the apse.⁸⁸

Although their view was no longer as obscured by the bulk of the screen, laypeople were still prohibited, this time by an openwork iron grille, from entering the sacred precinct of the choir. When they watched the Mass, therefore, it was now from a vast distance. Gone was the intimacy of participating in a Mass conducted in the nave; despite the opening up of the choir space to full view, the altar became, paradoxically, more remote and inaccessible than ever.

That laypeople did not perceive the screens as obstacles to visual or physical participation can be seen in the reception and continued use of screens in the early modern era. Indeed, rather than alienating the laity, screens became a tangible sign of lay identity within many churches. While screens were initially erected only in monastic, cathedral, and collegiate churches, they began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to be established in parish churches as well; new screens might appear through the efforts and financial expenditures of towns, as was the case at Freiburg Cathedral, or individual lay patrons, as at St. Maria im Kapitol in Cologne.⁸⁹ By the fifteenth century, private donors were proudly stamping the screens with family coats of arms, as at Marburg and Meissen, or even with figural representations of themselves, as at Lübeck.⁹⁰ The screen became the site of private chapels, for example, at S. Maria Novella, where no fewer than four family chapels and tombs were built into the lower level of the *ponte*.⁹¹ This appears to be an extension of the strong tradition among lay patrons of being buried near the screen, generally in front of the cross altar.⁹² The laity frequently had to compete for this space with bishops and abbots, who surprisingly often requested burial in the same spot instead of within the choir.⁹³ This practice may well stem from the desire, articulated much earlier by Archbishop Anno of Cologne (d. 1075), to be buried "*in medio ecclesiae*"—that is, in the nave—"so that the laypeople could seek out his grave even during the prayer-services in the choir."⁹⁴ In this striking reversal of roles, it is the powerful cleric who seeks integration within the community of his lay flock.

While the pavement in front of screens was set with the tombs of prominent lay and ecclesiastical donors, and the surface of the structure was ornamented with family coats of arms, the overhanging upper story offered churchgoers the opportunity to further their devotional practices. For this was a site well suited for the hanging of votive images, made in honor of the special favors granted by the saints.⁹⁵ In an early sixteenth-century painting of a vision of holy martyrs processing through the church of S. Antonio a Castello in Venice, dozens of crutches, candles, and other wax objects dangle from a choir screen, tangible signs of the participation of divine powers in the lives of the faithful.⁹⁶

The significance of the space in front of the screen is further asserted in northern Renaissance paintings.⁹⁷ In Jan van Eyck's *Madonna in the Church* (1437–38), the Virgin Mary looms up magnificently within a meticulously rendered Gothic nave (Fig. 1).⁹⁸ Behind her stands an elaborate porch screen, containing a small altar in one of the bays, complete with candles and a statue of the Virgin. Through the screen's open central doorway a carved retable can be seen, but the altar itself is obscured by two angels who occupy the space, singing from a book. The choir is clearly presented here as the locus



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

of prescribed ritual actions in honor of the Divine, but the Divine is located—in tangible, splendid form—in the nave.

Rogier van der Weyden's *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments* (1453–55) presents the nave as the site not only of multiple liturgical activities (including, prominently, the celebration of the Eucharist) but also of a vivid reenactment of Christ's Crucifixion (Fig. 7).⁹⁹ That the high altar is nowhere in sight does not seem to matter; the cross altar, in the nave and on axis with the crucified body of Christ, is the main ritual focus. In the meantime, we witness a curious inversion of the hierarchy of spaces (as constructed by modern scholars), with the presence of laymen far back in the choir area, separated from the nave by a grille.¹⁰⁰ To be sure, this image, despite its powerful illusionism, represents not so much realistic documentation as a manipulation of real-world occurrences, especially in the figures of the Crucifixion group coming to life in the central space. Nevertheless, it reveals a conception of the central vessel of the church—however rigidly compartmentalized its sides may be—as remarkably fluid, a space in which vision and reality elide and the realms of sacred and profane, public-liturgical and private-devotional, blend seamlessly together.

Choir Screens as Sites of Passage

The dual role of the choir screen encompassing, on the one hand, its physical function as a *divider* of space and social groups and, on the other, its liturgical function as a *uniter* of spaces and groups through the ritual of the Mass makes it a dynamic and highly charged component of the Gothic church interior. Marking the threshold between choir and nave, it represents the “liminal zone which partakes of the qualities of both” the realms it delimits.¹⁰¹ The choir screen

shares this quality with other kinds of liturgical dividers—from the cloth veils of the biblical Temple to late medieval *Fastentücher*, from the iconostases of Eastern sanctuaries to the painted, wall-height screens in Italian mendicant churches¹⁰²—but differs from these both in its relatively low elevation and its incorporation of platform and doors.¹⁰³ The widespread use of similar constructions in such diverse formats, however, suggests a deeper function of Gothic choir screens that goes beyond the particular details of the medieval Western liturgy or the social worries of thirteenth-century ecclesiastics. Seen in this broader context, the screen stands as a sacred site for rites of passage, defined in the pioneering work by Arnold van Gennep and explored further by Victor Turner and Edmund Leach.¹⁰⁴

Van Gennep traced the origins of the physical marker of rites of passage to the delineation of neutral zones, “where everybody has full rights to travel and hunt,” at the boundaries between distinct groups or clans; passage from one territory to another entailed “waver[ing] between two worlds . . . for a certain length of time.”¹⁰⁵ Leach has illustrated this principle using a diagram of two slightly overlapping circles representing “two zones of social space-time which are *normal, time-bound, clear-cut, secular*”; the lozenge-shaped area formed by their overlapping edges stands for the boundary zone, which is “*abnormal, timeless, ambiguous, at the edge, sacred*.”¹⁰⁶ Of course, the situation at hand is complicated by the fact that the church is already a sacred space, defined in opposition to the outer world. But the screens inside multiply the experience of passage begun at the outer threshold, offering a progressive folding in of potent spaces and a concomitant intensification of that “crossing of frontiers” that anthropologists recognize is “always hedged about with

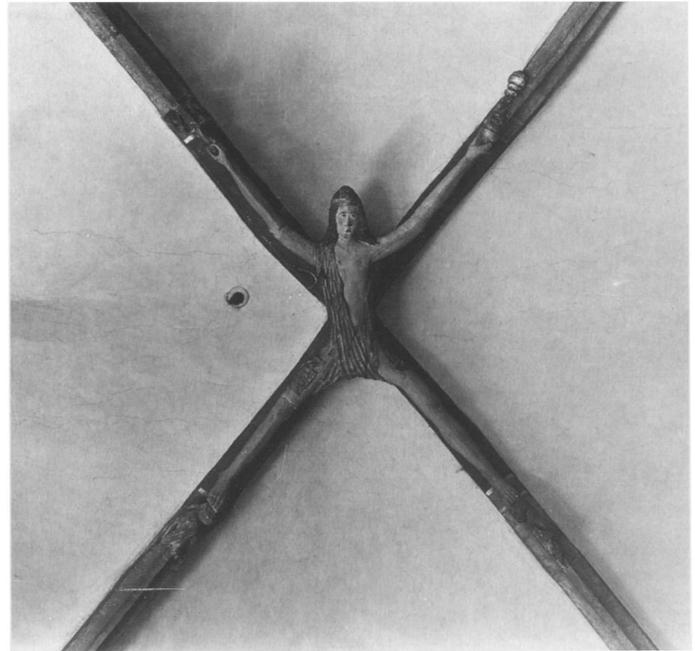
ritual.”¹⁰⁷ Let us recall that in their practical role as a zone of judicial asylum, choir screens quite literally created a neutral space where ordinary secular rules did not apply. Let us also recall that much about the structural and decorative forms of the screens allows and, indeed, invites viewers to enter into their frontal spaces—thus, to occupy, for a time, a space that is itself neither nave nor choir yet touches and incorporates both.¹⁰⁸

Van Gennep goes on to describe the role of boundary markers of various kinds.¹⁰⁹ In anthropological accounts, in no instance are boundaries—whether marked by sticks lying across a road or elaborate sculptured portals—meant actually and always to block movement across them. On the contrary, they exist to signify that *something is to be crossed*: that a new territory lies beyond, where a new, special status will be assumed by the individual who enters it. This intermediary function is precisely what the choir screens fulfill at their most profound level. It is important to recall that, regardless of the precise morphology of a screen, its doors—the sites of passage—are almost always located on the nave side, continually visible to people standing on both sides.¹¹⁰ Even for laymen and -women who might never cross the threshold, the presence of these doors would have continually enticed them with the *potential* of passing through. And the fact that, in contrast to the Italian wall screens that rose all the way to the ceiling, choir screens were always low enough to be seen over and beyond reinforces their role as reminders of the zone that lies behind.¹¹¹

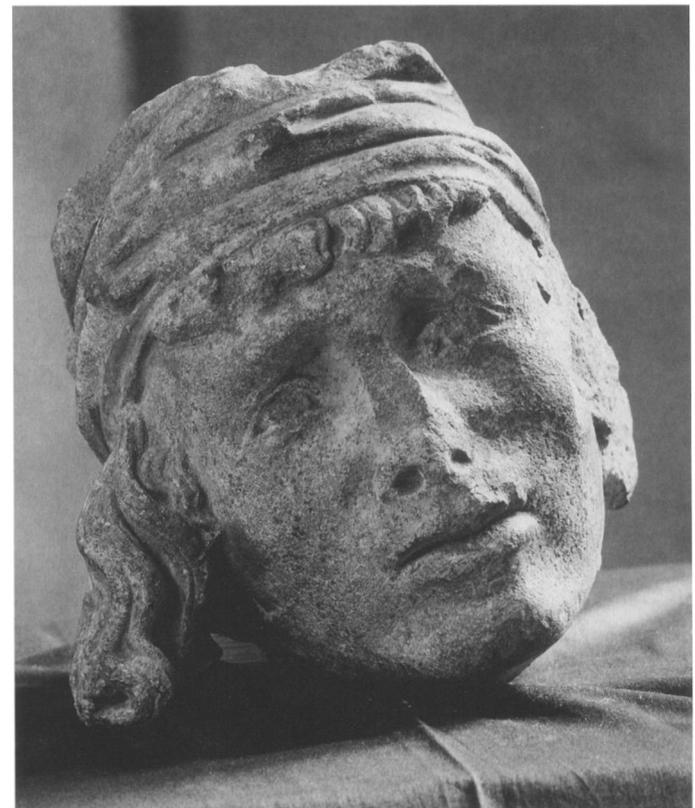
In some thirteenth-century screens, the significance of the doors as a site of passage was intensified by the presence of highly confrontational sculptured figures. At the thresholds of the screens, a doubling could take place not only between media—where architecture and figural sculpture merge—but also between the living human body and a sculptured body that appears *as if living*.¹¹² The visual shifting of forms in the sculptured body as a viewer is drawn around it culminates in a reversal of roles in which the viewer is addressed by the sculpture and, by extension, by the person it represents. Along with amplifying the immediacy of the representational content, this process marks and heightens the moment of passage, calling attention to the movement into a different space as an act permeated with religious and emotional power.

In the western screen at Mainz Cathedral, for example, a life-size, nearly nude male figure once hung, spread-eagled, across the vault of the entrance bay, with each limb adhering to an architectural rib (Fig. 8).¹¹³ In this case, people entering the choir had to pass beneath this strange hovering figure, whose extraordinarily lively three-dimensional head gazed down at them from above (Fig. 9). Here, the presence of a highly verisimilitudinous body within—and *as*—a structural architectural element must have made the act of passage extraordinary in its potency.

At Naumburg, the figure of the crucified Christ, flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist, hangs on the trumeau of the central doorway, close to the ground, instead of hovering high above viewers' heads atop the screen in the typical configuration at the time (Fig. 10).¹¹⁴ This new arrangement has long been discussed for its relation to certain biblical passages (John 10:9) as well as for its manifes-

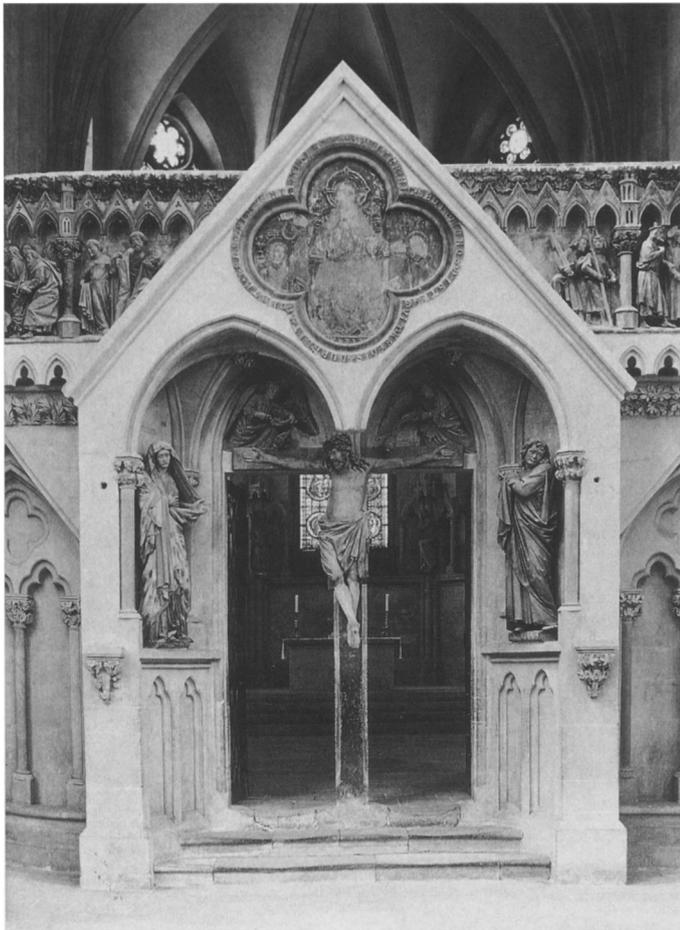


8 Mainz, church of St. Emmeram, vault figure based on a prototype formerly located in the entrance bay of the west choir screen of Mainz Cathedral, 14th century. Destroyed (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)



9 Head fragment from former Mainz Cathedral west choir screen, ca. 1235. Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

tation of trends in thirteenth-century piety that placed increasing emphasis on the suffering human body of Christ.¹¹⁵ What often remains unacknowledged in such accounts is the *uncanny* effect of the figure's close physical presence. As



10 West choir screen: Crucifixion portal, seen from nave. Naumburg Cathedral (from Schubert, 77; photo: Janos Stekovics)

Freud described it, a sense of tension and strangeness arises when boundaries between representation and the real world dissolve, “as when something that we have hitherto regarded as imaginary appears before us in reality, or when a symbol takes on the full functions of the thing it symbolizes.”¹¹⁶

Approaching the screen portal at Naumburg, viewers take the position of witnesses to the Crucifixion. They are beckoned by the direct (visual) addresses of Mary and John, who with their pointing gestures invite them to gaze from a distance at the iconic suffering body. But the viewer’s physical entry *into* the threshold changes the effects and meaning of the sculpture group (Fig. 11). An inversion of roles takes place, with Christ appearing as an active, animated subject who addresses the suddenly passive viewer with a disconcertingly direct stare and slightly open mouth. At this moment, usually sharp distinctions break down: between an understanding of the Christ figure as dead and as alive, between the roles of viewing subject and image-object, between sculpture and living body. Thus, the movement of the viewer into the doorway entails a dramatic shift in the relation between image and perceiver; the boundaries between reality and imagination, “symbol [and] . . . the thing it symbolizes” merge and melt away.¹¹⁷

The twelfth-century Benedictine abbot Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) drew attention to the transformative power of the cross at a limen when he related a wondrous vision he had

experienced in the nave of an unspecified church.¹¹⁸ In a vivid third-person narrative Rupert recalled how

[h]e beheld visually in a certain church the image of the Savior nailed to the cross at an elevated spot, that is, where it should customarily stand so as to be displayed to people praying or offering reverence to it. As he immersed his thoughts in it, he saw this image come alive, with a face like a king’s, with radiant eyes and a gaze completely awe-inspiring. And it happened that [the figure] drew its right hand down from the cross arm and with a grand [gesture] made the sign of the cross upon the beholder.¹¹⁹

Quaking “like the leaves of a tree when the wind shakes them violently,” Rupert was then wrenched, “faster and more easily than can even be told,” into the air. “With his own hands outstretched” he was drawn “to those hands attached to the cross, and likewise his mouth [clung to] that mouth, so that it finally seemed that his whole body was stuck onto that other body.” Raised upward by the power of the elevated cross, Rupert’s body morphed into and replicated the body of Christ. As in van der Weyden’s imaginary nave three centuries later, distinctions between image and reality melted as sculpted body and living body merged.

Rupert’s account of his vision was written about 1125, before the widespread use of solid choir screens to partition space.¹²⁰ But sculpted Crucifixion groups, raised aloft on suspended balconies at the liminal area between nave and choir, were already common and continued to feature prominently on choir screens in the following centuries, sometimes, as is the case at the Cathedral of Halberstadt, being incorporated into a newer screen structure.¹²¹ Such figural groups so dominated the view from the nave that choir screens often came to be designated simply the “Great Cross.”¹²² Some scholars have suggested that the ubiquitous presence of the monumental Crucifixion groups on or above choir screens developed out of the association of smaller crucifixes with cross altars located *in medio ecclesia*, in the nave.¹²³ In such a view, the cross that stood upon or behind the cross altar grew upward, so to speak, once the bays of choir screens began to encase these altars. In this way the symbolic significance of screen, altar, and crucifix blended over time to present a monumental *Gesamtkunstwerk* of sacramental imagery and performance.¹²⁴

When we regard the choir screen as a site of passage, however, the location of the crucifix at its top deepens in significance. For the body of Christ has also been understood as a liminal body, the site on which contradictory qualities—dead and alive, human and divine, in pain and healing, disgusting and gorgeous—coexisted, and around which the identities of discrete social groups were simultaneously defined and dissolved.¹²⁵ In this respect it functioned symbolically in much the same manner that choir screens did physically. Contemporary observers did not fail to note the association of the sculptured body of Christ and the redemptive effects of physical passage that the screens so effectively dramatize. Commenting on a line from Acts 14:21 (“through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God”), the Carthusian Ludolf of Saxony (d. 1377) drew this connection to the elevated crucifix:



11 West choir screen: Crucifix, seen from the threshold. Naumburg Cathedral (photo: author)

This [statement] is well illustrated by the fact that a cross is placed between the choir and the outer limits of a church [that is, the nave], so that whoever wants to go into the choir must pass beneath the cross; for no one can enter from the Church militant into the Church triumphant except by means of the cross.¹²⁶

Through their monumentality, their height, and their location, laterally, at the threshold of nave and choir and, longitudinally, on axis with both cross altar and high altar, Crucifixion groups dominated the entire church interior and served as a visual connecting point between the various spaces. In Victor Turner's terms, they simultaneously defined

distinct social communities (laypeople and clergy) and created unstructured *communitas* (the general body of the Christian *ecclesia*).¹²⁷ For medieval viewers in the nave, it was the crucifix hovering high above but on axis with the altar that claimed attention at the critical moment of consecration within the sanctuary.¹²⁸

Thus, even if choir screens deprived lay participants of visual access to the Host as stringently as is usually assumed, in the Crucifixion figures they gave something back whose impact must not be underestimated: a view of the same salvific Eucharistic flesh as it hung on the cross, unmediated and unsullied, this time, by human hands.¹²⁹ Preachers such as

Berthold of Regensburg (d. 1272) pointed out the structural identity of the consecrated Eucharistic bread elevated by the priest at Mass and the suffering body of Christ elevated on the cross: "Just as truly as he was lifted up onto the sacred cross, so truly does the priest lift him up with his two hands. And thus should you all faithfully call upon him and pray. . . ."¹³⁰ The Vienna *Bible moralisée* (1230–40) made explicit the identity of the historical body of the crucified Christ with its sculptural representation on choir screens; the depiction of the historical Crucifixion is glossed as signifying "that a figure of the Crucified should be set up in front of the choir in the church as a sign of his triumph."¹³¹ Lay audiences were thus enjoined—and expected—to draw the connection imaginatively between the sculptured image of the crucified Christ on the screen, the historical body of Christ represented by the sculpture, and the Eucharistic bread behind but on axis with it. Structurally and symbolically, the body of Christ on the screen subsumed and *became* the body of Christ in the Host just as, paradoxically, it concealed it.

Chartres and Naumburg: Style as Substance in Choir Screen Sculpture

The crucifix at the top of a choir screen thus provided a powerful upward surge at the end of two extended horizontal movements: one longitudinal, advancing from the church's entrance to the choir screen, the other lateral, proceeding across the screen's frontal surface. Within this latter progress, the cross marked both beginning and end of a penitential journey through the stages of Christ's life and death, made visible in lively sculptural representations.¹³² As medieval mnemonic and meditational theories attest, these images were useful not only as illustrative reinforcements for preachers—though this was likely a significant function—but also as devotional instruments in their own right, helping to focus the meditations of and stimulate compunction in individual viewers.

Surviving fragments of thirteenth-century screens and drawings made before their widespread demolition provide evidence of sculptural programs distinctly geared toward lay audiences.¹³³ Most generally, the emphasis on Christmas and Easter imagery points as much to the projected interests of laypeople, who were obligated to visit the church on these feast days, as it does to the interests of the clergy, who (at least in theory) attended Mass daily.¹³⁴ A 1257 book of usages from the metropolitan Cathedral of Sens specifies, in fact, that "the archbishop was obliged to preach a sermon to the people from atop the *jubé*" on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost as well as on holy days such as Ash Wednesday and Holy Thursday.¹³⁵ Since most laypeople did not attend Mass aside from the major feasts, the focus of many screen-sculpture programs on Christmas, Passion, and Easter narratives would have been one way for clerics to make their experience more instructive and memorable.¹³⁶

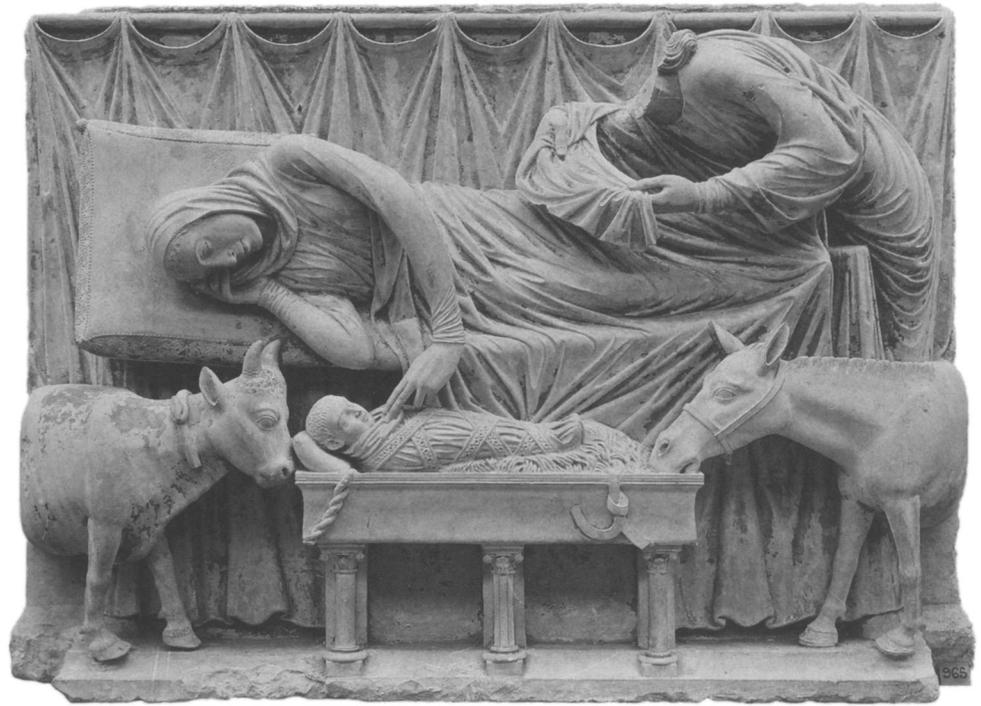
Across the surface of the *jubé* at Chartres, produced during the fourth decade of the thirteenth century, viewers beheld an extensive series of images focusing on the events of Christmas and Easter.¹³⁷ These deeply cut reliefs were inserted at balustrade level, between the tall gables that crowned the arcade of this porch screen (Fig. 4). Despite a striking range of styles, they are unified by their fine quality and their

extraordinary naturalism, evidenced in a high degree of corporeality, attention to psychological expression, stagelike use of space, and close attention to the homey details of secular life. Their stylistic disparity has traditionally been attributed to chronologically determined formal developments or the presence of different workshops. But analysis of the images as vehicles of communication reveals a close connection between style and subject matter—a deliberate experimentation with modes of representation, wherein certain subjects appear couched in forms deemed particularly appropriate to them.¹³⁸ This practice was, of course, well known to preachers, who adapted their "mode of speech and style of writing" to a sermon's content, itself determined by its suitability to a certain audience.¹³⁹ Given the frank alertness of thirteenth-century clerics to the communicative value of screens, their formal and iconographic peculiarities can best be understood as deliberately employed by clerical designers to address and integrate their lay flocks more directly.

Willibald Sauerländer has distinguished three major stylistic groups within the surviving reliefs from Chartres. The earliest (ca. 1230), characterized by a "fondness for complicated movements" of elongated limbs and "sharply brittle rendering" of highly classicizing draperies, is exemplified in a panel depicting the Nativity.¹⁴⁰ In the upper half of the relief, the reclining Virgin, wrapped in fine, clingy drapery, reaches languidly toward the swaddled Christ Child sleeping in the manger below (Fig. 12). A now headless figure (probably Saint Joseph) leans forward from the right to cover the Virgin with a blanket. The sheer abundance of sumptuously draped cloth—the Virgin's long garment, the additional blanket, the expansive curtain pinned up along the back surface—creates a richly textured surface of lines that modulate the long, slender bodies and unify the different planes of the scene. If all this did not call to mind the most admired relic at the cathedral, the tunic worn by the Virgin Mary at the Nativity,¹⁴¹ it certainly would have resonated with viewers familiar with the textile wall hangings that were a ubiquitous feature of church interiors at this time.¹⁴²

Below the Virgin's bed, the undulating flow of draperies clinging to horizontally oriented bodies is replaced by a broad, open space punctuated by the stubby supports of the manger and the stocky legs of the ox and ass. Despite the delicate, quasiantique columns on which it rests, the manger is presented unmistakably as barn paraphernalia: leather straps and ropes dangle from its sides, and the donkey appears to chew the straw bedding. Within this single panel we witness a juxtaposition of two distinct modes of representation corresponding to the image's theological content: for the Virgin in the upper half of the panel, a classicizing mode highlighting an ethereal physical grace and psychological serenity; in the lower half, a greater interest in the earthy, robust, solid forms of the natural world. Linking these realms is the Christ Child, divine and human, whose swaddling clothes manifest the linear elegance of the Virgin's drapery but who lies firmly entrenched in the world of straw and straps and animals.

Representative of Sauerländer's second stylistic group, associated with a "foreign, perhaps Parisian atelier" and dating to "around 1240," is the relief portraying the Dream of the Magi (Fig. 13).¹⁴³ In keeping with iconographic conven-



12 Former choir screen, detail: *The Nativity*, 1230–40. Chartres Cathedral (photo: Giraudon/Art Resource, New York)



13 Former choir screen, detail: *The Dream of the Magi*. Chartres Cathedral (photo: Giraudon/Art Resource, New York)

tions, the Three Kings lie, still crowned, on a single bed in various states of sleep, inside a secular building with crenellated walls and square windows.¹⁴⁴ While the oldest of the three, on the far side of the bed, starts up with a jolt to receive the warning of Herod's murderous plans from the angel above, the youngest, closest to us and quite undisturbed by the commotion, wraps his cloak more tightly around himself. The figural style—small heads with delicate features and “charming expressions,” draperies falling in “planed, firm” chunks—is not unusual for the fourth decade of the thirteenth century; it is, in fact, typical of what has been called a “court style” closely associated with churches in and around Paris,¹⁴⁵ and it appears particularly appropriate for this image of royal figures.

The delicate regality of the Three Kings stands out all the more sharply in comparison with the figure of an anonymous assistant on the right third of the panel, who leads three

horses out of the building in preparation for the Magi's escape. As in the Nativity panel, the animals' heads are carved with great attention to natural appearances, from the curves of the flaring nostrils to the coarse strands of hair on the manes to the clasps and ornamentation of the bridles.¹⁴⁶ With his physical bulk, emphasized by the pipe folds of his short tunic and the awkward but solidly planted arrangement of his stocky limbs, the assistant resembles less the Magi whom he attends than the solitary Shepherd in another panel who receives the announcement of Christ's birth (Fig. 14). The Shepherd's head, with its square jaw, wide cheeks, and broad, high forehead, departs markedly from the dainty, elegant features of the Kings and the Virgin, while his almost clumsy, unself-conscious pose—bent forward at the waist to balance his elbow on a rough crutch, head resting on hand—combines the heaviness of physical exhaustion with an awe-struck alertness. The figure's thick, apparently woolen cloth-



14 Former choir screen, detail: *The Annunciation to the Shepherd*. Chartres Cathedral (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

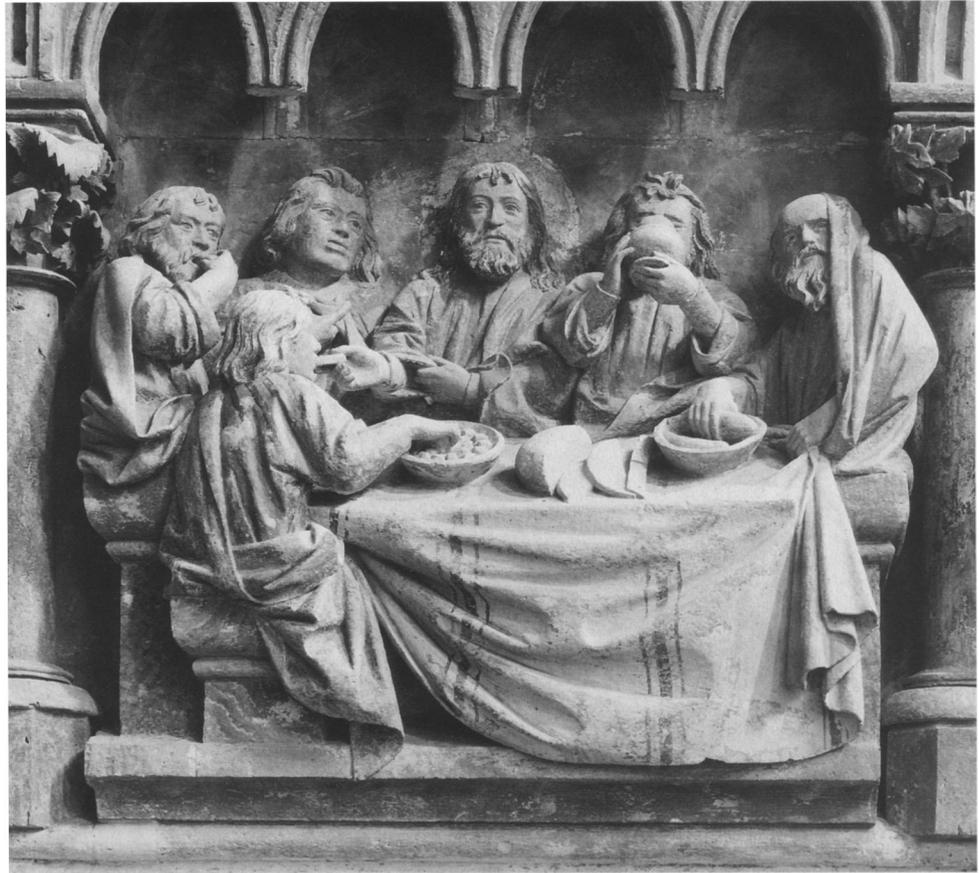
ing offers a striking contrast to the fine, silken garments of the Virgin in the Nativity scene. To contribute further to the verisimilitude of the shepherd, the designer has equipped him with a rustic hood and a satchel of braided and knotted rope¹⁴⁷ and surrounded him with a crowd of sheep and cows and recognizable flora of the local countryside.¹⁴⁸ As will be the case with Pieter Bruegel's peasant scenes three centuries later, it is not certain whether this rustic figure is meant to evoke sympathy or provoke laughter.¹⁴⁹ But it is clear that we are meant to recognize here a man of the lower stratum of society, with all the accoutrements of a worker's life.¹⁵⁰

All these panels—especially the Shepherd relief—are particularly rich in mimetic details not crucial for the relaying of the narrative.¹⁵¹ These contribute to what Roland Barthes has called a “reality effect”: the use of intrinsically insignificant concrete details solely to heighten the verisimilitude—and, hence, immediacy and impact—of a narrative.¹⁵² Grounded in a recognizable contemporary setting, these sacred stories are brought to life before the eyes of viewers untrained (and perhaps little interested) in complex biblical exegesis—a process that, as medieval pedagogues knew well, would have helped viewers retain the images longer in their memories for use in later imaginative play.¹⁵³ Moreover, the integration of recognizable quotidian details into scenes from sacred history likely provided a source of humor and diversion for audiences with little patience for abstract doctrinal lessons. This was a

point stressed by preachers such as Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240), who encouraged the insertion of exempla into sermons “not only for the edification but also for the entertainment [*non solum ad edificacionem sed ad recreationem*] of lay and simple people [*laicis et simplicibus personis*], especially when, tired and bored, they begin to doze off.”¹⁵⁴

Sauerländer sees the Shepherd panel as “stand[ing] independently” among the reliefs and perceives a stylistic relationship only to the calendar figures in the cathedral's north porch.¹⁵⁵ Although that connection is offered tentatively, it seems hardly fortuitous that an image of a shepherd—the only panel on the screen with exclusively rustic content—shares the same unusual formal vocabulary with other reliefs depicting manual labor.¹⁵⁶ This conjunction supports an understanding of choir screen style as the self-conscious employment of a visual mode to accommodate specific subject matter.¹⁵⁷ It is all the more noteworthy, therefore, that it was the rustic mode of the Chartres Shepherd that would characterize French and German screen sculpture most consistently throughout the thirteenth century.

It was at the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul in Naumburg, far removed from the cultural and artistic milieu of Chartres, that this style took hold most deeply and extensively; indeed, its employment on all the surviving reliefs of the western choir screen as well as for many of the famous donor figures in the west choir led to its being identified specifically with this



15 West choir screen, detail: *The Last Supper*. Naumburg Cathedral (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

monument.¹⁵⁸ Whereas many screens—such as those of Bourges and Amiens¹⁵⁹—combined scenes of Christ’s Passion with his Childhood and Resurrection narratives, the west screen at Naumburg focuses solely on the major events leading to the Crucifixion (Fig. 5).¹⁶⁰ Surprisingly, Christ figures in only three of the six surviving thirteenth-century panels, and in these he appears passive, in one case nearly obliterated by the activity of the bodies moving around him. Rather than concentrating on the sacrificial and protoliturgical aspects of Christ’s Passion as a divinely ordained act, the designers of this screen have emphasized the role of human agency in the death of Christ and the actions that contributed to the psychological drama of his suffering. More than Christ himself, the morally ambivalent figures of Peter and Judas take center stage, as laymen who participate actively in the Passion through their acts of betrayal, denial, and fierce but misguided protection.

Conspicuously absent from the program are direct allusions to liturgical activities or priestly authority, even where we might expect to find them. Initiating the narrative sequence on the left-hand side of the screen, the Last Supper image subverts traditional iconography by having the Apostles barely pay attention to Christ’s interaction with Judas; they eat and drink with gusto and display little apparent regard for the occasion’s sacrificial import (Fig. 15).¹⁶¹ Aside from the various postures of consumption, the main focus of the scene is not the performance of the Eucharistic rite as such¹⁶² but rather the singling out of Judas as future perpetrator of the betrayal of Christ, as the latter reaches across the table to place a piece of bread in Judas’s mouth while looking

knowingly out at the viewer.¹⁶³ To be sure, this act of feeding had Eucharistic connotations, in keeping with contemporaneous devotion to Christ as nourisher.¹⁶⁴ But here the focus lies less in the salvific aspect of nourishing than in its symbolic function of indicating and thus condemning a traitor.¹⁶⁵

The following relief takes up the story of Judas, now in the act of receiving payment from the high priest Caiaphas for his imminent betrayal of Christ (Fig. 16). An unusual narrative moment to receive such prominence in thirteenth-century sculpture, it assumes unprecedented psychological complexity as Caiaphas, his brow furrowed and his heavily lidded eyes slightly lowered, turns reflectively toward the viewer while letting a pile of coins slip into the draped hands of a frantic, open-mouthed Judas.¹⁶⁶ To either side and around the back of the relief plane, four Jewish courtiers press together to whisper into one another’s ears, furthering the sense of tense secrecy. The blocky rendering of thickly falling draperies, a particular characteristic of the “rustic style” of the Chartres Shepherd, is here exploited to full effect in the enclosing volumes of the two outermost figures’ cloaks, which, through heavily hanging or tautly angled folds, bracket the scene emphatically from the sides. In the center, the clashing bodies of Judas and Caiaphas produce a pinwheel-like array of agitated curves that swirl around the coins.¹⁶⁷ The pivotal role of the coins as object around which the secretive and dangerous activity hinges may be indicative of the suspicions attending the development of an abstract cash-based economy throughout Europe at this time.¹⁶⁸

The Naumburg choir screen was produced during the middle decades of the thirteenth century, a period of pro-



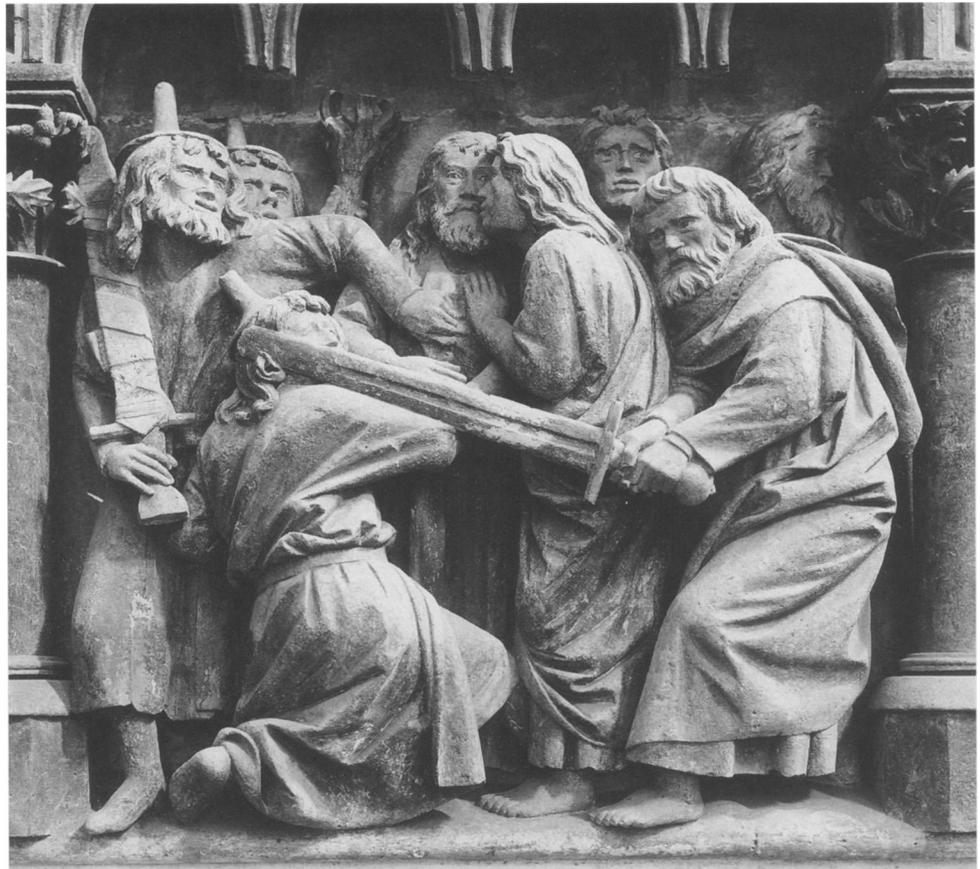
16 West choir screen, detail: *The Payment of Judas*. Naumburg Cathedral (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

found political tension in the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁶⁹ In Naumburg the problems began just before the dramatic collapse of the Hohenstaufen regime, when Margrave Henry III of Meissen installed his illegitimate half brother, Dietrich, as bishop of Naumburg over the candidate officially elected by the cathedral chapter.¹⁷⁰ The margraves of Meissen and landgraves of Thuringia occupied the leading secular positions in the region, and Henry “the Enlightened” was one of the most formidable, renowned as much for his fierce and uncompromising management of battles—against other family members as well as against pagan inhabitants of the eastern frontier—as for his cultivation of courtly literature and music.¹⁷¹ Even an indirect association with such a figure would have left its mark on a bishopric so firmly entrenched within the realm of Meissen’s power, and many sources indicate that Bishop Dietrich’s tenure was marked by alternating dependence on and conflict with his half brother.¹⁷² Defining their relationship above all were questions of feudal obligation: under Dietrich the Naumburg church lost its imperial rank, as *Reichskirche*, to become yet another dependency of the Meissen margrave, a change in status and allegiance against which Dietrich struggled strenuously but ultimately in vain.¹⁷³

In light of these circumstances, it is small wonder that the imagery appears so preoccupied with loyalty and betrayal, or that the prominently featured Judas resembles in physiognomy not so much the demonized Jews of contemporary

manuscript painting as the donor-statue of Hermann, an early margrave of Meissen and founder of the Naumburg bishopric, in the choir proper.¹⁷⁴ Deeply resonant with current concerns, too, is the unusually violent depiction of Christ’s capture in Gethsemane (Fig. 17). Here Peter, a patron of the cathedral, dominates the scene as he delivers a forceful blow to the ear of the servant Malchus, who collapses to the ground in a twisted crouch. The sword blade spans the relief’s entire frontal plane, thus acting as a screen for the capture of Christ. While this visual function of the sword has long been recognized,¹⁷⁵ the singular brutality of Peter’s motion is often taken for granted. Its forcefulness stands out all the more sharply in comparison with most contemporaneous depictions of the Betrayal, where the attack appears secondary in significance to Judas’s kiss and Christ’s arrest; in an earlier relief from the screen at Modena Cathedral, in Italian panel paintings, and in numerous manuscript images Peter gingerly clips the servant’s ear with a little dagger.¹⁷⁶

A slightly later (ca. 1260) relief from the former choir screen at Amiens Cathedral, currently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, appears remarkably similar to the Naumburg panel in its condensation of narrative moments, rendering of broad, heavy draperies, and filling of space with dramatic gestural activity (Fig. 18).¹⁷⁷ As at Naumburg, a central Christ is occluded on one side by the vigorous grasp of a soldier’s hand and on the other by Judas, who pulls his thick cloak around his back in a distinctly Naumburgian



17 West choir screen, detail: *The Arrest of Christ*. Naumburg Cathedral (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

gesture.¹⁷⁸ Despite these similarities in form and expressive content, several striking differences throw the peculiarities of the Naumburg panel into higher relief. First, the Jewish captors are distinguished from their apostolic counterparts not by pointed caps, as at Naumburg, but rather by cartoonishly exaggerated facial features.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, Peter does not dominate the scene with his violent action but rather is depicted placing his sword back into its sheath, while Malchus, sitting cross-legged and confused on the ground, is healed by the gentle and barely visible touch of Christ's hand on his injured ear.¹⁸⁰

Peter's replacement of the already swung sword certainly endows the scene with a different tenor than at Naumburg, where the action is quick and violent. But to interpret the choice of moment in the Amiens panel as producing a "more complex story" and a clear-cut "return [of] emphasis to the figure and character of the Savior"¹⁸¹ is to overlook the subtle gesture, in the center of the Naumburg composition, of Christ's hand, which moves forward to deflect the blow of Peter's sword.¹⁸² With Christ's gesture of compassion, Peter's deadly swing is softened. In a powerful twist to the biblical narrative, Christ causes the sword blade to injure the ear *only*; left to take its own course, it would likely have split Malchus's head in two. To be sure, this is hardly a pacifistic message: Christ's control of Peter's violence does not entail putting a complete stop to it.

The ambivalence of this image—unique in its simultaneous portrayal of harsh violence and the mitigation of that violence—takes on meaning in light of the troubled relations between the Naumburg clergy, who were forbidden to take up

arms even in self-defense, and the margrave of Meissen. As C. Stephen Jaeger has pointed out, during this time, which witnessed the adoption of refined "courtly" manners on the part of the lay nobility, many thirteenth-century bishops still insisted on the military role of laymen, who were legally able and morally obliged to defend the church with force against outside (usually secular) threats.¹⁸³ In the course of his conflict with Henry, Bishop Dietrich had good reason to seek to "arouse" in the local laity "their fighting spirit when it had gone slack, to provoke 'useful anger' in the knighthood and to sting them out of torpor and into action."¹⁸⁴ The image of Christ quietly holding in check the deadly attack of Peter against a person involved in an act of betrayal constitutes a powerful reinterpretation of the biblical story, presenting Peter's violence as blameworthy in degree, but not necessarily in kind.

As was the case with the Chartres panels, the Naumburg reliefs are deeply imbued with reality effects that served to "transform traditional Biblical iconography by contemporary reference"¹⁸⁵ for viewers who sought "images of a world which responded to the values and appearances of their own."¹⁸⁶ Prominent in the scenes of Judas's payment and the betrayal at Gethsemane, as well as a panel depicting Christ before Pilate, are male figures wearing the conspicuous pointed hats of contemporary Jews.¹⁸⁷ This can easily be seen as a characteristic endeavor of the Christian establishment, also evident in plays and exempla, "deliberately [to pile] upon the collective head of medieval Jewry the sins of Jesus' contemporaries" by portraying a biblical Jew "not as a historical figure but as the contemporary Jew with whom the

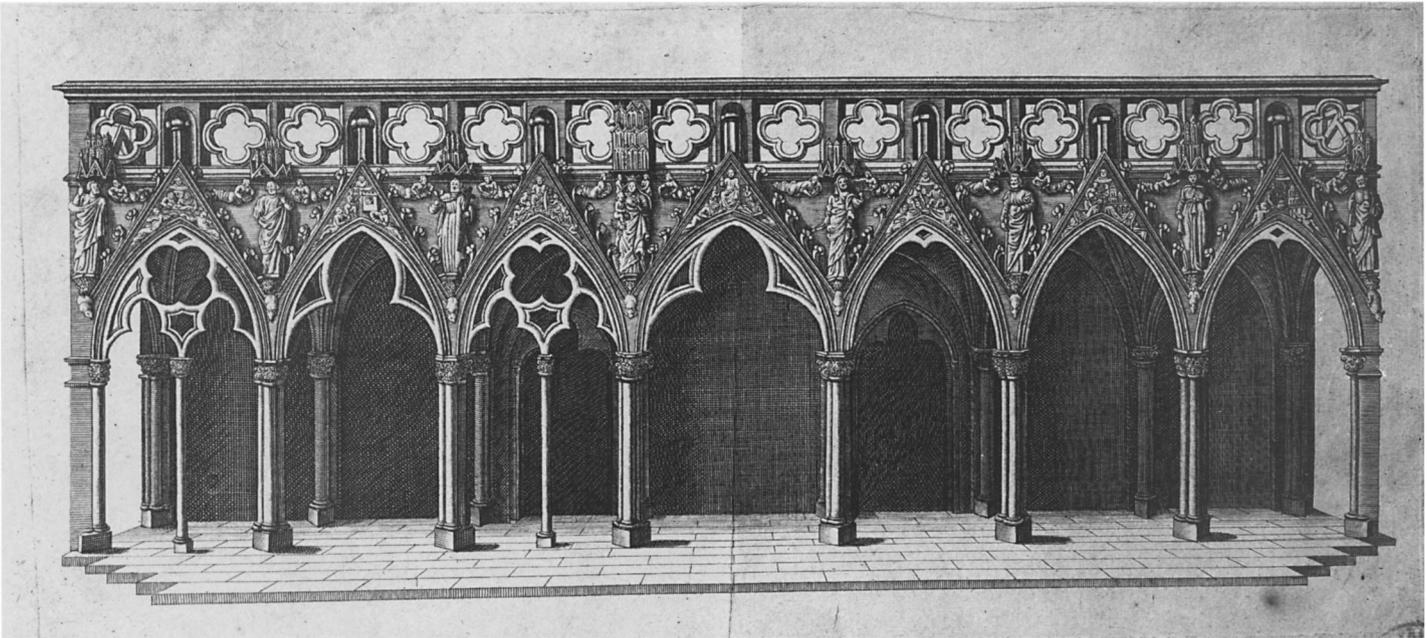


18 Former choir screen, detail: *The Arrest of Christ*, ca. 1260. Amiens Cathedral (photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

audience was . . . familiar.”¹⁸⁸ The distinguishing of Jewish characters with a modern badge of infamy in the Naumburg reliefs, however, proves more complex than this interpretation allows. Of the thirteen surviving figures who wear the pointed cap, only three display physiognomic indicators of difference: in the image of Judas’s payment (Fig. 16), Caiaphas wears a long, mustacheless beard, while the guard who grabs Christ’s tunic in the Gethsemane panel (Fig. 17) and later presents Christ to Pilate is given a slightly hooked nose. Otherwise the numerous Jewish figures are physiognomically indistinguishable from the Apostles;¹⁸⁹ the broad foreheads, square jawlines, and wavy, shoulder-length hair of Caiaphas’s attendants also characterize Saint John in the Last Supper panel.¹⁹⁰ All wear the long tunics and thick, fur-lined cloaks accessible only to the socially elevated.¹⁹¹ In no case do they heap the kinds of crass and violent abuses on Christ that other contemporary representations tend to highlight.¹⁹² Indeed, compared with polemical writings and works of visual art intended to fan the flames of anti-Jewish sentiment during the thirteenth century, the reliefs at Naumburg seem to deemphasize the role of the biblical Jews—and, by extension, those within their own community¹⁹³—as malevolent enemies of the faith or as monstrous embodiments of evil and ignorance. Rather, they direct hostility toward the damaging or disgraceful acts of specific individuals: Judas, with his betrayal of Christ for money, and Peter, with his act of excessive violence against Malchus and, in reliefs flanking the screen’s central gable, his denial of Christ.¹⁹⁴ Appropriately for an audience concerned with issues of loyalty, betrayal, and violence—or,

more precisely, for an episcopal designer who had reason to *want* his lay flock to be concerned with these issues—Christ himself is presented not so much as either a powerful divinity or a helpless human victim than as a lord to whom loyalty must be maintained at all costs.

Despite clear affinities with local sculpture production,¹⁹⁵ the attention given in these reliefs to dramatic physical movement and psychological expression, as well as their characteristic formal features—massive drapery folds, stout body proportions, high legibility of volumes and silhouettes—link the Naumburg figures most firmly to a geographically distant monument: the Shepherd from the Chartres choir screen (Fig. 14). These features are also shared with marginal sculptures of predominantly secular subject matter, such as several quatrefoils from the west portals of Amiens Cathedral and figural corbels from Noyon.¹⁹⁶ Scholars have long recognized margins as the site of experimentation with representational modes—witness the masks on the upper stories of Reims Cathedral—and it appears that this “rustic” style originated there.¹⁹⁷ The Naumburg reliefs in their entirety, then, take further a move that began with the Chartres Shepherd: that is, the deliberate deployment of a style already associated with a certain kind of subject matter in a central architectural structure that was, by definition, aimed at a particular audience. By couching their biblical figures in this visual idiom, the Naumburg sculptors worked in conjunction with their clerical patrons to inflect the biblical narrative with new meanings custom-tailored to the needs and expectations of their anticipated lay beholders.



19 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)

Strasbourg, Mainz, Wechselburg: Laypeople as Subjects

The choir screen reliefs at Chartres and Naumburg shed light on how familiar biblical narratives were transformed, through an articulation in a distinct visual mode and through the incorporation of details pertaining to current concerns, for the laypeople who formed their intended audience. However, updating biblical stories was not the only means by which clerical designers employed the surfaces of choir screens to address their congregations. A sermon exemplum from the mid-thirteenth century provides a revealing glimpse of the active role sculptures were expected to play as vehicles of identification and empathetic response.

The Dominican preacher Stephen of Bourbon (d. 1261) tells of a certain usurer from Dijon, who in 1240 planned to marry at his parish church.¹⁹⁸ The statements of consent were made outside in the church's main porch, which evidently contained relief panels depicting a Last Judgment in which representatives of various social stations proceeded toward Heaven or Hell. As the couple finished their vows and began to enter the church, "a statue over the porch . . . of a usurer being carried off to Hell by the Devil, fell, with his money pouch, upon the head of the living usurer . . . and struck and killed him." Life and art collide: "The stone usurer excluded the living usurer from the church," Stephen exclaims, even though "the local priests . . . were on the contrary willing to admit him."

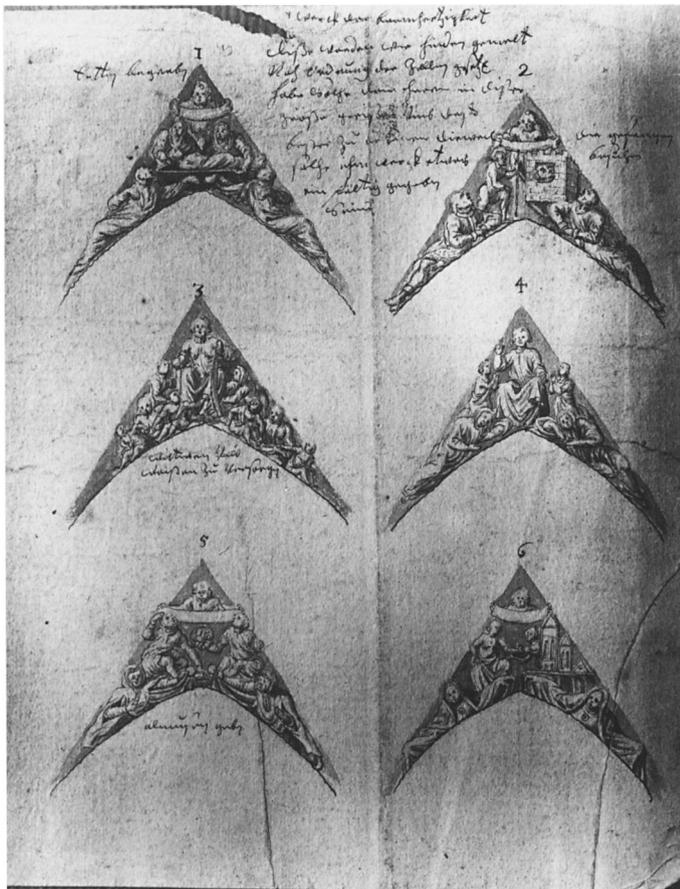
This strange and horrible incident did not convince the surviving usurers of Dijon to give up their illicit trade;¹⁹⁹ on the contrary, they "gave money to tear down the other sculptures outside and at the back of the porch, so that another accident of this sort could not happen to them." Here, the function of sculpture as a didactic tool backfired rather tragically. But a closer look at the story reveals the effectiveness of figurative images as identification devices. For it is clear from this iconoclastic response that as long as they

could see *themselves* in the sculptures, the users felt deeply threatened. If these viewers were unwilling to change their behavior, the sculptures could not be tolerated.

The direct incorporation of unambiguously lay figures into programs of screen sculpture thus supplied immediate points of reference and vehicles of identification for a variety of viewers united, by virtue of their nonclerical status, through their positioning in the nave. Some programs, such as those of Mainz and Gelnhausen, used the lay viewers' recognition of likeness to offer antimodels, while others provided positive models for imitation and hence salvation. One of these was the choir screen at Strasbourg Cathedral (ca. 1260).

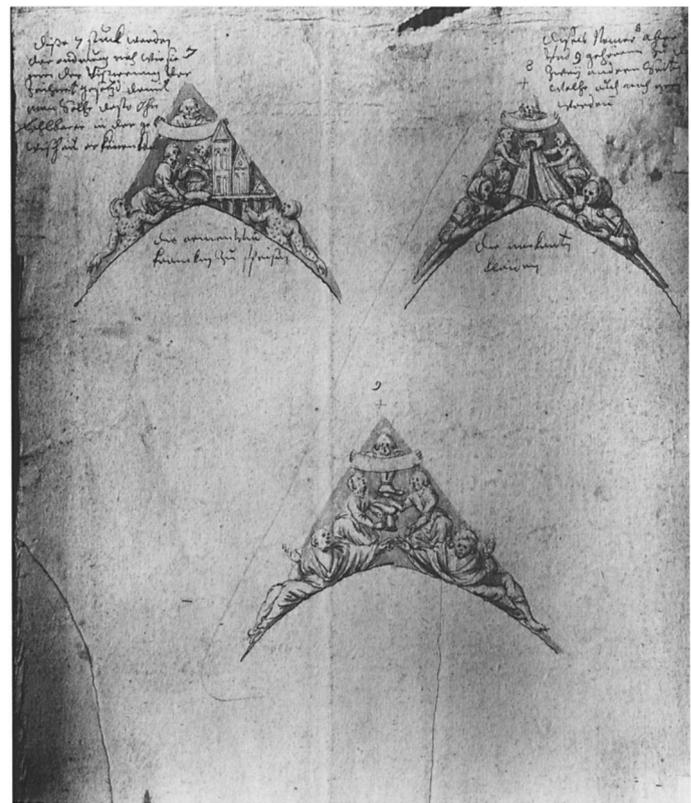
Like the *jubé* at Chartres, the Strasbourg screen was of the porch type, with an open frontal arcade and outer facade displaying a wealth of sculptural imagery (Fig. 19).²⁰⁰ In contrast to the screen at Chartres, where a horizontal band of narrative reliefs filled the gaps between the main arcade gables, freestanding figures of Apostles occupied these spaces at Strasbourg, their ranks crowned in the center by a lovely Madonna and Child group (now at the Cloisters in New York).²⁰¹ According to an early reconstructor of the ensemble, these figures comprise a group "wholly distinct" within the abundant thirteenth-century interior and exterior sculptural programs of the cathedral, contrasting noticeably with the "firmly self-contained elegance of the south transept figures."²⁰² With their robust bodies, lively movements, and clearly organized volumetric configurations, these figures offered a highly engaging welcome for persons standing in the nave—especially in their original state, when their gold-painted garments made them sparkle against the red and blue surfaces of the screen.²⁰³

Drawing closer, one would have noticed in the gables between the standing Apostles a remarkable series of smaller narrative images specially attuned to the daily life of laypeople. Here, in high relief, were depicted the Seven Corpo-



20 Arhardt, drawing of Works of Mercy from the Strasbourg Cathedral choir screen gables, before 1682. Strasbourg, Musée de l'Oeuvre de Notre-Dame. Shown here are the first six gables, numbered in order of their position from left to right across the facade: 1) burying the dead; 2) visiting prisoners; 3) protecting widows and feeding orphans; 4) Christ in Judgment; 5) feeding the hungry (here shown as giving alms to mendicants); 6) welcoming strangers (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

real Works of Mercy as established in the Gospels, elaborated by contemporary preachers, and practiced with increasing fervor by laymen and -women in expanding thirteenth-century towns.²⁰⁴ The subject matter, with its timely glorification of mundane activities in specific local settings, is unusual in monumental architecture. But it was well suited to a major city such as Strasbourg, which was early and profoundly influenced by charismatic mendicants, who appropriated the forms of lay piety and re-presented them to the wider lay public to create a dynamic relationship of mutual imitation.²⁰⁵ Despite their highly fragmentary state, a good idea of the specific content of these reliefs can be gained thanks to a series of detailed drawings executed prior to the destruction of the *jube* in 1682 (Figs. 20, 21).²⁰⁶ These make it clear that the designers of the program took pains to leave no ambiguity as to what was being depicted; the energetic renderings of such activities as feeding the poor and giving alms, sheltering strangers, and donating clothing were supplemented by inscribed banderoles.²⁰⁷ Even in the surviving fragments a concern to incorporate points of reference for contemporary viewers—"reality effects"—is strikingly apparent: many of the scenes were played out within or in front of contemporary architectural structures and thus firmly situated in the environ-



21 Arhardt, drawing of Works of Mercy from the Strasbourg Cathedral choir screen gables, before 1682. Strasbourg, Musée de l'Oeuvre de Notre-Dame: 7) giving drink to the thirsty, was located on the far right end of the facade; the remaining two stood above the screen's lateral openings, facing the aisles: 8) clothing the naked; 9) giving shoes to the barefoot (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

ment familiar to viewers of the mid-thirteenth century.²⁰⁸ At the same time, the conventional set of Works of Mercy was adapted to conform better to current concerns; the inclusion of at least one noncanonical work—giving shoes to the barefoot—points to what was in all likelihood a pressing need in the urban community (Fig. 21).²⁰⁹ Such images both reflected and reinforced a growing trend in thirteenth-century lay piety, which, bolstered by the emphatically worldly missions of Francis of Assisi and Elisabeth of Thuringia, demanded exactly this kind of activity in the burgeoning urban environment. Indeed, the panels appear as a sort of visual instruction table for ordinary laypeople who sought, like their saintly models, to achieve holiness through an immersion in the world.²¹⁰

In their celebration of quotidian subject matter and their simple, direct narrative mode of presentation, the gable reliefs contrast with the relief panels formerly located on the inner, choir-facing surface of the Strasbourg screen.²¹¹ According to a seventeenth-century description, this side included freestanding statues of Old Testament prophets holding banderoles with scriptural quotations and narrative panels with Old Testament scenes of liturgical import, such as Moses and the Burning Bush and the Sacrifice of Abraham.²¹² While

the surviving Abraham panel manifests stylistic qualities associated with the screen sculpture at Chartres and Naumburg—indeed, it has even been seen as an early work of the Naumburg Master²¹³—the interpretative demands of the program differ from those of the outer surface. In contrast to the Works of Mercy reliefs, where inscriptions supplemented the already clear visual data, the identities of the individual prophet figures, and their meaning within the choir, could be ascertained exclusively by recourse to inscribed texts. The panels of Moses and Abraham, with their conventional, and thus recognizable, narrative references, also demanded an understanding of typological exegesis that would deepen and complicate their meaning. That is, rather than making direct visual reference to familiar elements of an external social reality, as the Works of Mercy panels do, these rely for their comprehension on the kind of complex interpretative system taught with great sophistication in cathedral schools and universities.²¹⁴

If most laypeople of the thirteenth century were not directly familiar with Augustine's statement in the *City of God* that "works of mercy are performed for no other reason than so that we may be freed from misery and, thereby, be happy,"²¹⁵ certainly they were no strangers to the idea. Contemporary preaching is full of incentives for lay listeners to perform the Corporeal Works of Mercy in the world; preachers expounded on both the heavenly rewards to be gained by the generous and, more often, the terrible punishments to be incurred by withholding charity.²¹⁶ Vivid depictions of the Last Judgment, both on the exterior entrances to churches and on choir screens, reinforced dramatically the rewards and the punishments that actions in the world would harvest. At Strasbourg this is only implied, in the figure of a Judging Christ who occupies the central gable—an arrangement that makes visible the connection between the performance of Works of Mercy during life and the expectation of divine mercy at the end of time. In its optimistic omission of any signs of damnation or punishment, the Strasbourg screen is unusual among surviving examples. More often screens with Judgment programs, such as the chancel screen at Gelnhausen (Fig. 3), focused first on the separation of the elect, who cheerily disappear behind the entrance gate to Heaven, from the damned, whose gruesome torments in the fire-spewing maws of Hell are made all too visible.²¹⁷

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that the chancel screen at Gelnhausen depends for much of its imagery on the slightly earlier screen at the west choir of Mainz Cathedral, produced around the time of the renovated cathedral's dedication in 1235 under the direction of at least one member of what would slightly later become the Naumburg workshop.²¹⁸ The screen at Mainz was destroyed, along with its counterpart at the eastern end of the church, between 1680 and 1683, and while most of the sculptural program was smashed to serve as the rubble foundation for a new Baroque lateral enclosure, the clergy had the foresight to rescue at least the "best . . . pictures and stones" and integrate them into the pews of a local *Stiftskirche*.²¹⁹ As reconstructed by Annegret Peschlow-Kondermann, the western screen was a deep, polygonal structure with three bays and a central door.²²⁰ The gable above the central bay (just over the spread-eagled figure in the vault above the portal) was

occupied by a Deesis group, carved nearly in the round, which features Christ gently pulling back his tunic to display a prominent side wound, while the hunched-over figures of the Virgin and a scruffy John the Baptist raise their clasped hands toward his knees.²²¹ His left hand occupied with his wound, Christ gestures with his right toward a group of figures who process in that direction; both their position on the screen and their dignified postures and solemn demeanors mark them as the elect en route to Heaven (Fig. 22). On the opposite side is a crowd of damned figures who twist and turn, creating with their bent backs and jutting elbows a chain of sharp angles that visually echoes both the irregular angularity of their contorted facial features and the actual chain that binds them together at the hips (Fig. 23). Like other programs of imagery that sought to establish a clear dialectical relationship between the saved and the damned, from earlier Romanesque tympana to portal sculptures of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, the respective states of the two groups are indicated as much through formal means—straight, parallel lines and large, unobstructed volumes versus irregular angles, intersecting curves, and jagged fragments of broken planes—as through iconographic conventions.²²²

At Mainz (as elsewhere) the groups are also clearly distinguished through the social identity of their members.²²³ The surviving fragments display a striking disparity between the elect, with their clearly defined institutional roles—a bishop, a king, and a monk occupy the frontal plane, while a pope, another monk, a nun, and, at the very back, a lay nobleman peek out from behind as busts—and the little crowd of lay urban rabble reluctantly proceeding into Hell.²²⁴ Clearly recognizable among the damned are a laywoman with a ruffled chin band beneath her circular cap, a man wearing a floppy hat characteristic of artisans, and another whose pointed hat and mustacheless beard identify him as a Jew.²²⁵ The former two figures clasp their hands in prayerful desperation, directing their swollen, grief-wracked faces and their pleas for mercy not to the Deesis group but outward, toward the viewer. Just as Mary and the Baptist implore Christ to spare the souls of the dead from the pains of Hell, so these figures turn to their living counterparts—the laymen and -women of Mainz who attended Mass in the nave of the cathedral—to beg for the prayers that would release them, in the end, from the torments of hellfire.²²⁶

Such an image must have resonated all the more powerfully in the minds of viewers for whom participation in lay confraternities of memory and prayer was becoming an ever more viable and desirable way both of easing friends' purgatorial sufferings and of guaranteeing one's own commemoration by future colleagues.²²⁷ But it is not only the outward gestures of the figures that directly and powerfully sought to engage lay viewers. The high degree of social as well as physiognomic and emotional specificity also allowed them to act as unmistakable points of identification and empathy for those men and women who would have recognized in the figures types of their own selves,²²⁸ suggesting the designers' concern to evoke the same sort of self-recognition and empathetic response that was deliberately striven for in contemporary sermons.²²⁹

Like the figures of usurers at Dijon, the sculptures at Mainz stood as explicit warnings for men and women to steer clear



22 Former west choir screen, detail: *The Elect*, ca. 1235. Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum (photo: author)

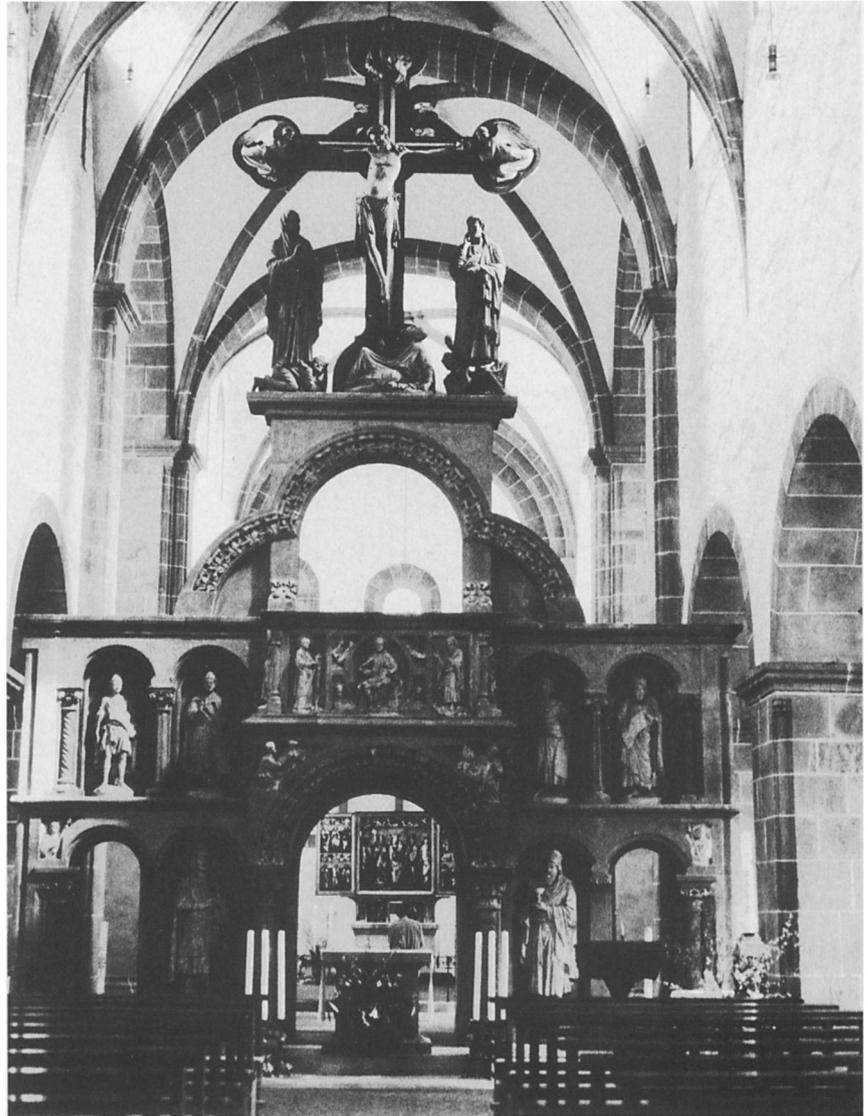


23 Relief from Mainz Cathedral's former west choir screen: *The Damned*, ca. 1235. Mainz, Bischöfliches Dom- und Diözesanmuseum (photo: author)

from vices so as to avoid becoming like their hapless sculptured counterparts. Here it was the at least potential separation of the ordinary person from the ranks of the elect that was made visible, as a means of what we might call negative reinforcement through positive identification: "We look like you," these figures proclaim—"but do not become like us." Other screen programs conveyed a more optimistic message, one that emphasized community and integration, in their renderings of lay individuals.

At first glance, the choir screen in the former Augustinian collegiate church at Wechselburg (now part of a Benedictine

abbey), with its hieratic priestly and typological figures, seems more closely aligned with the inner program of the Strasbourg screen than with the lively narrative imagery encountered elsewhere (Fig. 24).²³⁰ This chancel screen—constructed during the 1230s, dismantled in the seventeenth century, and reconstructed in the 1970s—contains on the walls flanking the central pulpit two rows of approximately life-size figures carrying scrolls and set into rounded niches that visually echo the two doors leading to the choir. The identity of the figures emerges mainly from their costume, the texts they bear, and their resemblance to Old Testament figures on the Golden Portal of Freiberg Cathedral (Saxony): on the upper story we recognize Daniel, David, Solomon, and Isaiah (or Ezekiel); and on ground level, flanking the central cross altar, Abraham and Melchizedek.²³¹ Isolated within niches, and thus set apart from any dramatic narrative, with solemn frontal poses and no obvious facial expression, these figures are far removed from the dramatically engaging sculptures at Mainz and Strasbourg. Moreover, taken in conjunction with the monumental Crucifixion group above and smaller relief panels set into the chancel—a Deesis group, Moses with the Iron Rod, and the Sacrifice of Isaac—the program seems distinctly geared to clerical interests, visualizing the legitimation of priestly authority and the clergy's privileged access to the Eucharist. The figures who are represented—prophets and protopriests—as well as the manner in which the program demands to be "read" and interpreted indicate an address to viewers trained in exegesis and the drawing of complex typological associations. The vertical axis of the screen brings the triumphal sacrifice (the body of Christ) by God the Father



24 Choir screen, ca. 1235. Wechselburg, Benedictine (formerly Augustinian) church (photo: author)

(shown as a bust above the cross) over the Old Order (represented by Adam at the foot of the cross) into relation with the sacrifice of the Mass at the altar below, a ceremony that itself was preordained by the prophets and kings on the upper horizontal axis and is now attended—and thus perpetually legitimated—by Abraham and Melchizedek on the sides.²³²

However, this concentration on clerical power and privilege has its flip side. Laypersons standing in the nave might be unfamiliar with the screen's typological and associative interpretative demands, but they would have easily recognized in the upper niches lively portrayals of contemporary lay aristocrats, with their modish secular clothing and jaunty, self-conscious poses. Below, they would have encountered an image of profound unity, as Abraham, strong and self-confident in his knightly garb, prepares to take a chalice from a solemn, priestly Melchizedek (Figs. 25, 26).²³³ If in their typological significance these figures sent an unambiguous message to clerics about their privileged forerunners, at the same time—and no less importantly—their distinctive mode of representation would have allowed them to present to the laity *their* tradition as participants in the events of sacred history. While displaying Melchizedek and the Old Testament prophets to the clergy as model priests, the screen presented

Abraham and the Old Testament kings as model *lay* participants, who demonstrate through their refined and self-conscious body language the *zuht* (courtly good breeding) and *schoene site* (beauty of manners) demanded and admired in ecclesiastical and secular circles alike.²³⁴ Moreover, both the highly naturalistic rendering of these figures and their insertion into niches that replicate the open doors of the screen join to facilitate the imaginative projection of the viewer himself into the openings; they invite him to look to these figures as models and to imitate their elegant manners and comportment as he steps into the arched door. In form as well as representational content, the Wechselburg screen is a profoundly inclusive vehicle of empathetic as well as liturgical participation, embodying a rich array of meanings for a variety of beholders.

Choir Screen Sculpture as Visual Vernacular

The later twelfth century marks what some scholars have seen as a watershed in the history of preaching, characterized by a shift in focus from the relation between privileged *speaker* and Word of God to that between *listener* and Word.²³⁵ For many historians of preaching, this change is manifested most sharply by the proliferation in the mid-thirteenth century of



25 Lower register of choir screen: Abraham. Wechselburg, Benedictine church (photo: author)



26 Lower register of choir screen: Melchizedek. Wechselburg, Benedictine church (photo: author)

ad status sermons, compiled and preached by such masters as Jacques de Vitry, Humbert of Romans (d. 1277), and Guibert of Tournai (d. 1284).²³⁶ These sermons were preached largely in the vernacular and designed explicitly to address the interests of groups of people categorized not only by institutional affiliation or secular occupation but also by personal states, whether permanent (for example, gender-based) or transitory (young people, pilgrims, those mourning the death of a loved one).²³⁷ In such sermons, biblical passages and exempla were carefully selected for their ability to prompt quick identification and subsequent self-reflection on the part of the given audience.

By drawing on concrete details from the listeners' familiar living environments, preachers hoped to elicit the shock of recognition that would make them improve their lives.²³⁸ Rhetorical strategies such as direct address, simple syntax, and the use of a concrete language filled with visual evocations were known to be successful tools for provoking in lay listeners the empathy, fear, and excitement necessary for personal reform.²³⁹ In the prologue to one sermon compilation, Jacques de Vitry tells his peers that monastic and learned audiences might be satisfied with theologically complex, scholastically structured sermons preached in Latin. But "for lay people it is more fitting," he insists, "to show everything clearly, as if it were directly before their eyes and perceptible

with their senses [*quasi ad oculum et sensibilter*], so that the preacher's words might be as completely open and lucid as that precious stone, the carbuncle."²⁴⁰

According to Saint Bonaventure (d. 1274), the Church was justified in its extensive application of visual images for three reasons. First, in keeping with the conventional wisdom most concisely and enduringly formulated by Gregory the Great (d. 604), the simplicity of the unlettered laity necessitated the use of pictures, allowing those men and women to read in paintings and sculptures about "the sacraments of our faith" inaccessible to them in written form. Second, images could be employed to stimulate

sluggish affections . . . so that people who are aroused to devotion when they hear with the ear about those things which Christ has done for us might at the least be excited when they perceive them in shapes and figures as if they themselves were present to the bodily eyes. For our emotion is aroused more by what we see than by what we hear.

Finally, the "transitory nature of memory" demands pictures, "because those things which are only heard fall into oblivion more easily than those which are seen."²⁴¹

In numerous recent discussions about medieval image theory, scholars have often attended predominantly to Bo-

naventure's first and third points: on the one hand, the text-image relationship problematically established by Gregory the Great and the dual issues of lay literacy and the relative legibility of images it entailed,²⁴² and on the other hand, the mnemonic function of images.²⁴³ I would like to concentrate on the second point, that concerning the affective power of images, their function as a nonverbal stimulant of compassion and compunction.

The extent to which Bonaventure's explanation of the function of images is aligned with traditional discussions of the function of exempla in sermons is striking. Early commentators on and practitioners of preaching distinguished between *verba*—the words that directly defined doctrinal points—and *exempla*, which illustrated them. Exempla, like pictures, were to be used not simply for teaching but also for moving the hearts and minds of listeners. Gregory the Great had long before extolled the power of parables to “excite the hearts of listeners to the love of God and neighbor” in a way that the abstract statements of *verba* could not.²⁴⁴ In the twelfth century Guibert of Nogent (d. 1124) connected the use of exempla specifically to pictures, urging preachers to flesh out their sermons with “stories and deeds of the ancients . . . just as a picture is adorned by diverse colors [*quasi ex diversis picturam coloribus adornare*].”²⁴⁵ By the thirteenth century, when social categories available to lay- and religious people had diversified to an unprecedented degree, theoreticians of preaching drew ever more vividly the connection between colorful (even, at times, off-color) exempla and the laity.²⁴⁶ In the prologue to his *Sermones vulgares*, Jacques de Vitry reminded preachers that “for the edification of uncultured people and the instruction of rustic folks, you should often present things that seem corporeal and palpable and similar to what they are familiar with through experience; for they are moved more deeply by outward exempla than by [the words of] authorities or profound proclamations.”²⁴⁷ In extolling the virtues of exempla, Stephen of Bourbon, coming full circle, employed terms nearly identical to those of Bonaventure about pictures, emphasizing their affective and mnemonic power for unlettered listeners: “For introducing and accumulating and imprinting these matters on the human heart, exempla work especially well; for these polish the rough edges of simple people, entering them more easily and [remaining] for a longer time, and impressing themselves more firmly in the memory.”²⁴⁸

Whatever advantages the theoreticians gave them over more abstract *verba*, however, exempla were words nonetheless. And, despite its reliance on Gregory's dictum, Bonaventure's justification of images shifts away from the idea that pictures were primarily useful as substitutes for written texts.²⁴⁹ The emphasis here is not so much *what* the pictures communicate (for example, the stories they narrate as a teaching tool) as *how* this communication takes place. To Bonaventure, pictures are emphatically different from words; they exercise a greater impact on the emotions, and they make a lasting impression on the imagination that fleeting sounds cannot. They do not just show us the things that Christ and the saints did, they *excite* us to further devotion.²⁵⁰ It is important, in this respect, to keep in mind medieval theories of physical vision as either (depending on the writer) a process of extramission, in which the eye actively sends forth rays to capture outside

objects, or intromission, whereby the eyes passively absorb rays sent out by things in the world.²⁵¹ Because both processes ultimately involve the reception, mingling, and imprinting of visual data into the liquid humors within the eyeball, all images, whether pictures or physical objects, were held to become quite literally a part of their perceivers. Especially for persons not considered adept at abstract and nonvisual thinking (such as laymen and all women),²⁵² the more vividly descriptive pictures were, the deeper the impression they can be assumed to have made.

Traditionally, the naturalism of thirteenth-century art has been explained as resulting directly or indirectly from clerics' own scholarly interest in the natural world, or from a teleological progression of forms toward ever greater verisimilitude.²⁵³ But it is likely that both the narrative detail and the celebrated naturalism of choir screen imagery—with its concern for accurately portraying external appearances as well as interior, psychological states—had much to do with the fact that its intended audience consisted of people who, clerics worried, “might not be excited to devotion by those things that Christ has done for us when they receive them by ear.” The increasingly individualized figures in Last Judgment scenes and the ever more specifically localized biblical narratives suggest a changing function of figurative sculpture during the central decades of the thirteenth century, a shift that took place alongside and in conjunction with changes in preaching techniques epitomized in *ad status* sermons. Like these sermons, choir screen sculptures strove to engage and to stimulate positive behavioral changes in viewers through a process of recognition, identification, and empathy. They projected themselves in a highly legible and immediate visual idiom, drawing on contents and forms familiar and accessible to laypeople unified—despite a wide range of intellectual abilities, from unlettered peasants to sophisticated noble *litterati*—by a fundamental immersion in the secular world.²⁵⁴ In light of these structural parallels, I suggest that we understand screen sculpture, no less than sermons, as a specialized visual rhetoric—a mode—self-consciously employed to trigger responses in a given audience.

In this context the stylistic similarity of diverse choir screen programs takes on deeper significance. Naumburg scholars have been quick to notice stylistic parallels between the reliefs at Naumburg and those at Mainz, Chartres, Amiens, and Strasbourg, often attributing the similarities to the presence of the apparently itinerant and extraordinarily prolific “Naumburger Meister.”²⁵⁵ Kathryn Brush has drawn attention to the ideological background of these widespread attributions in twentieth-century German art history writing;²⁵⁶ moreover, the practical improbability of this individual's (or even workshop's) being active in so many places at once is obvious. Nonetheless, the connection scholars have noticed among these sculpture programs is not fortuitous. A juxtaposition of a fragmentary procession of the elect from the Chartres *jubé* (Fig. 27), the relief of the same subject from Mainz (Fig. 22), and the Naumburg Judas panel (Fig. 16) reveals breathtaking similarities. The reliefs share the same coarse, one might say anticlassical features, such as robust and blocky bodies, heavy draperies, emotionally expressive gestural language, and a dramatic, stagelike use of the relief spaces—all features traditionally identified with the Naumburg paradigm.



27 Former choir screen, detail: *A Procession of the Elect*, ca. 1235. Chartres Cathedral (photo: Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

Even where no direct connection to Naumburg is posited, scholars often notice stylistic qualities of screen sculptures that distinguish them from locally related works in other architectural contexts. Contrasting the Wechselburg prophets and kings with their close cousins on the Golden Portal at Freiberg, Elisabeth Hütter and Heinrich Magirius notice “an artistic goal achieved in the Wechselburg *Lettner* that clearly departed from the aim of” the portal, despite the obvious presence of the same artists at both sites.²⁵⁷ They characterize the screen figures’ departure from the portal figures with the terms “‘simplification of motifs,’ ‘monumentalization,’ ‘dramatization,’ ‘lifelikeness,’ and ‘individualized animation’”²⁵⁸—precisely those qualities that characterize so much narrative screen imagery, and that have also been used repeatedly to describe the Naumburg productions. Instead of attributing the remarkable similarities of much choir screen sculpture to the genius of an individual master, I suggest again that these works be considered in modal terms, as a form that may be best understood as a visual vernacular—that is, a manner of representation directed toward people who were accustomed more to the “concrete, non-metaphoric imagery of vernacular narrative” than to an abstract Latin geared toward “a public with restricted, primarily liturgical, learned, administrative concerns.”²⁵⁹

The association of the unprecedented naturalism of thirteenth-century art with the rise of vernacular literature and lay literacy has received considerable scholarly attention over the last twenty years or so. James H. Stubblebine, drawing together the opinions of numerous art historians, has argued that the frescoes in the upper church of S. Francesco in Assisi represent a “new visual language” characterized by a “richness and variety” of natural observations and a “realism of detail” that “give the narratives their popular tone.”²⁶⁰ Wolfgang Kemp has recognized in the stained-glass windows of Chartres Cathedral an approach to narrative that, with its

formal clarity, proliferation of extraneous detail, and contemporary references, is closely aligned with contemporary vernacular poetry as this was performed orally by jongleurs.²⁶¹ Approaching the issue from a different angle, however, Michael Camille has expressed skepticism that such a thing as “vernacular imagery” existed; by defining “vernacular pictures”—primarily in manuscripts—as those “illustrating vernacular texts or [those] with non-Latin inscriptions” he is able to point out the lack of visual effects unique to images associated on the page with vernacular languages.²⁶²

My understanding of what constitutes the visual vernacular in thirteenth-century art is at once more narrowly focused than Stubblebine’s and broader than Camille’s. I do not wish to equate the naturalistic quality of the choir screen sculptures and their incorporation of mundane details with a “popular style” particularly suited, somehow, to common folk; nor do I see the reading habits of the laity as being especially relevant to their comprehension of the images, which for the most part appear without accompanying texts. Rather, I see both the kind of imagery (full of “reality effects” and emotional nuance that demands empathetic participation) and the peculiar style of screen sculptures (blocky, heavy, easily legible from a distance) as *functionally analogous* to the vernacular languages deliberately employed by clerics to communicate information with lay listeners as easily and directly as possible. The connection between “realistic” representation and “popular” audiences is in no way as simple and self-evident as has often been assumed. In my view, it results from a choice made by educated clerical designers—working in conjunction with artists—who were deeply concerned with bringing biblical stories to life before the eyes of viewers who, they knew, spoke in and responded to a language that was fundamentally different, not only in grammar but also in ideological undertones, from the Latin the clerics associated with themselves.

We know from specific instances that clerics chose carefully and systematically the language they employed in making judicial and other secular announcements from the screens: they used vernacular when speaking to and about the laity and Latin when pronouncing on ecclesiastical matters.²⁶³ The Sarum Rite of Salisbury Cathedral offers a compelling view of the extent to which the site of the choir screen was associated with the vernacular language. The ordinary processional route began within the enclosed space of the choir and moved outward to encompass the length of the nave and baptistry in the west end before circling back toward the choir. As the procession reached the choir screen toward the end of the route, the language of the ritual shifted from Latin into the vernacular. The *Processionale ad usum insignis ac praeclare ecclesiae Sarum* provides the following instructions: “When the procession reaches the place before the Great Cross [atop the choir screen] in the church, it should come to a stop . . . ; then, after the antiphon, the priest should turn toward the people and say to them in their mother tongue [*in lingua materna*]: Let us pray for the Roman church. . . .”²⁶⁴ And the Latin Ordinary of Mainz shifts its own language when speaking about the choir screen, using the Middle High German “*uf dem lettner*” (on the choir screen) when specifying where a newly elected bishop was to stand when being introduced to the congregation.²⁶⁵

In a study of thirteenth-century sermons preached to lay audiences on Good Friday, Nicole Bériou has pointed out the ideological aspects of Latin and vernacular languages as they were employed in contemporary preaching practice.²⁶⁶ The examples she studies indicate a fluid relationship of languages within the texts. The interweaving of languages within a single sermon implies a distinction between its oral and written forms (preached in the vernacular but written in Latin) at the same time that it points to a calculated use of language to convey different aspects of content and the listener’s relation to that content. That is, doctrinal or moral commentary on biblical events not deemed the concern of lay listeners was obscured—and elevated—by a linguistic screen of Latin, while more dramatic and colorful aspects of the narrative were presented in the vernacular, thereby making a message glow “with the clarity and lucidity of a carbuncle.” Bériou sees in this a sign of “the cultural superiority of the clergy . . . a superiority which preachers in the pulpit [or atop a choir screen] simply reminded their audiences of, whenever they interwove Latin and the vernacular in their sermons.”²⁶⁷ But we might also understand this practice as more than an exclusionary device. Rather, it situates the medieval listeners in a complex dialectic of closure and openness, obscurity and revelation, screening and passage. Like the Holy of Holies, whose mystery was deepened and intensified through its concealment, so the potency of the foreign Latin words must have become all the more awesome, and the moments of revelation, when the vernacular reached people’s open ears, all the more brilliant, through their mutual juxtaposition.

It will be clear by now that a structural parallel can be drawn between sermons such as those studied by Bériou and the choir screens I have discussed above. If the concealing bulk of the screen itself functions in the same way as do Latin words, veiling—and simultaneously elevating—the sacred mysteries from those outside the ecclesiastical elite, then the sculptures

facing the nave play the role of the vernacular, presenting to the senses tangible, familiar stories, while the doors offer a tantalizing glimpse into a loftier world of clarity and light. As vehicles for empathetic identification, the images provided models of behavior that would help their nonclerical beholders stay on the path toward Heaven and avoid the jaws of Hell. By integrating elements from those viewers’ familiar living environments into biblical images, they ingeniously incorporated those viewers into their story of salvation. And by employing a sculptural style that was robust, dramatic, and easily legible from a distance, they ensured that their points would not be missed.

I should like to stress that in no way would the images on French and German choir screens have communicated *only* with or been appreciated *only* by lay viewers. The depiction of the dreaming Magi’s aristocratic dress at Chartres would certainly have caught the attention not only of aristocrats, who might identify with them, or of lower-status people, who might marvel at their splendor, but also of the many clerics intrigued by the sumptuous material life evoked in secular courtly literature.²⁶⁸ Bishop Dietrich and the chapter at Naumburg were no strangers to Jews, money, or the issues of loyalty and betrayal highlighted on their west screen; like many high-ranking ecclesiastics, they were deeply entrenched in the secular territorial politics that marked so much of the Holy Roman Empire at this time.²⁶⁹ The learned clergy at Chartres and Strasbourg would certainly have appreciated the meticulous attention to natural detail on their *jubés* that I believe was so important to lay response; after all, their cathedral schools were deeply immersed in probing the workings of the natural world.²⁷⁰ And, of course, the clerics at Gelnhausen and Mainz would have recognized themselves—not, perhaps, without anxiety—led in chains into the gaping maws of Hell in Last Judgment programs, no different from members of their flocks. Nor were the images on the screens completely divorced from the concerns with protecting clerical authority recognized by Gillerman and others; Eucharistic imagery and scenic configurations relating to liturgical ceremonies, as at Paris and Wechselburg, would have certainly bolstered the mystique and authority of the clerics.

The fact remains that just as the screens were, physically, the place *from* which clerics spoke to laypeople, so they were, visually, the main architectural feature *by means of* which clerics spoke to laypeople. And just as those clerics made an effort, when speaking from atop the screens, to talk in a language that their listeners would understand, so on the screens’ surfaces, they strove to communicate with viewers in a visual language that would be immediate, comprehensible, and relevant to them.

During the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Jean d’Abbeville, dean of Amiens Cathedral, wrote in the prologue to his homilies that his works “do not put forth polished or subtle arguments to charm the refined ears of scholars, but simply offer simple words for simple folk.”²⁷¹ Of course, those simple words were only meant to sound so; Jean’s choice of both subject matter and rhetoric was the result of careful, sophisticated calculation. And so it was with choir screens: in their bulky forms and often mundane imagery, the sculptures on the screens present themselves, quietly and without pretense, as simple *sights* for simple folk. They allow us to look

in on how thirteenth-century clerics tried to anticipate and respond to the viewing capacities, the interests, and the worries of their flocks. That laypeople themselves came eventually to finance proudly the construction of screens and to protest their demolition vigorously (if in vain) testifies to the success of that initial pastoral enterprise. If, unlike Hardy's heroine, we can move beyond the barrier, we might recognize Gothic choir screens, in the end, to be powerful, subtle, and beautiful vehicles of communication and community.

Jacqueline E. Jung is completing her dissertation on the thirteenth-century sculpture program in the west choir of Naumburg Cathedral, focusing on its social implications and its role in triggering emotional response. Her translation of an article by Otto Pächt has been published this year by Zone Books [Department of Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University, 826 Schermerhorn Hall, New York, N.Y. 10027].

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Notes

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1. Thomas Hardy, *A Laodicean; or, The Castle of the De Stancys: A Story of To-Day* (1881/1912), ed. Jane Gatewood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); page numbers will henceforth be included in text.

2. The screen is no longer extant; see Jean Guérin, "Les abbayes de Caen," *Monuments Historiques de France: Les abbayes normandes* 103 (1979): 43–48, esp. 43–45.

3. Until recently art historians have shown little interest in investigating the liturgical uses of medieval churches; see Willibald Sauerländer, "Integrated Fragments and the Unintegrated Whole: Scattered Examples from Reims, Strasbourg, Chartres, and Naumburg," in *Artistic Integration in Gothic Buildings*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin, Kathryn Brush, and Peter Draper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 153–66 at 158. See also his methodological notes in "Integration: A Closed or Open Proposal?" in the same volume, 3–18.

4. Gillerman, 194.

5. *Ibid.*, 2.

6. *Ibid.* The screen complex was erected between 1296 and 1351, slightly later than the examples I focus on here. Gillerman concentrates on the lateral walls dividing choir from side aisles and ambulatory, but because this material raises the same basic problems of division versus integration as do the screens spanning the nave, some discussion of her study is in order here. On the no longer extant transverse screen at Notre-Dame, see esp. 33–36.

7. On the multimedia program as a whole, see *ibid.*, 154–75.

8. *Ibid.*, 197.

9. *Ibid.*, 154: "In a sense, the *clôture* when completed would have served as a giant tabernacle for the Host to which only priests might gain physical or even visual access. Thus, the sanctuary would have become ever more the private domain of the clergy and the secular world would have been largely shut out." On the establishment of Corpus Christi and the devotional practices it both absorbed and entailed, see Rubin.

10. Gillerman, 29. In fact, as other scholars have shown, screens or functionally similar structures such as monumental pulpits have a long tradition in ecclesiastical spaces and were often constructed at the same time as the main buildings (see below). Gillerman makes it clear that the Parisian *clôture* was a late addition to the choir. But her insistence that the integration of screens was a "basically anti-pastoral arrangement originally not considered suitable for cathedrals or parish churches" that took hold only gradually "in the later Middle Ages" (194) misses much of the complexity of the morphological and functional development of choir screens.

11. Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

12. Willibald Sauerländer, "Mod Gothic," review of *French Gothic Architecture* by Jean Bony, *New York Review of Books* 31, no. 7 (Nov. 1984): 43–45 at 45. I am grateful to Stephen Murray for this reference.

13. For the screen—and the spatial division it created—as an integral component of the church of St. Elisabeth at Marburg, see Andreas Köstler, *Die Ausstattung der Marburger Elisabethkirche: Zur Ästhetisierung des Kultraums im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Reimer, 1995), esp. 91–98. On the unifying effects of the screen at S. Maria Novella in Florence, see Hall, 173: "With apologies to Vasari, I believe that the interiors with rood screens in place may have made an architecture of aesthetically more satisfying proportions."

14. On Strasbourg, see below. On Havelberg, see n. 211 below.

15. The terminology is integrally linked to function; for which, see below.

16. The following analysis relies on that of Doberer, esp. 118–19. That article summarizes the author's dissertation, *Die deutsche Lettner bis 1300*, University of Vienna, 1946, a study as important as it is, unfortunately, difficult to lay hands on; I have been unable to consult it.

17. For examples, see H. Leclercq, "Jubé," in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. 7, pt. 2, ed. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1926), 2767–69, esp. 2767–68.

18. Greischel, 1–27. Greischel aligns the Naumburg east screen with late 12th-century examples from Vezzolano (4–7), Modena (7–21), and Parma (21–22) and traces the origins of the Italian and German examples to France (53–58). For a general description of the east screen, see Schubert, 52–56.

19. The current placement of a single altar in the east choir screen at Naumburg represents modern liturgical needs; in the Middle Ages three altars were crowded into the same space. See Hugo Preller, "Das Altarproblem des Naumburger Doms," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 31 (1960): 272–78.

20. See Ernst Schubert, "Der Westlettner des Naumburger Doms," *Kunstwissenschaftliche Beiträge: Beilage zur Zeitschrift "Bildende Kunst,"* 1979, no. 8: 7–15 at 11, fig. 2.

21. Hartmut Krohm and Alexander Marksches, "Der Lettner der Marienkirche in Gelnhausen: Grundlagen einer Neubewertung," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 48 (1994): 7–59; Werner Noack, "Mittelrheinische Lettner des XIII. Jahrhunderts," *Dritter Bericht über die Denkmäler deutscher Kunst des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1914: 130–39; and idem, "Neue Beiträge zur Kenntnis mittelrheinischer Lettner des XIII. Jahrhunderts," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 45 (1925): 98–113.

22. On the history and development of the cross altar, see Georg Humann, "Zur Geschichte der Kreuzaltäre," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 6, no. 3 (1893): 73–82; and Günter Bandmann, "Früh- und hochmittelalterliche Altaranordnung als Darstellung," in *Das erste Jahrtausend: Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, vol. 1, ed. Victor H. Elbern (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1962), 371–411 at 398–99.

23. See Krohm and Marksches (as in n. 21), 20–39.

24. Doberer, 118; 121 n. 4 cites Strophe 70: "Zwo tur vil kostebaere in ieden kor da giengen / da zwischen ein altaere, uzerhalb daruber kanzel hoeng, / gewelbet, of zwo spinnensul gestellet" (Two extremely precious doors led into the choir, with an altar between them and a chancel, vaulted and resting on two fine columns, overhanging it). But see also Achim Timmermann, "Architectural Vision in Albrecht von Scharfenberg's *Jüngerer Tituel*: A Vision of Architecture?" in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture, c. 1000–c. 1650*, ed. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); I am grateful to Dr. Timmermann for providing me with a copy of this article prior to its publication. On the literary depiction of architectural structures, see Walter Haug, "Gebot und Hieroglyphe: Zur Bild- und Architekturbeschreibung in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung," in his *Strukturen als Schlüssel zur Welt: Kleine Schriften zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1989), 110–25.

25. Marcia B. Hall, "The Tramezzo in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 325–41 at 337, designates this the "loggia-type."

26. Doberer, 119.

27. Ibid.

28. As reconstructed by Hermann Bunjes, "Der gotische Lettner der Kathedrale von Chartres," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 12 (1943): 70–100 at 76, fig. 45. The reconstruction by Mallion, 84, differs mainly in scale.

29. The porch screen at Strasbourg, which resembles the Chartres screen, contained two doors flanking a central bay that was unpierced; see J. Knauth, "Der Lettner des Münsters: Ein verschwundenes Kunstwerk," *Strassburger Münsterblatt* 1 (1903–4): 33–39 at 33.

30. At Sens, for example, "[t]he slight elevation of the [main] altar allowed it to be seen from the entire length of the nave . . . despite the splitting off of the choir by the screen"; Lachat, 381.

31. For this practice at Sens, see Lachat.

32. Doberer, 119.

33. For Naumburg, see Preller (as in n. 19). Schubert (as in n. 20) argues that the lack of a cross altar in front of the west screen prevents this structure from being a *Lettner* proper; he regards it instead as the facade and entryway of a separate and independent church the new west choir replaced.

34. On the sculptured screen at York (ca. 1475–1515), 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: Batsford, 1947), 83–88, fig. 14. Also useful is Francis Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London: Oxford University Press, 1908). Regrettably, no English screen retains its 13th-century sculptural decoration. On Marburg, see Köstler (as in n. 13).

35. Schubert (as in n. 20), 10–11, suggests that this represents an attempt to maintain the visual effects of a porch-type screen within a more compact structure; the result of this spatial compression he refers to as *Architekturillusion*, "an illusionistic representation of a porch screen." For a related case, see W. Effmann, "Die Kirche von Valeria zu Sitten und ihr Lettner," *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 16, no. 5 (1903): 129–42.

36. Stephen Murray draws attention to the "rich sculptural effect" of the half-quatrefoil caps on the dado puncturing the original nave aisle wall at Amiens Cathedral, in *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 30. See also the anthropomorphic quality of the trefoil arches on the inner west wall at Reims, in Sauerländer, 479–80, pls. 229–33. That program may also have been geared toward lay (royal) viewers, as Donna Sadler has argued; see Sadler, "The King as Subject, the King as Author: Art and Politics of Louis IX," in *European*

Monarchy: Its Evolution and Practice from Roman Antiquity to Modern Times, ed. Heinz Duchhardt, Richard A. Jackson, and David Sturdy (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 53–68.

37. Hall, 172–73.

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

39. Ibid., emphasis in the original.

40. Ibid., 149. See below for questions of dating.

41. In northern Italy (Vezzolano, Modena, Parma) the porch-type screen was widespread by the last quarter of the 12th century, and it was known in Saxony by 1200; see Greischel, 22.

42. See Hall, 172–73, for further citations of modern adherence to this attitude. Gillerman, 194–95, finds that "Viollet-le-Duc's reasoning seems particularly cogent in respect to the situation as we know it at Notre-Dame where, however, the Bishop may have been less the moving force than his canons. . . ."

43. See Vauchez, 95–106. As Clemente Marconi reminded me, the fact that screens were installed at all is itself a sign of the substantial increase in lay attendance at masses at this historical moment.

44. The literature on this phenomenon is immense; the essential study remains Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (1935), trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995). On the role of the laity in such movements, see Vauchez (with further literature). On the bypassing of clerical mediation by many women at this time, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). On the growth of social intolerance that accompanied this diversity, see esp. R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (London: Blackwell, 1987).

45. On the impact of townspeople's revolts on the construction of churches, see Barbara Abou-el-Haj, "The Urban Setting for Late Medieval Church Building: Reims and Its Cathedral between 1210 and 1240," *Art History* 11 (1988): 17–41; and Stephen Murray, *Beauvais Cathedral: Architecture of Transcendence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), esp. 43–48.

46. Stephen Murray, *Building Troyes Cathedral: The Late Gothic Campaigns* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1987), 22–24. Figures of the revenues from campaigns through 1507 are given in app. C, 211–15.

47. Ibid., 24.

48. For a critical edition of the document, see W. Stach's contribution in Herbert Küas, *Der Naumburger Werkstatt* (Berlin: Deutsches Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1937), 173–74.

49. See Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Naumburger Stifterfiguren: Rückblicke und Fragen," in *Die Zeit der Stauer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur*, vol. 5, suppl., ed. Reiner Hausserr and Christian Väterlein, exh. cat., Württembergische Landesmuseum, Stuttgart, 1979, 169–245.

50. For examples of clerical coercion of laypeople to attend Mass, see Adolph Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg: Herder, 1902), 3–72. On sacramental and other liturgical acts of integration, see John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution 1200–1700," *Past and Present* 100 (1983): 29–61.

51. See Odo of Sully, *Synodicae Constitutiones* 28, in *Pat. lat.*, vol. 212, 65. For further discussion of this passage, see Browe, 37–38. On the importance of the Host's visibility at the elevation, see Rubin, 54–63.

52. Albertus Magnus, quoted in Browe, 36: "Videmus quod universalis usus ecclesiae habet, quod facta consecratione elevatur hostia, a populo videnda et adoranda."

53. For Chartres, see Browe, 56 n. 80. On the use of candles during services, see Rubin, 60–63.

54. Browe, 63–64.

55. Visually, the arches served as framing devices for the altars. On architectural frames generally, see Emil Maurer, "Vom Ziborium zum Triumphbogen: Skizzen zu einer Ikonologie des frühen Bilderrahmens," in *Architektur und Sprache: Gedenkschrift für Richard Zürcher*, ed. Carl Peter Brägger (Munich: Prestel, 1982), 191–215. For specific case studies, see Michael Davis, "Splendor and Peril: The Cathedral of Paris, 1290–1350," *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 34–66, esp. 45–49; and Thomas Puttfarcken, "Tizians Pesaro-Madonna: Masstab und Bildwirkung," in *Der Betrachter ist im Bild: Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik*, ed. Wolfgang Kemp, 2d exp. ed. (Berlin: Reimer, 1992), 94–122, esp. 112–16.

56. This was also the case in some female monastic churches, such as that at Ebsdorf, where the screen that physically barred the nuns from the sanctuary was pierced with a window, "opened only at the elevation," through which the nuns could gaze at the consecrated Host; see Jeffrey Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure, and the Pastoral Care of Nuns," in his *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone, 1998), 35–109 at 96.

57. *Statua antiquae ordinis Carthusiani* 55, in *Pat. lat.*, vol. 153, 1137: "Illi qui volunt ostium chori aperire in elevatione, habeant fracticum ostium, quod aperitur tantum in elevatione et postea claudatur." This injunction was repeated in the statutes of 1368: "In elevatione corporis Christi ad missas conventuales aperiuntur portae chori et in his ac etiam in privatis cereus accendatur et casula elevatur"; see Browe, 55 n. 174.

58. See n. 53 above.

59. Browe, 56.

60. Lachat, 377–78, further 379: “The arcades were entirely open and the view could carry easily to the high altar”; and 381. Hütter and Magirus, 188, argue with regard to the *Lettner* at Wechselburg that “the overall context of the ‘lectern,’ as spiritual mediator, in no way represented the kind of disruption that it is continually claimed to have done.”

61. William P. Mahr, “Music and the Articulation of Sacred Space and Sacred Time: The Example of the Processions of the Sarum Rite” (paper presented at the 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1998).

62. Browe, 21. On the display of the Host, see Michel Andrieu, “Aux origines du culte du Saint-Sacrament: Reliquaires et monstrances eucharistiques,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950): 397–418; Otto Nussbaum, *Die Aufbewahrung der Eucharistie*, Theophaneia, 29 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1979); and Jacques Foucart-Borville, “Les tabernacles eucharistiques dans la France du Moyen Age,” *Bulletin Monumental* 148 (1990): 349–82.

63. Hall (as in n. 25), 338.

64. *Ibid.* Hall’s studies are exemplary for discussing the complex uses of screens; see also her “The Italian Rood Screen: Some Implications for Its Liturgy and Function,” in *Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore*, vol. 2, ed. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1978), 213–19. For examples of the entry of laypeople into the choir at Amiens despite its elaborate enclosure, see Detlef Knipping, “Die Chorschranke der Kathedrale von Amiens und ihre Rolle in Liturgie und Reliquienkult,” *Gesta* 38 (1999): 171–88, esp. 180, 186 n. 47.

65. Hall (as in n. 25), 333. See also the page in the Hours of Mary of Burgundy where Mary envisions herself praying directly to the Virgin within the enclosed space of a Gothic choir; and Joos van Ghent’s *Altarpiece of the Communion of the Apostles*, which shows Christ distributing Communion to his Apostles in the apse of a church while a group of lay bourgeois men (and a single woman) watch from the sides, in James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art: Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Arts from 1350 to 1575* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1985), colorpl. 34 (Mary of Burgundy), 167, fig. 159 (Joos).

66. For cases of laypeople entering convent sanctuaries to view the Host, see Hamburger (as in n. 56), 93.

67. Quoted in Browe, 67 n. 246.

68. Gottschalk Hollen, “A fortiori mulieres non debent appropinquare nisi quando volunt communicare altari et choro, quia proverbialiter dicitur: Quanto peior meretrix tanto vicinior est choro”; quoted in Franz (as in n. 50), 32 n. 2, with further examples.

69. Saint Augustine, *In Joannis evangelium*, tract. XCVI.3, in *Pat. lat.*, vol. 35, 1875.

70. For a discussion of the arrangement of the temple—especially the aspect of concealment—in light of theories of liminality, see Edmund Leach, *Culture and Communication: The Logic by Which Symbols Are Connected* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 84–88. See also Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 211.

71. Imesch Ohry, 96–99; Reiner Sörries, *Die Alpenländischen Fastentücher* (Klagenfurt: Universitätsverlag, 1988).

72. Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891; London: Penguin, 1994), 10.

73. See Peter Browne, S.J., “Die Eucharistie als Zaubermedium im Mittelalter,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 20 (1930): 134–54; and Rubin, 334–42.

74. See Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 86.

75. On the vocabulary pertaining to screens, see Doberer, 117; and Köcke, 1–3. The term *Lettner* appears first in a vernacular document released by Bishop Walter of Strasbourg in 1261: “si gabent och vride offenliche amne lettner”; Köcke, 2.

76. Hall, 163. At S. Maria Novella, as at other Italian churches, the *ponte* was one of two constructions that marked the boundaries between nave and sanctuary, the choir screen proper being located just behind it.

77. Doberer, 117, 121 n. 1.

78. On relics and sermons, see *ibid.*, 117–18. For the screen at Sens, which had four sets of stairs instead of the usual two and thus allowed complex processional circulation, see Lachat. On the use of screens in liturgical dramas, see Elizabeth C. Parker, *The Descent from the Cross: Its Relation to the Extra-Liturgical “Depositio” Drama* (New York: Garland, 1978), esp. 132–41.

79. Köcke; Doberer, 117.

80. Quoted in Noack, 1925 (as in n. 21), 102: “Electo episcopo . . . fit proclamatio per Decanum ecclesie Maguntine ad populum super ‘sinagoga’ uf dem lettner in loco in quo cantatur Evangelium in festis dominorum.”

81. Doberer, 118; Köcke, 9.

82. Erika Doberer, “Ein Denkmal der Königssalbung: Die symbolische Bedeutung der Gewölbefigur am ehemaligen Westlettner des Mainzer Domes,” in *Wandlungen christlicher Kunst im Mittelalter* (Baden-Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1953), 321–40 at 333.

83. Lachat, 378 n. 27.

84. Doberer, 118. Köcke, 8, notes the French idiom *venir à jubé*, meaning “to submit oneself to an authority.” For more on judicial functions, see Dietrich Schubert, *Von Halberstadt nach Meissen: Bildwerke des 13. Jahrhunderts in Thüringen, Sachsen und Anhalt* (Schauberg: M. DuMont, 1974), 39–42. For Chartres, see Mallion, 17–19.

85. This was the case in Strasbourg, for which see Otto Schmitt, *Gotische Skulpturen des Strassburger Münsters*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt: Frankfurter Verlagsanstalt, 1924), ix.

86. Hall, 167; and *idem* (as in n. 25), 338.

87. According to the account of a chapter meeting on Feb. 18, 1683, during which the transfer of the altar was discussed, the air simply “pulled too strongly” through the now open space; see E. Neeb, “Zur Geschichte der heutigen Chorbühnen und des ehemaligen Lettners im Westchor des Mainzer Domes,” *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 11 (1916): 38–48 at 42.

88. Klaus Gamber, “Der gotische Lettner: Sein Aussehen und seine liturgische Funktion, aufgezeigt an zwei typischen Beispielen,” *Das Münster* 37 (1984): 197–201 at 198.

89. Köcke, 3.

90. *Ibid.*, 168–69. For Marburg, see Köstler (as in n. 13), 88–112. For Berndt Notke’s Lübeck Cathedral choir screen with Crucifixion group and donor figures, see Carl Georg Heise, *Lübecker Plastik* (Bonn: Friedrich Cohen, 1926), pl. 52.

91. Hall, 164–65. For the use of internal screen chapels in Dominican churches, see Jeffrey Hamburger, “The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Henry Suso and the Dominicans,” in Hamburger (as in n. 56), 197–232 at 222–24.

92. On the desirability of the cross altar as a place of burial, see Bandmann (as in n. 22), 399; and Friedrich Oswald, “In medio Ecclesiae: Die Bedeutung der literarischen Zeugnisse im Lichte archäologischer Funde,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 3 (1969): 313–26, esp. 320–21.

93. For numerous persons, lay and ecclesiastical, who requested burial in front of screens in English churches, see Vallance (as in n. 34), 3–4. There is a long tradition of important clergy (and also wealthy laity) insisting on burial at the threshold of the church as a sign of penitence; see Arnold Angenendt, “In porticu ecclesiae sepultus: Ein Beispiel von himmlisch-irdischer Spiegelung,” in *Iconologia Sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas: Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994), 68–80.

94. From the *vita* of Anno of Cologne, quoted by Oswald (as in n. 92), 321.

95. Lenz Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto: Zeichen, Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum* (Zurich: Atlantis, 1972); and David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), esp. 136–60.

96. See Kriss-Rettenbeck (as in n. 95), 84, pl. 10.

97. I am grateful to both David Freedberg and Jeffrey Hamburger for reminding me of this connection.

98. See Otto Pächt, *Van Eyck and the Founders of Early Netherlandish Painting*, ed. Maria Schmidt-Dengler, trans. David Britt (London: Harvey Miller, 1994), colorpl. 5.

99. See Odilie Delenda, *Rogier van der Weyden—Roger de la Pasture* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1987), colorpl. 29.

100. See also Geertgen tot Sint Jans’s *Holy Kinship* (ca. 1480–85), where the Holy Family sits in the nave before a figural choir screen, in Snyder (as in n. 65), 179, fig. 170.

101. Leach (as in n. 70), 82.

102. For iconostases, see Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (1990), trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), esp. 225–28. For Italian wall screens, see Imesch Ohry. For *Fastentücher*, see Sörries (as in n. 71).

103. Doberer, 120; Imesch Ohry, 80–114.

104. Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1908), trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), esp. 15–25; Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1969), 94–130; and Leach (as in n. 70), 33–36.

105. Van Gennep (as in n. 104), 18.

106. Leach (as in n. 70), 35.

107. *Ibid.*

108. See *ibid.*, 82, for elaboration of this schema.

109. Friedrich Möbius follows van Gennep in pointing out the highly charged nature of passing beneath an arch in his “Über und unter dem Bogen: Zur Ausdrucksbedeutung zweier Formzonen,” in *Festschrift Johannes Jahn zum XXII. November MCMLVII* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1958), 73–82, esp. 74–75. In the section on altars located above portals (77–78), there is, surprisingly, no mention made of choir screens.

110. The early 14th-century screen at the church of St. Elisabeth in Marburg is an exception. Entirely closed off by high choir stalls at its western end, at the center it contains a large archway, probably a remnant of the late 13th-century screen, which may have originally allowed visual access into the choir; see Köstler (as in n. 13), 96–98.

111. Imesch Ohry, Hall, 167, mentions Lorenzo de’ Medici’s unceremonious leap over a low screen in the Florentine cathedral as he ran from pursuers seeking to kill him. I am grateful to James Addiss for reminding me of screens’ lowness in relation to the church vaults and the fact that, despite the ubiquity of screens by the 14th and 15th centuries, newer architectural forms were never adapted to their presence. Murray (as in n. 36), 34–35, presents the radiating chapels of Amiens Cathedral as mimicking the forms of the main choir on a smaller scale and allowing lay viewers to experience the exclusive central space vicariously, through their formal repetition.

112. My thoughts on the effects of different media owe much to Hans Belting, who generously shared his ideas in a seminar held at Columbia University in spring 1997.

113. The first scholar to suggest this configuration was Otto Schmitt, "Der Kopf mit der Binde," *Oberrheinische Kunst* 5 (1932): 3–16. This reconstruction is supported by material and documentary evidence, as well as the survival into the 20th century of figures in the church of St. Emmeram in Mainz and the Ritterkapelle in Hassfurt; see Herbert von Einem, *Der Mainzer Kopf mit der Binde* (Cologne: Westdeutscher, 1955), 9–11. For the surviving fragments, see Peschlow-Kondermann, 36–37. The identity of the figure is uncertain, and the literature is filled with a wide range of interpretations; see Doberer (as in n. 82), 321–40 (anointed king); von Einem (new Adam in role of cosmic man); Günter Bandmann, "Zur Deutung des Mainzer Kopfes mit der Binde," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 9 (1955): 153–74 (new Adam in role of perfect king-priest); Wilhelm Bernhard Kaiser, "Zum Mainzer Kopf mit der Binde," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 14 (1960): 155–66 (Frederick II).

114. The literature on Naumburg is immense and problematic; in my dissertation, I deal with a wider range of sources and cite only the most recent and relevant works here. On the west screen specifically, see Schubert (as in n. 20); Ingrid Schulze, *Der Westlettnr des Naumburger Doms: Das Portal als Gleichnis* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1995); Friedrich Möbius, "Zur Rekonstruktion der Programmatik des Naumburger Westlettners," in *Der Naumburger Westchor: Figurenzyklus, Architektur, Idee*, by Helga Sciriure and Friedrich Möbius (Worms: Werner, 1989), 45–79; Klaus Wessel, "Vides quanta propter te sustinerim? Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Naumburger Westlettners," in *Festschrift Adolf Hofmeister zum 70. Geburtstag* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1955), 312–24. The several essays in *MMS* that deal with this screen are valuable for summarizing the literature but offer few new insights.

115. See above all Peter Metz, "Zur Deutung der Meissener und Naumburger Skulpturenzyklen des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 9 (1940): 145–75 at 155; idem, *Der Stifterchor des Naumburger Doms: Über die Kunst und den Menschen des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Mann, 1948), 10–11; and Wessel (as in n. 114), 315–19. The physical and stylistic "down-to-earth" quality of the Naumburg crucifix has led some scholars to posit a connection of this workshop to Waldensian heretics; see Ernst Lippelt, "Das Geheimnis des Naumburger Meisters," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Geisteswissenschaft* 1 (1938): 232–51. This notion took a strong hold on the popular imagination in the middle decades of the 20th century, for example, in Rosemary Schuder's novel *Der Ketzer von Naumburg* (Berlin: Rütten and Loening, n.d.).

116. Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny,'" in *Writings on Art and Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 193–233 at 221.

117. The role reversal effected by the direct gaze of a represented figure, this time in an illuminated manuscript, is discussed by Karl Fugelso, "The Discourse of Betrayal and Betrayal of Discourse: Pictorial Strategies for Undermining Count Ugolino in the Yates Thompson *Commedia*." I am grateful to Dr. Fugelso for allowing me access to this still-unpublished paper.

118. The following account, which Jeffrey Hamburger brought to my attention, appears in Hubert Silvestre, "Trois témoignages mosans du début du XIIe siècle sur le crucifix de l'arc triomphal," *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain* 9 (1976): 225–31 at 228; see also Rhaban Haacke, "Die mystischen Visionen Ruperts von Deutz," in "*Sapientiae doctrina*": *Mélanges de théologie et de littérature médiévales offertes à Dom Hildebrand Bascour, O.S.B.* (Leuven: Abbaye du Mont César, 1980), 68–90, esp. 82.

119. For the entire account in the original Latin, see Silvestre (as in n. 118), 228.

120. *Ibid.*, 229.

121. See Gerhard Leopold, "Die ehemaligen Lettnr des 13. Jahrhunderts im Dom und in der Liebfrauenkirche in Halberstadt," *Sitzungsberichte der Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, n.s., 410 (Nov. 1991–June 1992): 8–9.

122. For an overview of "triumphal Crucifixion groups," with extensive bibliography, see Reiner Hausserr, "Triumphkreuzgruppen der Stauferzeit," in Hausserr and Väterlein (as in n. 49), 131–68.

123. See esp. Bandmann (as in n. 22), 388–99; and Humann (as in n. 22), 77–81.

124. Imesch Öhry, 170–73 at 170, stresses the "conflation of meanings of choir screen and cross altar." See also Parker (as in n. 78) on the complex relation of altar and figural group.

125. Rubin; Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (London: Routledge, 1993), esp. 55–62; and Mervyn James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 3–29. On the ugliness of Christ's broken body, see Jeffrey Hamburger, "To Make Women Weep: Ugly Art as 'Feminine' and the Origins of Modern Aesthetics," *Res* 31 (Spring 1997): 9–34.

126. Ludolf of Saxony, *Vita Christi* 2.58.3, ed. L. M. Rigollot (Paris, 1878), vol. 4, 3, quoted in Hausserr (as in n. 122), 162.

127. See Turner (as in n. 104), 131–65.

128. This is a point also made by Hall (as in n. 25), 337–38, with regard to S. Croce, Florence.

129. Davis (as in n. 55), 46, makes a similar point. On the significance of viewing the Host and the fears associated with actually consuming it, see Charles Caspers, "The Western Church during the Late Middle Ages: *Augenkommunion* or Popular Mysticism?" in *Bread of Heaven: Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion*, ed. Charles Caspers, Gerard Lukken, and Gerard Rouwhorst (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 83–97. On the problem

of "popular" versus "high" religious practices, see Leonard E. Boyle, "Popular Piety in the Middle Ages: What Is Popular?" *Florilegium* 4 (1982): 184–93. I thank Jeffrey Hamburger for calling these studies to my attention.

130. Berthold of Regensburg, in the sermon "On the Forty-two Virtues"; quoted in Browe, 52. See also Ludolf of Saxony, "Sacerdos cum levat corpus Domini, representat quod Christus in cruce sit levatus," in *ibid.*, 52.

131. Old French *Bible moralisée*, Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB), 1179, fol. 202; quoted in Hausserr (as in n. 122), 136; his fig. 50 shows the wrong page. The passage is cited again with the correct image by Hütter and Magirius, 189–90, fig. 320.

132. Imesch Öhry, 125–33, stresses the function of choir screen imagery as a spur to imaginative pilgrimages, akin to contemporaneous Sacri Monti; see also Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 27–37, on the role of images (for Lochrie, internal ones) in *imitatio Christi*.

133. This was the case not only for the episcopal and collegiate churches on which I focus here, but also for mendicant churches. The question of whether and how the decorative programs of choir screens express these groups' different understandings of their respective missions and relations to the laity would certainly reward further investigation. I am grateful to both Jeffrey Hamburger and Caroline Walker Bynum for raising this point. For mendicant choir screens, see Imesch Öhry; for the Dominican convent screen at Gebweiler (Alsace), see Helma Konow, *Die Baukunst der Bettelorden am Oberrhein* (Berlin: Mann, 1954), esp. 28–30, figs. 43, 44. On the permeability of spaces in monastic churches, see Hamburger (as in n. 91). On the self-conceptions of collegiate and mendicant clergy, see Bynum, "The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century," in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 22–58.

134. On the relatively scanty clerical attendance at masses and offices in Notre-Dame of Paris for all but the most important feast days, see Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 18–27.

135. Lachat, 384.

136. On the importance of visual images as mnemonic devices, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

137. The most comprehensive study of the Chartres screen sculptures remains Mallion; see also Bunjes (as in n. 28); Jean Mallion, "Le jubé de la cathédrale de Chartres," *L'Information d'Histoire de l'Art* 9, no. 3 (1964): 93–103; Léon Pressouyre, "Pour une reconstitution du jubé de Chartres," *Bulletin Monumental* 125 (1967): 419–29; idem, "L'Adoration des mages du jubé de Chartres: Nouveaux fragments conservés en France et aux Etats-Unis," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1971: 82–91; and Sauerländer, 438–40, pls. 126, 127.

138. For representational modes in Romanesque sculpture, see Thomas Lyman, "Le style comme symbol chez les sculpteurs romans: Essai d'interprétation de quelques inventions thématiques à la porte Miègeville de Saint-Sernin," *Cahiers de St. Michel de Cuxa* 12 (1981): 161–79. I owe this reference to Alison Langmead.

139. See Jacques de Vitry, prologue to *Sermones de tempore*, quoted in Welter, 120 n. 14: "Secundum enim varietatem personarum oportet non solum variare sermones, sed etiam sententias et plerumque loquendi modum et scribendi stylum." This practice goes back, in the Christian tradition, to Augustine; see Erich Auerbach, "Sermo humilis," in *Literary Language and Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (1958), trans. Ralph Mannheim (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 25–66; also Jan Białostocki, "Das Modusproblem in den bildenden Künsten: Zur Vorgesichte und zum Nachleben des 'Modusbriefes' von Nicolas Poussin," reprinted in his *Stil und Ikonographie: Studien zur Kunstwissenschaft* (Cologne: DuMont, 1981), 12–42; and Willibald Sauerländer, "From Stylus to Style: Reflections on the Fate of a Notion," *Art History* 6 (1983): 253–70.

140. Sauerländer, 440. Other examples of this stylistic group are the Annunciation and a scene of the Magi before Herod.

141. The Virgin's tunic had been given to the cathedral in the 9th century, and by the 17th an extensive, colorful collection of legends had accrued to it; see the excerpts from Vincent Sablon's *Histoire de l'auguste et vénérable église de Chartres* (1671), trans. in *Chartres Cathedral*, ed. Robert Branner (New York: Norton, 1969), 110–14. On popular aspects of the Virgin's cult at Chartres and its manifestation on the exterior sculpture program, see Laura Spitzer, "The Cult of the Virgin and Gothic Sculpture: Evaluating Opposition in the Chartres West Façade Frieze," *Gesta* 33 (1994): 132–50, esp. 140–42. On the depiction of textiles in Gothic sculpture, see Janet Ellen Snyder, "Clothing as Communication: A Study of Clothing and Textiles in Northern French Early Gothic Sculpture," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996.

142. See Wright (as in n. 134), 14–17.

143. Sauerländer, 440. Other examples are the Presentation in the Temple and the keystones with figures of Mary and the Evangelists.

144. See Marcia Rickard Sweeney, "The Church Triumphant: An Iconographic Study of the Virgin Portal of Amiens Cathedral," Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1978, 27–43, for a thorough account of the iconography of the Magi and its sources.

145. Sauerländer, 440. For the "court style," see Robert Branner, *St. Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London: Zwemmer, 1965).

146. In discussing the depiction of manual labor in the Luttrell Psalter, Michael Camille points out that "the level of 'naturalism' achieved by artists at this date [ca. 1320–45] was greater when dealing with the animal world than man"; Camille, "Labouring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," *Art History* 10 (1987): 423–54 at 428.

147. See Mallion, 131, for this detail.

148. *Ibid.*, 134.

149. See Svetlana Alpers, "Bruegel's Festive Peasants," *Simiolus* 6 (1972–73): 163–76; and Hessel Miedema, "Realism and Comic Mode: The Peasant," *Simiolus* 9 (1977): 205–19.

150. For other rustic figures in 13th-century art, see Siegfried Eppstein, *Der Bauer im Bild des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Urania, 1975), esp. 43–78. For a detailed contextualization of such images, see Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

151. On the incorporation of nonessential details and secondary figures in Gothic narrative images, see Kemp, 143–46; 112–14. On the necessary alteration of texts in visual images, see Max Imdahl, "Die Zeitstruktur in Poussins 'Mannalese': Fiktion und Referenz," in *Kunstgeschichte—aber wie?* ed. Clemens Fruh et al. (Berlin: Reimer, 1989), 47–61; and Kemp, 119–32; 91–101.

152. Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect" (1968), in his *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 41–48.

153. See the seminal work by Carruthers (as in n. 136); Denise Despres, *Ghostly Sights: Visual Meditation in Late Medieval Literature* (Norman, Okla.: Pilgrim Books, 1989); and Karl Morrison, *History as a Visual Art in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

154. Jacques de Vitry, prologue to *Sermones vulgares*, quoted in Welter, 69.

155. Sauerländer, 440.

156. This style also characterizes images of manual labor in the quatrefoils on the north portal at Amiens Cathedral; see Sauerländer, pl. 169. Murray (as in n. 36), 103–23, esp. 118–20, points to the popular quality of the jamb figures of the south transept portal.

157. Kemp, 135; 104, mentions the Chartres screen as imagery from "official culture" that "can be described as the low *genus dicendi*," but notes only the naturalistically rendered marginal images of "hunters, horsemen, and beasts" that frame the biblical narrative.

158. See below and nn. 255, 256 below.

159. On the Bourges screen, dated about 1260, see Sauerländer, 505–6, pl. 294; Paul Gauchery, "Restes de l'ancien jubé de la cathédrale de Bourges," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre* 38 (1917–18): 63–99; Cesare Gnudi, "Le jubé de Bourges et l'apogée du 'classicisme' dans la sculpture de l'Île-de-France au milieu du XIII^e siècle," *Revue de l'Art* 3 (1968): 18–36; and, most recently, Fabienne Joubert, *Le jubé de Bourges* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994). For Amiens, see below.

160. The most recent general treatment of Naumburg's west screen is Schubert, 128–76. For more technical questions of dating and function, see *idem* (as in n. 20); and *idem*, *Der Westchor des Naumburger Doms: Ein Beitrag zur Datierung und zum Verständnis der Standbilder*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst, 1964, no. 1 (Berlin: Akademie, 1964). For sources and iconography, see Schubert, 132–64; Schulze (as in n. 114); and Antje-Fee Köllermann, "Die Darstellung der Passion Christi am Naumburger Westlettnet," in *MMS*, 349–64. The following analysis of the reliefs is drawn from my dissertation and receives fuller elaboration there.

161. The lack of apparent sacramental solemnity has led some scholars to see in this relief a version of the Eucharist associated with the Waldensians; see Ernst Lippelt, "Das Abendmahl am Lettner in Naumburg," *Kunst und Kirche* 16 (1939): 34–37; Paulus Hinz, *Der Naumburger Meister: Ein protestantischer Mensch des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1951); and Kuno Mittelstädt, "Von revolutionärem Geist erfüllt: Zu den Reliefs des Naumburger Westlettners," *Bildende Kunst* (1956): 409–14. This view has been solidly rejected by Kurt Goldammer, "Der Naumburger Meister und die Häretiker," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 64, nos. 1–2 (1952–53): 94–136; and Wolfgang Hütt, "War der Naumburger Meister Waldenser?" *Bildende Kunst*, 1956: 513–14. For a visual analysis of the scene, see Hermann Deckert, "Das Abendmahl am Naumburger Westlettnet," in *Eine Gabe der Freunde für Carl Georg Heise*, ed. Erich Meyer (Berlin: Mann, 1950), 154–57.

162. Compare the Last Supper panel in Paris, where "Christ's gesture of benediction, repeated [in several other scenes], is not so much unusual as insistent . . . a constant underlining of His priestly role"; Gillerman, 64, fig. 17.

163. See Schubert, 132–33, for narrative references. For an analysis of the figures' gazes and their interaction with (undefined) viewers, see Anje Rasche, "Die Passionsreliefs am Naumburger Westlettnet: Beobachtungen zur Erzählstruktur und Einbeziehung des Betrachters," in *MMS*, 365–76.

164. On Christ as nourisher, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing," in *idem* (as in n. 133), 110–69; and *idem* (as in n. 44).

165. Although the general appearance of the company is more solemn, the act of feeding Judas is again the primary focus of attention on the Modena screen; see Marina Armandi, ed., *Il Duomo di Modena Atlante fotografico* (Modena: Panini, 1985), 864. Greischel, 7–21, dates this screen to ca. 1179–84. See also Erika Doberer, "Il ciclo della passione sul pontile di Modena," in *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo*, Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Parma-Modena, 1977 (Parma: Università degli Studi, 1982), 391–98. For this

iconography, see Brigitte Monstadt, *Judas beim Abendmahl: Figurenkonstellation und Bedeutung in Darstellungen von Giotto bis Andrea del Sarto* (Munich: Scaneg, 1995), 19–25. On the social importance of feasting, see Gerd Althoff, "Der friedens-, bündnis- und gemeinschaftstiftende Charakter des Mahles im früheren Mittelalter," in *Essen und Trinken in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Irmgard Bitsch, Trude Ehlert, and Xenja von Ertzdorff (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1987), 13–25.

166. This image has been regarded by some scholars as essentially anticlerical; see Helga Scieurie, "Bemerkungen zum sozialen Aspekt in der Kunst des Naumburger Meisters," *Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena* (Gesellschaft- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe) 30 (1981): 351–62; *idem*, "Zum geistigen Anteil von Künstler und Auftraggeber im Werk des Naumburger Meisters," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald* (Gesellschaft- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe) 30 (1981): 75–80; and Wolfgang Grape, "Adel und 'gemainer Mann': Plastik der Naumburger Bauhütte," *Tendenzen* 26 (1985): 31–44.

167. Compare the same event as shown on the Modena screen, in Armandi (as in n. 165), 884. At Bourges, too, the two main figures are separated by a wide strip of space (see Gnudi [as in n. 159], 27, fig. 18), and the Naumburgian focus on the coins is shifted to the gestures of exchange as such. The visual reference to the Host has been pointed out by Schulze (as in n. 114), 48.

168. See Jacques LeGoff, *Your Money or Your Life: Economy and Religion in the Middle Ages*, trans. Patricia Ranum (New York: Zone, 1990). For a slightly later program that also attends to problems of cash, see Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, "Barren Metal and the Fruitful Womb: The Program of Giotto's Arena Chapel in Padua," *Art Bulletin* 80 (1998): 274–91. For regional developments in the cash economy, see Elisabeth Nau, "Münzen und Geld in der Stauferzeit," in *Haussherr and Väterlein* (as in n. 49), vol. 3 (1977), 87–102.

169. On the development of regional power structures, see Benjamin Arnold, *Princes and Territories in Medieval Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); and *idem*, *Count and Bishop in Medieval Germany: A Study of Imperial Power, 1100–1350* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991). On the religious significance that could accrue to acts of political violence, see Jacqueline E. Jung, "From Jericho to Jerusalem: The Violent Transformation of Archbishop Engelbert of Cologne," in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 60–82.

170. On the political situation in Naumburg, see Walter Schlesinger, *Kirchengeschichte Sachsens im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1962), 1–164, 480–562; on its relation to the cathedral, see *idem*, *Meissner Dom und Naumburger Westchor: Ihre Bildwerke in geschichtlicher Betrachtung* (Münster: Böhlau, 1952), 33–97. On Dietrich, see Schlesinger, 1962 (as in n. 170), 135–38; Heinz Wiessner, *Das Bistum Naumburg*, pt. 1, *Die Diözese*, Germania Sacra, 35 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), vol. 2, 801–10.

171. On Henry's political and military activity, see Wolf Rudolf Lutz, *Heinrich der Erlauchte (1218–1288), Markgraf von Meissen und der Ostmark (1221–1288), Landgraf von Thüringen und Pfalzgraf von Sachsen (1247–1263)*, Erlanger Studien, 17 (Erlangen: Palm und Enke, 1977). On his role as a patron of the arts, see Joachim Bumke, *Mäzene im Mittelalter: Die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland, 1150–1300* (Munich: Beck, 1979), 207–19.

172. While still a provost at the cathedral, Dietrich was very close to Henry, signing his name to nearly every document released by the margrave. But by 1246, shortly after his appointment to the bishop's seat, Dietrich was already complaining to the pope of Henry's "intolerable strains on and injuries to Naumburg's properties and privileges"; Heinz Wiessner and Irene Crusius, "Adeliges Burgstift und Reichskirche: Zu den historischen Voraussetzungen des Naumburger Westchores und seiner Stifterfiguren," in *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, ed. Irene Crusius (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1995), 232–58 at 246 and n. 71; see also Wiessner (as in n. 171), 197–98. These authors contend that Margrave Henry, not Bishop Dietrich, was the primary agent of the west choir's construction; see Wiessner and Crusius, 250–51.

173. Wiessner and Crusius (as in n. 172).

174. See Schubert, 145 (detail of Judas), 81 (detail of Hermann).

175. See Schulze (as in n. 114), 53.

176. For panel paintings, see Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 35–71. For Modena, see Armandi (as in n. 165), 866.

177. See Dorothy Gillerman, "The Arrest of Christ: A Gothic Relief in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 15 (1981): 67–90; and, for the other surviving panels from the Amiens screen, Françoise Baron, "Mort et résurrection du jubé de la cathédrale d'Amiens," *Revue de l'Art* 87 (1990): 29–41, which presents the panel as coming from a parish church. Most recently, Charles T. Little has redated the panel to about 1260 and firmly ascribed it to the cathedral; see Little, "Monumental Gothic Sculpture from Amiens in American Collections," in *Pierre, lumière, couleur: Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge en l'honneur d'Anne Prache*, ed. Fabienne Joubert and Dany Sandron (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 243–53. I am grateful to Dr. Little for sharing his observations on this piece with me.

178. Gillerman (as in n. 177), 87, 89, also associates the panel with Naumburg.
179. *Ibid.*, 71.
180. *Ibid.*
181. *Ibid.*, 80.
182. Gillerman, *ibid.*, does not mention Christ's gesture, although it is visible in her fig. 18.
183. See Jaeger, 176–94; and *idem*, “The Nibelungen Poet and the Clerical Rebellion against Courtesy,” in *Spectrum Medii Aevi: Essays in Early German Literature in Honor of George Fenwick Jones*, ed. W. C. McDonald (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1983), 177–205.
184. Jaeger, 193.
185. The quotation is a slight rewording of a statement by Michael Camille, “Visualizing in the Vernacular: A New Cycle of Early Fourteenth-Century Bible Illustrations,” *Burlington Magazine* 130 (Feb. 1988): 97–106 at 102.
186. *Ibid.*, 106.
187. On this aspect of Jewish costume, see Allan Cutler, “Innocent III and the Distinctive Clothing of Jews and Muslims,” *Studies in Medieval Culture* 3 (1970): 92–116. For the depiction of Jews at Naumburg and elsewhere, see Annette Weber, “Die Entwicklung des Judenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert und sein Platz in der Lettner- und Tympanonskulptur: Fragen zum Verhältnis von Ikonographie und Stil,” *Städte-Jahrbuch* 14 (1993): 35–54, who also argues for a modal understanding of Jewish imagery. For the relief of Christ before Pilate, see Schubert, 155–61.
188. Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews: The Medieval Conception of the Jew and Its Relation to Modern Anti-Semitism* (1943; reprint, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1983), 13.
189. In contrast, see the vicious caricatures typical of much contemporaneous imagery in Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), esp. vol. 1, 127–29; Debra Hassig, “The Iconography of Rejection: Jews and Other Monstrous Races,” in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton: Index of Christian Art, 1999), 25–37; and Weber (as in n. 187).
190. The donor figures of Hermann of Meissen and Wilhelm of Camburg in the choir also display these traits (see Schubert, 81–82 [Hermann], 105 [Wilhelm]), which earlier scholarship presented as typically Slavic; see, for example, Wilhelm Pinder, *Der Naumburger Dom und seine Bildwerke* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1926), 27. In the Amiens relief, the faces of Christ and Judas are identical; see Little (as in n. 177), 250, who raises the possibility that this portrayal marks Judas as “an extraordinary form of Antichrist.”
191. See Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur: Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1986), 172–75.
192. On the social manifestations of hostility toward Jews, see Trachtenberg (as in n. 188); Gavin I. Langmuir, *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1991), 88–115; and Moore (as in n. 44), 27–45. For artistic manifestations, see n. 189 above. For literary examples, see Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 68–110; and (with limits) Joan Young Gregg, *Devils, Women, and Jews: Reflections of the Other in Medieval Sermon Stories* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 169–253.
193. On the protection of Jews in 13th-century Naumburg, see Wiessner (as in n. 171), 218–22. On the regulation of violence against Jewish people in Spain, see David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).
194. See the reproductions in Schubert, 151–54.
195. See Friedrich Möbius and Helga Scieurie, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst, 1200–1350* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1989); and Schubert (as in n. 84), for local art production.
196. See Hermann Giesau, “Der Naumburger Bildhauer in Amiens,” *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1924–25): 201–6; and Richard Hamann, “Der Naumburger Meister in Noyon,” *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 2 (1935): 425–29.
197. For the Reims consoles, see Willibald Sauerländer, “Reims und Bamberg: Zu Art und Umfang der Übernahmen,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 39 (1976): 167–92. For margins as site of experimentation, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992). For a critique of the scholarly preoccupation with margins, see Kemp, 134–35; 104.
198. The following account is taken from Stephen of Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche (Paris, 1877), 334–35; trans. in LeGoff (as in n. 168), 58–59.
199. On medieval attitudes toward usury, see n. 168 above; and Jacques LeGoff, “Trades and Professions as Represented in Medieval Confessors’ Manuals,” 107–21, and “Licit and Illicit Trades in the Medieval West,” 58–70, in his *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).
200. See Sauerländer, 498, 499, fig. 104; and Schmitt (as in n. 85), ix–x.
201. On the Apostle figures, see Knauth (as in n. 29), 36, figs. 4–13; and Hans Haug, “Der Strassburger Lettner im Frauenhaus-Museum,” in *Form und Inhalt: Kunstgeschichtliche Studien Otto Schmitt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1951), 139–44. For the identification of the Virgin, see James J. Rorimer, “The Virgin from Strasbourg Cathedral,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 7 (1949): 220–27. A numerological interpretation of the screen's structure was attempted by Barbara Chabrowe, “Iconography of the Strasbourg Cathedral Choir Screen,” *Gesta* 6 (1967): 35–40; see the critique of this article by Francis Salet, *Bulletin Monumental* 125, no. 3 (1967): 306–7. Hans Reinhardt argues for a connection of the Strasbourg screen to sculpture and architecture in Reims, especially the facade of St. Nicaise, in “Le jubé de la cathédrale de Strasbourg et ses origines rémoises,” *Bulletin de la Société de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 2d ser., no. 6 (1951): 18–28.
202. Knauth (as in n. 29), 36.
203. *Ibid.*, 38.
204. See Haug. On the specifically urban nature of mendicant activity and its relation to lay piety, see Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History* (1978), trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 123–28; on the role of laymen and -women in establishing and contributing to charitable institutions, see *ibid.*, 95–100.
205. Haug, 122, suggests that Albertus Magnus was responsible for conceiving the program. Chabrowe (as in n. 201), 37, attributes “authorship” to Albert's disciple Ulrich Engelbrecht.
206. See also the reproductions in Otto Schmitt, “Zum Strassburger Lettner,” *Oberrheinische Kunst* 2, no. 1 (1926–27): 62–66, pls. 35–40.
207. For further discussion of these, see Haug. On the hermeneutic problems raised by the inclusion of textual scrolls in visual narratives, see Camille.
208. Haug, 120.
209. Berthold of Regensburg offers a glimpse of the importance attached to shoes by his urban lay listeners, when he warns against sham preachers who promise to rescue the souls of loved ones from Hell in return for donations of shoes: “Geloube mir,” Berthold admonishes, “man hulfe [souls of the dead] mit allen den schouhen niht, die diu werlt ie gewan” (Believe me, you couldn't help [the souls of the dead] with all the shoes in the entire world); quoted in Franz (as in n. 50), 226 n. 1.
210. On trends in lay piety, as reflected in the growing numbers of lay saints from the late 12th century onward, see André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles de moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1981), esp. 149–58, 310–14, 410–48; Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982); and Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). On exemplarity in the later Middle Ages, see Vauchez, “Saints admirables et saints imitables: Les fonctions de l'hagiographie ont-elles changé aux derniers siècles du moyen âge?” in *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidentale (IIIe–XIIIe siècle)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), 161–72; and Hester Goodenough Gelber, “A Theater of Virtue: The Exemplary World of St. Francis of Assisi,” in *Saints and Virtues*, ed. John S. Hawley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 15–35.
211. Robert Will, “Le jubé de la cathédrale de Strasbourg,” *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 2d ser., no. 10 (1972): 57–68, esp. 62–68. The late 14th-century choir screen ensemble at Havelberg Cathedral, still in situ, contains reliefs on the nave-facing and choir-facing surfaces as well as on both sides of the lateral walls, and subject matter and style seem systematically geared toward the placement of the reliefs and the audiences who occupied the respective spaces. On this monument, see Ingrid Schulze, “Die Havelberger Lettner- und Chorschrankenreliefs: Inhaltliche Problematik und stilistische Kriterien,” 93–100, and Claudia Lichte, “Der Havelberger Lettner als Bühne: Zum Verhältnis von Bildprogramm und Liturgie,” 101–7, in *Die mittelalterliche Plastik in der Mark Brandenburg*, ed. Lothar Lambacher and Frank Matthias Kammel (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Skulpturensammlung, 1990); see also Lichte, *Die Inszenierung einer Wallfahrt: Der Lettner im Havelberger Dom und das Wilsnacker Wunderblut* (Worms: Werner, 1990).
212. Will (as in n. 211), 63, 65, fig. 17.
213. Ilse Futterer, “Zur gotischen Plastik in Elsass,” *Oberrheinische Kunst* 3 (1928): 44–55 at 44–48.
214. See Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964); and C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).
215. Translation slightly adapted from Saint Augustine, *City of God*, bk. 10, chap. 6, ed. Vernon J. Bourke, trans. Gerald G. Walsh et al. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 193.
216. See Mollat (as in n. 204); and Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 86.
217. Such is also the case with reports of otherworldly journeys; see Eileen Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante* (New York: Italica Press, 1989). For Gelnhäusen, see n. 224 below.
218. The surviving fragments from the Mainz screen were first associated with Naumburg by Wilhelm Vöge, “Die deutsche Plastik des 13. Jahrhunderts” (1905), reprinted in *Bildhauer des Mittelalters: Gesammelte Studien von Wilhelm Vöge* (Berlin: Mann, 1958), 219–22. The details of this connection, mainly concerning division of hands, have been debated in recent years; see Richard H.L. Hamann-MacLean, “Ein Fragment vom Mainzer Westlettner aus der Sammlung Weihrauch: Neue Überlegungen zur Ikonographie des Weltgerichts-

Frieses; Studien zum Problem des Naumberger Meisters IV," in *Kunst und Kultur am Mittelrhein: Festschrift für Fritz Arens zum 70. Geburtstag* (Worms: Werner, 1982), 48–65; and J. A. Schmoll gen. Eisenwerth, "Mainz und der Westen: Stilistische Notizen zum 'Naumberger Meister,' zum Liebfrauenportal und zum Gerhardskopf," in *Mainz und der Mittelrhein in der europäischen Kunstgeschichte: Studien für Fritz Volbach zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Mainz: Gesellschaft für bildende Kunst, 1966), 289–314. For a convenient overview of the literature, see Christine Kitzlinger and Stefan Gabelt, "Die ehemalige Westletneranlage im Dom zu Mainz," in *MMS*, 205–44. Kathryn Brush has addressed the screen's social and ideological function in her dissertation, "The West Choir Screen at Mainz Cathedral: Studies in Program, Patronage, and Meaning," Brown University, 1987, which I have not yet seen.

219. See Neeb (as in n. 87) for the primary-source materials on the screen's destruction. The panels with the elect and the damned ended up in the abbey of the Capucins, where they remained until 1802, when they were relocated to the cloister of the cathedral. By 1839, when they were displayed again, both their provenance and meaning had been forgotten; see Alfred Stix, "Die Plastik der frühgotischen Periode in Mainz," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der k.k. Zentral-Kommission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale* 3 (1909): 99–132 at 115–16.

220. See Peschlow-Kondermann, 69–166, plans 1 and 2, for the details of her reconstruction. Although hardly unproblematic, it remains the best attempt to envision the original structure. For a synopsis of her conclusions, see Kitzlinger and Gabelt (as in n. 218), 2–15, and for their reception, see *ibid.*, 209–11.

221. See Manfred Fath, "Der Weltenrichter der Mainzer Westletner-Deesis und seine Nachfolger," *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 60–61 (1965–66): 97–101.

222. On the social implications of the bodily comportment of the Wise and Foolish Virgins at Strasbourg, see Jaeger (as in n. 214), 331–48. The Judgment tympanum at Conques is one of many Romanesque manifestations of this organizing principle; see Willibald Sauerländer, "Omni perversi sic sunt in tartara mersi; Skulptur als Bildpredigt: Das Weltgerichtstympanon von Sainte-Foy in Conques," reprinted in *idem*, *Geschichte der Kunst—Gegenwart der Kritik* (Cologne: DuMont, 1999), 67–89.

223. On the maintenance of socially distinguishing features after death, see Peter Dinzelbacher, "Reflexionen irdischer Sozialstrukturen in mittelalterlichen Jenseitsschilderungen," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 61 (1979): 16–34; and Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 296–98.

224. The surviving reliefs represent only the back halves of the processions. It is likely that in their original form, the elect were led to Heaven by laymen and -women and that institutional elites were the first to be dragged into Hell. Such was the arrangement on the closely related Gelnhausen screen, for which see Krohm and Marksches (as in n. 21), 28–31, figs. 20, 21 (elect) and 22, 24 (damned), and on the west portal of St. Sebald in Nuremberg, for which see Peschlow-Kondermann, 104–5, fig. 193.

225. On hats in Gothic sculpture, see Frank Neidhart Steigerwald, "Gugel, Gebende und gebrechliche Konsolen: Ein Beitrag zur Kostümkunde und Bauplastik des Mittelalters," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 18 (1979): 43–92, esp. 43–62.

226. On the idea of Purgatory as a place from which the dead could gradually be rescued through deeds of the living, and the implications this had for specific social groups, see Jacques LeGoff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (1981), trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 289–333, esp. 303–5. On liturgical practices at Mainz, see Hermann Reifenberg, "Der Mainzer Dom als Stätte des Gottesdienstes," in *Willigis und sein Dom: Festschrift zur Jahrtausendfeier des Mainzer Doms, 975–1975*, ed. Anton Ph. Brück (Mainz: Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1975), 251–330.

227. See Vauchez, 107–18.

228. See Karl F. Morrison, "I Am You": *The Hermeneutics of Empathy in Western Literature, Theology, and Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

229. For a clear explication of these preaching methods, see the prologue to Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones de tempore*, first published by Welter, 119–20 n. 14. For further discussion of 13th-century preaching strategies, see below.

230. See the rigorous report by Hütter and Magirius.

231. For a stylistic comparison of the Wechselberg figures with those at Freiberg, see *ibid.*, 193–236. For the iconography, see *ibid.*, 237–54.

232. On the Eucharistic focus of the screen's figural and structural composition, see *ibid.*, 184–92 (esp. 188), 244–45.

233. For an earlier image of lay and clerical cooperation and the multiple audiences it addressed, see Margaret M. Williams, "Warrior Kings and Savvy Abbots: The Cross of the Scriptures, Clonmacnois," *Avista Forum* 12 (Fall 1999): 4–11.

234. See Jaeger. For further remarks on the cultivation of a highly refined body language in the Middle Ages, see Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990); and *idem*, "The Rationale of Gestures in the West: Third to Thirteenth Centuries," in *A Cultural History of Gesture*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 59–70.

235. See Nicole Bériou, "De la lecture aux épousailles: Le rôle des images dans la communication de la Parole de Dieu au XIIIe siècle," *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 14 (1993): 535–68; *idem*, *La prédication de Ranulphe de la Houblonnière: Sermons aux clercs et aux simples gens à Paris au XIIIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris:

Études Augustiniennes, 1987); D. L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "Prédications des séculiers aux laïcs au XIIIe siècle de Thomas de Chobham à Ranulphe de la Houblonnière," *Revue des sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 74 (1990): 457–65; and Adolph Franz, *Drei deutsche Minoritenprediger aus dem 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg: Herder, 1907).

236. Along with works cited above, see Wolfgang Heinemann, "Zur Ständedidaxe in der deutschen Literatur des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 88 (1967): 1–90, and 89 (1967): 290–403, esp. 66–90; D. L. d'Avray and M. Tausche, "Marriage Sermons in *Ad Status* Collections of the Central Middle Ages," *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge* 47 (1980): 71–119; and Maria Corti, "Structures idéologiques et structures sémiotiques dans les sermons *ad status* du XIIIe siècle," in *Archéologie du signe*, ed. Lucie Brind'Amour and Eugene Vance (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1983), 145–63.

237. On preaching *ad status*, see also Vauchez, 95–106 at 102–3. On confessing *ad status*, see LeGoff (as in n. 199), 107–21 at 118–19. On the variety of social categories in the 12th and 13th centuries, see Giles Constable, "The Orders of Society," in his *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 249–360, esp. 324–41; and Georges Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

238. For the delicate balance struck by preachers between biblical moralizing and concrete references to daily life, see Hans-Joachim Schmidt, "Allegorie und Emperie: Interpretation und Normung sozialer Realität in Predigten des 13. Jahrhunderts," in *Die deutsche Predigt im Mittelalter*, ed. Volker Mertens and Hans-Jochen Schiewer (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), 301–32.

239. See Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "Les images dans les sermons du XIIIe siècle," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 37 (1990): 327–95. Schmidt (as in n. 238), 327, discusses allusions to elements from profane life as a strategy for engaging listeners.

240. Jacques de Vitry, prologue to *Sermones de tempore*, quoted in Welter, 120 n. 14.

241. From Bonaventure's commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, lib. III, dist. IX, art. 1, q. 2, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 3 (Quaracchi, 1887), 203; quoted in Bériou, 1993 (as in n. 235), 536 n. 3, and in Lawrence G. Duggan, "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?" *Word and Image* 5 (1989): 227–51 at 232. I have adapted slightly the translation used by Duggan.

242. See Camille; Duggan (as in n. 241); Freedberg (as in n. 95), 389–407; and Celia M. Chazelle, "Pictures, Books, and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles," *Word and Image* 6 (1990): 138–53.

243. See Carruthers (as in n. 136); and *idem*, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

244. Gregory the Great, *Homily XXXIX on Luke 19:42–47*, *Pat. lat.*, vol. 76, 1300: "Ad amorem Dei et proximi plerumque corda audientium plus exempla quam verba excitat." See also Ambrose, *Commentary on I Corinthians 14:7–8*, *Pat. lat.*, vol. 17, 254.

245. Guibert of Nogent, *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debet*, *Pat. lat.*, vol. 156, 25.

246. On the new "urgency" in the 12th century "about defining, classifying, and evaluating what [people] termed 'orders' or 'lives' or 'callings,'" see Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" in Bynum (as in n. 133), 82–109 at 88. For the expanding interest in defining social boundaries outside institutional religion, see Heinemann (as in n. 236); and Constable (as in n. 237). Lillian Randall has noted the impact of exempla on contemporary iconography; see Randall, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination," *Art Bulletin* 39 (1957): 97–107.

247. Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones vulgares*, quoted in Welter, 68: "Ad edificationem rudium et agrestium erudicionem, quibus quasi corporalia et palpabilia et talia que per experientiam norunt frequencius sunt proponenda, magis enim moventur exterioribus exemplis quam auctoritatibus vel profundis sententiis."

248. Stephen of Bourbon, prologue to *Tractatus de diversis materiis predicabilibus*, 4, quoted in Welter, 70.

249. See Duggan (as in n. 241), 232.

250. On medieval writers' use of "creative visualization" to bring people to empathy and thence epiphany, see Morrison (as in n. 153).

251. See David C. Lindberg, *Theories of Vision from al-Kindi to Kepler* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976). Scientific theories of vision were disseminated to the masses in sermons; see David L. Clark, "Optics for Preachers: The *De oculo morali* by Peter of Limoges," *Michigan Academician* 9 (1977): 329–43.

252. On the importance to male clerics and monks of imageless devotion, see Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73 (1969): 159–70.

253. See Émile Mâle, *Religious Art in France: The Thirteenth Century; A Study of Medieval Iconography and Its Sources* (1898), trans. Marthiel Mathews (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), esp. 31–64; Wilhelm Vöge, "Die Bahnbrecher des Naturstudiums um 1200" (1914), reprinted in Vöge (as in n. 218), 63–97. Recent scholarship tends to equate naturalism with "the popular" (see below), but often leaves "the popular" undefined.

254. See Constable (as in n. 237) for these distinctions and connections.

255. For the connection between Naumburg and Mainz, see n. 218 above. For links to the Chartres reliefs, see Pinder (as in n. 190), 24 (Annunciation to

the Shepherd); and Hermann Beenken, *Der Meister von Naumburg* (Berlin: Rembrandt, 1939), 12–13 (procession of the elect). For links to Strasbourg, see Futterer (as in n. 213), 44–48.

256. Kathryn Brush, "The Naumburg Master: A Chapter in the Development of Medieval Art History," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 122 (Oct. 1993): 109–22.

257. Hütter and Magirus, 202.

258. *Ibid.*

259. Franz H. Bäuml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Speculum* 55 (1980): 237–64 at 264, 254.

260. James H. Stubblebine, *Assisi and the Rise of Vernacular Art* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 91, 90.

261. See Kemp; and the review of Kemp and other books on Chartres by Brigitte Kurmann-Schwarz, "Récits, programme, commanditaires, concepteurs, donateurs: Publications récentes sur l'iconographie des vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin Monumental* 154 (1996): 55–71.

262. Camille, 38; critiqued briefly by Kemp, 313 n. 24, 238 n. 26. See also Camille (as in n. 185).

263. According to Bumke (as in n. 191), 637, this was the case with the writing of public documents by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities by the end of the 13th century.

264. "Cum vero pervenerit processio ante magnam crucem in ecclesia, ubi debet fieri statio . . . post antiphonam vertat se sacerdos ad populum, et dicat in lingua maternal se: Oremus pro ecclesia Romana. . ." I am grateful to William Mahrt for alerting me to this passage in the *Processionale ad usum insignis ac praeclare ecclesiae Sarum* (Leeds: Greggs International, 1969), 6. The processional routes were described in Mahrt (as in n. 61).

265. See n. 80 above.

266. Nicole Bériou, "Latin and the Vernacular: Some Remarks about Sermons Delivered on Good Friday during the Thirteenth Century," in Mertens and Schiewer (as in n. 238), 268–84.

267. *Ibid.*, 279.

268. Caesarius of Heisterbach relates the story of a Cistercian abbot jolting young monks awake as they dozed during chapter meetings by promising to tell an Arthurian romance, in *Dialogus Miraculorum*, vol. 1, dist. IV, cap. 36, ed. Joseph Strange (Cologne, 1851; reprint, Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press, 1966), 205. On clerical patronage of courtly literature, see Bumke (as in n. 171), 256–65; on bishops as early cultivators and disseminators of codes of courtesy, see Jaeger, esp. 19–48.

269. On the secular concerns of the canons at Naumburg specifically, see Wiessner and Crusius (as in n. 172). For other cases, see Arnold (as in n. 169); Heinz Hürten, "Die Verbindung von geistlicher und weltlicher Gewalt als Problem in der Amtsführung des mittelalterlichen deutschen Bischofs," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 82 (1971): 16–28; and C. Stephen Jaeger, "The Courtier Bishop in *Vitae* from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 58 (1983): 290–325.

270. See M.-D. Chenu, "Nature and Man—the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century* (1957), ed. and trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 1–48; and Andreas Speer, "The Discovery of Nature: The Contribution of the Chartrians to Twelfth-Century Attempts to Found a *Scientia Naturalis*," *Traditio* 52 (1997): 135–51.

271. Jean d'Abbeville, quoted in Murray (as in n. 36), 121 and n. 108 (Latin text).