

Valentin Bousch's Artistic Practice in the Stained Glass of Flavigny-sur-Moselle

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THE REMAINING GLASS from the priory church at Flavigny-sur-Moselle forms the crowning achievement of Valentin Bousch, a renowned Renaissance artist. That his surviving oeuvre comprises works solely in the medium of stained glass is indicative of both the high valuation still placed on that medium during the first half of the sixteenth century and Bousch's consummate technical command of glazing practice. His earlier work at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port has recently benefited from the fundamental research of Michel Hérold,¹ who has also compiled the fullest biography of the artist.² Bousch's work at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne in Metz has been studied as well,³ but the stained glass of Flavigny-sur-Moselle has yet to receive comparable attention.⁴ Part of the reason is undoubtedly that it is not only displaced but also divided among various North American collections. The combined attention of several national committees of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi (CVMA), however, together with the generous cooperation of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a private collector in British Columbia, and the Church of Saint Joseph in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, is creating new possibilities for the study of the Flavigny glass.⁵ What is beginning to emerge is the profile of an exceptional artist whose work develops from the late Gothic environment of Germanic art characteristic of the Strasbourg region toward the new canons of artistic value inspired by Italy and usually subsumed under the Renaissance umbrella.⁶ The purpose of this essay is to contribute to a fuller understanding of Valentin Bousch by investigating aspects of the artistic practice of his workshop at Flavigny-sur-Moselle and, in comparing them with his earlier work, to give an indication of his growth as an artist. Bousch must be considered not simply as a

glazier but as an artist whose works played a substantial role in redefining the artistic values of his time.

The starting point of this research was a close examination of the Flavigny Creation window (Figure 1) by the Canadian Committee of the Corpus Vitrearum, of which I am a member. Among other things, this study established the current leading network of the window, which was later used to attempt a re-creation of the original leading network. Subsequently, the Flood and Moses windows (Figures 21, 22) and the two prophet medallions in the Metropolitan Museum (Figures 24, 25) were studied at close range on a scaffold.⁷ This analysis has helped to highlight some remarkable glass cutting and painting, as well as some related aspects of Valentin Bousch's working methods. These make clear that Bousch exhibited a virtuoso command of technique, bringing him into clearer focus as an artistic personality and allowing closer insight into the demands of a Renaissance glazier's workshop.

Much of the following analysis focuses on glass cutting, although we do not know how the Bousch workshop cut its glass. Most glass cutting before the Renaissance was done with a hot iron, which was run over the cut line; then the glass was doused in water, in order to crack it along that line. The edge would then be refined with a grozing iron. At a later time, a faceted diamond began to be used for glass cutting, and little effort has yet been directed toward investigating exactly when this change took place. Writers are usually content to cite Jean-Jacques Gruber's statement that diamond cutting was in use by the mid-sixteenth century, but it is mentioned as early as the second half of the fourteenth century in the treatise of Antonio da Pisa.⁸ The earliest documentary evidence for a diamond glass cutter, however, dates from 1635, in the inventory of the deceased Parisian glazier Nicolas Chamus.⁹ Evidence for earlier usage must necessarily come from the examination of the glass itself in its unleaded state, and so far there is little evidence that such analysis has been carried out, or at least published.¹⁰

In the fifteenth century, window glass was becoming thinner and being produced in larger and larger

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Figures 1–26 referred to here are illustrated in the article by Ariane Isler-de Jongh, which begins on page 153 of this *Journal*.

The notes for this article begin on page 180.

pieces, as well. It may also be significant that, according to Guy-Michel Leproux, white glass is harder than colored glass,¹¹ because throughout the fifteenth century French stained glass is characterized by large areas of white glass, which is used extensively—for canopies, figures, and garments—and is cut in regular rectilinear pieces.¹² It was increasingly expected of a glazier, however, that he be capable of more difficult cutting. As Leproux writes, candidates for membership in the Paris glaziers' guild (formed in 1467) were required to submit a small panel of stained glass as a "masterpiece" and were also required to make some delicate cuts of glass in the workshop of one of the jurors.¹³

The extent of such guild practice is difficult to determine, but it is certain that Valentin Bousch knew how to make extremely difficult cuts, as he himself made—or directed someone in his workshop to make—some remarkable cuts in the Flavigny windows. These are seldom obvious, however, since they nearly always served a pictorial end, rather than advertising themselves as overt displays of craft skill. One of the most obvious instances is in the roundel of the prophet Isaiah, formerly one of the tracery compartments above the Creation window and now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 25). The blue sky piece in front of Isaiah's face has been delicately cut to create an extremely narrow indentation to fit the prophet's yellow pen. This indentation must have presented difficulties comparable to jewelery (*coupure en chef d'oeuvre*), yet it is used here not to evoke a rich sense of materiality but to contribute toward a concentrated image of the prophet writing, perhaps following a model from another medium (models will be discussed below). Cuts of this degree of difficulty, one may speculate, were subject to frequent breakage, necessitating repeated attempts and thus increasing the costs of both labor and materials. Such cuts also weaken pieces of glass considerably, and they are often difficult to identify now because of subsequent breaks that have been repaired by mending leads. In the central lancet of the Creation window, for instance, in the lower torso of Eve (Figure 11), the two small leads to either side of her fig leaf are mending leads, masking the fact that an extraordinary indentation was required in this large piece of glass. Originally, this would have left, particularly at the right, a very narrow isthmus in the glass; it is understandable that the piece subsequently cracked there. And in the panel near the top of the same lancet, the cutting around God the Father presents many difficult cuts (Figure 6): I believe that the two yellow areas flanking His head originally constituted single pieces, as well as His crown, which now contains only one obvious mending lead, and the

orphreys of His cope, in which the right-hand and bottom edges were also made in a single piece.

Such virtuoso cutting would have been noticed by a knowledgeable observer in the 1530s—and recognized as an expensive procedure. Besides breakage and labor costs, as mentioned above, the more deep cuts into a piece of glass, particularly on a large piece, the more waste there would have been. Cost is certainly likely to have been a factor here, for the donor, Wary de Lucy, paid for the glazing of not one but seven windows—a large and undoubtedly expensive commission by any standard. And if my analysis of Bousch's approach to the project is correct, it would appear that the donor wanted to spare no expense.

It was not, however, just to create a lavish product that Bousch made use of his virtuoso glass cutting at Flavigny. He used glass cutting in combination with his painting practice with the intention of creating painterly effects that sometimes flew in the face of established glazing practice. Such "obvious" glazing practices as jewelery were completely avoided at Flavigny, as was engraving.¹⁴ Bousch consistently approached his Flavigny works with the sensibility of a painter rather than a glazier, and it is surely significant that documented references to him characterize him as a painter.¹⁵

One of Bousch's major concerns at Flavigny was to minimize the intrusive effect of lead lines, and he accomplished this by a number of means. Glass cutting played a very active role in defining the character of Renaissance stained glass. There had been a tendency during the fifteenth century for glass to be cut in large geometric shapes that, particularly in canopies, created a leading network with a paneled effect, in which the leads are relatively unrelated to the contours depicted in the glass. Bousch was certainly aware of this practice, for it is strongly exemplified in his earlier Window 210 in the south transept of Metz Cathedral, dating from 1528.¹⁶ In general, such a paneled effect was superseded only gradually in the sixteenth century, but its complete abandonment at Flavigny can be seen as a sharp change in Bousch's workshop practice; in fact, it is one of many changes in artistic practice noticeable in the Flavigny glass, a topic to which I shall return shortly. Even though many large pieces of glass were used at Flavigny, the lead lines follow contours in the imagery much more scrupulously, which resulted in many more irregular cuts. A paneled effect was still being created by some glaziers at this time, but it is nowhere to be found in the Flavigny Creation window.¹⁷

Not only did Bousch attempt to limit the positioning of his lead lines to major contours, but this aspect of his approach to the placement of leads also meshes

effectively with his painting style. As Jean-Jacques Gruber so nicely put it, grisaille in Bousch's hands takes on the character of a pigment.¹⁸ He built up grisaille on his glass not in flat, uniform densities but with a fluidity of tone that may have depended on new binding agents in his grisaille mixture: gum arabic and even, it would appear, oil were utilized by this time, rather than the traditional wine, urine, or vinegar.¹⁹ Bousch probably also used combinations of iron- and copper-based grisaille, an increasingly common procedure at this time.²⁰ In any case, he often deployed his painting materials in combinations to create a remarkable variety of tones and textures. Thus, in the Flood window (Figures 21, 27) the ark exhibits a wide range of brown and yellow tones, as does the helmet of the right-hand foreground figure, even though both were painted on white glass. In oil painting, armor had long featured the effects of light on highly reflective metal surfaces; that had not been the case in stained glass, however, and no glass painter better captured the effect than Valentin Bousch has here.

As well as making use of a variety of painting materials, Bousch also used a variety of brushes to apply his grisaille and a variety of stick work to remove it. Application and removal are often combined in Bousch's heads to create a painterly effect that is unsurpassed in the medium of stained glass (see Figure 12). In this respect, the Flavigny glass, as in so many other aspects, can be seen as the culmination of Bousch's development. The parallel hatchings that enlivened the shadows in many of his earlier works at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port are gone now. Although hatching was a widely disseminated practice among glass painters, at Flavigny Bousch was capable of producing a tremendously nuanced range of shadows, from light to deep, by means of continuously graded washes. The darkest shadows, at a distance, are indistinguishable from lead lines, and the two are often found together. The effect is particularly noticeable in Christ's draperies in the left light of the Creation window (Figure 1). Even in a relatively close view, the dark shadows of Christ's purple robe, just above his red mantle, are so disposed that the lead line that follows the border between the two colors is almost completely invisible. The same is true of the dark clouds at the top of the Flood window. Elsewhere, lead lines follow contours where they are often indistinguishable from thick lines nearby painted in grisaille. In the Flood window, the ark and its rigging contain many such cleverly concealed lead lines. Cut lines, it would appear, were always placed so as to optimize pictorial values.

Bousch's attempt to limit cuts and lead lines to major contours was subject to a number of technical



Figure 27. Detail of foreground nude and ark from Window 3 in Figure 21 (photo: James Bugslag)



Figure 28. Detail of heads from Window 1 in Figure 22 (photo: James Bugslag)

considerations. Obviously, the borders between different colors of glass must be leaded, whether a strong contour is wanted or not. Bousch, however, sought to reduce such difficulties in his initial design work by orchestrating forms in a way that minimized unwanted effects. In the Moses window, for instance (Figure 28), he frequently painted several heads on the same piece of glass, so regularly, in fact, that he may have been trying to subvert the normal expectations of stained glass, in which heads were usually surrounded by a prominent lead line and hence graphically isolated from both body and surroundings. Another strategy can be seen in the Crucifixion window (Figure 23). Following the lead line between the green foliage of the trees at left and the sky above, the blue sky piece has a serrated opaque profile painted along its lower edge, which successfully masks the presence of the adjacent lead line. Similarly, opaque radial rays emanate in both directions from the lead line separating Christ's halo

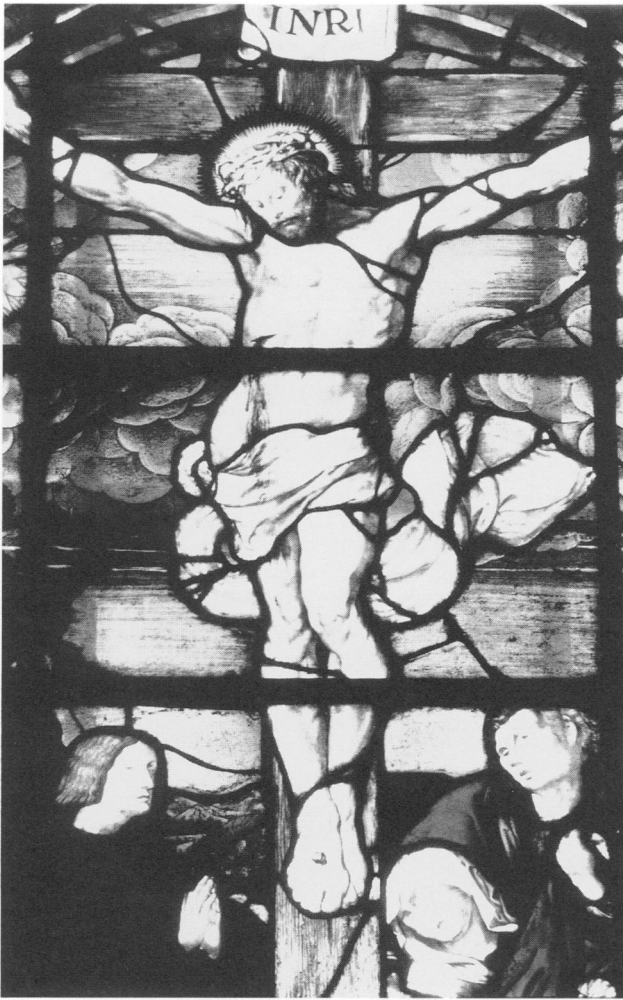


Figure 29. Detail of the figure of Christ from Window 2 in Figure 23 (photo: James Bugslag)



Figure 30. Transfiguration of Christ, 1514–20, window 111 from Church of Saint-Nicolas, Saint-Nicolas-de Port (photo: Michel Hérold)

from the cross and the sky, considerably toning down the presence of the lead line.

Bousch also made use of his varied painting techniques to obviate the necessity for changes in the color of the glass. By applying light, overall grisaille washes, he could approximate the midtone of a color, leaving the unpainted glass to form the highlights and denser washes to create shadows. With the addition of silver stain, he often created the effect of a whole palette on a single color of glass, as in the green “earth” pieces (see Figure 10). There are even passages, particularly in the Flood window (Figure 21), where Bousch appears to have attempted to break through the coloristic limitations of pot-metal glass by painting a single object on two contiguous pieces of differently colored glass. The plant in the central foreground begins on a piece of green glass defining a grassy bank and continues above

on a piece of light blue glass defining the water beyond it; silver stain has been applied to the light blue piece, creating a greenish yellow, in an attempt to harmonize the color of the plant on two differently colored pieces of glass.²¹ The same principle has been used to different effect in the left-hand foreground figure, in which the toes of the right foot are depicted on blue glass to register their immersion in the rising floodwaters.

A related consideration in the limitation of obtrusive cut lines was the size of glass pieces available to Bousch. Some of his pieces are very large indeed;²² these are particularly noticeable in his nude figures, where lead lines would be especially intrusive, as can be seen by the unfortunate number of mending leads that are now so obvious in these figures. In order to minimize size limitations, Bousch has tried once again to use major contours to his advantage. This is perhaps most

notable in the Crucifixion window in the important and highly visible figure of Christ (Figure 29). Although the presence of mending leads makes the original leading network uncertain, it would appear that Christ's whole upper torso was formed from a single huge piece of white glass; the only lead lines interrupting the upper part of Christ's body in this panel may well have been two at the shoulder joints and that following the rather darkly shaded beard. In the panel below, positive advantage has been taken of the lead lines, which separate the white body pieces from the same-colored loincloth. In the Creation window the central figure of Adam (Figure 11) has a lead line following the contour between his chest and forearm, and Eve, above, likewise has a lead line following the underside of her forearms; in both cases, Bousch has differentiated the shading of the adjacent pieces of same-colored glass, which not only contributes to the modeling of the figure but also considerably subdues the presence of the lead line.

Another way that Bousch tried to overcome the limitations even of the fairly large pieces of glass available to him was to make the best of a set of intrusive lines over which he had little control: namely, stone mullions, the iron armatures of his panels, and the horizontal saddle bars that originally cut across each panel. The three narrow lancets of the Creation window are separated by mullions (Figure 1). Within each lancet the rectangular panels measure 30 inches wide by 17½ inches high, or about 76 by 44½ centimeters, and the saddle bars are uniformly central in each panel.²³ The other three surviving windows are wide single lancets requiring two vertical armatures; with the five horizontal armatures, these form an obvious linear grid in front of the pictorial field (Figures 21–23).²⁴ This tendency to avoid lead lines by aligning cuts with such necessary interruptions is still obvious for the limits of the panels, but not for the saddle bars, because all of the original ones have disappeared. The armatures of the Creation window, however, are now provided with modern saddle bars.²⁵

In all the rectangular panels of the Creation window, there is now only one saddle bar, located roughly in the middle of the panel. What leads me to believe that a single saddle bar in each panel was initially anticipated by Bousch is the frequency with which he made use of this inevitable interruption to his overall pictorial effect to place a lead line. A remarkable instance of this practice can still be seen in the central figure of Adam (Figure 11), where an invisible lead, aligned with the saddle bar, separates Adam's head from his torso, whereas his left arm and shoulder form a single piece. And the framing pilaster segments of each side panel

are regularly composed of two rectangular pieces of glass, joined by a horizontal cut in the center, so that the lead aligns with the saddle bar. This practice is also used extensively in the bottom donor panels.

Although the alignment of cut lines with saddle bars appears to have been more or less widespread in the sixteenth century, Bousch's use of it here is distinctive. Where single saddle bars are used elsewhere, the height of the panels is usually much lower than at Flavigny, resulting in many more panel divisions. For panels with proportions comparable to those of Flavigny, it would appear to have been common practice to use two saddle bars for each panel, dividing the panel into thirds. In both arrangements, there were usually more horizontal divisions in the window than is seen here. Bousch was able to reduce the intrusive effects of his combined panel divisions and saddle bars to a minimum, and thus his practice of aligning lead lines with a saddle bar does more than simply allow the use of much smaller pieces of glass: the effects are eminently pictorial.

Although no other windows have retained saddle bars, I believe that Bousch originally made allowance for central saddle bars in all of them.²⁶ This is most obvious in the Flood window (Figure 21). In its present state, the horizontal lead line in the sail of the ark is highly visible, whereas the one through the body of the ark is less so because of its darker color; but in both cases these cuts appear designed to be aligned with a saddle bar. Even more remarkable in this respect is the monumental nude figure seen at the left. Although the compositions of all three of the single broad lancets from Flavigny ignore the iron armatures that divide them into separate panels (other than to avoid interruptions of major pictorial elements), the positioning of the nude figure seems purposefully engineered to further de-emphasize this obtrusive linear grid. The upper body is conspicuously located on four adjacent panels, and there are parts of this figure in six different panels: thus the figure competes for visual prominence with several armatures, and the powerful conceptual unity of the human body deflects perceptual attention from the regular geometric lines that interrupt it. The figure is also strategically placed to obviate the intrusive use of leads. Horizontal lead lines cut through its waist and right calf, in both cases almost in the center of either panel, where they would have been hidden by the saddle bars. Remarkable as it may seem, with the saddle bars in place, and taking account of its division into panels, there may originally have been no other leads interrupting the entire huge figure.

The lead lines beneath the saddle bars are obviously the result of straight cuts, which elsewhere at Flavigny

are largely limited to the vertical pilasters at the sides of the windows and ground strips at the bottom of each scene. Apart from these instances, Bousch has deliberately avoided straight cuts, except where a straight contour is to be depicted. This is particularly noticeable in the arches at the tops of the lancets in the Creation window (Figure 1). These broad expanses of fictive masonry, all making use of the same color of glass, are larger than could be accommodated by a single piece of glass, and there was no way that Bousch could hide the inevitable lead lines, or adapt them to contours. So he used uneven, slightly wavy cut lines in these sections, which makes it almost impossible, without examining the unleaded pieces, to determine which leads are original and which are mending leads. Bousch may even have meant these lead lines to resemble mending leads (an eye practiced in looking at stained glass would naturally tend not to consider them as part of the intended visual effect). Even today, with so many intrusive mending leads intervening, we can still see the tremendous beauty and pictorial sophistication of the Flavigny windows.²⁷ It is reasonable to assume that Bousch's artistry would have been both recognized and valued at the time, for Giorgio Vasari, writing later in the sixteenth century, singles out these same considerations when he admires the work of one of Bousch's most distinguished contemporaries, Guillaume de Marcillat, who "worked out the cartoons for his stained glass with such care . . . that he succeeded in disposing the leading network and the armatures, in combination with the figures and draperies, in a way that they were not noticed."²⁸

The execution of this stained glass presents such a carefully worked-out coordination of pictorial forms, leading, painting techniques, and division into panels with their saddle bars, that Bousch, in designing the windows, probably made use of a design of a type commonly surviving from this period, in which the composition is adapted to mullion and panel divisions.²⁹ Such a drawing would have been necessary in order to adapt Bousch's pictorial intentions to the technical limitations of interruptive elements, such as mullions, panel edges, saddle bars, and lead lines. These considerations, in turn, would have been formalized and refined in the subsequent cartoons made from them, as the Vasari quote suggests. There are very few passages in the Flavigny windows in which pictorial forms clash at all with these elements. In the right lancet of the Creation window, however, a saddle bar now cuts right across Adam's face and the top of Eve's head (Figure 7). This apparent awkwardness may have been due to the compositional difficulty of fitting three heads into a single panel. Such instances are noticeably absent

elsewhere in the Flavigny glass, and it is doubtful that Bousch would have condoned the present saddle bar. In all likelihood, to avoid pictorial interruptions, the saddle bar was originally shaped around the heads.³⁰ Shaped saddle bars were widely used at the time, and some glaziers used them so extensively that it can be considered a limitation of their compositional abilities. The minimal necessity of their use at Flavigny is yet another testimony to the remarkable talents of Valentin Bousch and makes the careful working out of the overall arrangements in preliminary drawings even more likely.

The coordination that such a design drawing can provide would have been doubly important to Bousch because of his approach to composition. One need only recall the changes that Michel Hérold has traced in Bousch's career—from a basically fifteenth-century idiom to one of the new Renaissance, or even Mannerism—to see that Bousch was a well-informed and up-to-date artist. He made use of models, which included not only other stained glass but also prints, drawings, paintings, certainly architecture, and perhaps even sculpture. It is worthwhile to consider that Bousch was also a painter of panels in oil-based paint, as well as a glass painter, and that his knowledge of Hans Baldung Grien's oeuvre gave him the example of an artist who, while not a glazier himself, was a painter, printmaker and designer of stained glass.³¹ Beyond specific iconographic models, Bousch relied for many formal elements of his work on compositional models from other media and contexts. Such compositional elements and pictorial effects from other media have been harmoniously combined in the Flavigny windows by means of Bousch's considerable technical abilities.

The inspiration of prints and drawings in the composition of stained glass has recently been brilliantly demonstrated by Hartmut Scholz.³² Although he focused on artistic practice in the city of Nuremberg, his study provides a compelling methodological model for further research in other regions. Much work remains to be undertaken in Europe as a whole, but considerable research has begun for Lorraine, where the inspiration of prints has been noted in stained glass dating to as early as the 1450s.³³ However, the copying process was never straightforward. Even in a relatively literal case, the stained-glass designer often had to adapt models from other media to a pictorial field of substantially different shape, scale, and proportions. Moreover, the graphic effects of the print medium are not directly translatable into stained glass. Besides the addition of color, techniques such as stippling and cross-hatching cannot simply be blown up to a huge scale, and the necessary presence of lead lines joining relatively small



Figure 31. Hans Baldung Grien. *Lamentation*, 1512. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (Photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

Figure 32. Anonymous Italian (Padua). *Hercules and the Giants*. Engraving, late 15th century (photo: © The British Museum)



pieces of glass both affects the graphic definition of the work and obviates large areas of plain background.

Bousch's earliest productions give evidence of a fairly broad knowledge of other works, especially paintings and prints. Hérold has mentioned many reflections of prints in Bousch's glazing campaign at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port between 1514 and 1520, which is the earliest known period of his work. Most characteristic, perhaps, is the Transfiguration in Window 111 (Figure 30), in which the figures of Saint Peter and Saint John are seemingly drawn from two different woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer, and the foliage above Saint John may have been inspired by yet another woodcut,³⁴ but rather than copy a composition verbatim, Bousch has used his knowledge of Dürer's prints to build up an image of his own and adapted it to the requirements of a particular glazing project. In Hérold's words, he has "assimilated" the language of prints rather than merely copying them³⁵ (prints were easily disseminated, and their use by artists was ubiquitous by this time). Besides Bousch's familiarity with the works of Hans Baldung Grien, Hérold has signaled telling similarities between Bousch's 1524 Annunciation in Window 3 of Metz Cathedral and Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece of about 1512–16.³⁶ Once again, this is not a literal copy, and elements have been freely transposed. A relationship with Grünewald may also be surmised for Bousch's distinctive head of Saint Mary Magdalen in

Window 16 of Metz Cathedral (1526–27).³⁷ He may also have known the work of Lucas Cranach the Elder. In the destroyed axial window at Varangéville and in Window 219 at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, Bousch depicts an off-center Crucifixion featuring an obliquely set cross. Although Dürer also makes use of this rare oblique setting, as in his Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Altarpiece made for the chapel of Wittenberg Castle in 1496, Bousch's Varangéville Crucifixion also includes a tree very much like those in Cranach's 1503 Crucifixion, now in Munich.³⁸ The creativity with which Bousch used visual models may open specific attributions to question, but on balance, it cannot be doubted that he had a wide knowledge of a variety of media.

As is understandable, given Bousch's probable Strasbourg origins, his earlier output relates strongly to Rhenish and German works. This is not true, however, at Flavigny, where Germanic sources are overshadowed by Neoclassical Italianate elements, which were not entirely new to Bousch's oeuvre. In his architectural framing components at both Saint-Nicolas-de-Port and Metz Cathedral, for instance, classical detailing had already begun to replace foliated and/or Gothic elements.³⁹ At Flavigny the balance tips dramatically toward substantially new sources. This is most evident in the Flood window, with its monumental foreground nude and inverted composition. Yet Bousch did not abandon his earlier inspirations, and

the designs for these windows must be considered a novel combination of older and newer sources.

However much we can see continuities in his models, Bousch seems to have been making a conscious effort to create something new. The novelties in this project are as telling as the discarded previous practices (his abandonment of hatching and new approaches to leading have already been dealt with above). The damask patterns, which formed such a prominent impression in Bousch's earlier work, are considerably toned down at Flavigny. They form no part in his narrative scenes and are apparent only as backgrounds of the prophet figures below each scene and of the decorative consoles at the bottom of each window.⁴⁰ Gothic and foliate elements in his frames are also conspicuous by their absence here.

Even where his earlier, largely Germanic compositional sources are still apparent, Bousch appears to be using them in a new way. This is particularly clear in the Creation window (Figure 1). The close iconographic similarities between the printed Creation scene from the Lübeck Bible of 1494 (Figure 20) and the Flavigny window have been noted elsewhere.⁴¹ Bousch no longer simply copies the print, but he selectively takes some of its parts and combines them with other pictorial elements. Baldung Grien may have acted as an intermediary here, for in his rather sketchy, small woodcut of *Created Man Still with God* from Ulrich Pinder's *Der beschlossene gart des rosenkrantz marie* published in Nuremberg in 1505, there is a similar suggestion of a circular form for the created world.⁴²

Baldung Grien's print does not present a very close formal correspondence with the Creation window, certainly not so close as the Lübeck Bible, but the effect of heavenly figures appearing amid thick clouds is included in the window. Indeed, using rays of light that stream out from around the three persons of the Trinity and that completely replace halos is a graphic effect that Bousch has transferred from prints to stained glass (Figure 6). Such auras of light can also be found in Dürer's prints, and it is known that Bousch owned prints or drawings by Dürer.⁴³ To this graphic *Versatzstück*, however, Bousch has added a strongly contrasting coloristic element. He had used such clouds before to surround Moses and Elijah in the Transfiguration window (Figure 30) at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port (1514–20) and in the Crucifixion window at Varangéville (1518), but in neither case did the clouds have such a painterly sense of monumental plasticity and at Flavigny we may be seeing the influence of panel painting. Certainly, this is an effect that Baldung Grien used occasionally in his panels, such as in his *Lamentation* of 1512 (Figure 31).⁴⁴ Although he has not included

radiating rays of light, the powerful juxtaposition of the dark, sculptural clouds and the more diaphanous gold ground creates similarly strong and dramatic contours between the two zones, contours that are strengthened by lead lines in Bousch's window.

Baldung Grien's *Lamentation* also includes a dove that is very close to the one in the Creation window; however, such doves can be seen not just in Baldung Grien's work but also in Dürer's and later in Nuremberg stained glass as well.⁴⁵ In Baldung Grien's Saint John Altarpiece of about 1520⁴⁶ there is not only a dove but cherubs formed of winged heads, which also appear in Bousch's window. There is perhaps a little more indication of recessive landscape background here than in Baldung Grien's *Lamentation*, but in both, the clouds and golden aura within largely close off the background, focusing the composition on figures near the picture plane, just as in Bousch's window. It can be said that in Baldung Grien's panels and in Bousch's Creation window, "the closeness of plastic form to the picture plane imparts a [strong] emotionalism of movement and color."⁴⁷ In contrast to the sense of three-dimensional pictorial space evident in the surrounding architecture of the Creation window, there is remarkably little deep space around the figures. This contrasts with the Flood window (Figure 21).

Valentin Bousch was very familiar with prints, especially with those of Baldung Grien, and this gives us an indication of Bousch's approach to composition. As a designer, Bousch's approach may have paralleled that of Baldung. Previous to his arrival in Strasbourg in about 1505, Baldung Grien had served his apprenticeship under Dürer in Nuremberg, where he had also designed stained glass for the Veit Hirschvogel workshop, whose work Bousch would have known from its *Adoration of the Magi* at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port.⁴⁸ Hartmut Scholz has recently shown how thoroughly designers working for that workshop amalgamated design elements from other windows, from previously existing cartoons, and from prints, often readapting figures for different iconographic purposes and combining diverse elements into a new cohesiveness.⁴⁹ Valentin Bousch worked in similar ways, as can be noted in the central figure of Eve (Figures 1, 9, 11) in the Creation window. As Eve rises from Adam's side, she looks up into the heavens and folds her arms across her breast. Such a pose and gesture are distinctive, but very few other examples exist in images of the Creation of Eve.⁵⁰ The pose is more common in other iconographic contexts at this time, particularly in portrayals of the Virgin, where the gesture indicates her humble acceptance of God's will—it is used in scenes of the Coronation of the Virgin, the Assumption,

the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, and even the Lamentation (Figure 31). In the context of a highly naturalistic nude Eve, already provided with her fig leaf, the gesture suggests a curious ambivalence between modesty and eroticism rather than humility.⁵¹ This figure, the central focus of the Creation window, has been adapted from very different iconographic circumstances.

The figure of Adam, too, may have evolved similarly. It is certainly typical to show him asleep while Eve emerges from his side, but here his particular pose, with knees drawn up exposing the contours of his haunches, while his torso twists into a more frontal attitude, is distinctive. This Adam, as well as the general composition of the whole central group, quite strongly reflects the figures of Christ and the Virgin in Baldung Grien's Berlin *Lamentation* panel (Figure 31). This is not surprising, considering the connections already surmised between Bousch and Baldung Grien, but what is surprising are the convincing, more distinctly Mannerist comparisons that can also be made with this figure. It is strangely paralleled, for instance, in a work such as Rosso Fiorentino's later *Pietà* panel.⁵² Through the wide dissemination of prints among glaziers by this time, it would not be out of the question for a glass painter working in Metz, as was Valentin Bousch, to be familiar with the works of Rosso or even of Raphael.⁵³ Adam's pose, in fact, can be found quite commonly in the school of Fontainebleau.⁵⁴ This is certainly not the only Mannerist resemblance in the Flavigny glass, and it is entirely characteristic that we cannot too hastily decide between the influence of Baldung Grien and more directly Italianate sources. In general, the Mannerist cast of the Flavigny glass cannot be doubted. But Bousch has to a great extent anticipated, rather than been inspired by, the school of Fontainebleau.

Mannerist influence must have been reaching Bousch from elsewhere, and Antwerp presents one strong possibility. That was certainly the case with sculpture being produced in Lorraine at that time. However, the wide dissemination of prints makes geographical influences difficult to pinpoint. Bousch's use of Mannerist elements is entirely in harmony with his approach to the design of the Flavigny windows: large figures, close to the picture plane, not at all frontal or static, but turning freely in space and often displaying a torsioned pose or an exquisitely "mannered" gesture, and his dramatic use of the nude figure.

As has been said above, Mannerism is most apparent in the Flood window (Figure 21). The idea of embedding the main subject in the middle distance and flanking it by large foreground figures is essentially a

new one. This sort of inverted composition was being pioneered among the group of artists known as the Antwerp Mannerists. That one of the foreground figures is a gigantic nude is nothing less than astounding in a church window. Bousch had done nudes before, for instance, in his Saint Sebastian at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port,⁵⁵ but always with a decorous loincloth and with a clear iconographic rationale. Here, this remarkable nude announces the window, and perhaps the series, as Art, independent of the religious significance of the program. This daring overall composition is part of a synthetic narrative in which two moments are combined. The foreground shows the rising floodwaters, with the ark already afloat in the middle distance and torrents of rain bursting from looming storm clouds. Yet a dove is being launched from a hatch in the roof of the ark. Where these distinct elements of Bousch's composition came from is a larger question than can be dealt with here, but it is apparent that this design results from a combination of the new and the old.

The crouching figure in the right foreground is indicative of this mixture of sources. Although the figure is suitably torsioned to give a Mannerist effect, it is hard to find equivalents for such a crouching pose among the Antwerp Mannerists, or at Fontainebleau, or in Italian Mannerist works. The pose is closer (to use an extreme example) to Erasmus Grasser's *Morris Dancers* of 1480; comparable poses can often be seen in northern prints, and while Bousch was perhaps drawing on different aspects of his former stock of models, he was not entirely dependent here on new ones. The fanciful classical armor worn by the figure, however, is something new and depended on models that Bousch had not previously used.⁵⁶ We can compare it with the rather more conventional armor of his several Saint Georges at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port.⁵⁷ All of Bousch's helmets and armor in the Flavigny glass are similarly fantastic, and along with such exotic costumes as that of Saint Barbara from the Church of Sainte-Barbe, their sources point strongly to Antwerp.⁵⁸

The Antwerp Mannerists were redefining the use of the nude, and though Bousch's lithe and nimble nude foreground figure in the Flood window has little in common with Jan Gossaert's chunky specimens, he was perhaps also inspired by Antwerp artists. Yet, we know from his will that he possessed Italian prints and/or drawings, and Italy was the source for the most accomplished and artistically interesting nudes made at this time, a fact that was undoubtedly known to Bousch. In the large nude of the Flood window the distended, almost anamorphic distortion of the shoulder is initially perplexing, but it has tremendous diagnostic potential (Figure 27): Bousch seems far more confi-

dent in his use of strictly artistic models than in his understanding of human anatomy, since comparable distortions can be observed in contemporary prints. A close example can be seen in an anonymous late-fifteenth-century Paduan engraving, *Hercules and the Giants* (Figure 32).⁵⁹ The distended shoulder of the left foreground figure is combined with a comparably misunderstood collarbone, which curves back on itself in the form of a somewhat elastic tubular shape, just as in Bousch's nude in the Flood window (a similar collarbone can be seen in the figure of Adam in the Creation window). This lack of understanding of the human body is not surprising, given Bousch's training and early practice and his liminal place in the artistic developments of his time. Although northern artists such as Dürer were drawing from the nude figure, albeit with some hesitancy, it would appear that the practice was not yet general, and the lack of sophistication in depicting the human body is all the more surprising here, considering Bousch's prominent use of it.

The novelty of placing nude figures in the foreground, as in the Flood window, where it serves no central iconographic function, would certainly have been noticed by contemporary audiences, and must reflect a distinctive choice on the part of the patron. Some viewers might have questioned the decorum of a graphically depicted nude figure looming over the monks' stalls, but it must have had the support, and undoubtedly the encouragement, of Bousch's patron. Whatever motivations Wary de Lucy might have had in selecting or authorizing the program in general and the iconographic treatment of the individual subjects, it would seem that he was also interested in making apparent his cultural allegiances as a patron. That he would have sanctioned such anatomical naïveté from his chosen artist, however, points to a shared distance in their enthusiasms for the new art from its sources, and once again highlights the tremendous novelty of Bousch's artistic accomplishments in his designs for the Flavigny glass.

What is perplexing here, given the almost emblematic novelty of the Flood window, is that it is not matched in the windows around it. The Crucifixion (Figure 23) is altogether more conventional, and while parallels for the composition of the Moses window (Figure 22) are not easy to find, it offers no hint of the compositional daring of the Flood. The centralized figure of Moses is hemmed in by crowds of Israelites in a curiously static, even iconic, arrangement. Despite the exotic touch offered by the fanciful classical helmets of the two large flanking figures, the lack of movement,

of foreground depth, and of narrative is striking. Perhaps Bousch was stumped for models. Old Testament imagery was not as common in sixteenth-century stained glass as hagiographic or New Testament subject matter. Certainly, the unusually young Moses, with his close-cropped beard and horns, stands out from the iconographic norm and is unlike other, more standard Moses figures that Bousch used elsewhere (see Figures 24, 28).⁶⁰ Much work still needs to be done to analyze the synthetic compositions in these windows and their diverse sources. It seems sufficient here to define the problem. Bousch's wide knowledge of art was still expanding—to a point where he had gone far beyond the style and practice in which he had been trained. His compositions give evidence of a careful and erudite selection of elements, which have been combined into essentially new compositions. Bousch was seemingly not one of the growing number of glaziers who commonly worked from a *vide-mus* supplied by the patron, without input into the design process.

In order to make a strong case for such a knowledgeable and synthetic approach to design on the part of Valentin Bousch, it would be desirable to identify more of his specific sources. But the above comparisons are at least indicative of Bousch's working method as a designer. In addition, many Mannerist works that invite comparison with the Flavigny windows, particularly from Fontainebleau, seem to date from after the early 1530s, when the windows were made. This points out how close Bousch was to the cutting edge of artistic change in this part of northern Europe. Art historians are not used to considering glass painters as important artistic innovators, but it seems increasingly appropriate to judge Valentin Bousch in this way.

Moreover, Bousch's innovations depended on a considerable body of technical skills and workshop practices. Just as each of the surviving Flavigny windows displays a somewhat distinct approach to design, the windows also exhibit an impressive variety of painting techniques and technical considerations. The Moses window, for instance, stands out by the frequency and variety with which more than one head is painted on a single piece of glass. The Flood window experiments with painting objects on adjacent pieces of differently colored glass. Christ in the Crucifixion window features an individual approach to figure painting, very unlike other nudes in Bousch's oeuvre (see below). And the supernatural lighting effects in the Creation window occur nowhere else in the series.

Bousch's treatment of clouds provides an excellent

point of reference to compare his technical procedures in all the surviving Flavigny windows. Clouds appear in all four windows, and their forms reveal different technical handling in each. The well-defined plastic, cumulo-nimbus clouds of the Creation window (Figures 1, 6) emphasize the bursts of supernatural light breaking through them; this is achieved through smoothly modulated grisaille washes, creating a highly sculptural sense of modeling, and contours in which opaque strokes are often mirrored with stick-work highlights. In the Crucifixion window, however (Figure 23), such clouds are combined with wisps of stratus clouds to produce a more expansive space and a gentler ambience (despite the conventional depictions of the sun and moon to either side of the cross). The clouds in the Moses window (Figure 22), cumulus combined with stratus, are altogether more somber, and Bousch has used white and three different tones of blue glass, modified with grisaille washes, to create a continuous gradation of tone from light to very dark. The storm clouds of the Flood window (Figure 21) also make use of different tones of blue glass, and the painting techniques include jagged areas of opaque grisaille, which, added to the painted effects of torrential rain, provide a suitably ominous setting for the destruction of sinful humanity. Thus, each window achieves different cloud effects through different painting and glazing techniques, and comparable differences of technique between the Flavigny windows abound. The Flood window, for instance, uniquely displays beautiful, almost calligraphic painted waves in the flood waters (Figure 27).⁶¹ Once again, their graphic definition suggests more the assimilation than the copying of the print media. The amount of technical invention in these windows is amazing. It points to a highly flexible workshop, over which, as Hérold has already observed, Bousch exercised strict control, thus producing at Flavigny a homogeneous ensemble.

This characteristic of the Bousch atelier creates a methodological problem in the analysis of the Flavigny glass. The question of identifying hands within the Flavigny workshop is complicated both by its use of a wide range of models and by its experimental technical character in general. The heads and nude figures, in particular, require much more careful study. Two problems are worth noting. In the Creation window the head of Eve in the right lancet is an extremely high-quality restoration (Figure 7); the crispness of the grisaille and the presence of minutely painted "bloom" to emulate the effects of corrosion can be seen, however, only on very close examination under ideal conditions. The extent of such restoration in the other Flavigny

windows remains to be determined,⁶² and the research planned by the American Committee of the CVMA may change considerably our picture of Bousch's range of practice. Perhaps an even greater problem is posed by the figure of Christ in the Crucifixion window (Figure 29). The canonical proportions and accomplished anatomical detailing of the body contrast with Bousch's other nudes, and the painting style lacks the smoothly modulated grisaille washes characteristic of his other heads and flesh parts. Here, facial features are built up in a manner that resembles drawing rather than painting, and the definition of the hair lacks both silver stain and the matte grisaille tones of, for instance, the hair of the donor figure kneeling at the foot of the cross. If the figure of Christ is indeed by Bousch—a possibility that must be called into question, pending detailed examination—its antecedent is doubtless a specific model used not only to provide a compositional element but also to serve as the basis for singular and adventuresome technical experiment.

Whatever problems still await resolution, the general picture of Valentin Bousch's artistic practice is clear. His considerable technical skill and creativity as a glazier was a necessary factor in turning his design energy into stained glass, yet he used a painter's sensibility to fuse his design sources into an extraordinarily accomplished whole. In both his painting and his cutting of glass, Bousch was a virtuoso craftsman who was able to manipulate traditional skills to radically new effect. In fact, even though he is known primarily as a glass painter, his proclivity toward panel painting strongly influenced both his glass-painting techniques and his approach to glass cutting. The size of the pieces Bousch used, the relative amount of waste in such large, irregular pieces, and the very difficult nature of many of his cuts must have increased the costs enormously.⁶³ No expense, it would seem, was spared in the creation of forceful pictorial effects. And to the same end, Bousch also pushed his materials close to their structural limits. When one considers that new lead-drawing mills were creating thinner but less structurally supportive leads and that many of Bousch's cuts resulted in such delicate, breakable pieces, one wonders whether he might have had a presentiment that one day his magnificent work would have to be viewed through a screen of mending leads. It seems entirely possible that the prospect of creating such a dazzling pictorial accomplishment in the Flavigny windows outweighed practical, long-term considerations and that Valentin Bousch went about as far as a glazier could go in bringing a new and exciting vision to the medium of stained glass.

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NOTES

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

2. 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. See also Abbé Jacques Choux, "Valentin Bousch à Saint-Nicolas-de-Port et à Flavigny," *Le Pays Lorrain* 3 (1973) pp. 157–170.

3. Marcel Aubert and Jean-Jacques Gruber, *La Cathédrale de Metz* (Paris, 1931) pp. 215–248, pls. xxxiv–L; Michel Hérold, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Metz," *Congrès archéologique de France, 149e session, 1991* (Paris, 1995) pp. 477–494. On Bousch's now-destroyed stained glass in the Church of Saint-Gorgon at Varangéville, see Choux, "Valentin Bousch," pp. 166–168. On the work attributed to him at Génicourt-sur-Meuse, see Michel Hérold, "L'Église de Génicourt-sur-Meuse et ses vitraux," *Congrès archéologique de France, 149e session, 1991* (Paris, 1995) pp. 121–138.

4. Hérold, "Valentin Bousch," p. 53: "les verrières de Flavigny-sur-Moselle . . . ne soulèvent guère l'attention." See, however, the article by Ariane Isler-de Jongh, "A Stained-Glass Window from Flavigny-sur-Moselle," in this volume.

5. I would like, particularly, to acknowledge the tremendous help and hospitality of the private collectors in British Columbia for opening their home to the Canadian Committee of the CVMA, of Jessie McNab in facilitating my research at the MMA, and of Father Perrault and Margaret Drake for allowing access to the Church of Saint Joseph, Stockbridge, Mass.

6. For a more nuanced characterization of the dramatic change from Gothic to Renaissance style in France, see Henri Zerner, *L'Art de la Renaissance en France. L'invention du classicisme* (Paris, 1996).

7. Unfortunately, it was not possible for me to see the Crucifixion window in Saint Joseph's Church (Figure 23) from a scaffold; my observations of it were made with binoculars from the floor of the church.

8. On diamond cutting, see Jean-Jacques Gruber, "Technique," in Marcel Aubert et al., *Le Vitrail français* (Paris, 1958) pp. 55–82; and Jean Lafond, *Le Vitrail. Origines, techniques, destinées*, 3rd ed., Françoise Perrot, ed. (Lyons, 1988) pp. 46–49. For a transcription of the treatise of Antonio da Pisa, see Robert Bruck, "Der Tractat des Meisters Antonio von Pisa über die Glasmalerei," in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (1902) XXV, pp. 240–269, esp. pp. 264–265.

9. Documented by Guy-Michel Leproux, *Recherches sur les peintres-verriers parisiens de la Renaissance (1540–1620)*, École Pratique des Hautes Études—IV^e section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, V, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 62 (Geneva, 1988) pp. 52–54.

10. Since the edges of diamond-cut pieces would still usually have been grozed, evidence for the technique of the initial cut may be largely erased by the application of the grozing iron.

11. Leproux, *Recherches*, p. 53.

12. See Claire Desmeules, "Le Passage du moyen âge à la Renaissance dans le vitrail: étude du réseau de plomb," unpublished M.A. thesis, Université Laval (Quebec City, 1988). I would like to thank Roland Sanfaçon for alerting me to this work.

13. Leproux, *Recherches*, p. 13.

14. This is particularly pertinent, since Hérold has identified in Bousch's work at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port one of the earliest known instances of acid etching; see Hérold, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port*, p. 57; see also Lafond, *Le Vitrail*, p. 64. But see note 20 for Bousch's possible use of sanguine.

15. Hérold, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port*, pp. 207–208; in surviving apprenticeship contracts, Bousch promises to teach "l'art et science tant de peinture que de verrierie" (Annexe 7, p. 208) and "l'art et science de peinture tant sur voyre que autrement etc." (Annexe 9, p. 208). Bousch's will, moreover, mentions panel paintings done by him.

16. Hérold, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Metz," pp. 484, 487.

17. It is possible that financial considerations played a role in determining such a paneled effect. In contrast to Bousch's approach at Flavigny, this would necessitate far fewer difficult cuts and far less waste, thus decreasing both material and labor costs. This kind of situation could explain how Bousch was capable of both approaches to glazing: it may have been a factor determined by the financial commitment of the commissioner and perhaps even specified in the terms of Bousch's contracts.

18. Gruber, "Technique," p. 69.

19. Leproux, *Recherches*, p. 54.

20. Further technical examination is necessary to determine whether Bousch also may occasionally have used sanguine, in combination with grisaille and silver stain. Although I have not been able to examine it closely, the blood flowing from Christ's side in the Crucifixion window is very likely sanguine. Below, in the figure of David, a clasp on his garments features red and white on the same piece; this, too, might be sanguine, but it is possibly an etched piece of flashed red glass.

21. A similar extension of foliage onto a differently colored piece of glass was probably intended, as well, for the plant grasped by the left-hand foreground figure, but the fronds drawn on the hand piece currently appear unpainted. The possibility exists that these fronds may initially have been cold painted, but even close examination of the piece may not be enough to verify this, as cold paint can flake off so thoroughly. The possibility of cold paint was suggested to me by a paper read at the XIXth International Colloquium of the CVMA in Kraków in May 1998 by Lisa Pilosi, "On the Occurrence of Cold Paints on Silver-stained Roundels in the The Metropolitan Museum of Art."

22. In his will, Bousch bequeathed 400 *liens* of white glass to the glazier Antonin; Pierre Le Vieil, *L'Art de la peinture sur verre et de la vitrierie* (1774; repr. Geneva, 1973) p. 44. According to Hérold, "Valentin Bousch," pp. 64, 67 n. 68, a *lien* is a measure equivalent to three sheets of glass, each measuring approximately 0.88 × 0.42 m; he cites as authority G. Rose-Villequey, *Verre et verriers de Lorraine au début des Temps modernes* (Paris, 1971) p. 175. The same source makes clear that Lorraine was a prominent glass-making region; see Michel

Hérol, "Les Verriers de Lorraine à la fin du Moyen Age au temps de la Renaissance (1431–1552). Approche documentaire," *Bulletin monumental* 145 (1987) pp. 87–106.

23. The top panels are not rectangular but terminate in a round arch. Although the metal frame in which the window is now located is modern, it undoubtedly reflects the original arrangement. It should be noted that the top panel in the center lancet is currently installed in reverse.

24. The dimensions of the Flood window are 361.2 × 160.2 cm (142 × 63 in.) and those of the Moses window are 303.1 × 168.2 cm (119 × 66 in.); 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. 154–155. The height of the four central registers in the Flood window is ca. 55.4 cm (21¹/₁₆ in.). The width of the outer panels is ca. 41.6 cm (16³/₈ in.), and that of the central panels ca. 102.2 cm (40¹/₄ in.). The latter dimensions were taken from scaffolding erected in situ in the MMA and may not be entirely accurate. The dimensions of the Crucifixion window are 361.2 × 168.2 cm (142 × 66 in.); see Madeline H. Caviness et al., *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) pp. 251–252.

25. There are no saddle bars in the top register of arched panels. For the other panels, the saddle bars are located on the interior side of the glass, which was probably the original arrangement, as most low windows from this period have interior saddle bars. Lafond, *Le Vitrail*, p. 70, indicates that low windows were usually installed from the interior, while clerestory windows were installed from the exterior. See also Nicole Blondel, *Le Vitrail* (Paris, 1993) "Vergettes," pp. 132–133, and "Pose des panneaux," p. 349.

26. In the irregular top panels, either the saddle bars were considerably below center or two were planned initially.

27. A rare opportunity to see 15th- and 16th-century stained glass without the usual screen of mending leads has been provided by recent restoration campaigns in Bourges Cathedral, in which many mending leads were removed. The glass-cutting in the Jacques Coeur chapel (Window 25) stands out in its complexity and pictorial qualities, but even here, two saddle bars per panel were planned.

28. Quoted in Blondel, *Le Vitrail*, p. 126.

29. For the use of such drawings, see most recently Hartmut Scholz, *Entwurf und Ausführung: Werkstattpraxis in der Nürnberger Glasmalerei der Dürerzeit*, CVMA Deutschland Studien I (Berlin, 1991) esp. p. 136. There is no commonly accepted name for such drawings: *modello* is sometimes used, but use of *videmus* should be limited to drawings attached to glazing contracts. See Hilary G. Wayment, "The Great Windows of King's College Chapel and the Meaning of the Word 'Videmus,'" *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 69 (1979) pp. 53–69; and William W. Robinson and Martha Wolff, "The Function of Drawings in the Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century*, John Oliver Hand et al., eds. (Washington, D.C./Cambridge, 1986) pp. 25–40, esp. 32–34.

30. Blondel, *Le Vitrail*, pp. 132–133, mentions the "*vergette de contour*," but it does not appear to have been systematically studied.

31. Michel Hérol, "Valentin Bousch." This virtuosity was becoming widespread and was also applicable to, among others, Albrecht

Dürer in Germany and Dirk Vellert and Pieter Coeck van Aelst in Flanders. Vellert and perhaps Coeck, like Bousch, also produced stained glass.

32. Scholz, *Entwurf und Ausführung*.

33. Of the eight Passion scenes now in Window 5 of the Church of Saint Martin in Metz, dating ca. 1450–60, seven were clearly modeled on engravings by Master E.S. (Lehrs 41–47); see Abbé Jacques Choux, "Le Vitrail lorrain au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance," in *Le Vitrail en Lorraine du XII^e au XX^e siècle*, exh. cat. (Pont-à-Mousson, 1983) pp. 33–72, esp. pp. 42–44.

34. Hérol, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port*, pp. 63, 173, relates the figure of Saint James to that of Joachim in Dürer's *Annunciation to Joachim* (Bartsch 78, ca. 1504), Saint John to the figure of the same saint in Dürer's *Adoration of the Lamb*, from his *Apocalypse* series (Bartsch 67, ca. 1496–97), and the foliage above Saint John to that in Dürer's *Nativity* (Bartsch 2, 1504). It might also be noted that the figure of Moses is comparable to the same figure in Jan Provoost's 1525 *Last Judgment* altarpiece (Bruges, Groeningemuseum); see the entry on Provoost by Els Vermandere, *Dictionary of Art* (London/New York, 1996) vol. 25, pp. 668–669; Dirk de Vos, *Groeningemuseum, Bruges: The Complete Collection* (Bruges, 1983) pp. 46–47.

35. Hérol, "Valentin Bousch," p. 68.

36. Hérol, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Metz," p. 490.

37. See Hérol, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port*, fig. 54.

38. On Cranach's work and its relation to Dürer, see Werner Schade, *Cranach: A Family of Master Painters*, Helen Sebba, trans. (New York, 1980) pp. 19–20. The Crucifixion in the west window of Saint-Nicolas-de-Port is displaced, and may have originally come from a composition comparable to a cartoon for a stained-glass window in the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg attributed by Marlier to Pieter Coeck van Aelst, depicting a donor kneeling in front of an altar; see Georges Marlier, *Pierre Coeck d'Alost* (Brussels, 1966) p. 358 and fig. 299.

39. The architectural definition of the classical framing elements at Flavigny is distinctly simpler than many of the fussy and elaborately decorated frames Bousch used earlier. They are now much closer to the style of Renaissance architecture being built in Lorraine at the time. It would seem that Bousch's patrons were drawn to this new style of architecture, which was used in several churches for which he supplied the stained glass, including Saint-Nicolas-de-Port and Flavigny itself. Some of the painted detailing on horizontal moldings, however, suggests links with Dirk Vellert in Antwerp; see, for example, the painted cyma recta moldings in Vellert's *Man of Sorrows* altarpiece (Brussels, Musée de L'Assistance Publique) ill. in Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Leiden/Brussels, 1975) XII, p. 30, pl. 71.

40. The console of the Creation window has not survived. Although the consoles of the other three windows have survived, only the Crucifixion window in Stockbridge shows the console mounted with the window (Figure 23); the two consoles in the MMA are in storage, and only the registers above are currently on display.

41. See Isler-de Jongh, "A Stained-Glass Window."

42. 8. Buch, fol. 146r. See Matthias Mende, *Hans Baldung Grien, Das graphische Werk. Vollständig Bildkatalog des Einzelholzschnittes, Buchillustrationen und Kupferstiche* (Unterschneidheim, 1978) fig. 111.

43. Hérol, "Valentin Bousch," p. 65.

44. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, cat. no. 603B.

45. See, most recently, Scholz, *Entwurf und Ausführung*.
46. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.
47. Charles D. Cuttler, *Northern Painting from Pucelle to Breugel* (New York, 1968) p. 390.
48. Now in Window 113; see Hérold, *Les Vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port*, pp. 46–49, 177–184.
49. Scholz, *Entwurf und Ausführung*, passim.
50. The only previous example known to me is in an early-13th-century English psalter (Munich, Staatsbibl., Clm. 835, fol. 8r); see Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190–1250, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* (London, 1982) IV, pt. 1, no. 23, pp. 68–71. A photograph of folio 8r is on file at the Princeton Index of Christian Art.
51. Compare the nude figure of Eve with a fig leaf with those in contemporaneous images of the tree of life and death; see Ernst Guldán, *Eva und Maria: Eine Antithese als Bildmotiv* (Graz/Cologne, 1966) passim.
52. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1485.
53. Guy-Michel Leproux, *Vitraux parisiens de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1993) p. 150, gives the comparable example of Nicolas Pinaigrier's "pourtrait" of the Descent from the Cross window in the Church of Saint-Étienne-du-Mont in Paris, which was based on a print by Marcantonio Raimondi (Bartsch 32).
54. See, for instance, the engraving of the *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, L.400. Another, perhaps less close parallel for Adam's figure is Rosso's copy of Michelangelo's *Leda* (London, Royal Academy). Rosso had been working for King Francis I at Fontainebleau since 1530, and by the 1540s, with the addition of Primaticcio, Fontainebleau would exercise a tremendous influence on French art. In particular, as Leproux has shown, Fontainebleau eventually exercised a considerable influence on stained-glass design in Paris; see Leproux, *Recherches*, pp. 57–58.
55. Window 113, panels 2c, 3c, and 4c, dating to 1514–20; see Michel Hérold, *Les vitraux de Saint-Nicolas-de-Port*, pp. 180, 182–183, pl. xxvi.
56. Similar fanciful armor can be seen, for instance, in an early-16th-century design drawing for a secular window depicting Mucius Scaevola; see Michel Hérold, "Dans les coulisses de l'atelier: modèles et patrons à grandeur," in Leproux, *Vitraux parisiens de la Renaissance*, pp. 172–177, esp. 177. There are also examples in 16th-century Belgian stained glass. I would like to thank Ariane Isler-de Jongh for these references.
57. Saint George is found in Windows 18, 20, 106, and 108; see also the armor depicted in the Funeral of the Virgin in Window 23. All the windows date from 1514–20. Remarkably, Bousch returned to more conventional armor in his later work in Metz Cathedral; see his Saint Michael and Saint George, both of 1539, in Window 203. This conservatism can presumably be accounted for in terms of the intervention of Bousch's patrons.
58. The Church of Sainte-Barbe was destroyed, and the remaining glass is now located in Window 8 of Metz Cathedral; see Hérold, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Metz," pp. 487–488. For a fairly close comparison with Saint Barbara's costume, see the Saint Catherine in Jan Gossaert's *Holy Family Triptych with Saint Catherine and Saint Barbara* (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga). Another close comparison is the sculpture of Saint Barbara (ca. 1525–30) in the church of La Madeleine, Troyes; the Troyes school of sculpture was also instrumental at that time in bringing new Renaissance artistic ideas to northern France.
59. See David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550* (New Haven/London, 1994) fig. 77. I would like to thank Claire Labrecque for alerting me to this print.
60. Compare, for instance, the Moses in Bousch's Transfiguration in Window 111 at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, ca. 1514–20, and the later Moses and the Brazen Serpent in Window 203, dating from 1539.
61. These seem to be related to graphic effects from prints, particularly those associated with the Antwerp Mannerists. See, for example, the sky effects in the works of Master I & V, e.g., *Landscape with Saint John the Evangelist* and *Saint Anthony the Hermit*, probably 1530s; for illustrations of these works, see Bruce Davis, *Mannerist Prints: International Style in the 16th Century*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1988) no. 87.
62. Thanks are due to Virginia Raguin for help with identifying the restorations in the Creation window. Examination of the Moses window from a scaffold suggests that much of the left part of the arch is modern restoration, and there are many stopgaps and several reversed pieces in the Prophet panels below.
63. The cost of the Flavigny glass is unknown. Documented prices paid to Bousch for his work elsewhere are all surprisingly low; see Hérold, "Les Verriers de Lorraine," pp. 90 and 100 nn. 18, 19. Rather than reflecting the market value of Bousch's talent, however, the low prices may have been a constraint imposed on Bousch by some of his patrons and which affected the sort of work he was able to do. It is impossible to imagine similar prices for the Flavigny glass.