

Theology in Stone: Gothic Architecture, Scholasticism, and the Medieval Incarnational View of Knowledge

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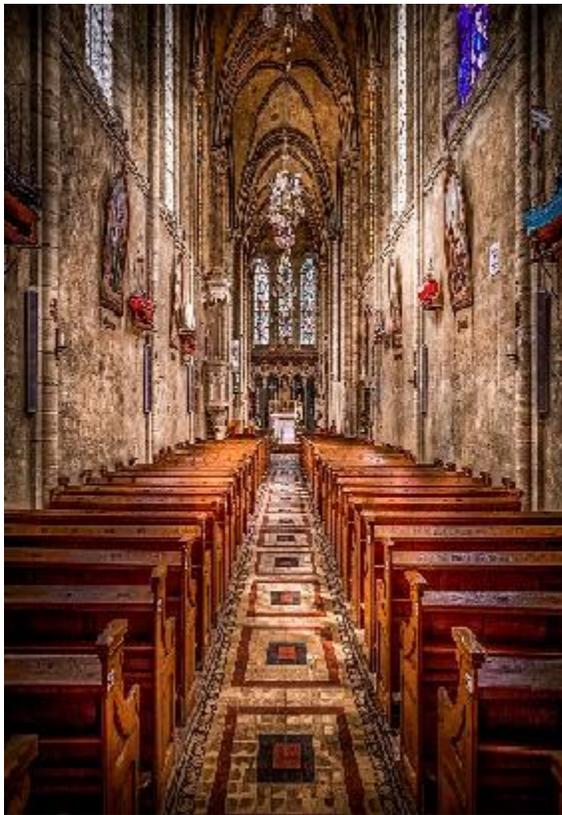


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The Glories of the Thirteenth Century

The crowning achievements of medieval culture converged in the thirteenth century. The most powerful pope occupied Peter's chair in the person of Innocent III.

The fourth crusade conquered Constantinople, briefly unifying the whole of Christendom under the papal banner. Scholasticism expanded with the swelling ranks of scholars entering the new universities. Two new mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, enriched the ecclesiastical magisterium. The greatest medieval scholar, Thomas Aquinas, systematized the teaching of the church in his *Summa Theologica*. Accompanying these developments was a burgeoning new movement in church architecture spiraling toward the heavens.

Gothic architecture, like Aquinas's scholastic masterpiece, was massive in scope, intricately detailed, and reflected the quintessential medieval quest for a unified worldview.¹ Aquinas's *Summa* narrates the world's story in three major themes: God, Man, and the Redeemer. Gothic architecture embodies the same themes in stone. The elite sons of the church, who could afford a university education, were lectured on Aquinas's *Summa*. Paupers and peasants were lectured in the stone and glass adorning their local cathedrals. Aquinas harmonized divine theology with the greatest achievements of human philosophy. Gothic architecture harmonized heaven and earth by anticipating the arrival of the New Jerusalem.²

The development of scholasticism in the high medieval period remarkably parallels the development of church architecture. Edwin Panofsky observes, "There exists between Gothic architecture and Scholasticism a palpable and hardly accidental concurrence in the purely factual domain of time and place—a concurrence so inescapable that the historians of medieval philosophy, uninfluenced by ulterior considerations, have been led to their material in precisely the same way as do the art historians theirs."³

This work demonstrates that the philosophical currents undergirding scholasticism were identical to those undergirding the Gothic cathedral. It explores Gothic architecture as a medium for communicating an incarnational and holistic worldview centered on the reunion of God and man through Christ.⁴ Scholastic theology, likewise, offered an incarnational worldview that embraced all domains of human learning.⁵

Parallel Beginnings: Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism

Scholars generally date the Gothic period in architecture from the end of the Romanesque to the beginning of the Renaissance periods.⁶ The distinction is somewhat arbitrary, but beginning with the rebuilding of the monastery church of Saint-Denis near Paris under the direction of Abbot Suger, several architectural innovations evolved out of Romanesque style.⁷ Since the sixth century, the church at Saint-Denis had been the burial site of the French monarchy. Suger erected over their sarcophagi a building as magnificent as any in Christendom. “The cathedral,” says Ernst Levy “as the kingdom of God on earth gazed down upon the city and its population, transcending all other concerns of life as it transcended all its physical dimensions.” Suger aspired to create “a spectacle in which heaven and earth, the angelic hosts in heaven and the human community in the sanctuary, seemed to merge.”⁸

Suger’s life (1081-1151) intersects with the life Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) and nearly parallels that of Peter Abelard (1079-1142), two of the greatest schoolmen. Anselm’s treatises mark the beginning of scholasticism proper, and Abelard’s writings represent the earliest distinctly French contribution to scholasticism.

Suger may have known Abelard personally. After Abelard’s tumultuous love

affair with Heloise, he committed to observing the monastic lifestyle at the old abbey church of Saint-Denis in Paris a few years prior to Suger’s becoming abbot of the same monastery church. From this Parisian center, scholasticism and Gothic architecture would both radiate across Europe. Panofsky is insightful,

Thus Early Scholasticism was born at the same moment and in the same environment in which Early Gothic architecture was born in Suger’s Saint-Denis. For both the new style of thinking and the new style of building (*opus Francigenum*)—though brought about by ‘many masters from different nations,’ as Suger said of his artisans, and soon developing into truly international movements—spread from an area comprised with a circle drawn around Paris with a radius of less than a hundred miles. And they continued to be centered in this area for about one century and a half.⁹

Panofsky demonstrates that the parallels between Gothic architecture and scholasticism are numerous. High scholasticism, begun in the twelfth century, coincides with the High Gothic Cathedrals of Chartres and Soissons, also erected in the twelfth century.¹⁰ Twelfth-century scholastics were especially influenced by the great ancient philosopher Aristotle, whose works enjoyed a renaissance following the early crusades. To Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle was “*the philosopher*” who did not need to be named. But Aristotle’s influence was also breathed into High Gothic statuary. “The infinitely more lifelike. . . High Gothic statues of Reims and Amiens, Strasbourg and Naumburg and the natural—though not, as yet, naturalistic—fauna and flora of High Gothic ornament proclaim the victory of Aristotelianism.”¹¹ This Aristotelian emphasis on the body, though animated by

the immortal human soul, corresponds with the scholastic attempt to demonstrate God's existence through empirical demonstration rather than by *a priori* means.¹²

The glories of scholasticism and Gothic architecture also begin to fade simultaneously in the late thirteenth century. A bifurcation appears in the scholastic attempt to wed theology and philosophy in a systematic whole, finally culminating with the loss of universals as seen in William of Ockham's nominalism. Likewise in architecture, the Gothic attempt to wed universal forms with particulars in stone, reverted to far less ambitious architectural styles.¹³

Piercing the Heavens: From Romanesque to Gothic

Gothic architecture evolved out of the earlier Romanesque style, even as the Romanesque represents several innovations beyond the simple basilica dating to the time of Constantine.¹⁴ Like the basilica, Romanesque is heavy, rectangular, and generally large in scale. Romanesque distinguished itself from the basilica with the addition of towers—generally two adorning the entrance. The flat wood ceilings of the basilica were replaced by vaulted ceilings. The most distinguishing characteristic of the Romanesque is the rounded arch, often mounted atop thick, heavy columns.

Whereas Romanesque churches felt heavy, somber, and foreboding, the Gothic, by contrast, begins to feel increasingly open, light, airy, and grand. The distinguishing architectural characteristic of the Gothic is the pointed arch, replacing the earlier Romanesque circular arch and barrel vaulting. The Romanesque arch thrust the enormous weight of the ceiling outward in a horizontal direction, cracking the supporting pillars at the point where they intersected the arches. To compensate, Romanesque architects increased the size of their pillars,

rendering them far heavier and potentially cracking the stones at the base. Consequently, Romanesque churches could never achieve the enormous heights of the Gothic churches.

The Gothic pointed arch, by contrast, rotates much of the horizontal pressure in a semi-vertical direction lessening the pressure at the summit of the supporting columns. Transferring the weight downward also focused pressure on points in the support columns that could be buttressed externally. Consequently, Gothic walls became lighter, and a second distinguishing characteristic of the Gothic emerged, the external flying buttresses—looking very much like the exoskeleton of an exotic insect. By redistributing much of the enormous weight off the ceiling, walls and supporting pillars, architects were thus able to raise the height of the building considerably. Lighter walls also opened up large spaces for windows emitting considerably more light than the older Romanesque.

The Gothic style also applied the architectural principle of the pointed arch to the intricate structure of the ceiling. An elaborate series of pointed arches, or ribbed vaulting, crisscrossed the central nave and transepts evenly distributing the weight of the ceiling to the support pillars, which in turn were supported by the external buttresses. Charles Moore describes the effect of these innovations.

This framework, made up of piers, arches, and buttresses, is freed from every unnecessary encumbrance of wall, and is rendered as light in all its parts as is compatible with strength—the stability of the fabric depending not upon inert massiveness (except in the outermost abutments), but upon a logical adjustment of active parts whose

opposing forces neutralize each other and produce a perfect equilibrium.¹⁵

These foundational structural changes produced not only a new style in architecture, but were accompanied by several ornamental developments serving to complete the Gothic style. Large fenestration spaces created a demand for stained glass, producing a revolution in this medium. The triforium gallery, situated above the compound pillars, was often ornamented by stained glass forming a band of color circumscribing the building. Above the triforium, large clerestory windows emitted profusions of color through stained glass, glittering downward like so many rainbows cascading from the heavens. Lancet windows situated at both ends of the nave and transepts were crowned by rose windows where Christ, the light of the world radiates outward from the center.

These highly ornamental windows were complemented by elaborate stone carvings adorning the façades and included images of both biblical figures and medieval patrons and saints. The Gothic style also incorporated and improved the intricately carved tympanums found in the earlier Romanesque. The western façade of Chartres Cathedral, for instance, is crowned by three arches rising above three doors. The central arch depicts the eternal Christ enthroned in the heavens. On the left is an image of Christ's second coming, and on the right, and image of Christ's incarnation.

The Gothic cathedral often added two triumphant spires purchased atop the towers introduced by the Romanesque style. In some instances, a single spire rises from the intersection of the nave and transepts as in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris. Salisbury Cathedral in England boasts a single central spire rising more than 400 feet above the ground, approaching the height of the Great Pyramid in Egypt.¹⁶ These large Gothic spires are frequently complemented

by spires adorning the entries to the transepts and numerous pinnacles mounted above the flying buttresses. The famous Cologne Cathedral is ringed by a whole forest of spires penetrating the heavens.

To the medieval mason, every corner of the Gothic cathedral was sacred space. Stone flowers, creatures great and small, images of Christ and the saints received the same elaborate attention to detail whether they adorned the tympanum over the main entrance or were situated in obscure niches, rarely observed. The delicate scroll work of the traceries framing ornate stained glass in the clerestory far above were as carefully planned and exquisitely crafted as the windows below. The entire structure radiated the same beauty of holiness seen in Solomon's ancient Temple.¹⁷ Like the Holy of Holies, sacred spaces rarely observed by human eye were as ornate and beautiful as the frontal façades. This was art done in service of God, not man. Kurt Gerstenberg identifies "a basic principle of Gothic art." "Beauty", he says, "exists for its own sake, it exists, even though no human eye may see what is, above all, meant for the eye of the Creator."¹⁸

The architectural innovations of Gothic builders ultimately converged into one defining characteristic of the Gothic: Light. Otto von Simson says, "The Gothic wall seems to be porous: light filters through it, permeating it, merging with it, transfiguring it. . . . In this decisive aspect, then, the Gothic may be described as transparent, diaphanous architecture. . . . No segment of inner space was allowed to remain in darkness, undefined by light."¹⁹ Suger's large rose window, situated at the north end of his cathedral, depicts God, the creator of light, at the center. Radiating out from God are the days of creation.

Doubtless, Gothic architects sought to communicate through the mediums of stone and glass their conviction that Christ

was the light sent to penetrate the darkness of the world below (John 8). “The glow of the stained glass of cathedrals like Chartres, Bourges, York or Strasbourg suggests a light from another world shining into the darkness.”²⁰ Light’s ability to completely eradicate darkness reflects Christ’s power to completely eradicate the darkness of human sin. The achievement of light in the Gothic windows so nearly approaches completion that “the solid elements of the tracery float, as it were, on the luminous window surface, its pattern dramatically articulated by light.”²¹

The holistic effect of the architectural innovations of the Gothic is to communicate an aesthetic vision of the reunion of God and man. Phillip Schaff is descriptive.

The most magnificent and beautiful buildings of the period are the cathedrals—those giant stone flowers with their countless turrets, storming the heavens and bearing the soul on high, and their mysterious devotional gloom, visited never by the light of the natural day, but only by mystic irradiations poured through stained glass; domes, the authors of which stood so completely in the general life of the church, and were so occupied only with the honor of God in their work, that with a divine carelessness they have left even their own names to perish in oblivion.”²²

Philosophy in Tome: Reading the *Summas*

Medieval man believed the light of the sun enflamed more than cathedrals walls. It symbolized sacred learning also, illuminating the scholastic theologians who constructed elaborate cathedrals of knowledge in a new medieval genre, the *Summa Theologica*. In a famous altarpiece

in Ascoli Piceno, Italy, the fifteenth-century painter Carlo Crivelli depicts the greatest medieval mind, Saint Thomas Aquinas, holding a church in his right hand, and his *Summa* in his left. Festooned to his chest, a giant ornament of the sun pours out its rays on both church and text.²³

Aquinas’s *Summa* rivals a cathedral in length, running to some sixty-one volumes in its English edition.²⁴ Despite its enormity, Aquinas left it unfinished at his death, like so many Gothic architects who never witnessed the completion of their masterpieces. The *Summa* attempts to comprehensively answer every question of sacred theology creating a harmonious system enabling man to live under God’s sacred dominion. Like a mason considering every joint and angle and adorning the entire sacred space of the building, Aquinas probes the entire space of sacred creation. Diarmaid MacCulloch says, “The *Summa* deals with the most abstract questions of being and the nature of God, yet it also extends to very practical discussions of the way everyday life should be viewed, and how we should live as part of God’s purpose. . . . It presents a harmonious view of God’s earthly and heavenly creation.”²⁵

Panofsky also recognizes this quest for a harmonious worldview or “totality” that was shared in the High Medieval period by author and architect.

Like the High Scholastic *Summa*, the High Gothic cathedral aimed, first of all, at ‘totality’ and therefore tended to approximate, by synthesis as well as elimination, one perfect and final solution; we may therefore speak of *the* High Gothic plan or *the* High Gothic system with much more confidence than would be possible in any other period. In its imagery, the High Gothic cathedral sought to embody the whole of Christian knowledge, theological, moral,

natural, and historical, with everything in its place. . . . The second requirement of Scholastic writing, ‘arrangement according to a system of homologous parts and parts of parts,’ is most graphically expressed in the uniform division and subdivision of the whole structure [of the cathedral].²⁶

Theology in Stone: Reading the Gothic Cathedrals

Knowledge in the medieval world was often the reverse of the modern world. Whereas the medieval world had a developed appreciation for art and architecture, the modern information age focuses on text. Western civilization has achieved nearly universal literacy rates.²⁷ The written word has become the chief communication medium in society, academia, trade and diplomacy. But few education curricula from primary schools to universities give any attention to aesthetics as a communication medium. In the medieval period, interpreting art and architecture was commonplace. Even illiterate peasants could interpret symbols in stone and canvass.

As early as the third century, and possibly much earlier, Christianity began to adopt aesthetic mediums and a rich symbolism to communicate the faith.²⁸ In the Catacombs and mosaics adorning the basilicas, images of the Holy Spirit as a dove, Jesus as the Good Shepherd, and more general Christian symbols of the fish, ship, anchor, and fisherman frequently appear.²⁹ Scenes of the Last Supper, early baptisms, and images of heaven adorned with gardens limn the plaster of Christian graves in the subterranean vaults beneath the city of Rome. In the early fourth century, the Chi Rho as well as the Alpha and Omega become standard symbols for Christ.

In the centuries following Constantine’s conversion to Christianity, Christian art and symbolism exploded. Art became a central medium for communicating the Christian message, especially in the western half of Christendom.³⁰ Church fathers, martyrs, and saints would soon enjoy their own symbols: St. Sebastian bears the arrow, St. Augustine the heart aflame, and Jerome the skull, depicting his morbid fixation with death. Even an illiterate medieval peasant could read the symbols and icons of the church as easily as an educated twenty-first century westerner can read text.

Gothic art and architecture, in this medieval context, would have been read effortlessly. Simson argues, “The medieval mind . . . was preoccupied with the symbolic nature of the world of appearances. Everywhere the visible seemed to reflect the invisible.”³¹ Simons further argues that whereas Gothic architecture has become incomprehensible to modern minds, to the medieval mind it was “the representation of supernatural reality.” Further, “to those who designed the cathedrals, as to their contemporaries who worshipped in them, this symbolic aspect or function of sacred architecture overshadowed all others.”³²

The main objective of the Gothic cathedral, like the *Summas* is to communicate a synthesis between heaven and earth. Simons beautifully summarizes the intent of Abbot Suger’s architectural agenda, as Suger himself describes it in his account of the building of St. Denis.

In its opening passages, the author unfolds before us a mystical vision of harmony that the divine reason has established throughout the cosmos. The treatise ends with the account of the consecration ceremony that Suger had arranged with calculated splendor and that he now describes as a spectacle in

which heaven and earth, the angelic hosts in heaven and the human community in the sanctuary seem to merge.³³

Wim Swam makes a similar observation, “God’s presence was universal; but a cathedral was his home. . . . He was the architect of the universe, the supreme master-mason. . . . Earthly architectural skills were a reflection of his and an offering to him.”³⁴

The cathedral is a portal between heaven and earth, drawing the soul upward through its majestic heights, and drawing the radiant glories of heaven downward like so many sunbeams falling through stained glass to the floor beneath. Soaring towers, and countless spires seem to break the bonds of gravity and transport the worshipper to another world. But domestic scenes etched in stone and wood of students and soldiers, kings and bishops, prophets and physicians—crafted with increasingly realistic Aristotelian precision—tell another story, that God has come to earth authenticating the miseries and triumphs of human existence below.

The cathedral’s nave and transepts intersect forming a cross over the altar enshrining Christ’s broken body and shed blood. The cross is the anchor joining this world to the world above, reuniting God and man. Gerstenberg says, “A feeling that all human action was governed by a higher plan permeated the faith of the Gothic period.”³⁵

Bath Abbey, a late example of Gothic architecture in the south of England, communicates the medieval notion of a unity between heaven and earth. Adorning the two great towers of the front entrance are two great ladders populated by angels as in Jacob’s dream. The angels move ceaselessly, ascending and descending, conducting their business between heaven and earth.³⁶

This reunion of God and man is seen also in glass. The west façade of Chartres cathedral contains an elaborate genealogy of Christ, the Messiah, growing organically from the root of Jesse. The patriarch lies recumbent in the lowest pane. From his body emerges a fruitful vine producing four of Jesus’s royal ancestors—David, Solomon, and two unidentified kings—in ascending panes. Above them is the Virgin Mary, and from her, the vine blossoms again depicting Christ in the position of honor. Christ is full of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit represented by seven encircling doves. Flanking each central pane are two prophets, fourteen total (Nahum, Joel, Ezekiel, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Moses, Balaam, Samuel, Amos, Zechariah, Daniel, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah), witnessing to the union of God and man through Christ, Jesse’s heir.³⁷

A variation on the Chartres glass can be seen in Britain’s York Minster, home of the greatest collection of medieval stained glass. Many of Europe’s cathedrals were badly damaged in the Second World War and other cataclysms since the late medieval period. But the York Minster boasts a stunning collection of 128 ancient windows protected by the York Glaziers Trust.³⁸ The extant, but fragmented *Tree of Jesse* window in the York Minster is thought to be the oldest panel of stained glass in England, dating to approximately 1170.³⁹

Such examples illustrate the Gothic notion of synthesis by uniting God and man through the Redeemer. But synthesis extended beyond the atonement. The stones also depict the unity of human learning with the Christian faith. Medieval thinkers recognized an acute compatibility between Greek virtue ethics and Christian virtues. The western façade of Amiens Cathedral, for example, brings the two together through a series of quatrefoils depicting twelve virtues and their opposites: (1) faith and idolatry (2) courage and cowardice (3) hope

and despair (4) patience and impatience (5) charity and avarice (6) gentleness and violence (7) chastity and lust (8) concord and discord (9) prudence and folly (10) constancy and rebellion (11) humility and pride (12) perseverance and inconstancy.⁴⁰

One of the clearest examples of the medieval synthesis of faith and learning can be seen in the famous Chartres tympanum. Surrounding Christ at the center, the archivolts are carved with personifications of the seven liberal arts as well as several ancient philosophers. Adolf Katzenellenbogen identifies the central significance of the tympanum.

At Chartres the personifications of secular learning were . . . considered important enough to frame a theological cycle. While in the tympanum and its lintels theological concepts are made understandable to the intellect through the ideographic clarity of their representation, in the archivolts are shown the intellectual means that prepare the wisdom seeker for such an understanding. Underneath each of the Liberal Arts is represented an author who by his thoughts and writings had primarily contributed to the substance of that art. That the seven branches of secular learning and seven authors of the past, mostly pagan, were given a place on a church façade is, indeed, a tangible example of the protohumanism pervading the School of Chartres.⁴¹

Katzenellenbogen believes this emphasis on the liberal arts should be attributed to Boethius who argued, "In order to become truly wise, man should know the seven liberal arts."⁴² He says further, "The peripheral place of the Liberal Arts in relation to the central position of Christ, the Divine Wisdom, on the Royal Portal corresponds to these concepts of Boethius.

Their place implies that human wisdom is dependent on Divine Wisdom and directed toward it."⁴³

These and similar examples from Gothic architecture demonstrate the medieval conviction that Christianity can accommodate secular learning. Thomas Aquinas demonstrates the identical attitude in his *Summa*. Gothic architecture and scholasticism both testify to a profound belief that the universe can be subdued by a synthesis of faith and reason.

The Age of Light

Opponents of Christianity have long dismissed the Middle Ages as simply the "Dark Ages." Gothic architecture is but one of several medieval achievements that force us to reconsider this glib dismissal of the pre-Renaissance world. James Michener, in an oft-cited line, proclaimed "An age is called Dark not because the light fails to shine, but because people refuse to see it."⁴⁴ The synthesis of stone and light, philosophy and theology, structure and beauty found in the Gothic style is unmatched by the aesthetic achievements of any other age, past or present.

One has to wonder what a medieval traveler, who is transported suddenly to the modern world, would think of much modern art, especially when contrasted with the distinct Christian narrative etched in stone and glass by Gothic architects. Many modern art forms replace distinct lines, form, symmetry, and correspondence to objective natural phenomena with twisted and grotesque figures, misshapen creatures, and unconventional combinations of color. Modern culture operates on the metaphysical assumption that behind everything is nothing at all: no God, no purpose, no destiny, no final explanations, no meaning, order or shape to the world. Modern art is anti-teleological, it

communicates no metanarrative, and it suggests no coherent view of reality.⁴⁵

Gothic architecture, on the other hand, coupled with its contemporary *summas*, form a nearly a perfect contrast to the character of modern philosophy and modern art. The Middle Ages were indeed an age of light, but in a world darkened by the heritage of the Enlightenment, modern men are ill-equipped to see the light.

References

¹Philip Schaff celebrated this medieval mindset: “It is this precisely which renders the Middle Ages so grand and venerable, that religion in this period appears the all-moving, all-ruling force—the center around which all moral struggles and triumphs, all thought, poetry, and action are found to revolve. All sciences, and philosophy itself—the science of the sciences—were handmaids to theology.” Philip Schaff, *The Principle of Protestantism*, (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, n.d.), 175.

²Otto von Simson is descriptive. “The church is, mystically and liturgically, an image of heaven. Medieval theologians have, on innumerable occasions, dwelt on this correspondence. The authoritative language of the dedication ritual of a church explicitly relates the vision of the Celestial City, as described in the Book of Revelation, to the building that is to be erected.” *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1956), 8.

³Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), 2-3.

⁴The term “Gothic” was first used in the sixteenth century as a smug and derogatory dismissal of pre-Renaissance art. It essentially dismissed the medieval achievement as “barbaric” but incorrectly associated Gothic architecture with the raiding bands of Goths who overran the Roman Empire a millennium earlier. See Andrew Martindale, *Gothic Art: From the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1967), 7.

⁵Norman Klassen and Jens Zimmermann argue for a “genuine humanism” centered on the incarnation of Christ that was a product of the medieval mind. “Medieval confidence in reason and the intelligibility of the universe arose out of a fundamental commitment to the tenets of Christianity, now being worked out in a detailed and systematic way.” Thomas Aquinas, in particular, “exemplifies this holism.” “Thomas did two things especially well, and they are surely related. First, he took seriously both God’s word and God’s world, following the example of the early scholastic humanists. Second he embraced man of the insights of the ancient Greek (and therefore pagan) philosopher Aristotle.” *The Passionate Intellect: Incarnational Humanism and the Future of University Education* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 49, 51.

⁶Andre Martindale, *Gothic Art: From the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Frederick Praeger Publishers, 1967), 7.

⁷In a rare example of a medieval architectural narrative, Abbot Suger describes his rebuilding of Saint-Denis in considerable detail. Erwin Panofsky, ed. *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, 2nd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946). Art historians are nearly unanimously agreed that the church of Saint-Denis is the earliest embodiment of the major characteristics of Gothic architecture (see below). See for instance, Harald Busch and Bernd Lohse, eds., *Buildings of Europe: Gothic Europe* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1959), v.

⁸*The Gothic Cathedral*, xix.

⁹*Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, 4-5.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 5.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 6.

¹²*Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹³Panofsky sees the end of both projects by the middle of the fourteenth century. *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴Examples of Romanesque can be found in Maria Laach Abbey in Germany (1093), the Abbey Church of Vezelay Church in France (1104), Tum Collegiate Church in Poland (1161), and the Abbey Church of Conques in France (11th c.).

¹⁵Charles Herbert Moore, *Development and Character of Gothic Architecture*, 2nd ed. (London: The Macmillan Company, 1906), 8.

¹⁶<http://www.salisburycathedral.org.uk/history/adding-spire> (accessed 10/18/14)

¹⁷ “The Temple of Solomon . . . and the Temple of Ezekiel were . . . understood as images of heaven. They, no less than the Heavenly City, were looked upon as archetypes of the Christian sanctuary and actually inspired the medieval builder.” *The Gothic Cathedral*, 11.

¹⁸ “Introduction” in Harald Busch and Bernd Lohse, eds. *Buildings of Europe: Gothic Europe* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1959), iii.

¹⁹ *The Gothic Cathedral*, 4.

²⁰ *Buildings of Europe, Gothic Europe*, xvii.

²¹ *The Gothic Cathedral*, 4.

²² *Principle of Protestantism*, 175-176.

²³ <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/carlo-crivelli-saint-thomas-aquinas> (accessed 11/8/2014)

²⁴ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (New York: Viking, 2009), 413.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Panofsky, 44-45.

²⁷ <http://world.bymap.org/LiteracyRates.html> (accessed 11/2/14)

²⁸ The Diocletian persecution from 303 to 311 destroyed much of the material evidences of early Christianity. Eusebius records that “I saw with my own eyes the houses of worship demolished to their foundations.” Paul L Maier, ed. *Eusebius: The Church History* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1999), 290.

²⁹ An excellent recent treatment of catacomb art is, Vincenzo Fiochi Nicolai, Fabrizio Bisconti, and Danilo Mazzoleni, *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions* (Rome: Schnell & Steiner, 2002).

³⁰ The iconoclastic controversy would limit Greek Orthodox art.

³¹ *The Gothic Cathedral*, xxi.

³² *Ibid.*, xvii.

³³ *The Gothic Cathedral*, xix.

³⁴ Christopher Brooke, “The Cathedral in Medieval Society” in Wim Swam, ed. *The Gothic Cathedral* (Doubleday & Co., Inc.), 15.

³⁵ *Buildings of Europe: Gothic Europe*, iii.

³⁶ <http://www.bathabbey.org/sites/default/files/Ladder2783.jpg> (accessed 11/8/2014)

³⁷ http://www.medievalart.org.uk/chartres/049_pages/Chartres_Bay049_key.htm A similar window can be found in Angers Cathedral.

http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Angers/Bay_103b/Angers_Bay103b_Key.htm (accessed 11/8/2014)

³⁸ <https://www.yorkminster.org/history-and-conservation/york-glaziers-trust.html> (accessed 11/8/2014)

³⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tree_of_Jesse#mediaviewer/File:England_YorkMinster_JesseTree_c1170.JPG (accesses 11/8/2014)

⁴⁰ http://www.medievalart.org.uk/Amiens/West_Facade/VirtuesAndVices/AmiensWest_Quatrefoil_VirtuesVices_Key.htm

⁴¹ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1959), 16.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ James A. Michener, *Space* (1982).

⁴⁵ “When the travesties scattered throughout our modern art museums are set alongside the glories of ancient Greece, the Christian heart should swell with pride. Our Lord has thrown unbelievers down, and they can never recover. Look at what they now do on their own! The modern materialist has truly fallen between two stools—he cannot have the Nike of Samothrace, and he cannot have Bach’s Mass in B Minor. He cannot have Vergil and he cannot have Milton. But he can hang a toilet seat on the gallery wall and apply for federal grants—we are all just prisoners here of our own device.” Douglas Jones and Douglas Wilson, *Angels in the Architecture: A Protestant Vision for Middle Earth* (Moscow, ID: Canon Press, 1998), 34.