

A Stained-Glass Window from Flavigny-sur-Moselle

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RESEARCH UNDERTAKEN BY the Canadian Committee of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA) has led to the rediscovery of a stained-glass window that was considered lost but is actually in a private collection in British Columbia. The window comes from the former Priory Church of Saint-Firmin in Flavigny-sur-Moselle and represents the Creation of the World and the Expulsion from Paradise (Figure 1).¹ In the present article, I intend to examine this window in relation to those remaining of the original cycle in which it was included and to place the cycle in the cultural and religious context of its time. Two other windows and four medallions of this series are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Flavigny-sur-Moselle is located in Lorraine, a few kilometers south of Nancy. A Benedictine priory dedicated to Saint Firmin was founded there in the tenth century.² The original Romanesque chapel underwent several modifications over the centuries, the most important one being the construction of a western bell tower in the twelfth century. A portal was added in 1732 (Figure 2). Little is known of the priory's history until the end of the fifteenth century, by which time the monastic community appears to have been greatly reduced, following the general decline during the period. In 1510 Wary de Lucy was named commendatory prior, succeeding his uncle Barthélemy de Lucy, and he held the priorate until his death in 1557. Unlike many commendatory priors, Wary de Lucy resided at his priory, although according to Chanoine Dedenon he led the easy life of a grand humanist noble.³ Between 1525 and 1530, he planned the reconstruction of the church,⁴ preserving only the western bell tower. He entrusted Valentin Bousch, a stained-glass painter established at Metz, to execute seven windows in the choir between 1531 and 1533.

During the French Revolution, the priory was secularized, but it was bought back, after the Restoration of 1814, by the Benedictine nuns of Saint-Eustase, who had occupied the abbey of Vergville (Moselle) before

the Revolution. In 1904, however, fearing the consequences of the new law of separation of church and state, the nuns decided to emigrate to Italy, and they sold most of the church furnishings, including the four stained-glass windows that had survived from the ensemble decorating the choir of the church.

Three of these windows (Windows 1, 3, 5; see Figure 3)⁵ were still in France in 1907, when they were mentioned and illustrated in a French publication.⁶ They were apparently shipped to North America sometime before World War I. The fourth one, the Crucifixion window (Window 2), now in the Church of Saint Joseph in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, was known to have been in a private collection in New York in 1913. Windows 1 and 3 and four medallions were bought by the Metropolitan Museum in 1917.⁷ The Creation window was not part of that group and was considered lost. In fact, the four medallions in the Metropolitan were originally in the window containing the Creation (see notes 20 and 24 below), two in the tracery compartments and two in the decorative console at the base of the lancets. It is hoped that further study of sales catalogues will elucidate the history of the British Columbian glass prior to its purchase in 1952, but so far we have no information (see note 1).

In a 1994 article Michel Hérold presented the first scholarly study devoted to Valentin Bousch.⁸ In the eighteenth century, this artist was already considered to be one of Lorraine's finest glass painters of the first half of the sixteenth century.⁹ Not much is known about his apprenticeship. He was born in or near Strasbourg,¹⁰ and he seems to have acquired solid training before arriving at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, near Nancy, in 1514. As archival documents published by Abbé Jacques Choux in 1973¹¹ have encouraged more recent research, especially within the French Corpus Vitrearum project,¹² we shall limit ourselves in this essay to an overview of Valentin Bousch's activities before he started working on the Flavigny windows.

Notarial documents published by Abbé Choux, supplemented by careful studies of the church's surviving windows, prove that Bousch ran a large and active workshop after he settled in Saint-Nicolas-de-Port.¹³ The

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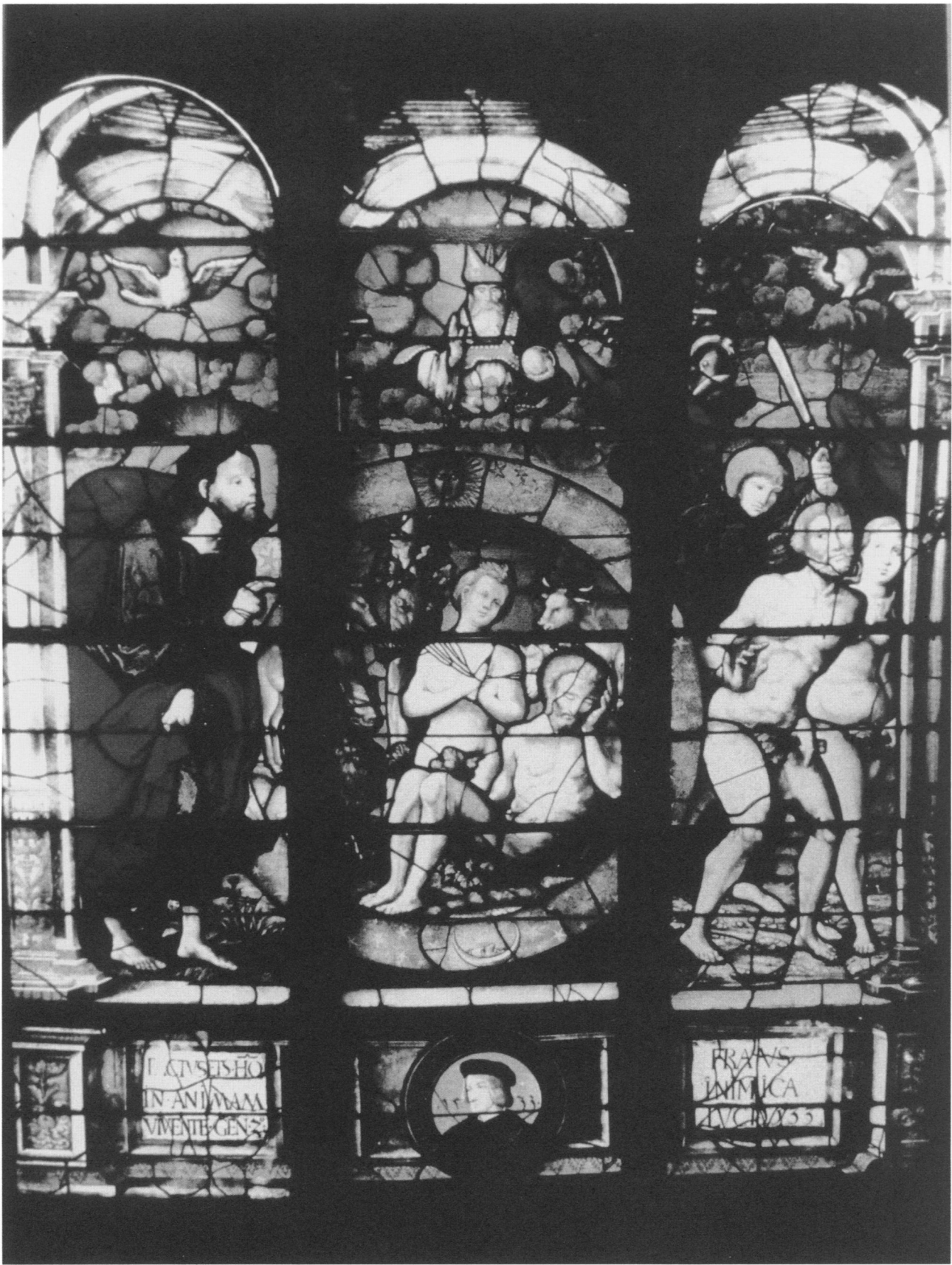


Figure 1. Valentin Bousch (act. 1514–1541). Window 5: Creation and Expulsion from Paradise from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle, 1533. Langley, British Columbia, private collection (montage of photographs by Chester Goosen)



Figure 2. Priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle, tower porch and facade (photo: Michel Hérold)

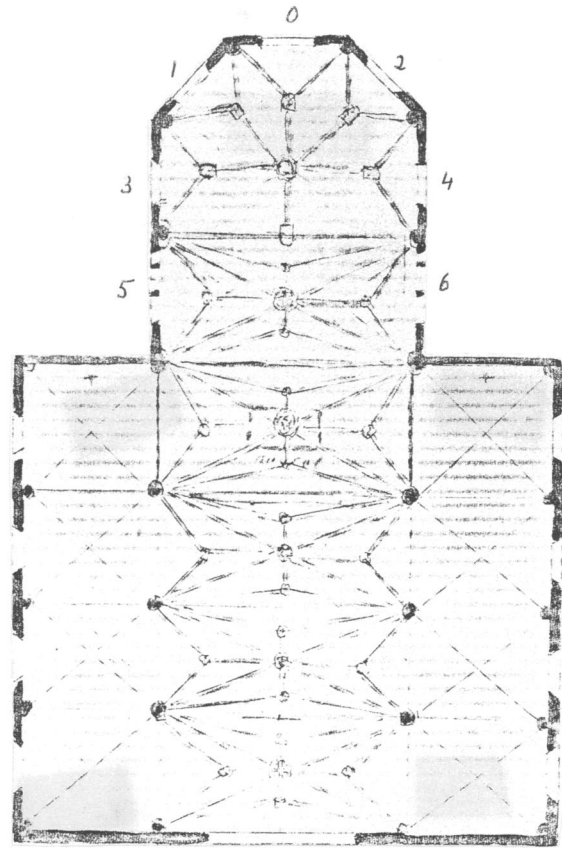


Figure 3. Priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle, plan and distribution of choir windows (after a plan from Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Abel, carton 152)

evolution of his style can thus be traced over a crucial period in his development. The character of his work passes from “[des] figures élégantes et statiques . . . disposées sous des dais arborescents caractéristiques du gothique tardif”¹⁴ to an approach to representation in which the rendering of volumes and movement, quite often set within the depth of three-dimensional space, is depicted within Renaissance architectural frames. “Clarté, monumentalité, vigueur quasi sculpturale [en] sont . . . les caractères les plus notables.”¹⁵ It is also during this period that, in 1518, Valentin Bousch created the apse windows for the church of Varangéville. They were destroyed, but in an old photograph of the Crucifixion window there, one can see his new sense of pictorial depth.¹⁶

In 1520 Bousch moved his workshop to Metz, where he had received a sizable commission for stained glass in the newly reconstructed cathedral of Saint-Étienne.¹⁷ He married and lived there until his death in 1541. His many works for the cathedral are well documented: he produced thirteen very large windows

over two campaigns, one from 1520 to 1528, the other from 1534 to 1539. But patronage conditions were not the same as in Saint-Nicolas-de-Port: while the many and diverse donors there had been free to determine their own programs—narrative series, single scenes, large or small figures—the cathedral chapter of Metz was now the sole authority, imposing an iconographically and stylistically coherent program.¹⁸ Despite such constraints, the art of Valentin Bousch would gain in strength and achieve full mastery in the very large facade window of the south transept (33.25 × 12.75 m): large, sumptuously treated figures, animated in a quasi-dancing rhythm, are grouped in pairs in a complex but rigorous architectural frame, forming a sort of *Sacra Conversazione*.¹⁹

Between 1528 and 1534, when Valentin Bousch was not working on new windows for the cathedral, he was executing other commissions in and around Metz. The most important of these was undoubtedly Wary de Lucy’s choir windows commissioned for the newly reconstructed priory church at Flavigny-sur-Moselle.



Figure 4. Priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle, interior of choir (photo: Michel Hérold)

Figure 5. Sketch of Window 5, priory church of Saint-Firmin. Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Abel, carton 152

The young prior's choice of a glazier is easily explained by his family connections: at Flavigny, he had succeeded his uncle Barthélemy, who was also commendatory prior of Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, where he had been succeeded by Pierre de Lucy, another close relative, who is mentioned as being active between 1515 and 1529. As we have seen, Bousch worked at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port from 1514 until his move to Metz in 1520. Wary de Lucy was thus able to appreciate the growing talents of a master glass painter, whose Strasbourg origins could only have added prestige to an important commission.

The Flavigny choir has seven windows: in the western bay, two large windows of three lancets under a pointed arch face each other; to the east are five narrower one-lancet windows, two in the straight bay, the other three closing the apse. The tracery heads are relatively simple, consisting of two large, pointed lobes above the lancets of the large western windows and smaller compartments at the top of the five other windows (Figure 4).

The stained glass from the single-lancet windows measures 361.2 × 160.2 centimeters, including the predella and decorative console, while the stained glass of the three lancets from Window 5 each measure 300 × 86 centimeters, including the predella. The difference in height is explained in part by the different dimensions of the tracery compartments and also by the loss in Window 5 of the decorative console, which is still incorporated into the bases of the other windows. Two



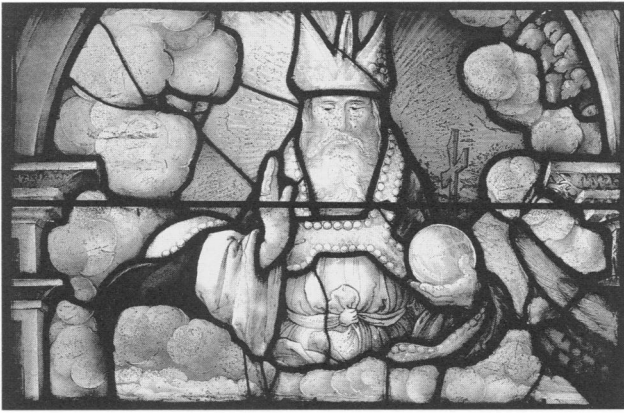


Figure 6. Window 5: panel 6b: God the Father, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (photo: Chester Goosen)

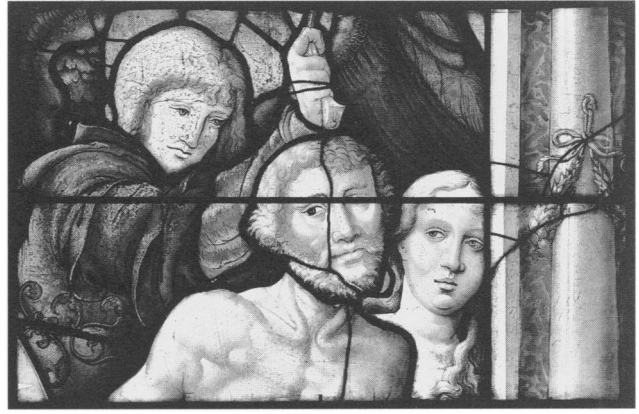


Figure 7. Window 5, panel 5c: heads of angel, Adam, and Eve, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (photo: Chester Goosen)

heraldic medallions from the console survive and are now in the Metropolitan Museum:²⁰ they depict the arms of Savigny and Craincourt. Fortunately, the intact console is partially documented in two drawings of the 1880s in the municipal library of Nancy (Figure 5):²¹ they show Savigny in the middle, Craincourt on the right, and possibly Toulon on the left. These three families are related to the Lucy family: Claude de Craincourt and Jeanne de Savigny were respectively the mother and grandmother of Wary de Lucy.²²

The main subject of this essay is the stained-glass window depicting the Creation of the World and the Expulsion from Paradise (Figure 1). In the left lancet the Word, in the form of Christ, introduces the subject, with a characteristically rhetorical gesture. Above him a cherub and the dove of the Holy Spirit can be seen. In the middle lancet God the Father, crowned and mitered (the miter's points placed laterally), contemplates his work (Figure 6): a circle represents the firmament, with stars, sun, and moon; inside the circle, four animals flanking a tree look toward the sleeping Adam, with Eve rising from his side: on the left, there are a lion and a stag; on the right, an ox and an ass. In the right lancet we see Adam and Eve being expelled from paradise by the archangel Gabriel brandishing a large sword (Figure 7), while the serpent, coiled around the tree, surveys the scene and a cherub floats in the sky above (Figure 8).

The whole scene is staged in an architectural setting in the form of a "loggia," whose pilasters echo the church's own pilasters²³ and whose base frames a predella in three parts: in the center, a medallion contains a bust-length portrait of the donor, Wary de Lucy, and the date, 1533; on the left the verse of Genesis illustrated in the glass, "FACTUS-ETS[*sic*]-HO-IN-ANIMAM-VIVENTE-GEN-2"; on the right the prior's motto, "FRAUS

INIMICA LUCI-1533."

The main colors of the pot-metal glass used in the window are a beautiful red for Christ's mantle, part of God's cope, and the archangel's wings; dark blue for Christ's tunic; and deep violet decorated with a damask pattern painted in silver stain for the archangel's garment. The background makes use of a luminous, fairly light blue, on which billowing clouds are defined in grisaille washes (Figure 8). Bousch uses tonal variations in the blue glass to animate the sky, producing atmospheric effects. Faces and body parts, as well as the architectural setting, are treated in grisaille and silver stain on white glass. Some details in green, mauve, or yellow pot-metal glass add to the diversity of the palette.

To complete the original appearance of the Creation window, one should visualize in the tracery the two medallions now in the Metropolitan, catalogued as "evangelists."²⁴ They are, in fact, two prophets, as



Figure 8. Window 5c, panel 6c: serpent and cherub, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (photo: Chester Goosen)

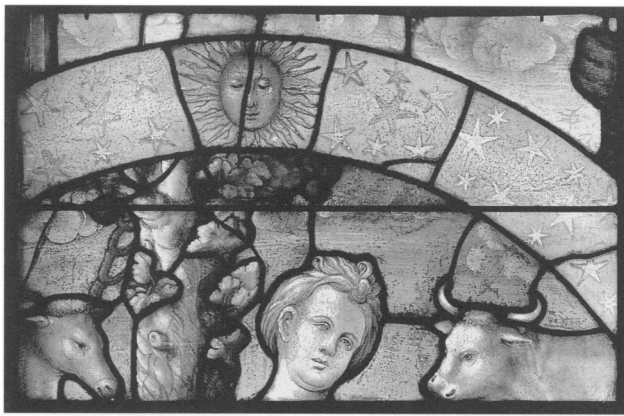


Figure 9. Window 5, panel 5b: head of Eve and circle of the heavens, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (photo: Chester Goosen)



Figure 10. Window 5, panel 3a: feet of Christ, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (photo: Chester Goosen)

documented in papers found in the municipal library in Nancy.²⁵ We shall discuss their identities later.

The pictorial composition²⁶ has a very strong impact, thanks to the counterpoint provided by the intense and luminous areas of colored glass playing off the dominant white glass painted in silver stain and grisaille; the light blue background serves as a unifying effect. However, closer analysis reveals that the brushwork is an essential element of the pictorial impact. Opaque line work is used in moderation: lines are seldom very thick but can sometimes be solid enough to be mistaken for lead line, as becomes evident when one makes rubbings. Figure modeling is achieved through grisaille washes of different tones, sometimes worked over with a stiff brush to provide texture without hatching. Hatching is used, however, on tree trunks which are painted in a watercolorist style, with details picked out in darker tones to achieve a highly

naturalistic effect (Figure 9). There is relatively little stick work: some can be seen in the grass under Christ's feet (Figure 10), in halos, in the orphreys of God the Father's cope, and in the outline of Gabriel's turned-up sleeves. The eyes are drawn with very delicate white strokes picked out with a stick or a needle.

Silver stain is used with great mastery and adds to the effect of modeling. Hair and beards are treated with very thin "comma" strokes, either black or white, using a thin brush or needle, alternatively, on a background of silver stain with a wash of grisaille (Figures 7, 11). Silver stain is also used, as mentioned earlier, to decorate the archangel's violet robe. In the predella the portrait of Wary de Lucy is surrounded by a wreath cut in blue glass, with touches of silver stain that create green leaves incorporated into the foliage. Furthermore—and this is a technique that does not appear to be found at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port—silver stain is used to modify tones of green, thus obtaining variations from olive green to bronze. This remarkable effect can be observed, for instance, on the garments of the prophet in the left lobe of the tracery, one of the two prophets now in the Metropolitan Museum (see Figures 24, 25).

The leading network structures the entire image, enclosing surfaces of glass masterfully cut in large pieces adapted to the forms of the subject.²⁷ We have found no instances of jewelery (a technique consisting of drilling a hole in the glass and inserting a piece of another color, secured by leading; also called "chef d'oeuvre"), but some cuts, notably around Eve's fig leaf in the central lancet, are quite daring.

The general composition and architectural integration are also remarkable, particularly in comparisons with the other remaining windows in the Flavigny

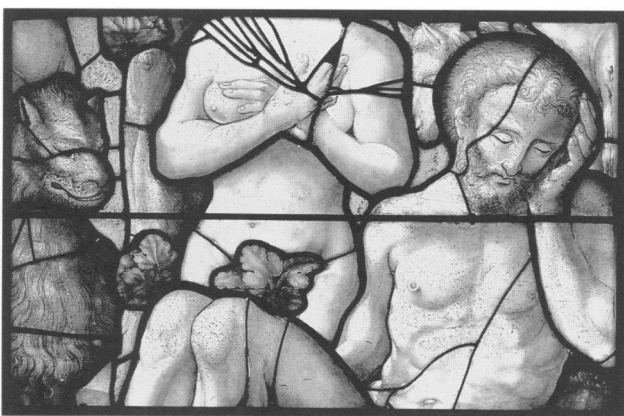


Figure 11. Window 5, panel 4b: torsos of Eve and Adam, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (photo: Chester Goosen)



Figure 12. Angel from the Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1514–20, window 23 from Church of Saint-Nicolas, Saint-Nicolas-de-Port (photo: Michel Hérold)



Figure 13. Donor Evrard Marlier, 1527, window 16 from Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Metz (photo: Michel Hérold)



Figure 14. Saint Matthew (detail), 1538, window 205 from Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Metz (photo: Michel Hérold)

cycle. The stone mullions between the lancets function as a first screen opening onto the scene. Behind it, the large circle of the firmament extends beyond the central lancet on both sides and takes its place inside the “loggia” represented in the painted architectural setting. This painted setting, while echoing that of the church, already presents signs of a certain decorative Mannerism (Figures 8, 10). The general composition of the window also includes the two prophets seen in the tracery; they lean against an entablature incorporated into the painted architectural setting, as if they were on a balcony, observing and commenting on the scene below.

Comparison with other windows executed by Valentin Bousch brings out some interesting points. First, given the size of the church at Flavigny, the stained glass was not seen from a great distance. The closest comparison is with the lower windows in Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, where conditions are relatively similar, as can be seen in the window of the Assumption of the Virgin (Window 23), in which the same painting technique can be observed in the faces of the Virgin and the angel supporting her on the right (panels 1c and 2c, Figure 12), as well as in the lower window done during the first campaign in Saint-Étienne Cathedral—for example, the donor Evrard Marlier in Window 16 (Figure 13) of the Virgin and Child in Window 26 (Figure 15). The situation is clearly quite different when we consider the higher windows, particularly those executed during the second campaign at Metz. Although the elements of the painting technique are the same, the contrasts are much stronger, and thick black lines and white strokes picked out in stick work dominate the overall design (Figure 14).

One should not fail to observe the comparison



Figure 15. Virgin and Child (detail), 1526–27, window 26 from Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Metz (photo: Michel Hérold)

between the anatomy of the extraordinary Saint Sebastian in Saint-Nicolas-de-Port (Window 113, panels 2c to 4c, Figure 16) and that of the left-hand figure in the Flavigny Flood window (Window 3, Figure 21), as well as the face of Saint John in the Stockbridge Crucifixion window (Window 2, Figure 23).²⁸

The Strasbourg origin of Valentin Bousch is obviously very important. During his formative years, he must have been in contact with Rhenish stained-glass painters and with the art of southern Germany.²⁹ His



Figure 16. Saint Sebastian (detail), ca. 1518, window 113 from Church of Saint-Nicolas, Saint-Nicolas-de-Port (photo: Michel Hérold)

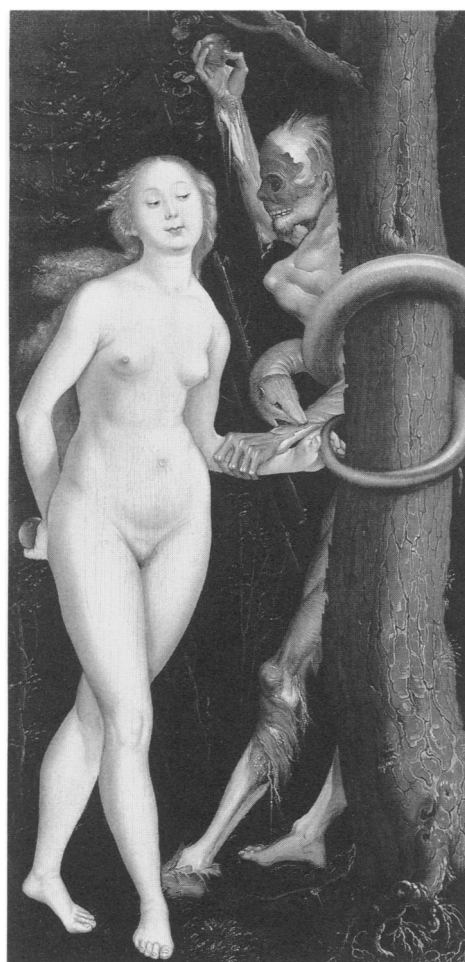


Figure 17. Hans Baldung Grien (German, 1484/85–1545). *Eve, the Serpent and Death*, ca. 1512. Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada (photo: National Gallery of Canada)



Figure 18. Window 5, panel 2b: donor, Wary de Lucy, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (photo: Chester Goosen)

style is often associated with that of Hans Baldung Grien, whose family had settled in Strasbourg early in the sixteenth century. Baldung, after his apprenticeship and his *Wanderjahre*, during which he spent some time in Dürer's workshop in Nuremberg, was back in Strasbourg between 1509 and 1512; it was probably during this period that contacts and exchanges between the two young artists took place. Some comparisons can be found, starting with the "entrechat" pose of Baldung's Eve in the National Gallery, Ottawa³⁰ (Figure 17), which is very similar to Bousch's Flavigny Eve when she is expelled from Paradise. But an even more striking similarity that exists between the face of Eve in the same part of the Flavigny window and that of some of Baldung's female faces³¹ has to be reconsidered, because the authenticity of the Flavigny piece is problematic.³²

Some of Bousch's details also invite comparison with Rhenish works. In the portrait of the donor, Wary de Lucy, in the center of the predella (Figure 18), the drawing of the heavily lidded eyes, with pronounced eyebrows and eyelashes, is similar to that of one of the saints in Window 205 in the Cathedral of Saint-Etienne

in Metz, dated 1538 (Figure 14). The same specific eye details, as well as the very graphic treatment of faces, can be found in some figures in the windows of the north nave aisle of the Cologne cathedral (n XXI–XXV) dating from the early sixteenth century.³³

Nevertheless, by the time Valentin Bousch came to work at Flavigny, he had been established for almost twenty years in Lorraine, where contacts with northern France and Flanders were quite strong. He had been able to integrate the influences he had encountered into a style of his own: highly distinctive faces, narrative animated by movement, an expressionistic emphasis on moments of crisis, as in the scene of the Flood (Window 3, Figure 21) or in the group of Saint John supporting the Virgin at the foot of the cross (Window 2, Figure 23);³⁴ and in the remarkable combination of intensity and serenity, seen in the face of Christ as He introduces and explains the program of the stained-glass cycle (Figure 19). In the Flavigny windows Bousch attained complete mastery of his art and explored all its possibilities.

Over many centuries, the subject of the Creation of the World has often given rise to representations of complex cosmologies.³⁵ But at Flavigny the simple circle of stars depicted by Bousch, with the sun at the summit and the moon at the bottom, is simply related to popular iconographic tradition, as can be found in the *Shepherds' Calendar* of 1496.³⁶ The Creation of Eve and the position of the sleeping Adam (reversed) can be compared with the same scene in the stained glass of the cathedral at Châlons-sur-Marne (Window 40, south nave aisle, dated 1506 or 1516); the Expulsion from Paradise is also very similar to that window.

An interesting comparison can be made with the Creation illustrated in the Lübeck Bible of 1494, in which God appears in his glory, surrounded by angels, as with outstretched arms he embraces the whole of Creation, which is arranged in concentric circles around the Garden of Eden, where we see the birth of Eve, blessed by Christ as Creator³⁷ (Figure 20). But in the Flavigny window Christ stands outside the circle of Creation. He is part of the Trinity, with the dove of the Holy Spirit establishing the visual connection with God the Father, and is also the embodiment of the divine will and love: "In the beginning was the Word."³⁸ Situated as he is in the first lancet, Christ introduces the whole program of stained glass in the choir, much of which is known through the other surviving windows: The Flood (Figure 21), Moses Presenting the Tables of the Law (Figure 22) and the Crucifixion (Figure 23).

It is known from documents that the three windows completing the cycle in the choir of Flavigny had

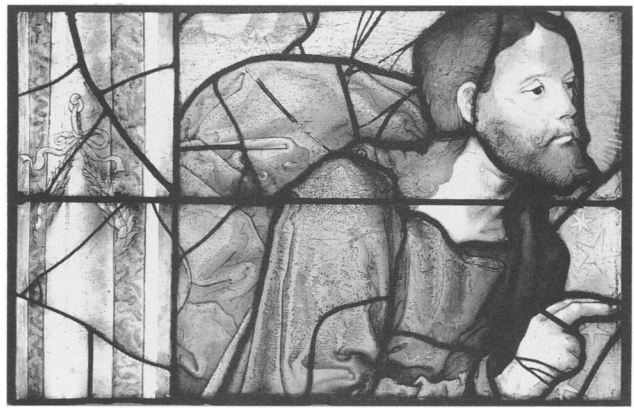


Figure 19. Window 5, panel 5a: detail of Christ, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (photo: Chester Goosen)

already disappeared by 1850. In 1875, however, in response to an inquiry about the religious furnishing in the diocese, the parish priest compiled a list of the windows, based on the reminiscences of the convent's chaplain: the Creation, the Flood, Sinai, Bethlehem, the Calvary, the Pentecost, and the Last Judgment.³⁹ One can, of course, have doubts about a list established after a twenty-five-year interval, and other hypotheses have since been suggested, but it would seem, by referring to the choir's layout, that the program cited in 1875 can be generally accepted, although we shall propose a possible variation.

The choir of Flavigny is illuminated, as we have seen, by seven windows culminating in pointed arches, the two westernmost having the dimensions of the Creation window, the other five those of the windows preserved in the United States. Thus we would have had, facing each other in the western bay, the Creation on the north side (Window 5) and the Last Judgment on the south (Window 6). Between the Creation and the axial window were the two windows now in the Metropolitan Museum, namely the Flood (Window 3) and Moses Bringing the Tables of the Law (Window 1). In the stone tracery at the summit of the axial window (Window 0), there still remained in 1877 a figure of God the Father; one can deduce from this that the subject of the lancet below might have been a Nativity, as the chaplain recalled, but another possibility might be an Annunciation. The latter is a stronger supposition, considering the very special devotion directed to this subject by the Lorraine ducal family, a devotion that found resonances through the whole duchy, as can be seen, for instance, at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, where it is represented many times, and in particular, in the axial choir window.⁴⁰

On the south side, the first window to the right of the

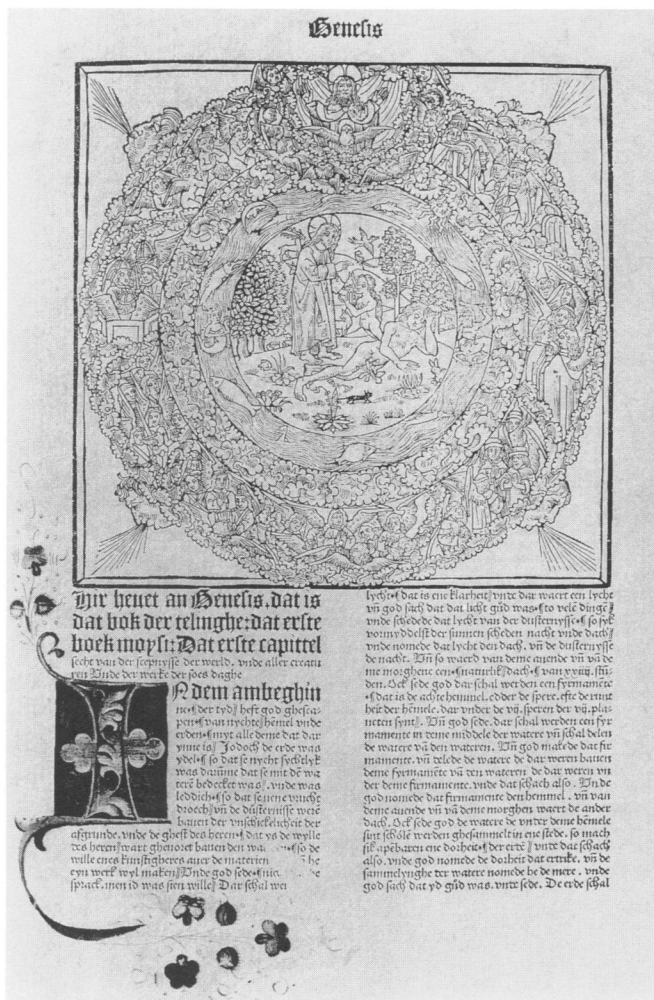


Figure 20. First page of Genesis from the Lübeck Bible, printed by Steffan Arndes, 1494. Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Signatur Biblia 204 (from H. Kunze, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland* [Leipzig, 1975])

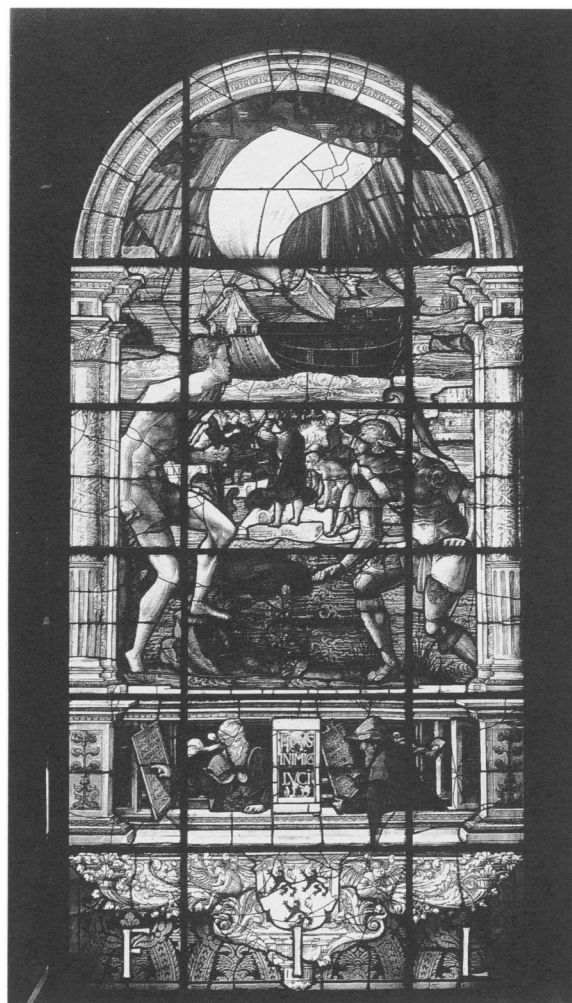


Figure 21. Window 3: The Flood, 1531, from priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917, 17.40.2

axial one (Window 2) would have been the Crucifixion. Various subjects have been proposed for Window 4: the Last Supper, the Supper at Emmaus, the Pentecost (as in the chaplain's list), or the Resurrection. Since, in 1877, there was still a Paschal Lamb in the stone tracery of this window, and if we assume that it was in its original location, the event depicted below should have taken place after the Crucifixion, thus eliminating the Last Supper from consideration. Then the last window in the cycle would be the Last Judgment, facing the Creation.

The documents in the Nancy municipal library to which we have already referred (see notes 21 and 25) also describe the subjects in the tracery of the other windows: in Window 3 (above the Flood) was a phoenix; in Window 1 (above Moses), the dove of the Holy Spirit; and above the Crucifixion in Window 2 was a pelican. Each of the predellas of these three windows

features two bust-length figures who appear to be prophets,⁴¹ presenting biblical texts pertaining to each respective subject. Below the Crucifixion, however, the figure on the right looks younger than the other and could be Saint John the Evangelist offering a verse of his Gospel.

As for the two prophets observing the Creation from their "balcony," the author of the same document claimed to recognize them as Moses and Elijah.⁴² We prefer to see them as Moses (Figure 24) and Isaiah (Figure 25), as their presence supports the very condensed narrative of the first window. Indeed, Isaiah, on the right, refers to his vision of God in his glory, surrounded by seraphim (Isaiah 6:1–4); he seems also to point to the animals, peacefully attending Eve's birth. Of course they are not the wolf and the lamb or the leopard and the kid mentioned in his prophecy (Isaiah 11:6–7 and 65:25), but the lion and the stag of

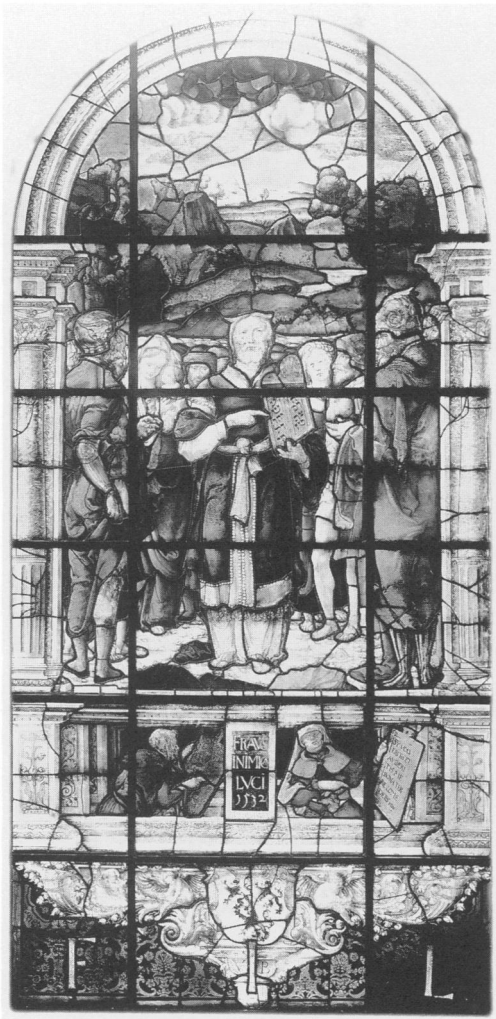


Figure 22. Window 1: Moses Presenting the Tables of the Law, 1532, from Saint-Firmin. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917, 17.40.1

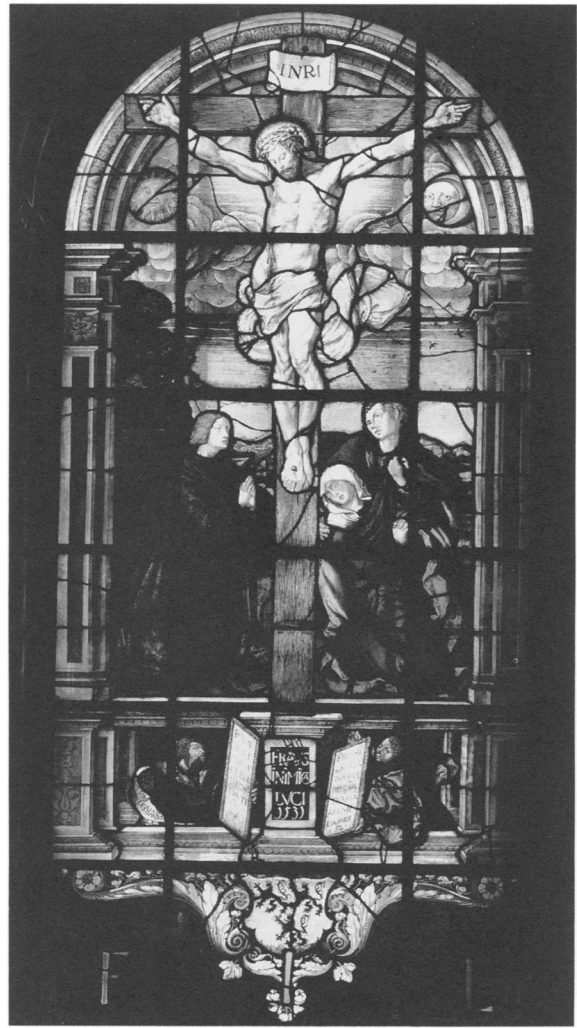


Figure 23. Window 2: Crucifixion, 1531, from Saint-Firmin. Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Church of Saint Joseph (photo: Leland A. Cook)



Figure 24. Window 5, tracery panel 1ab: Moses, 1533, from Saint-Firmin. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917, 17.40.3

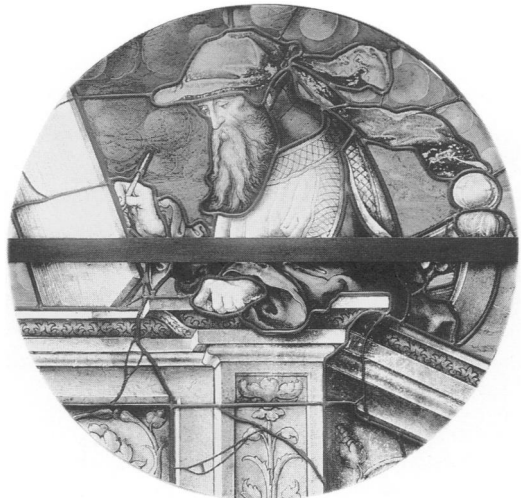


Figure 25. Window 5, tracery panel 1bc: Isaiah, 1533, from Saint-Firmin. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917, 17.40.4

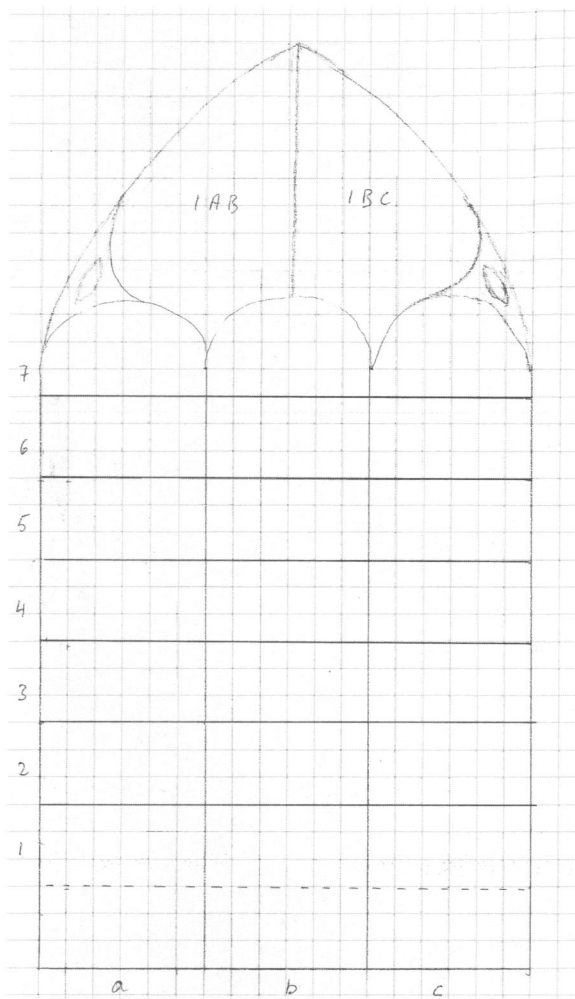


Figure 26. Window 5: diagram of panel numbering

Flavigny, symbols of majestic valor and piety respectively, who live together in peace in the Garden of Eden. Moses, for his part, points down toward the other side of the scene to the ox and the ass, which herald the Nativity of Christ.

Thus we can propose that the entire Flavigny cycle illustrates the destiny of humanity in its relationship to God. The program, based exclusively on the Old and New Testaments, reflects the Christian humanism of the time. There are no themes drawn from apocryphal texts or from Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*. In this context, the primordial position of the Word, in the person of Christ, takes on its full importance: he introduces not simply the first window of the Creation, but the whole cycle that follows as well.

Most of the authors writing on Flavigny and its stained-glass windows have mentioned that the period during which they were created, between 1531 and 1533, was "troubled by the dissemination of Protestant

ideas."⁴³ It appears necessary, however, to set the commission in its immediate historical context and to see how far questions provoked by new ideas might find an echo in the Flavigny cycle.

Geographically, Lorraine lies between regions where these new Protestant ideas were emerging and would eventually bring about the Reformation: in France lively intellectual exchanges between humanists spread even to the entourage of Francois I, while in the German countries the movement initiated by Luther's teachings would soon develop along more radical lines, particularly with the Anabaptists. Their excesses may have had repercussions in Lorraine until Duke Antoine's victory, between the towns of Salerne and Selestat, over the *rustauds*, the peasants in revolt who had spread from the south of Germany. In the end, owing to the strong influence of the ducal family, especially on the upper classes, the duchy remained Catholic. Nevertheless, in the early years of the Reformation, between 1520 and 1530 and even later, Metz and Saint-Nicolas-de-Port had active Protestant communities that were in close contact with Strasbourg, which in 1530 would join the Protestant princes in the Augsburg Confession.

In Metz, according to historian Georges Viard, "the field had been prepared in 1519–20 by a small circle of humanists gathered around Cornelius Agrippa, while he was residing in the city. It included parish priests, physicians, lawyers, a few artisans, the bookseller Jacques. They read Lefèvre d'Étaples [ca. 1450–1537], Erasmus, and Luther. Occasionally there would be public debates, but these did not really lead to popular enthusiasm. Nevertheless the municipal authorities were alarmed and, in 1521, they forbade the purchase of Luther's books."⁴⁴ Furthermore, between 1523 and 1525 many preachers of these new ideas had met with such success that the authorities reacted violently against them: some preachers were expelled and some were executed, often after such horrible torture that rioting ensued. The contemporary correspondence of the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer, Erasmus, and other reformers⁴⁵ attests that the Metz events were closely observed and commented upon. Erasmus, in particular, supported the rebellious canon Pierre Toussain, a friend of Guillaume Farel.⁴⁶ But in about 1530 there was still hope that the flagrant abuses of the church and the sclerosis that had befallen medieval scholasticism could be corrected by needed reforms. The diffusion of Erasmus's Christian humanism, the conciliatory efforts of Martin Bucer, and the influence of Lefèvre d'Étaples in France were giving strength to the dissemination of ideas based on a new reading of the Scriptures in the original texts. Some

authors tend to minimize the importance of the movement in Metz and in Saint-Nicolas-de-Port,⁴⁷ but it seems quite reasonable to assume that the creators of the Flavigny cycle—the patron and the artist—were aware of the new ideas.

Among the main points discussed in these humanist circles were the doctrine of predestination, as opposed to that of free will, which was a source of conflict between Erasmus and Luther; the definition of the Word as God's self-revelation, by which the redemptive action of Christ was made known to humankind, and the source of which is to be found in the Scriptures; the doctrine of the Eucharist, in which the theory of transubstantiation, defined by a decree of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), was confronted both with that of consubstantiation proposed by Luther, according to which Christ is really present in the bread and the wine of Holy Communion, and with the theory of the symbolic character of the Sacrament, supported by Zwingli. Also debated was the principle of the Trinity, which the Anabaptists denied.

In the program of the Flavigny windows, we are first presented with Christ expressing the divine Word and the affirmation of the Trinity, with the dove of the Holy Spirit visually connecting him with God the Father; then the fate of fallen mankind, expelled from paradise, punished by the Flood, saved first by God's Law brought down by Moses, then by the New Alliance through the Crucifixion.

Some details in the Creation window raise further questions. The story of the Creation is significantly shortened if we compare it, for instance, with the window in Châlons-sur-Marne mentioned above, in which the narrative extends through eight episodes. Why is the Temptation not represented according to the tradition (see Figure 8; it is merely suggested by the presence of the serpent, half hidden in the tree, looking on at the Expulsion)? Why is Eve, whose birth is shown in the very center of the composition, rising from Adam's side, already wearing a fig leaf? Was she born a sinner? Her hands crossed over her breast evoke the gesture of humility of the Annunciate Virgin in the Ghent Altarpiece, but her left hand freeing her right breast might also suggest a nursing Mother of Christ.⁴⁸

One cannot help thinking that the author of the program was influenced by the doctrine of predestination at a time when, between 1530 and 1535, these ideas were passionately debated, despite the early repressions of the 1520s, which would be fiercely resumed in Metz only in 1543. It should indeed be emphasized that the iconography of this window is highly exceptional in character. As for the whole cycle, despite the absence of the three missing windows, it can be pro-

posed that Valentin Bousch might well have known of the new ideas in Metz and probably stayed in contact with Strasbourg. Working for a very enlightened patron, he had a greater freedom of composition and interpretation than he had at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port or Metz. The main point, however, is certainly that the program was established by a humanist who was well aware of the general debates of his time and who tried to demonstrate that the essential character of Christianity is compatible with a reformed Catholicism, as proposed by Erasmus, a humanist solution that would be abandoned after the Council of Trent.

It should be hoped that further research will shed more light on the personality of Wary de Lucy, who lived through these difficult times and transmitted to us his interpretation of them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many thanks are due to Michel Hérold, who generously allowed me to use his archival research on Flavigny and who enriched my understanding of the subject through our lively discussions. This essay is also a posthumous homage to Jane Hayward, who first drew our attention to the existence of the private collection in British Columbia. The photographs of the Creation window were taken by Chester Goosen. I wish also to acknowledge the invaluable help of James Bugslag, who revised the English version of my text, and of Gwladys Downs, who read the final version. Lastly, the present owners should be thanked for their friendly collaboration.

NOTES

1. This stained-glass window was bought in 1952 from a son of William Randolph Hearst, a year after the latter's death. At that time the present owner took a few notes from Hearst's "private catalogue," but these give only a brief description of the window, without any mention of provenance; however, he recalls having heard Hearst say that he had bought it in Sens. This information remains sketchy and ought to be investigated. The window did not appear in the 1941 sales catalogue of the Hearst collections. The problem of knowing how and when it came to the United States and, in particular, when and where it was bought by Hearst, remains unresolved.

2. The priory is now a medical institution, thus acknowledging in a secular setting its original dedication, since Saint Firmin is revered as a healer.

3. A benefice *in commendam* is bestowed upon a secular ecclesiastic or a layman (commendatory) with enjoyment of its revenues for

life. "Barthélemy de Lucy, abbé de Saint-Arnoul de Metz, . . . possédait aussi le prieuré de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port" (Abbé Jacques Choux, "Valentin Bousch à Saint-Nicolas-de-Port et à Flavigny," *Le Pays Lorrain* 3 [1973] p. 165). When, shortly before his death, Barthélemy resigned his benefice at Flavigny in favor of his nephew Wary de Lucy, the latter was only nine years old; his father managed the priory until he came of age (Chanoine A. Dedenon, *Histoire du prieuré bénédictin de Flavigny-sur-Moselle* [Nancy, 1936] pp. 72–73). On the decline of the community and on what is known of the life of Wary de Lucy, see *ibid.*, where he is described as a nobleman who cared about the well-being of the villagers who were his dependents. In 1529 he was also appointed an apostolic protonotary (see Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Abel, carton 73, f. 8).

4. His coat of arms on the keystone of the choir marks the completion of the building. Dedenon (*Histoire du prieuré*, pp. 70–72) notes similarities in the architectural decoration (trapezoidal molded pilasters, prismatic vault ribs) with that of the Cordeliers church in Nancy, a foundation of the dukes of Lorraine. Since the Cordeliers church, according to tradition, was considered to have been built between 1480 and 1487, Dedenon concludes that the reconstruction of Flavigny was the work of Barthélemy de Lucy. Pertinent texts were included in Michel Hérold, "Les Vitraux disparus de l'Église des Cordeliers à Nancy," *Bulletin monumental* 142-II (1984) pp. 159–172. Sylvain Bertoldi, "L'Église des Cordeliers de Nancy: un monument du XV^e ou du XVI^e siècle?" *Lotharingia* (1990) II, pp. 271–285, on the basis of a thorough stylistic analysis, supported by archival documents, has shown that the Cordeliers church dates in large part from 1520–25 and that Flavigny must be dated later.

5. Two plans of the priory are known, one dated "vers 1760," the other undated but entitled "Préventorium . . .," thus dating it after the nuns had left. Both are so imprecise concerning the church that they are not as useful for locating and numbering the windows as a rough sketch plan in Nancy (Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Abel, carton 152), dated in the 1880s, which we have used here.

6. Edmond des Robert, "Trois vitraux du prieuré de Flavigny-sur-Moselle," *Bulletin mensuel de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* (August–September 1907) pp. 213–214, cited by Léon Germain de Maily, "Sur les anciens vitraux de Flavigny," *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* (1927) p. 58. Two of the windows (nos. 3, 5) are also illustrated in Dedenon, *Histoire du prieuré*.

7. They were bought from Jacques Seligmann, the same dealer who sold the Crucifixion window to Thomas Fortune Ryan of New York in 1913. For the stained glass in this series now in the United States, see Madeline H. Caviness et al., *Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections: New England and New York* (Corpus Vitrearum Checklist I), Studies in the History of Art, Monograph Series I, vol. 15 (Washington, D.C., 1985) pp. 154–156; *idem*, *Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections: Midwestern and Western States* (Corpus Vitrearum Checklist III), Studies in the History of Art, Monograph Series I, vol. 28 (Washington, D.C., 1989). See also "Vitraux déplacés," in *Le Vitrail en Lorraine* (Nancy, 1983) p. 401.

8. Michel Hérold, "Valentin Bousch, l'un 'Des Peintres sur verre qui se distinguèrent au seizième siècle,'" *Revue de l'art* 103 (1994) pp. 53–67.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 53 and nn. 1–3.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 54 and n. 15.

11. Choux, "Valentin Bousch," pp. 157–170.

12. Michel Hérold and Françoise Gatouillat, *Les Vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace*, C.V. Recensement des vitraux anciens de la

France (1994); Michel Hérold, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port*, C.V. France VIII/1 (Paris, 1993).

13. Choux, "Valentin Bousch," pp. 158–161.

14. Hérold, "Valentin Bousch, l'un 'Des Peintres,'" p. 58.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

17. He was given the office of cathedral glazier in 1518 (*ibid.*, p. 59).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

20. MMA, Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, acc. nos. 17.40.6, 5; Savigny, gules three lions rampant or; Craincourt, argent two lions passant gardant gules, crowned or.

21. Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Abel, cartons 73, f. 4, and 152. The drawing (Figure 5) shows a decorative console under the heraldic medallions. In the absence of material evidence, we have numbered the panels according to the existing dispersed pieces (Figure 26): thus Savigny would be lancet b, panel 1, and Craincourt lancet c, panel 1.

22. See de Maily, "Sur les anciens vitraux," p. 77: Toulon, azure a cross argent coupé in chief by a label or.

23. For the relationship with the Cordeliers church in Nancy, see note 4 above.

24. "Two Evangelists," MMA, acc. no. 17.40.3,4. See also Caviness, C.V. Checklist I, p. 155. These two pieces, originally in the form of elongated lobes, were cut down at an unknown date to form two circular medallions.

25. Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Abel, carton 73, f. 21.

26. Although we were able to make a thorough visual study of the Flavigny windows now in the United States, thanks to the collaboration of our American colleagues, this essay is mainly concerned with the stained-glass window in Canada. I shall refer to relevant features of the other windows only when they are pertinent, as they will later be treated in greater depth by the American Corpus Vitrearum project.

27. A diagram of the original leading structure has been drawn up, based on rubbings of the glass and on close observation, and forms the basis for a study of the glass cutting at Flavigny by James Bugslag (see following article). The few instances of restoration that we have observed will be reported in detail in the final publication of the Canadian Corpus Vitrearum.

28. Hérold, *Les Vitraux*, pp. 57 and 63.

29. When he died in 1541, Bousch's will showed that he owned drawings or prints by Dürer ("pourtraictures d'Albert") and a few Italian paintings. See Hérold, "Valentin Bousch," p. 65.

30. See Robert A. Koch, *Hans Baldung Grien—Eve, le serpent et la pomme*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Canada (Ottawa, 1974); A. Kent Hieatt, "Eve as reason in a tradition of allegorical interpretation of the Fall," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980) pp. 221–226.

31. See, for instance, Baldung's *Virgin with Grapes* (dated 1534), Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, in Hans Körner, "Hans Baldung Muttergottes mit der Weintraube," *Pantheon* 46 (1988) pp. 50–60; or his *Three Graces* (dated 1541–44), in the Prado, in James H. Marrow and Alan Shestack, *Hans Baldung Grien—Prints and Drawings*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery (New Haven, 1981) figs. 32, 33.

32. On closer observation, the glass does not appear to be of the same quality as its surroundings, being very smooth and of a slightly different tone; moreover, the drawing seems crisper than in the rest of the window and sprinkled with a "bloom," which imitates corrosion. A couple of pieces in the painted arches crowning the lancets could also be instances of restoration. The drawing of this head of Eve is of remarkable quality, but its authenticity is doubtful until it undergoes further analysis, in particular the checking of edges of the glass.

33. Herbert Rode attributes this stained glass to one or more workshops working in the circle of the Master of the "Heilige Sippe" and of the Master of Saint Séverin, both of whom had connections with Flanders. See H. Rode, *Die mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien des Kölner Domes*, C.V. R.F.A. IV/I (Berlin, 1974); see esp. the face of Saint Sebastian, Window n XXII 3 c, pl. 221.

34. There is an interesting comparison to be made between this group and a sculpture of the same subject, Saint John Supporting the Virgin, in the Entombment in the Church of Pont-à-Mousson (Meurthe-et-Moselle).

35. Some examples from 15th-century Italy come to mind: Masaccio's fresco in Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence (1425), Ghiberti's Doors of Paradise, also in Florence (1428–52), or Giovanni di Paolo's predella (ca. 1445) in the Robert Lehman Collection of the MMA. For an iconographic study of the Creation, see Barbara Bronder, "Das Bild der Schöpfung und Neuschöpfung der Welt als orbis quadratus," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 6 (1972) pp. 188–210.

36. See also Choux, "Valentin Bousch," p. 166 and nn. 24, 25.

37. See Horst Kunze, *Geschichte der Buchillustration in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1975) esp. pp. 314–318 and ill. pp. 226–232.

38. Earlier Italian examples of this can be found, particularly in the late-12th- and early-13th-century mosaics in the Palatine chapel, Palermo, and in Monreale Cathedral, or in San Marco in Venice, but in these representations Christ introduces each scene of the

Creation as the Creator; this is especially evident in the scene of the Expulsion from Paradise in San Marco, where He pushes Adam and Eve out of the gate. On the Pauline tradition of "Christ logos" in representations of the Creation, see Hans Martin von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis* (Munich, 1989) I, pp. 45–46.

39. De Maily, "Sur les anciens vitraux," pp. 74–75.

40. Hérold, *Les Vitraux*, p. 135.

41. De Maily ("Sur les anciens vitraux," p. 59) thinks that they are authors, perhaps Benedictine monks, engaged in the study of biblical literature: "il s'agit d'écrivains quelconques, peut-être des moines bénédictins, appliqués à l'étude de la littérature biblique."

42. "Enfin dans les lobes deux personnages de dimensions disproportionnées à l'espace qu'ils occupent paraissent assis dans la posture d'hommes qui écrivent sur des tablettes qu'ils ont devant eux. . . . Nous supposons qu'ils représentent Moïse et Elie qui ont figuré à côté du Seigneur dans le mystère de la Transfiguration." Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Abel, carton 73, f. 21.

43. De Maily, "Sur les anciens vitraux," p. 76 (author's translation).

44. Georges Viard, "La Renaissance, l'Humanisme et les débuts de la Réforme—1450–1550," in René Taveneaux, *La Vie religieuse*, Encyclopédie Illustrée de la Lorraine (Nancy, 1988) p. 105 (author's translation).

45. A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondence des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française* I: 1512–26, II: 1527–32 (Geneva/Paris, 1866–72; repr., 1965).

46. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 153–154, letter no. 247 (Sept. 3, 1528).

47. Particularly Bernard Roussel, cited by Viard, "La Renaissance," p. 104.

48. On the theme "Eve–Mary," see von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis* I, pp. 211–216.