

The Arrest of Christ: A Gothic Relief in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

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IN HONOR OF ERNST KITZINGER¹

IN RECENT YEARS a Gothic relief representing the Arrest of Christ has been placed on exhibition in the medieval hall of the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1).² Acquired through the dealer Demotte in France and said to have come originally from a church near Amiens, the relief entered the Museum through the bequest of Isaac D. Fletcher in 1917. Despite its nearly perfect condition and the unusual power of its imagery, the relief has never been published. The refinement of the carving and the complex interaction of the figures suggest a major monument, and yet it must be said that at present the mystery surrounding the date and provenance of this *Arrest of Christ* remains difficult to dispel entirely. Even without a secure pedigree, however, the relief deserves consideration in the light of developments in French sculpture during the period of the last Capetian kings.

It was Robert Branner who used the term "Court Style" to describe the highly sophisticated architecture produced in Paris under the direct patronage or associated with the prestige of Louis IX.³ Branner traces the origins of this style, which reached definitive form in the 1240s, to earlier Rayonnant building in Amiens and in the Ile-de-France.⁴ Although his terminology, which seeks to distinguish between a common stylistic vocabulary and the particular imprint of royal patronage, cannot conveniently be applied to sculpture, not unexpectedly the development of sculpture seems to parallel architecture at this

time. The stylistic revolution announced in the figure of Christ the Judge on the central west portal at Notre-Dame and by the apostles of the Ste.-Chapelle seems, like Parisian architecture, to have been prepared in the work of the preceding decade at Amiens and Paris, but the specific mark of court patronage is elusive. During this period the monumental and didactic art of the High Gothic cathedral was gradually transformed, becoming more graceful, more naturalistic, and more intimate. This transformation, evident even in large-scale exterior programs, is especially obvious in interior sculpture and in the many small objects in metal, wood, and ivory that adapt the new style to the context of devotional art.

Recent restudy of such important individual monuments as the Last Judgment portal of Notre-Dame, the transept sculpture of Amiens, Paris, and Rouen,

1. This paper was originally prepared as part of a unique volume of studies presented to Professor Ernst Kitzinger on the occasion of the symposium and exhibition organized to celebrate his retirement as A. Kingsley Porter University Professor, Harvard University, March 17, 1979.

2. I wish to express my gratitude to Charles Little, associate curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum, for his encouragement and assistance in all phases of the work on this paper. In addition, I received valuable counsel from Harvey Stahl and Caroline Houser.

3. R. Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965).

4. Idem, "Paris and the Origins of Rayonnant Gothic Architecture down to 1240," *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962) pp. 39-51.



1. *The Arrest of Christ*, 1260–70. Limestone, 39 × 42½ in. (99 × 108 cm.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Isaac D. Fletcher Bequest, 1917, 20.5



2. Christ and Judas, detail of Figure 1

3. Two of Christ's captors, detail of Figure 1



4. St. Peter and lantern-bearer, detail of Figure 1

5. Malchus, detail of Figure 1



and the various interior projects carried out at Chartres and St.-Denis has, in revising some dating, inevitably altered the relationships traditionally seen to exist among these works.⁵ The predominant role of Paris appears somewhat less clear and sculpture of the decade before the Ste.-Chapelle suggests the possibility that the new style was created in monuments outside the capital. In a further development the sculpture of the 1260s has been more clearly defined and can be seen to be exploiting new locations, new subject matter, and new expressive possibilities. This situation appears to change toward the end of the century when the new style, although still vigorous in its outward movement across the Channel and the Rhine, was becoming dependent on the past for its sources. French sculpture often seems to be quoting itself, and the concept of "1300"—like that of "1200"—suggests a moment of relative stylistic hegemony and internationalism following upon a period of greater experimentation and regional variation.

The *Arrest of Christ* in the Metropolitan Museum has until now been assigned to the fourteenth century, but a date after 1300 is surely too late. Rather than an example of the "recycled" style of 1300–30, stylistic and iconographical evidence adduced below makes it fit more naturally into the innovative period *before* the turn of the century. Beyond issues of style or date, however, the relief poses questions of original context. Its size, its flat back, and the configuration of the base suggest that it was installed in a shallow niche or shelf space against a background wall; and since representations of the Arrest of Christ virtually never appear alone in Gothic art, it must once have formed part of a larger Passion cycle. If this had included the usual number of scenes, it could, on the evidence of the *Arrest of Christ*, have been over 30 feet in length. Ensembles of the kind were common in thirteenth-century sculpture but very few remain of such magnitude.

The relief is executed in a fine-grained, grayish white limestone. The height of the tallest figure is 39 inches and the piece measures 42½ inches across the middle. While varying considerably in thickness, it occupies a space ranging from 8¾ inches at the base to a maximum of 10 inches in the overlapping figures. The back is sheared off flat and is completely unworked. The relief is in excellent condition with only a few important losses, which will be noted in detail below. A recent cleaning has revealed sufficient traces

of polychromy remaining in the folds and inner surfaces of the stone to show that at one time it was entirely painted and gilded.⁶

Three episodes—the Betrayal, the Arrest of Christ, and the story of Malchus—are combined in the relief.⁷ Christ is located in the center facing outward. His face and body are partially masked by the figure of Judas whose left hand clasps Christ's shoulder as he raises his head to kiss him (Figure 2). Traces of paint indicate that Christ was clothed in a pinkish red gown with gilt ornament along the lower edge and that Judas's cloak was light green. The armed man on the right (Figure 3), seen like Judas from the rear, grasps Christ's garment in a sharp backhand gesture, and seems about to strike him with his clenched fist. His mail shirt, hood, and metal helmet all bear patches of steel blue. A second, unarmed captor, perhaps dressed in brown, seizes Christ's left wrist from

5. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, "Les Remaniements du portail central à Notre-Dame de Paris," *Bulletin Monumental* 129 (1971) pp. 241–248; idem, "Nouvelles Remarques sur le portail central de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Bulletin Monumental* 132 (1974) pp. 287–296; idem, "La Place des découvertes dans l'histoire de la sculpture," *Les Rois retrouvés* (Bienne, 1977); D. Kimpel and R. Suckale, "Die Skulpturenwerkstatt der Vierge Dorée am Honoratusportale der Kathedrale von Amiens," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1973) pp. 217–268; D. Kimpel, *Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame zu Paris und ihre Skulpturen*, Ph.D. diss., University of Bonn (1971); H. Krohm, "Die Skulptur der Querhausfassaden und der Kathedrale von Rouen," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 40 (1970) pp. 40–58; L. Pressouyre, "L'Adoration des Mages du jubé de Chartres, nouveaux fragments conservés en France et aux Etats-Unis," *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1971) pp. 82–91; idem, "De Nouveaux Fragments pour le jubé de Chartres," *Archeologia* 50 (1972) pp. 71–74; G. S. Wright, "A Royal Tomb Program in the Reign of St. Louis," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974) pp. 224–243; M. Bideault, "Le Tombeau de Dagobert dans l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis," *Revue de l'Art* 18 (1972) pp. 27–33; F. Joubert, "Les Retables du milieu du XIIIe siècle à l'abbatiale de Saint-Denis," *Bulletin Monumental* 131 (1973) pp. 17–28. The standard older works on this period are H. Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze der hohen Gotik und der Stand der gotischen Plastik in der Ile-de-France um 1300* (Marburg, 1937), and H. Weigert, "Die Stilstufen der deutschen Plastik von 1250 bis 1350," *Marburger Jahrbuch* 3 (1927) pp. 147–273.

6. Charles Little was responsible for the original analysis of the polychromy on this relief. The color notations given below are purposely kept simple to give a sense of the original work without overwhelming the reader with detail. A more precise description is in the possession of the Museum's Department of Medieval Art.

7. Matt. 26:47–56; Mark 14:43–49; Luke 22:47–53; John 18:3–11. All biblical citations are to the Douay Version of the Latin Vulgate.

behind. On Christ's right a grimacing man with porcine features presses Judas forward with his right hand; his left can just be seen emerging next to Christ's head at the upper center of the composition (Figure 4). The broken object in this hand should undoubtedly be reconstructed as a lantern. The events represented occurred at night, and St. John recounts that the band of men who came out from the city carried lanterns and torches as well as weapons.⁸ Medieval representations of the scene invariably include these props and the Metropolitan sculpture was surely no exception. The lantern is held above Christ's head to illuminate his face and make him recognizable to the crowd. In a formal sense it would have given vital emphasis and height to the center of a composition that subtly balances horizontal and diagonal lines.

The two remaining figures enact the third episode, the story of Malchus, the high priest's servant.⁹ St. Peter is shown sheathing his sword in response to Christ's words. His right arm has been broken off at the elbow and the sword handle is missing but the blade can be seen thrust into the scabbard crisscrossed by a leather sword belt.¹⁰ Below, in the nearest plane of the relief, Malchus has fallen to the ground. His right ear, struck off by Peter, is miraculously healed by the touch of Christ (Figure 5). Peter's mantle, falling in graceful folds from his raised arm, has traces of maroon and blue with gold borders. Malchus's short tunic, painted gray-blue, is worn over light hose and shoes.

From this brief description two features call for special emphasis. First, the physical appearance of the relief, its condition, and its size suggest a program designed for an interior setting; indeed, the lack of serious breakage and the quality of the surface preclude prolonged exposure to the elements. A second observation concerns the manner in which the story is related. Three episodes are compressed into a single dramatic moment, and each of the seven figures is carefully characterized by clothing, gesture, and physiognomy. The psychological mood is intensified by setting the closely packed crowd into positions of violent but constricted action. Through the use of rear views and diagonal gestures a complex interweaving of spatial layers is achieved, and the figures seem bound together both physically and emotionally.

To assign the *Arrest of Christ* to the first quarter of

the fourteenth century is to associate it with such works as the choir reliefs of Notre-Dame (Figure 6) and the apostles from St.-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins (Figure 7), products of two important workshops active in the capital at this period.¹¹ Idealized head types, an air of aristocratic restraint, and a suave handling of the surface are common to these works and suggest that the Metropolitan relief relates to the Parisian milieu. In other respects, however, the comparison fails.

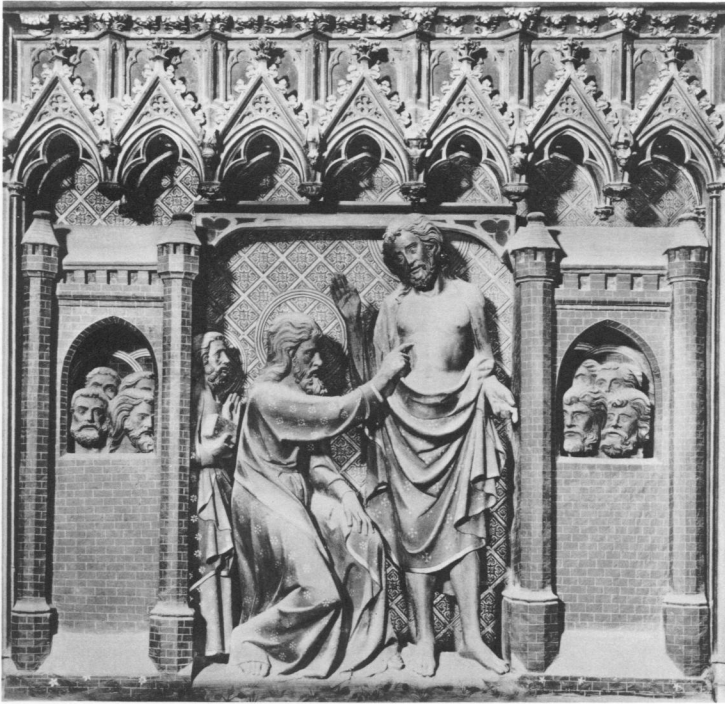
If underlying affinities seem to link the sculpture of Louis IX's reign with that of his grandson, Philip IV, the fourteenth-century work usually reveals itself in a different and characteristic tendency toward abstraction. Compared to the active, emphatic poses of the *Arrest of Christ* figures, the Notre-Dame Christ and St. Thomas are frozen in an immutable design. Drapery is laid over rigid body cores in a beautiful carapace, and the axes of the figures, as well as the direction of gesture and glance, are controlled by horizontals and verticals that move inward from the framing edges. As opposed to the *Arrest of Christ*, the psychological relationships in the *Incredulity of Thomas* have become detached from the events depicted. While the St.-Jacques apostle represents a more ingratiating version of the Parisian style, many of the same tendencies are present. Drapery, rather than enlivening areas of hip, shoulder, or knee, moves across the tubular body in a series of graceful gestures. An expression of conventional sweetness contrasts with the dignity of the New York Christ, and the slight curve that animates the St.-Jacques figure is held parallel to the frontal plane. In both fourteenth-century examples, movement restricted in two dimensions and the calligraphic line, especially in the hems, have the effect of

8. John 18:3.

9. John 18:10. Luke 21:51 mentions the healing of the ear.

10. I wish to thank Helmut Nickel, curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum, for his help in describing the armor and weapons represented in the relief. The sword belt is of a type that appears on the center portal of the north transept at Reims as well as on the figure of Markgraf Eckart II from the founders' series in the west choir of Naumburg. Made of soft leather without a buckle, the split ends were passed through the holes on the opposite end and tied together.

11. F. Baron, "Le Décor sculpté et peint de l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins," *Bulletin Monumental* 133 (1975) pp. 29-72; D. Gillerman, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame: Problems of Reconstruction," *Gesta* 24 (1975), and idem, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame and Its Role in the Fourteenth Century Program* (New York, 1977); S. Salet, "La Sculpture à Paris sous Philippe le Bel," *Document Archeologia* 3 (1973) pp. 45-52.



6. *Incredulity of Thomas*, early 14th century. Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, south wall of choir enclosure (photo: Alinari)

flattening the figure, whether carved in relief or in the round. By contrast, the figures of the *Arrest of Christ* are freer in space, the bodies have greater volume, and the drapery is more plastically conceived.

Rather than belonging with these mannered versions of a great style, the *Arrest* seems to recall the style's beginnings half a century earlier. In the Paris area, two major workshops were active about 1260, one on the south transept of the cathedral and the other at the abbey of St.-Denis. At the same time the enormous ensemble of the west facade being completed in Reims required literally hundreds of figures to fill out an encyclopedic program spread over the inner and outer surfaces of the three portals.¹² Common to this body of work, to a greater or lesser extent, is an interest in the realistic portrayal of figures in complex poses and of intense expressive relationships.

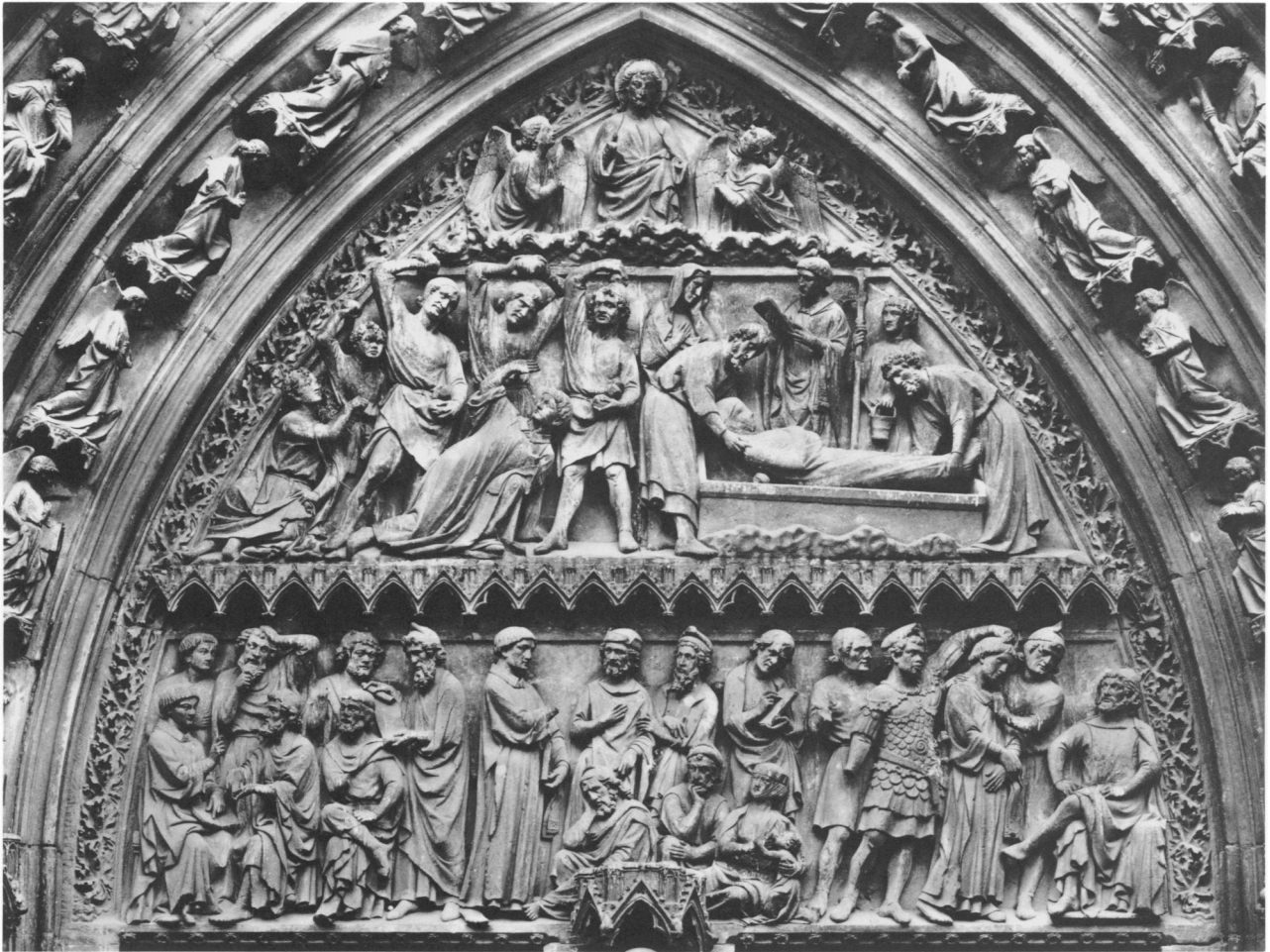
The sculpture of the St. Stephen portal of Notre-Dame (Figure 8) represents the clearest example. In a departure from the slender proportions of the recently completed north transept, the St. Stephen Master prefers an energetic, stocky body type. Heads are enlarged so that their features are clearly visible and the figures, pressing up against each other, overlap in large compositional units. The carving digs into the stone, creating restless troughs of drapery; and the treatment of hair and beards brings out contrasts of light and shade. It has been suggested that the St. Stephen Master came from Reims where, especially in martyrdom scenes of the exterior and interior west facade (Figure 9), similarly vigorous carving and a preference for earthy types are observable in figures and reliefs executed slightly earlier than the St. Stephen portal.¹³

12. W. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140–1270* (New York, 1972) pls. 185–235.

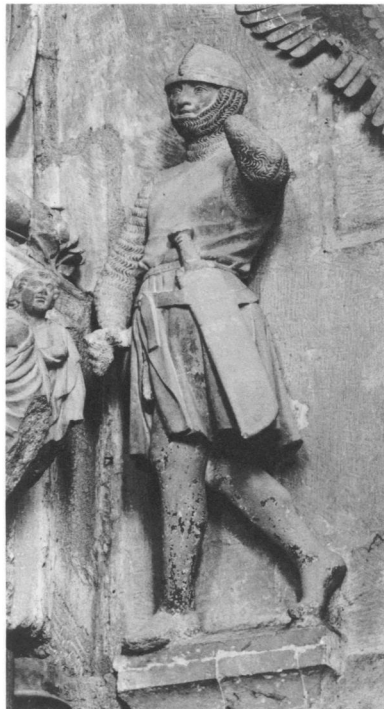
13. Kimpel, *Die Querhausarme von Notre-Dame*, pp. 169–193.



7. Apostle from St.-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins, Paris, 1319–24. Paris, Cluny Museum (photo: Musées Nationaux)



8. Tympanum, portal of St. Stephen, 1260–65. Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Alinari)

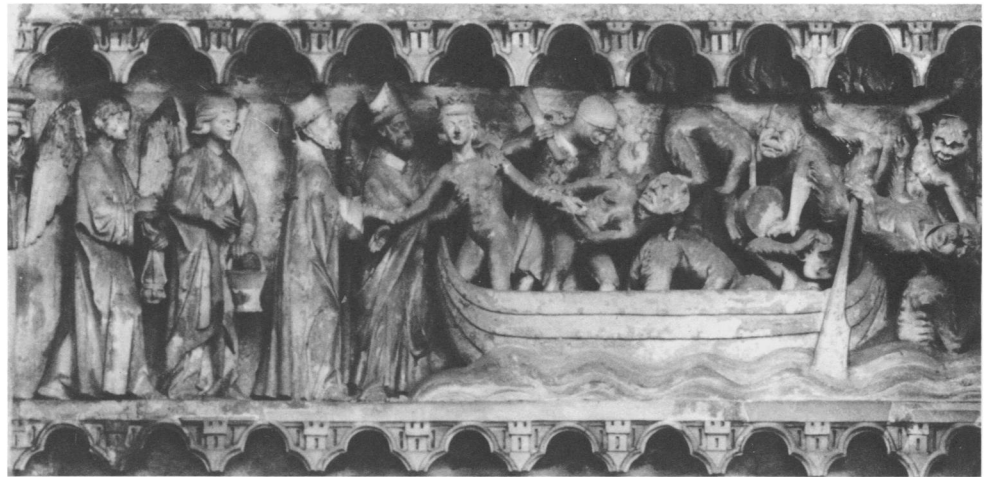


9. Soldier, detail of the Legend of St. Nicasius, 1250–60. Reims, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, inner west wall (photo: James Austin)

The Reims lintel scenes are carved on a series of blocks more or less complete in themselves and applied against the neutral surface of the wall. Within each block figures are composed in units of action in a manner that seems to foreshadow the St. Stephen portal and the *Arrest of Christ* relief. One example represents participants in the burning of St. John the Baptist's bones (Figure 10): three figures in contrasting attitudes form a compact group built on a three-dimensional ground plan. This sculpture effects a radical break with the conventions of early Gothic relief where figures parallel to the background move



10. Three figures, detail of the Legend of St. John the Baptist, 1250–60. Reims, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, inner west lintel (photo: James Austin)



11. Scene from the Legend of Dagobert, Cenotaph of Dagobert I, ca. 1260. St.-Denis, Abbey Church (photo: Marburg)

along a shallow ribbon of space. Compared to the Reims reliefs the New York *Arrest of Christ* is more concentrated around the axial figure of Christ. The ground plan is more symmetrical and the in-and-out movement of the figures is controlled by a surface design which reads as the intersecting of two Vs. Drapery folds are simplified and the whole surface is handled with a restraint suggesting that, although the *Arrest* belongs to the same period as the Reims and Paris reliefs, it does not emerge from an eastern French tradition.

At St.-Denis some of the sculpture around 1260 belongs to the same stylistic current. The Dagobert tomb and the first retables executed for the new choir chapels maintain a general similarity to the Notre-Dame and Reims work, but they are less naturalistic.¹⁴ In comparable martyrdom scenes from the Dagobert tomb (Figure 11) and from the retables of St. Benedict and St. Eustace (Figure 12), the figures are more gracious, their movements are less abrupt, and the drapery is gathered in rhythmical folds and cascades.

At the end of the century a final large-scale project stands as an example of the later development of the style of the sixties. The tympanum of the Porte de la Calende at Rouen is devoted to a Passion cycle which starts on the middle register with the Arrest of Christ and terminates below with Pentecost, a total of nine scenes in addition to the Crucifixion in the upper register.¹⁵ It is interesting to compare the scene of the

Arrest at Rouen (Figure 13) with that of the Stoning of St. Stephen at Notre-Dame (Figure 9) and with the Metropolitan Museum relief. At Rouen the composition is cramped and the movement of the figures reflects the geometry of the framing edges. Diagonal gestures across the plane and through the spatial layers of relief, strikingly present at Notre-Dame and in the Metropolitan Museum *Arrest of Christ*, are absent. The figures are taller and more elegant, and the narrative lacks both the convincing brutality of the St. Stephen Master and the clarity of the Metropolitan relief. Altogether the Rouen sculpture, while closely following Notre-Dame in the selection of motifs, is fussier in its details, less naturalistic, more mannered in style.

As this summary suggests, sculpture of the sixties, especially the work of the St. Stephen Master, is characterized by an expressive naturalism ideally suited to the depiction of active figures in complex and often violent poses. This mode of representation, most clearly seen in martyrdom and Passion scenes, while not necessarily Parisian in origin had an immediate impact on sculpture in Paris and in the Parisian sphere of influence. Comparisons of the Metropoli-

14. Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze*, pp. 113–116; Bideault, “Le Tombeau de Dagobert,” p. 32; Joubert, “Les Retables,” p. 27.

15. Krohm, “Die Skulptur . . . von Rouen,” pp. 40–158.

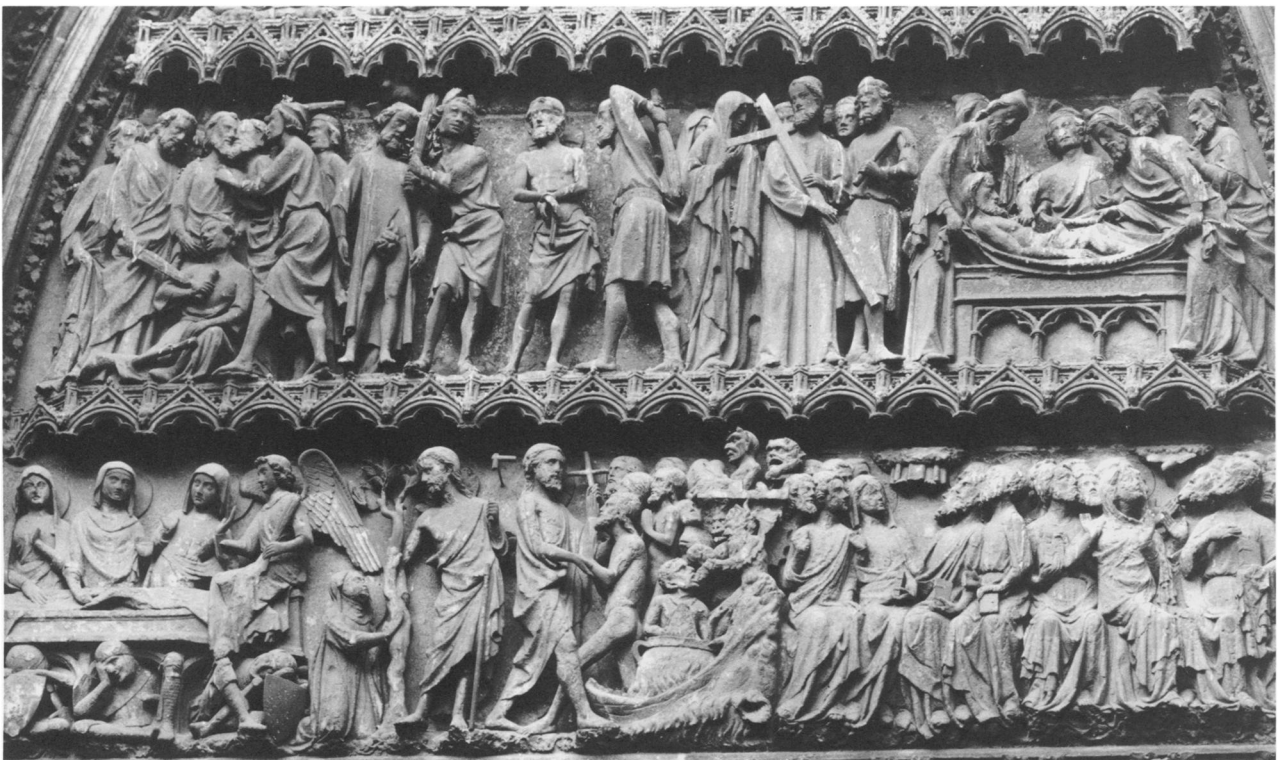


12. Retable of St. Eustace, 1250–60. St.-Denis, Abbey Church (photo: Monuments Historiques)

tan Museum *Arrest of Christ* with the Reims lintels and the St. Stephen tympanum indicate a basis for the narrative mode and allow an insight into the origins of this type of dense, overlapping composition. On the other hand, in the *Arrest of Christ* the drapery, which is gathered in broad folds into a few masses

outlined by simple hems, and the refined facial types of Christ and St. Peter suggest that the new naturalistic mode has been modified by a more traditional attitude. Since the Rouen sculpture represents a considerably later and dilute version of the Paris style,

13. Passion scenes, tympanum of the Porte de la Calende, ca. 1300. Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Marburg)



the Metropolitan piece is most comfortably assigned to a period nearer to Notre-Dame and before Rouen, that is, to the decade 1260–70.

So far, comparisons with other works have tended to place our relief in the context of the Ile-de-France. Since it was said to have come from the Amiens region, however, it is there that further comparisons must be made. Construction of Amiens Cathedral started about 1220 in the western bays of the nave and progressed rapidly toward the east.¹⁶ It is now thought that the facade was erected after the death of Geoffroy d'Eu, between 1236 and 1241, and that the greatest part of the facade sculpture was completed during these years. The west facade, where many artists were employed, represents a veritable survey of High Gothic sculptural style from perhaps 1225 through the decade of the forties.

The south transept portal at Amiens is from a later phase of the building, although its actual date has been much debated. Georges Durand considered the sculpture of this portal to have been executed by two workshops. To the first, which he dated to the 1230s, he attributed the architecture of the portal, the jamb figures, and the reliefs of the trumeau;¹⁷ to the second, active between 1259 and 1302 after the fire that damaged upper parts of the building, the so-called Vierge Dorée, the lintel, the tympanum, and the archivolts.¹⁸ Willibald Sauerländer, relating the work of the second workshop to developments in Parisian sculpture of the fifties and specifically to the north transept tympanum and trumeau Virgin at Notre-Dame, dates the Amiens sculpture more precisely between 1259 and 1269.¹⁹ His view of this work, particularly the scenes from the legend of St. Honoratus that occupy the four registers of the tympanum, is far from enthusiastic and he describes its “uninspired narrative manner” as a rehash of Parisian ideas. However, recent study of the portal shows its sculpture in a different light. In their article of 1973, Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale agree that the work was divided into two stages but not that these were separated by a generation; rather, they believe the sculpture to have been executed continuously over a short period of time between 1236 and 1240.²⁰ In their view Amiens, anticipating the figure of Christ the Judge at Notre-Dame and the Ste.-Chapelle apostles, was a foyer for the new relief style characterized by exploration of space, animation of the figure, and drapery falling in sharp beaklike folds. The Parisian version

14. Tympanum and lintel, portal of St. Honoratus, ca. 1250. Amiens, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: James Austin)

of this style, represented by the Notre-Dame north transept, rejects its naturalistic side in favor of an elegant figure canon, simpler space composition, and less active poses. There is much to argue in this thesis; questions of quality and the presumed variation allowable within a single workshop are issues that lead far beyond the limits of this study, but the current tendency to move the latest sculpture of the Amiens facade forward from the mid-thirties to the mid-forties makes the earlier date for the transept unacceptable. The continuity between the sculpture of the facade and the transepts is undeniable, but a better date for the Honoratus portal might now be the decade of the fifties, contemporaneous with the north transept at Notre-Dame.

Revision of the Amiens chronology suggests that there, as at Chartres, Paris, and Reims, the stylistic revolution of mid-century was accomplished rapidly and without recourse to a single great prototype. Even if one does not accept Kimpel and Suckale's dating, their effort to associate the Honoratus portal with the beginnings of the new style suggests that this change was impelled by a widespread revival of interest in nature particularly evident in the handling of the figure in space. Many figures are seen in profile, lost profile, or rear view, and groups, composed on a three-dimensional ground plan, create an illusion of depth (Figure 14). Figures characterized by gesture, physiognomy, and costumes are frequently shown in expressive confrontations. Taken together the sculpture has a vivacity that seems to reinforce its position

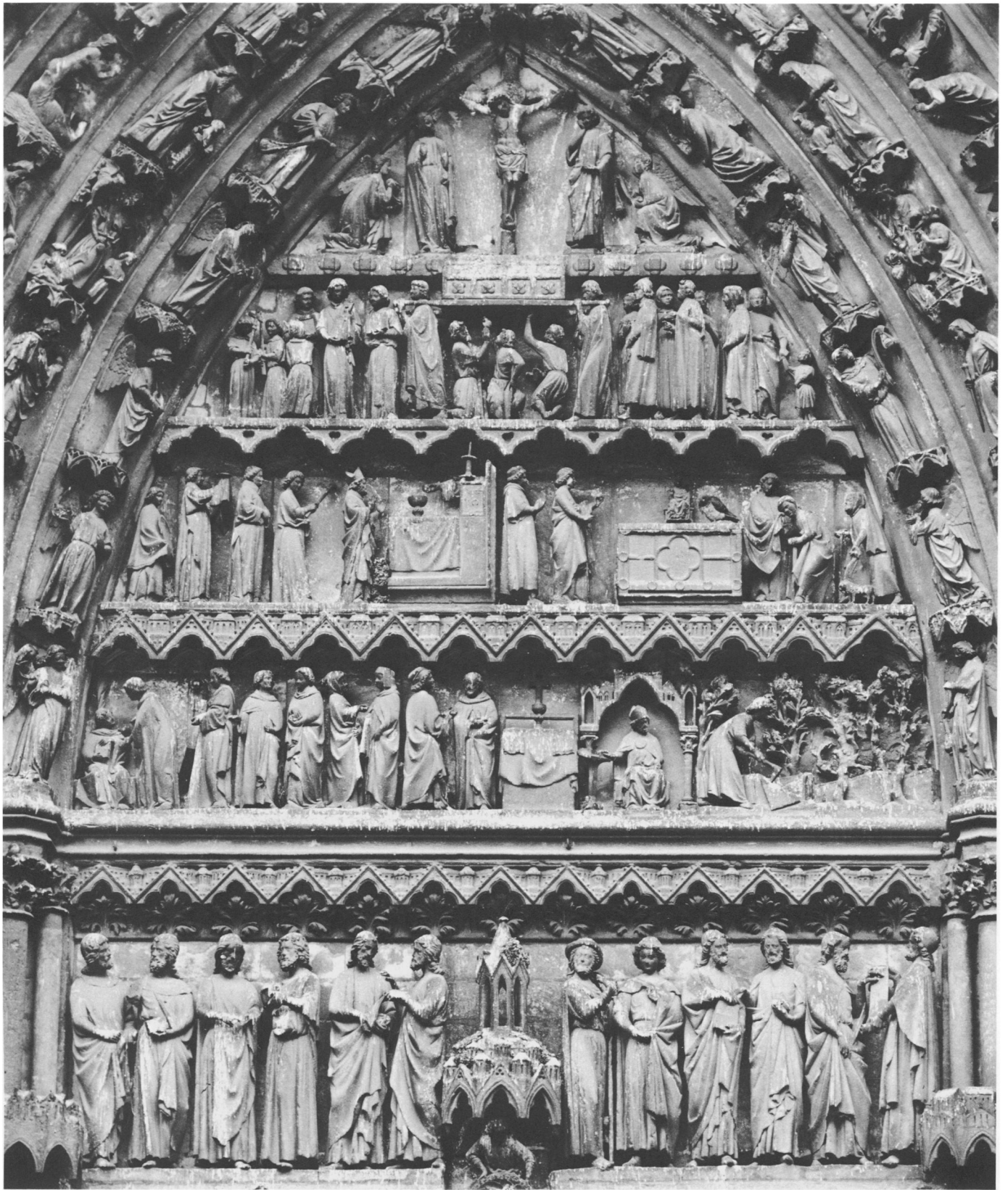
16. G. Durand, *Monographie de l'église de Notre-Dame, cathédrale d'Amiens* (Paris, 1901–03) 2 vols. Although Durand's work remains a model of scholarship and a classic in the field, recent reexamination of the documents and the fabric of the cathedral have somewhat altered his idea of the chronology. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, “Le Septième Colloque international à la Société française d'archéologie (1er et 2 Octobre 1974): La Façade de la cathédrale d'Amiens,” *Bulletin Monumental* 135 (1977) pp. 254–296.

17. Durand, *Cathédrale d'Amiens*, I, pp. 244 and 241.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 437.

19. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 294–495, pls. 278, 279.

20. Kimpel and Suckale, “Die Skulpturenwerkstatt der Vierge Dorée,” pp. 233ff.



as an independent work rather than a secondhand version of Parisian models.

The Metropolitan Museum relief has certain affinities with the sculpture of the Honoratus portal, especially with the scenes of the saint's legend. Judas and the armed soldier seen from the rear (Figure 1) can be compared with figures below the sarcophagus and the cross-bearing acolytes on the second register from the top. Judas's drapery gathered under his arm is a simplified version of the drapery of the second figure to the left of the altar of the fourth register. The type of apostle with narrow head and cascading drapery that appears on the lintel of Amiens and derives ultimately from the Ste.-Chapelle is seen in the figures of St. Peter and Christ on the Metropolitan Museum relief. The more individualized faces of the *Arrest of Christ* have many parallels at Amiens not only in the Honoratus workshop but also in the slightly earlier sculpture of the Firmin portal. On the tympanum (Figure 15) the story of the saint is recounted in a series of scenes that form discrete compositional groups. These are not as lively as the lintel scenes at Reims, or as complex as the *Arrest of Christ*, but the densely packed figures are similarly characterized by their varied costumes and physiognomies. Quite close comparisons can be made between the heads of Malchus and the helmeted soldier (Figures 5 and 3) and figures in the middle register of the St. Firmin tympanum; and the middle bishop of the right lintel can be seen as a benevolent version of the fat-faced lantern-bearer in our relief (Figure 4).²¹

If the Honoratus portal was executed before 1260, it is possible to imagine this sculpture as the background for a work such as the Metropolitan Museum relief, but in fact, despite the comparisons made above, even closer stylistic parallels are to be found in the cathedral workshops at Paris. The head of Christ (Figure 2) shares with heads from the Nativity cycle of the north transept (Figure 16) more than a type relationship. Rather, in spite of differences in the carving—the north transept master prefers a harder contour line and his forms tend to be rounder and stiffer—they seem to reflect the same sensibility. The north transept is no doubt somewhat earlier than the Metropolitan Museum relief, which reflects the more advanced compositional ideas of the St. Stephen Master on the south transept. Here too a comparison of the heads is informative. The New York St. Peter now appears to be derived from a type that is seen several

15. Tympanum and lintel, portal of St. Firmin, ca. 1240–50. Amiens, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Marburg)

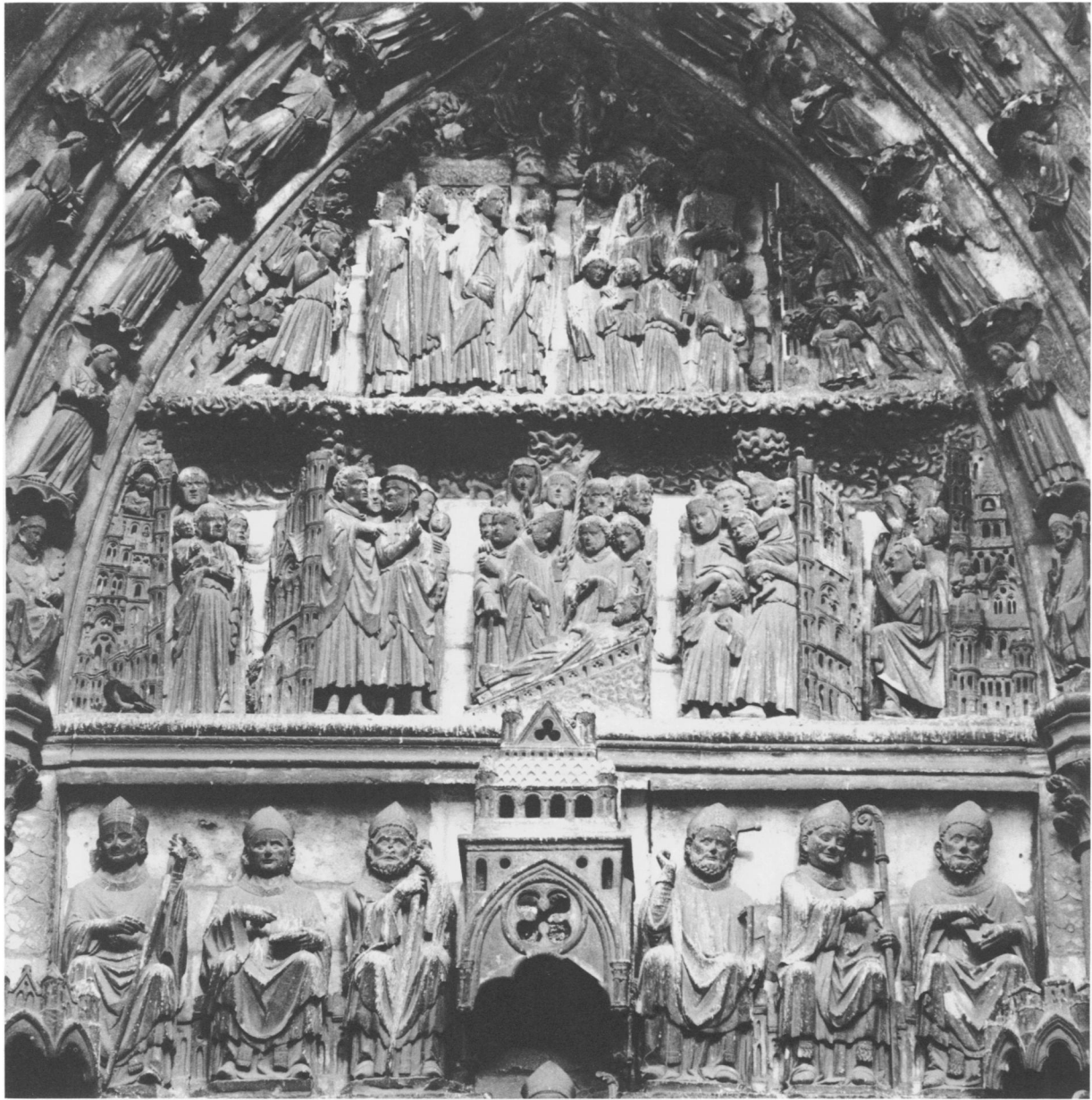
times on the lowest register (Figure 8), with a tightly curled beard that rises to meet a lock of hair descending from the side of the head. The men who arrest Christ seem to descend directly from the persecutors of St. Stephen.

These comparisons indicate, however, that the style of the New York relief represents a modified retreat from the naturalistic extremes of the St. Stephen Master and a continuation of the more conservative tendencies of the fifties as seen at Paris and Amiens. Its particular effectiveness, however, is in large measure attributable to the way in which the familiar events that took place in the Garden of Olives are represented. Contemporary monuments provide examples of similar dense, dramatic figural compositions but in none of the saints' lives at Paris, Reims, or Amiens is the narrative itself so compressed and distilled. It is worth considering, therefore, whether the New York relief reflects iconography which was adopted by Gothic artists in response to specific programmatic or liturgical requirements.

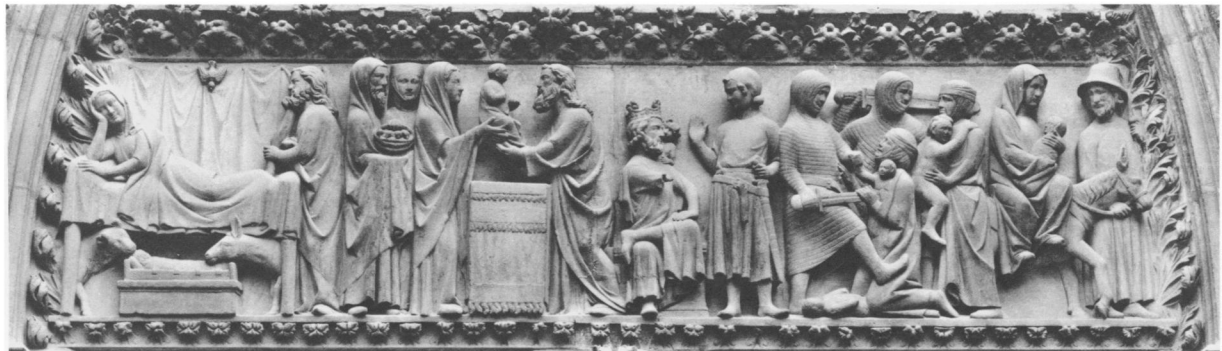
The transformation of Christ's image from apocalyptic and imperial to historical and human is one of the ways to measure the distance separating early from late medieval art.²² Especially in the story of the Passion, Gothic art after 1250 finds the basis for new representations that invite the viewer to assume a specifically empathic role. In a formal sense, this art

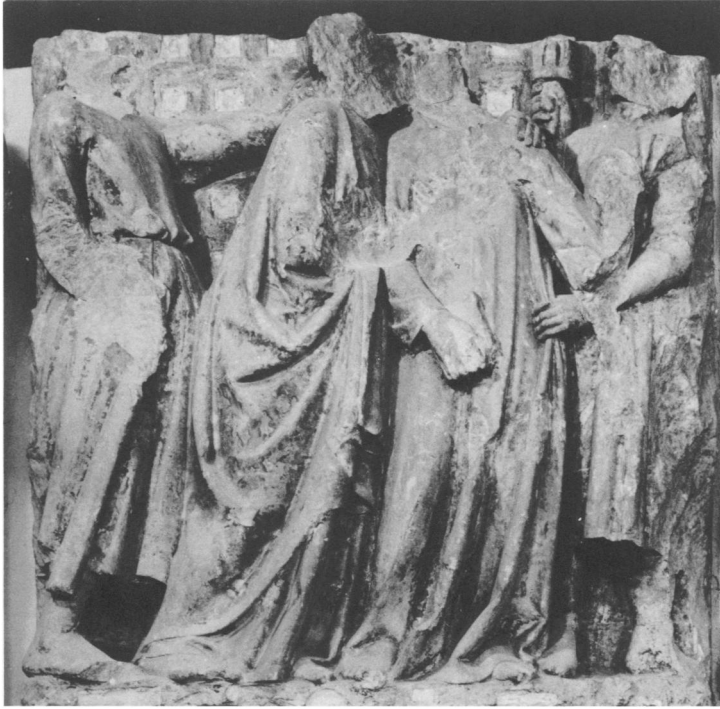
21. Kimpel and Suckale derive the workshop of the Honoratus portal from the Firmin portal group.

22. The literature on devotional art and practice is voluminous and specialized. To such basic studies as Erwin Panofsky's "Imago Pietatis," *Festschrift für Max Friedländer* (Leipzig, 1927), should now be added: S. Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 73 (1969) pp. 159–170; E. Delaruelle, *Le Piété populaire au Moyen Age* (Turin, 1975); R. Suckale, "Arma Christi: Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 6 (1977) pp. 197ff. Also useful in a more general way are M. Molat, *La Vie et la pratique religieuses au XIVe siècle et dans la première partie du XVe principalement en France* (Paris, 1963), and *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, d'ascétique et de mystique* (Paris, 1932–68) 6 vols.



16. Nativity cycle, detail of tympanum, north transept portal, ca. 1250. Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Alinari)





17. *Arrest of Christ*, from the former choir screen of Bourges Cathedral, ca. 1250. Paris, Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)

proceeds by removing events formerly embedded in a narrative unfolding through time to stand as “set pieces,” where narrative time is arrested and the events are opened up to fresh interpretations. The increased emphasis on the iconic and devotional aspects of later Gothic art accompanied changes in religious practice, both within the church and in the private lives of the devout. Since this new art was intended to inspire rather than to instruct, it should be understood in conjunction with certain texts of the Mass and the Holy Office, which together with these images came to comprise a virtual program for meditation.

The subject of Christ’s Betrayal and Arrest frequently introduces thirteenth-century Passion cycles, as is the case at Rouen on the *Porte de la Calende* (Figure 13). In sculpture mounted on the choir screen at Bourges about 1250, it is simply represented with only four figures (Figure 17).²³ Judas approaching from the left kisses Christ, who is seized by a figure on the right holding aloft a small torch. No weapons have been drawn, and no minor events are introduced to detract from the central figure of

Christ. In this, the Bourges *Arrest of Christ* is somewhat calmer than usual depictions of the subject in thirteenth-century art.

During this period in both East and West, the gospels and the legends of the saints were exploited in a narrative art that increasingly placed emphasis on the human sufferings of divine and sainted persons.²⁴ The Passion cycle executed for the west choir screen at Naumburg illustrates this tendency (Figure 18).²⁵ In the closely packed group the figure of Christ is almost lost. A Jew shouldering a sword reaches backhandedly to grab Christ’s gown and attempts to drag him off to the left. Toward the center next to Christ’s head appears a torch held by one of the bystanders. On the right St. Peter uses both hands to wield a huge sword with which he hacks off Malchus’s ear. The weight of the blow crushes Malchus to the ground, and Peter’s violent action extending across the foreground becomes the dominant element of the composition.

By adding the final episode of the healing of Malchus’s ear, the Metropolitan Museum relief tells a more complex story than Naumburg and returns the emphasis to the figure and character of the Savior. Within its closed composition separate incidents take place simultaneously as if they were aspects of a single idea. Motifs such as the invisibility of Judas’s face, the lantern held close to Christ’s head, the gesture of the soldier, and the paired brutish faces on either side of Christ, above all, the choice of the healing rather than the maiming of Malchus have the effect of subsuming potentially anecdotal elements into a concentrated

23. T. Bayard, *Bourges Cathedral: The West Portals* (New York, 1976) chap. 4; Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 505–506; C. 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 (1969) pp. 18–36; P. Gauchery, “Restes de l’ancien jubé de la cathédrale de Bourges,” *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre* 36 (1911) pp. 249ff.

24. Examples of early and high medieval representations of the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ can be found in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Friburg, 1972) pp. 44off. For the development in Byzantine mural painting see S. Dufrenne, “L’Enrichissement du programme iconographique dans les églises byzantines du XIII^e siècle,” *L’Art byzantin du XIII^e siècle: Symposium in Sopotani 1965* (Belgrade, 1967) pp. 35–46.

25. H. Nickel et al., *Der Naumburger Dom* (Dresden, 1956); P. Metz, *Der Stifterchor des Naumburger Doms* (Berlin, 1947) pp. 9–16; W. Pinder, *Der Naumburger Dom und der Meister seiner Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1937) pp. 19–22.

statement about human anger countered by divine compassion.

It is impossible to trace the development of this version of the *Arrest of Christ* in sculpture where losses, particularly in interior programs, have been so great. On the other hand, a good number of manuscripts from the period survive, and here, especially in French and English psalter prefaces, Passion scenes show the advanced state this iconography had reached by the thirteenth century.²⁶

The first example comes from a psalter that Branner has attributed to a Parisian workshop active just before 1250 (Figure 19).²⁷ The *Arrest of Christ* is shown in a straightforward traditional version analogous to the Bourges choir screen. The only signifi-

cant addition, the outer pair of sword-bearers, seems to reflect the artist's taste for symmetrical composition equally evident in the *Flagellation* scene below.²⁸

The next miniature, datable between 1260 and 1270, is from a psalter leaf in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 20).²⁹ A product of an English scriptorium under strong French influence, the original

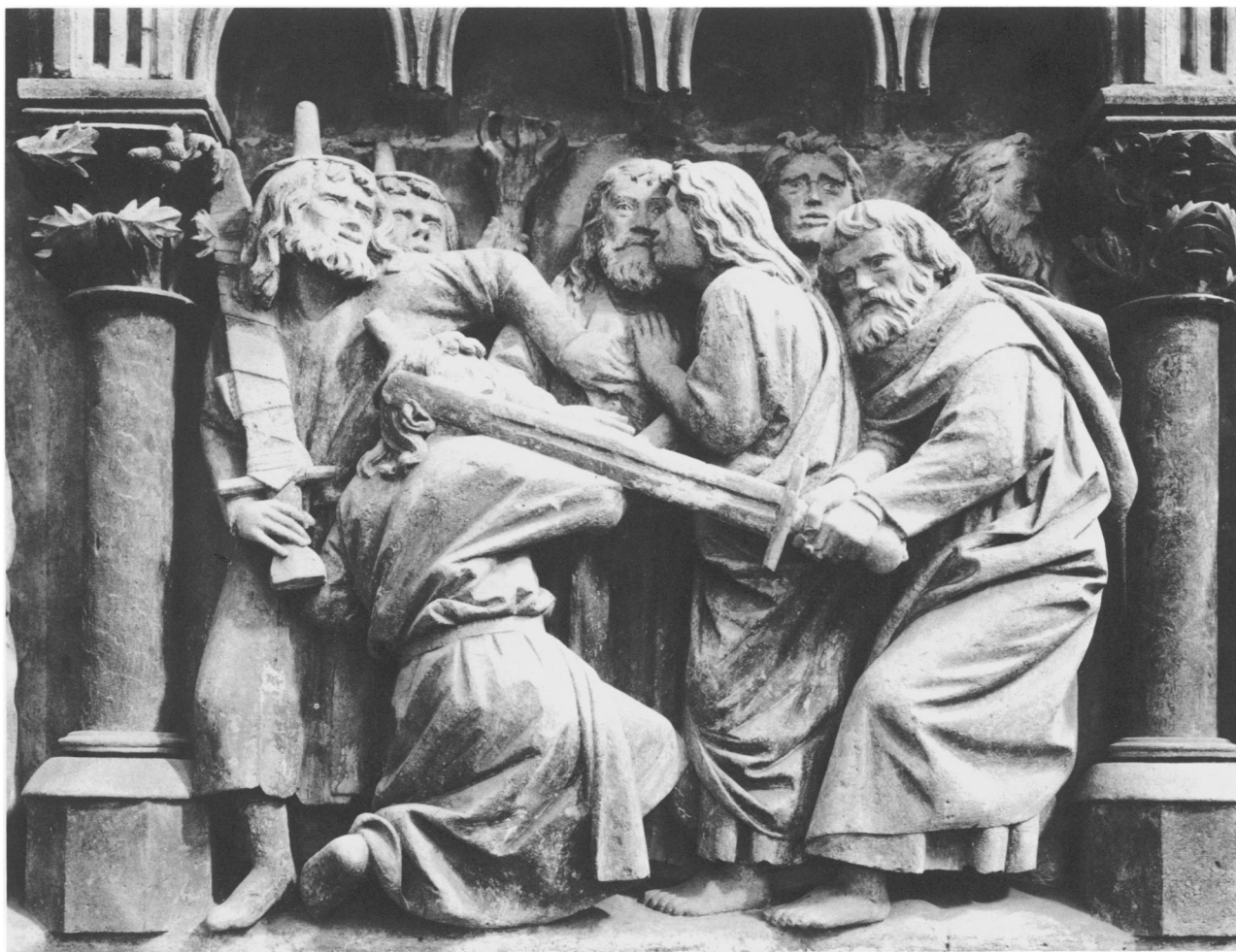
26. G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert* (n.p., 1938).

27. R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977) pp. 60, 65, fig. 101.

28. Their original source might be Matt. 26:47.

29. *Transformations of the Court Style: Gothic Art in Europe 1270–1330*, catalogue of exhibition by the Department of Art, Brown University, at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I. (1977) no. 44. B. B., "A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," *MMAB* 17 (1922) pp. 153–155; H. Stahl, "Selected Manuscript Paintings from the Medieval Collection," *MMAB*, n.s. 30 (1972) pp. 226–228. Another example of this

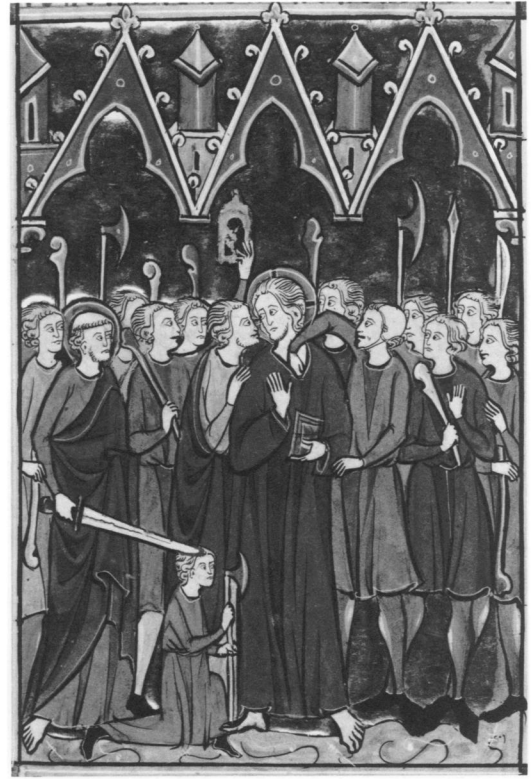
18. *Arrest of Christ*, detail of western choir screen, ca. 1260. Naumburg, Cathedral (photo: Marburg)





19. *Arrest of Christ and Flagellation*, psalter, ca. 1250. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat 10434, fol. 15v (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

20. *Arrest of Christ*, detail of psalter leaf, ca. 1260. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 22.24.4



21. *Arrest of Christ*, psalter, ca. 1260. London, British Library, Egerton Add. MS. 17868, fol. 24v (photo: British Library)

psalter belonged to the Benedictine abbey of Fontevrault. The Passion scenes are cast in a new mode which conflates several events into a single scene. In the miniature of the Arrest Christ is hemmed in by a menacing crowd. The cutting off of Malchus's ear, although not the incident of its healing, is included in the scene. A lantern is held over Christ's head near the center of the composition and the figure on his left seen from the rear seizes him in a backhanded grip. A contemporary French version chosen more or less at random (Figure 21) confirms the widespread adoption of these motifs.³⁰ While the figures are less

iconography in a contemporary English manuscript from a different stylistic group can be found in a Book of Hours, London, Brit. Lib., Egerton MS. 1151, fol. 95v, reproduced in *Art and the Courts: France and England from 1259 to 1328*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa, 1972) no. 25.

30. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, pp. 105f., figs. 290 and 291. Another example from France is in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 101, fol. 19; *ibid.*, pp. 126, 129, figs. 240 and 374.



22. *Arrest of Christ*, Peterborough Psalter, before 1318, detail of fol. 40v. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9961–62 (photo: Bibliothèque Royale)

active and the mood is less violent than in the English example, certain key motifs are present in a dense composition which includes the Malchus incident on the left, the lantern held over Christ's head, and the backhanded grip of the figure next to Christ. Two final examples, while by no means exhausting the diffusion this model attained, will serve to illustrate later developments. The Peterborough Psalter (Figure 22), dated about 1299–1318, shows Christ healing Malchus and introduces a new element in the grotesque heads of certain of Christ's captors.³¹ The gestures in this late example are mannered and forced. Movements originally invented to lend a greater sense of immediacy to the scene are here transformed into dancelike steps. A final French version of the *Arrest of Christ* seems to indicate that the extremes of the Fenland group were never really taken up on the Continent. In the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, possibly executed between 1325 and 1328, Pucelle retains many of the elements of the thirteenth-century version (Figure 23).³² However, the contrast between the fe-



23. Jean Pucelle, *Arrest of Christ*, *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, 1325–28(?), detail of fol. 15v. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.2

rocious group of captors and the milder apostles is sharpened and the backhand gesture of the soldier is rejected; perhaps it seemed too artificial to Pucelle.

From this brief survey, it appears likely that the new treatment of the Arrest of Christ originated in the 1260s in both painting and sculpture. The reasons for its sudden popularity are obscure, although, as we shall see, there are grounds for positing the existence of a monumental model. The sources for individual motifs, however, seem to lie in texts that, as collected in the Missal and the Breviary, were repeated during the week preceding Easter in prayers,

31. The same model is used in other manuscripts of this group, e.g., the Ramsey Psalter and the Gough Psalter; see L. F. Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London, 1974).

32. J. J. Rorimer, ed., *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France*, in *The Cloisters* (MMA, New York, 1957); F. Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978) pl. 3.

antiphons, and in readings from the Gospels. Selections from the Psalms, the Prophets, and from St. Paul not only amplified the Gospel accounts but also enriched them with metaphorical content, which provides a way of understanding the new imagery of devotion.³³

The figure of Christ is closely surrounded by "a great multitude with swords and clubs" (Matt. 26:47).³⁴ He cannot move.

For many dogs have encompassed me: the council of the malignant hath besieged me. (Ps. 21:17)³⁵
They have digged a pit to take me, and have hid snares for my feet. (Jer. 18:22)³⁶

Christ is seized by armed men.

You are come out as it were to a robber with swords and clubs to apprehend me. (Matt. 26:55)³⁷
For my enemies have spoken against me . . . Saying: God hath forsaken him: pursue him and take him, for there is none to deliver him. (Ps. 70:10–11)³⁸

Cruel men surround him; in the words of Psalm 21, they are like dogs, lions, and bulls,³⁹ and are jeering and crude.

[They] have laughed me to scorn: they have spoken with the lips, and wagged the head. (Ps. 21:8)⁴⁰

Christ is taken and led away, his composure a mute rebuke to the crowd.

He shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter, and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth. (Isa. 53:7)⁴¹
Deliver not up to beasts the souls that confess to thee. (Ps. 73:19)⁴²

Amid this turmoil the episode of Malchus is used to point a further lesson against violence. Peter sheathes his sword as Christ warns him:

Put up again thy sword into its place: for all that take the sword shall perish with the sword. (Matt. 26:52)⁴³

The drawn sword becomes a powerful image of wrath, both human and divine; an image which is repeatedly evoked in the readings for Good Friday.

Deliver, O God, my soul from the sword. (Ps. 21:21)⁴⁴
For the word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two edged sword. (Heb. 4:12)⁴⁵

In the preceding texts it will have been observed that the Evangelists carry the narrative line, the Prophets' comments interpret the meaning of events, and Christ's dialogue with God issues from the mouth of the psalmist, that is, he has been given an inner voice. As read by different members of the officiating clergy the texts create a kind of drama out of the liturgy. By the mid-thirteenth century this public part of the Mass was customarily read from the choir screen that traversed the nave, closing off the sanctuary now reserved for the clergy.

The size of the *Arrest of Christ* relief, its form similar to an antique metope, its theme, which implies that it was part of a larger series, and above all, the devotional aspect of the iconography evoke an interior setting in close association with an altar.⁴⁶ If the legends

33. The following analysis owes a considerable debt to recent work by James Marrow and F. P. Pickering, who have provided a means for examining the relationship between word and image in late medieval art: J. Marrow, "Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977) pp. 167ff.; F. P. Pickering, *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1970). I also wish to thank Anne H. van Buren for sharing knowledge and ideas about private recitation of the canonical office. Some of these ideas have appeared in her article, "The Canonical Office in Renaissance Painting: Part II. More About the Rolin Madonna," *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978) pp. 634ff.

34. "Et cum eo turba multa cum gladiis et fustibus."

35. "Quoniam circumdederunt me canes multi; concilium malignantium obsedit me."

36. "Quia foderunt foveam ut caperent me, et laqueos absconderunt pedibus meis."

37. "Tamquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me."

38. "Quia dixerunt inimici mei mihi . . . dicentes: Deus dereliquit eum; persequimini et comprehendite eum, quia non est qui eripiat."

39. Ps. 21:17–22.

40. "Omnes videntes me deriserunt me; locuti sunt labiis, et moverunt caput."

41. "Sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur, et quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum."

42. "Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentes tibi."

43. "Converte gladium tuum in locum suum; omnes enim, qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt."

44. "Erue a framea, Deus, animam meam."

45. "Vivus est enim sermo Dei, et efficax, et penetrabilior omni gladio incipiti."

46. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar* (Munich, 1932) II, pt. 1; E. von Sydow, *Die Entwicklung des figuralen Schmucks der christlichen Altar- Antependia und -Retabula bis zum XIV. Jahrhundert* (Strasbourg, 1912).

of the saints might find various locations within the church, as in the example of the St. John cycle from the inner west lintel at Reims, Christ's own martyrdom is customarily reserved for a more important position, either mounted on the choir screen as at Bourges or Naumburg, or on retables like the examples from St.-Denis. Monuments of both types are far from numerous, having been subjected to systematic removal and destruction in later centuries, but comparison of typical measurements and number of scenes establishes their differences and will place the New York relief in a firm context.

Retables, as they evolved during the High Gothic

period, vary considerably in their dimensions, but since they were installed on the rear edge of the *mensa* and usually allowed free movement around the sides and access to the area behind the altar, the horizontal measurement of the altar table provides a logical limit to their size.⁴⁷ In the retables of St.-Denis (Figure 12), St.-Germer-de-Fly, and others cited by Hermann Bunjes,⁴⁸ lengths vary between 6 and 9 feet with an average height from the *mensa* of just over 12 inches.⁴⁹ An *Arrest of Christ* in the Art Institute of Chicago (Figure 24), datable after 1300, at a height of 18 inches represents part of an unusually large example of this type.⁵⁰ Passion retables frequently omit the scene of



47. The most thorough discussion of the development of the Gothic retable is by Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze*, pp. 8ff. Drawings of the choir arrangements at Notre-Dame and St.-Denis are included in E.-E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1875) III, pp. 233 and 235; see also Figure 27.

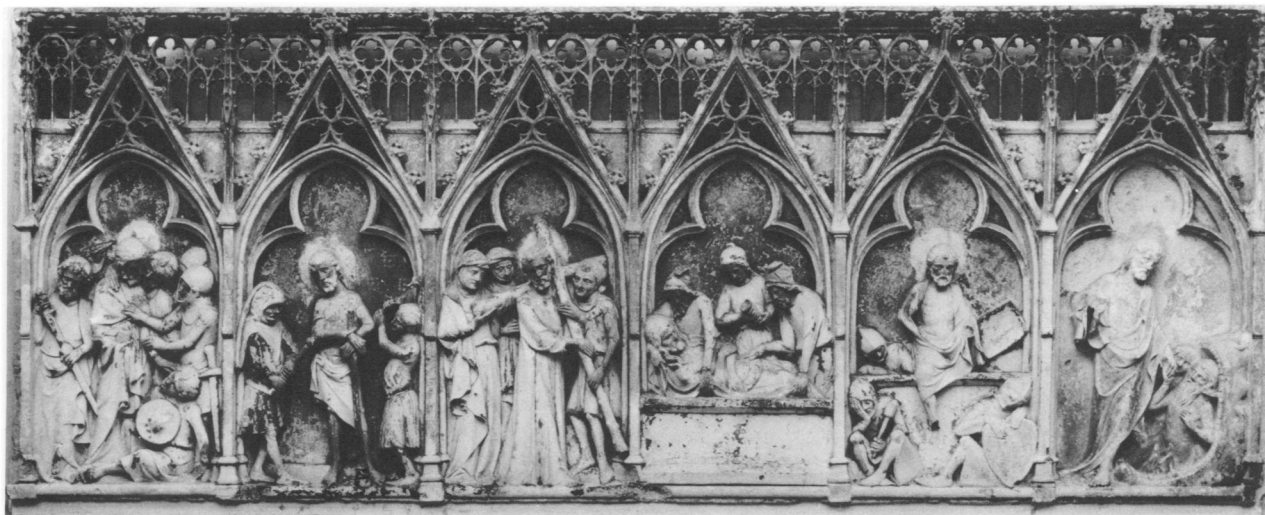
48. Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze*, pp. 16ff; A. Besnard, *L'Eglise de Saint Germer de Fly et la Sainte Chapelle* (Paris, 1913).

49. Besnard, *L'Eglise de Saint Germer de Fly*, p. 24.

50. *Transformations of the Court Style*, no. 4; the relief, carved in a fine white limestone, measures 18 × 19 in. (45.7 × 48.3 cm.).

24. *Arrest of Christ and Suicide of Judas*, fragment of a retable, early 14th century. Chicago, The Art Institute, Gift of René Gimpel, 1924.1051 (photo: Art Institute)

25. Scenes of the Passion, retable, mid-14th century. Paris, Cluny Museum (photo: Musées Nationaux)



Christ's death, which would have been present in the form of a crucifix either on or above the altar. Since it was usual to divide the reliefs between events that took place before and after the Crucifixion, an even number of scenes (six or eight is the general rule) may be shown, as in a fourteenth-century Passion retable in the Cluny Museum (Figure 25).⁵¹

Choir-screen reliefs, on the other hand, were mounted on a structure equal to the width of the nave. Here again dimensions differ, but a total width of between 30 and 40 feet is usual.⁵² As with retables, the number of scenes tends to be even if the Crucifixion is shown separately, as it probably was in Paris,⁵³ or odd if, as at Bourges, it was integrated into a narrative frieze.⁵⁴ As might be expected, choir-screen reliefs, because of their installation in a monumental architectural structure and their distance above the viewer, are larger than retables. The dimensions of the Metropolitan Museum relief are well within the norms for choir-screen sculpture, and it appears likely that a choir screen was its original location.⁵⁵ Present knowledge of such arrangements is too fragmentary to reconstruct an architectural setting for the relief. A scheme similar to the Cluny Passion retable (Figure 23), however, consisting of a continuous arcade of rather slender proportions, would, if it were enlarged to a scale appropriate for the relief and included a central entrance arcade, result in a structure about 36 feet long.⁵⁶

In spite of extensive research on the subject, it is still not entirely clear when and why such monumental screens were first introduced into nonmonastic churches. The German and French terms, *Lettner* and *jubé*, in referring to its function as the location for the liturgical readings, relate the structure in its origins to the *ambo*. Indeed, the screen is sometimes called the *lectorium* or *pulpitum*.⁵⁷ In England the same element is known as the rood screen, from the cross that properly surmounted it.⁵⁸ The Italian words *pontile* and *tramezzo*, on the other hand, by describing the choir screen as a space divider, draw attention to the physical separation between clergy and laymen that ultimately derives from Early Christian chancel screens perpetuated in monastic usage.⁵⁹ A relationship which has been far less explored concerns changes in the Eastern iconostasis taking place at this time. Aside from its architectural and liturgical function in the celebration of the Mass, the outer face of the choir screen, like the iconostasis in the high medieval pe-

riod, was decorated with images.⁶⁰ In the West there were also altars against the lower wall of the choir screen which, like the icons in the East, became the focus of lay devotion consisting of daily prayers and lighted candles. Ultimately no single source seems to account for the form taken by the thirteenth-century choir screen, and understanding of its development is to be sought in the more general history of choir closure during earlier times.

Choir barriers from the Early Christian period onward came in various types, their form, as well as their function, being still ill-defined. The situation changes in the thirteenth century; and especially in

51. CL 11694; Bunjes, *Die steinernen Altaraufsätze*, pp. 121–122.

52. The width of the central nave at Royaumont is 40 ft., in Notre-Dame, Paris, 39 ft. The nave of Bourges Cathedral at 49 ft. is unusually wide.

53. See the drawing by Israël Sylvestre in the Louvre, reproduced most recently by Gillerman, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame," p. 54.

54. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, pl. 294.

55. Comparable choir-screen reliefs: Bourges, H. 41 in.; Chartres, H. 37¼ in.; Bourget-du-Lac, H. 39 in. The retables from St.-Denis range in height from 23¼ to 30¼ in.

56. This measurement was derived by multiplying the width of the Metropolitan Museum relief by seven and adding an estimated 12 ft. for the seven bays of framing arcade.

57. Traditionally, the study of medieval choir screens begins with J. B. Thiers, *Dissertation ecclésiastique sur les principaux autels des églises* (Paris, 1688); Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe* (Paris, 1883); W. Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, trans. in part by Neale and Webb as *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments* (London, 1843). More recent scholarship follows Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, and E. Doberer, *Die deutschen Lettner bis 1300*, diss. (Vienna, 1946); idem, "Der Lettner: Seine Bedeutung und Geschichte," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung in Wien* 9 (1956) pp. 117ff. H. Sedlmayer, *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale* (Zurich, 1950) p. 288, uses Doberer's ideas.

58. A. W. Pugin, *A Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts, Their Antiquity, Use and Symbolic Signification* (London, 1851); F. Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches* (London, 1908); A. Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens, Being Great Roods, Screenwork, and Rood Lofts in Cathedral, Monastic and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales* (London, 1947).

59. M. B. Hall, "The 'Tramezzo' in Santa Croce, Florence, Reconstructed," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974) pp. 325ff; idem, "The Ponte in Santa Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974) pp. 157–173.

60. V. Lazarev, "Trois Fragments d'épistyles peintes et le temple byzantin," *Δελτιον* (1964/5, 1966) pp. 117–143; A. Grabar, "Deux Notes sur l'histoire de l'iconostase d'après des monuments de Yougoslavie," *L'Art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* (Paris, 1968) I, pp. 403–412.

France, after a brief era of experimentation, choir screens and enclosures tend to conform to a type. Earlier choirs often contained specific structures for liturgical reading, singing, and preaching, but in the Gothic choir screen the roles of lectern, singing gallery, and pulpit were combined in a barrier wall which put an end to the layman's physical and visual access to the celebration of the Mass. From the thirteenth century until it was abolished in the post-Tridentine liturgical reforms, the choir screen defined the eastern end of the layman's church and the focus of his devotional life was diverted to the chapels.⁶¹

Erica Doberer, who has studied Gothic choir screens most thoroughly, has established types which she illustrates with examples from those that remain.⁶² The most evolved form of choir screen and the one that was preferred in northern Europe was the *Hallenlettner*, a loggia-like structure with an upper platform, reached by stairs, where the lectern and the cross were located. Below, under an arcade, altars might flank the central entrance to the choir. The western face was frequently decorated with a rich program, which might include painting as well as ornamental and figural sculpture.

The earliest screen of this type that has been reconstructed was installed in the nave of the cathedral of Chartres sometime between 1230 and 1240.⁶³ Other screens were erected during the next century in France at Reims, Sens, Bourges, Paris, Strasbourg, Noyon, and Bourget-du-Lac, and in Germany at Mainz, Naumburg, and elsewhere in the area of the middle Rhine.⁶⁴ At Chartres the sculptural program centers on the Infancy of Christ, and at Mainz Last Judgment themes are arranged between the gables of the arcade; but as the century progressed Passion iconography becomes the preferred choice for choir screens in France and Germany. Infancy, Passion, and Resurrection scenes are combined rather casually at Bourget-du-Lac in a frieze executed around mid-century.⁶⁵ At Naumburg, however, the events preceding the Crucifixion are divided into a series of framed reliefs that are mounted along the top of the choir screen. The Crucifixion occupies the jambs and trumeau of the doorway into the choir. At Bourges the format is again the narrative frieze but the program has become organized symmetrically with Passion scenes to the left and Resurrection scenes to the right of the Crucifixion. The most expansive realization of such a program was designed for Notre-Dame in

Paris, where eventually the choir was fully enclosed by a wall decorated with relief sculpture. The section of the choir screen which traversed the nave was destroyed in the seventeenth century and is known primarily through drawings and descriptions.⁶⁶ It is usually thought to have formed part of the program initiated in 1296 on the north side of the choir. Here an Infancy and Mission cycle runs in a frieze of undivided scenes from the Annunciation to Christ in the Garden of Olives (Figure 26). Scenes on the nave section of the choir screen probably started with the Arrest of Christ and concluded with Christ Delivering Adam and Eve from Limbo. The Flagellation was included in this sequence and perhaps also a scene that featured the Holy Women; that is, we can imagine a cycle somewhat like the one that appears on the

61. Various functions of the choir screen are well summarized by Hall in her articles cited above in note 59. Quoting from Borghini, *Discorsi* (Florence, 1584) and Durandus, she suggests that entrance to the choir in some instances was limited to male members of the congregation or to Christians in good standing. While largely in agreement with her conclusions about the reasons for erecting these screens, I believe that in thirteenth-century France the *jubé* was an addition not originally planned in many cathedrals. The dates for the destruction of various *jubé* programs are listed by H. Bunjes, "Der gotische Lettner der Kathedrale von Chartres," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch* 12-13 (1943) pp. 70-114.

62. See note 57 above, and E. Doberer, "Zum Lettner problem und zur Inschrift am Südportal von Innichen," *Weiner Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 27 (1974) pp. 185ff.

63. Bunjes, "Der gotische Lettner der Kathedrale von Chartres"; J. Mallion, *Le Jubé de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres, 1964); J. Villette, "Précisions nouvelles sur le jubé de la cathédrale de Chartres," *Bulletin Monumental* 125 (1967) pp. 419-429; L. Pressouyre, in *Archeologia* 50 (1972) pp. 71-74 and in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1971) pp. 82-91. For a partial bibliography on French *jubés* see Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame*, pp. 49-50, or idem, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame," pp. 41ff. For the St.-Quentin choir screen see R. Branner, "The Saint Quentin Rotulus," *Scriptorium* 21 (1967) pp. 352ff.

64. A. Peschlow-Kondermann, *Rekonstruktion des Westlettner und der Ostchoranlage des 13. Jahrhunderts im Mainzer Dom* (Wiesbaden, 1972).

65. J. Roussel, *La Sculpture française: Époque gothique* (Paris, 1931) II, pls. 24, 25.

66. A. Marty, *L'Histoire de Notre-Dame de Paris, d'après les estampes, dessins, miniatures, tableaux exécutés aux XVe-XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1907); M. Aubert, "Les Trois Jubés de Notre-Dame de Paris," *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 43 (1923) pp. 105-118; Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame*, pp. 14-15 and 30-39; idem, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame," p. 49, where reconstruction of the lost *Annunciation* is discussed.



26. *The Agony in the Garden*, north wall of the choir enclosure, 1296–1318. Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (photo: Alinari)

Cluny retable (Figure 25).⁶⁷ The Crucifixion, as at Naumburg, was not included among the reliefs but appeared as a monumental sculptured group above the doorway into the choir, as is shown in Viollet-le-Duc's hypothetical reconstruction (Figure 27).⁶⁸ The program concluded with ten scenes from a Resurrection cycle in framed reliefs mounted on the south wall of the enclosure.

It has recently been suggested that in fact the central section of the choir screen predates the choir program of about 1300 and was instead part of work done in the interior of the transept during the sixties.⁶⁹ This dating remains difficult to substantiate on the basis of style alone since the fragmentary figures attributable to this section of the screen are headless, but the draped female torso (Figure 28), which might have come from a scene of the Visit to the Sepulcher,

67. Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre-Dame*, pp. 33–36.

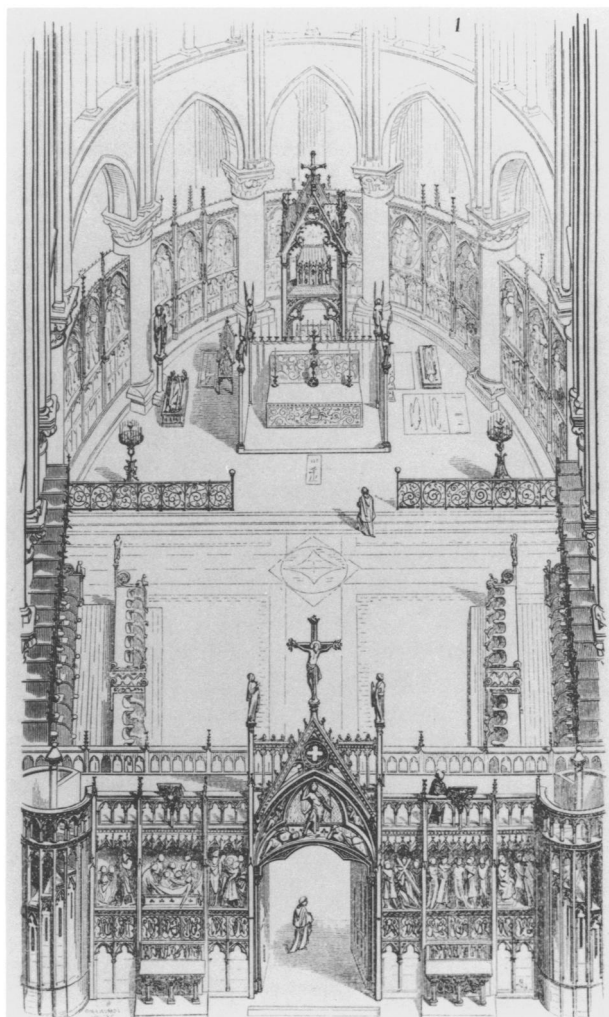
68. See note 47. For a critical evaluation of Viollet-le-Duc's reconstruction see Gillerman, "The Clôture of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame," pp. 42–47.

69. A. Erlande-Brandenburg, "L'Adam du Musée de Cluny," *La Revue du Louvre* 25 (1975) pp. 81–90.

in its slender proportions, rippling drapery, and swaying stance is strikingly similar to the group of the Three Magi from the buttress aedicule located just east of the north transept (Figure 29).⁷⁰ This group and the Adam, both now in the Cluny Museum, provide the best criteria for evaluating the style which flourished alongside the work of the St. Stephen Master around 1260. The choir-screen fragments are carved virtually in the round and this fact, in addition to their dimensions (which would be appropriate for a complete figure standing about 46 inches—the same height as figures in the Resurrection cycle), suggests that the central section of the enclosure was handled more like the south than the north side.

70. Sauerländer, *Gothic Sculpture*, p. 473, ill. 90.

27. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Reconstruction of View into the Choir of Notre-Dame*, from *Dictionnaire de l'architecture française*, 1875



Both the smaller scale of the *Arrest of Christ* figures and the less linear drapery style, which emphasizes a few bulky folds, seem to preclude an association with the Notre-Dame enclosure. Nevertheless, the relief's proposed date in the sixties, its Paris-derived style, its format (anticipating the south enclosure reliefs?), and above all, the complexity of its iconography raise the possibility that it might reflect the Notre-Dame sculpture quite closely. If a thirteenth-century *jubé* was erected at Amiens as part of the work in progress on the inner and outer transept facades, its sculptural program and stylistic affinities could have linked it to the Parisian monument.⁷¹ There are many unknowns in such a hypothesis and, for the time being, any relationship between transept programs at Paris and Amiens must remain in the realm of speculation. The

Arrest of Christ is important in its own right, however, as the witness of a development of choir-screen programs for which we possess very few examples; and if its execution does not place it among the greatest works of the period, its iconography bespeaks an advanced stage in the evolution of devotional art.

Iconographically the Metropolitan Museum relief draws on both Bourges and Naumburg. However, as

71. For the chronology of this area of the church see above and note 16. An early *jubé* is mentioned by Viollet-le-Duc in *Dictionnaire de l'architecture*, VI, pp. 147–150. Durand discusses the later *clôture* erected after 1489 (*Cathédrale d'Amiens*, I, p. 68), and Kimpel and Suckale briefly discuss existing interior sculpture of the south transept that represents angels bearing instruments of the Passion in "Die Skulpturenwerkstatt der Vierge Dorée," p. 248.

28. Female torso, from the choir enclosure of Notre-Dame, ca. 1260. Paris, Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)



29. *The Magi Group*, from buttress aedicule at Notre-Dame, ca. 1260. Paris, Cluny Museum (photo: Musées Nationaux)



psalter illustrations and scriptural sources indicate, its particular choice of motifs reflects a more specifically liturgical context. Stylistically the sculpture represents a balancing of certain opposing tendencies present in French sculpture after mid-century. Naturalism is a major component in the art of the St. Stephen Master, whereas the Magi group achieves a more idealized and aristocratic grace. The full significance of the *Arrest of Christ* becomes apparent, however, only when it is recognized as a work formed by its function and location in the church.

During the decades after 1250 French sculpture

seems to take new directions. In the most exemplary compositions, designed for interior locations, an intimate scale and closeness to the viewer accompany innovations in the portrayal of traditional subject matter. The story of Christ's Passion provided the late thirteenth century with the materials for an art that, by converting narrative illustration into hieratic image, became eligible for the choir and the altar, areas formerly reserved for Second Coming and Last Judgment iconography.⁷² Choir screens, introduced into most church interiors at this time, played a special role in this change of locale and emphasis.

72. C. Ihm, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei, vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zum Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1960); F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini* (Rome, 1938); Braun, *Der christliche Altar*, I.