



Valentin Bousch, *The Creation and the Expulsion from Paradise*, 1533. Green, red, purple, blue and clear glass with silver stain and vitreous enamel, 114 x 90 inches (289.6 x 228.6 cm).

The *Creation and Expulsion* Window of Valentin Bousch

Timothy Husband

This monumental stained-glass window by the Alsatian artist Valentin Bousch (1490–1541) represents the *Creation* and the *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden*,¹ based on the biblical text from Genesis (fig. 1). The narrative is framed by a triple-vaulted arcade supported by an ornamental base and piers of renaissance order that echo the original ones in the choir of the Benedictine priory church of Saint-Firmin at Flavigny-sur-Moselle (Meurthe-et-Moselle) in northeastern France, for which this window was made. At the left is Jesus Christ as the Creator, with the dove of the Holy Spirit above. In the center, Eve, soon after her creation, appears to kneel at the side of the slumbering Adam. In the background, a lion and a stag—symbolizing valor and piety, respectively—and an ox and an ass—foreshadowing the Nativity—flank the Tree of Knowledge. The entire group is encircled by a silvery firmament with the sun, moon, and stars, while God in radiance with one hand uplifted in blessing and the other holding an orb, emerges through the clouds above his newly created universe. At the right, Adam and Eve are expelled from Eden by an angel, his wings spread and sword uplifted, while a cherub hovers in the clouds above. The scenes are composed as a narrative continuum across the three lancets linked by the ring of the firmament, as though a single picture plane, our view of which is interrupted by the vertical mullions that support the window.

The predella-like base below the narrative scene tells us much of what we know about the window. On the left is a brief passage from Genesis, which lends biblical authority to the scene above: FACTVS ETS (sic) ■ HO[MO] / IN ■ ANIMAM / VIVENTE; “...and man became a living soul...” (Genesis 2:7).² On the right, is the personal motto of the commissioner of the window, Wary de Lucy: FRAUS INIMICI LUCI “Fraud the enemy of light.” This is a play of words on the surname of the commissioner, who was commendatory or lay prior of Saint-Firmin. His portrait bust appears in the tondo at the base of the central lancet, which is flanked by numerals ciphers indicating the date of the window, 1533.

Flavigny-sur-Moselle is in the historical region of Lorraine bordering Alsace, now the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle.³ The main cities of Lorraine are Metz (Moselle), in the north,

about 200 miles due east of Paris, and Nancy (Meurthe-et-Moselle), in the south. Flavigny-sur-Moselle lies a few miles south of Nancy (fig. 2). The monastery was founded in the tenth century; the still-extant Romanesque bell tower was added in the twelfth century and the classical portal completed in 1732 (fig. 3). By the end of the fifteenth century, the community was in decline. In 1510, the elderly Barthélemy de Lucy resigned the priorate in favor of his nephew, Wary de Lucy, then aged nine. Monastic affairs were managed by his father until Wary de Lucy came of age. As the commendatory prior, he enjoyed the benefice until his death in 1557. Unusually, he lived at the monastery, enjoying the comfortable existence of a wealthy humanist.⁴ He oversaw the reconstruction of the church between 1525 and 1530 and he commissioned Valentin Bousch, then established in Metz, to glaze the choir windows, a project that was completed between 1531 and 1533.

Valentin Bousch was born in Alsace, probably in Strasbourg, then part of the greater Germanic world and something of a linguistic patchwork, where Alsatian and other Alemannic and Frankish dialects were spoken. In the documents, he is referred to as Waultin, Valtin, Felletin, and other Germanic variations;⁵ Valentin is the francophone version of the name. Little is known of his early years, but his training or apprenticeship almost certainly took place in Strasbourg, where he resided into his early adulthood.⁶

By the late fifteenth century, Strasbourg had become a major center of the stained-glass industry in the German-speaking world. Peter Hemmel von Andlau (1420–1501), the preeminent glass painter of his time, headed one of the major workshops, and, in one of the earliest documented mergers, he contracted five other workshops into a cooperative to jointly seek and fulfill commissions, thus reducing noisome competition.⁷ Their exceptionally fine large-scaled stained-glass windows survive in numerous sites in the Upper Rhineland, Alsace, and in major centers across southern Germany and Austria. In 1504, Hans Baldung Grien (1484/5–1545) moved from Nuremberg, where he had assisted in the workshop of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). He sojourned in Strasbourg between 1510 and 1512 and moved there more permanently in 1516, establishing himself as a gifted painter, graphic artist, and designer of stained glass. Valentin would have certainly been familiar with the work of artists in the Strasbourg cooperative and seems to have been influenced by Baldung's work.⁸

In 1514, Valentin arrived at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port (Meurthe-et-Moselle), a few miles southeast of Nancy, where he had been commissioned by Pierre de Lucy, prior from 1515 to 1529, to glaze several windows in the basilica. Saint-Nicolas-de-Port had a history of welcoming artists from the German territories. By the time of Valentin's arrival, the choir and transepts of the basilica had been glazed by a diverse group of glass painters, some from the region, but also from important German centers. Elite patronage, most notably duke Antoine of Lorraine (1508–44) and his wife Renée de Bourbon (1493–1539), preferred the more prestigious artists from Germany; one window, for example, was furnished in 1510 by the workshop of Hans Hirsvogel of Nuremberg based on the designs of Hans Süß von Kulmbach.⁹ In the commissioning document of 1514 Valentin is referred to as “Waultin peintre allemand” (Valentin the German painter).¹⁰ Between 1514 and 1520, Valentin produced six of the ten large windows in the side aisles of the nave and five of the seventeen windows in the lateral chapels, though relatively little survives intact.¹¹ In 1518, he was commissioned by the bishop of Metz, John IV of Lorraine, to glaze the three apsidal bays of the church at Varangéville.¹²

On September 25, 1518, Valentin was made the chief glazer of the cathedral of Saint-Étienne of Metz and on May 18, 1520, he was contracted by the cathedral to establish a workshop there.¹³ The hiring of Valentin was in keeping with the preference of the cathedral of Metz's ducal patrons for German glass painters, having previously engaged, for example, Hermann von Münster and Thiebaud von Lixheim, a member of Peter Hemmel von Andlau's Strasbourg workshop cooperative. Bousch's workshop remained active there until 1528 and again between 1533 and 1539, producing all thirteen windows in the choir and the enormous south transept window.¹⁴

Between 1528 and 1533, Valentin produced no glass for the cathedral but fulfilled several other commissions for churches in the surrounding region. By far the most important of these was the glazing program of the choir of Saint-Firmin at Flavigny-sur-Moselle. Valentin's work was certainly known to Wary de Lucy, as he was a close relative of Pierre de Lucy, who had commissioned the artist to provide windows for Saint-Nicolas-de-Port.¹⁵

The choir of the priory church at Flavigny-sur-Moselle originally had seven windows (fig. 4). The three apsidal and first two lateral windows were single lancets each with a rounded

header framed, similarly to the *Creation* window, by piers and a base of renaissance order, supported by an ornamental console and surmounted by simple traceries composed of a large roundel flanked by two kites. The *Creation* window and a matching one filled the two westernmost lateral bays. Rather than a console, a band of heraldic roundels was below the base, and the whole was surmounted by traceries comprised of two large asymmetrical lobes (fig. 5).¹⁶ The earliest surviving description, written by the abbot Guillaume in 1877, details what then remained of the glazing program.¹⁷ Upon entering the church, facing the altar, the first window on the left or north side, bay 5, was the *Creation and Expulsion*.¹⁸ This account of the windows indicates that the predella with the inscription panels and the portrait roundel, was originally supported by a console with three heraldic roundels. The central roundel is identified by an inscription below as the arms of Savigny, the other that of Craincourt.¹⁹ The arms on the third roundel were blazoned but only later identified as those of Toullon.²⁰ The Savigny and Craincourt roundels are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figs. 6 and 7).²¹ Claude de Craincourt was Wary de Lucy's mother and Jeanne de Savigny, his grandmother. In the same account, the roundels with Moses and Isaiah, also in the Metropolitan Museum,²² were said to be in the tracery above (figs. 8 and 9).²³

The next window on the north side, bay 3, housed the *Deluge*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 10).²⁴ Within an arched Renaissance frame, a male nude in an angular stance leaning against the left pier and a crouching soldier opposite him gaze into an expansive scene that unfolds beyond them. They appear to be on a high precipice overlooking, in the middle ground, a milling crowd seeking dry ground as the waters rise around them, and, in the distance, the ark plying rough waters as rain pours down in gray streaks. Noah's hand reaches out of an opening in the stern to release a dove; when it returns with an olive branch in its beak, he will know the waters have begun to recede. In the predella below, a prophet on the left points to an inscribed tablet that reads: "And, behold, I will bring the waters of a great flood upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein [is the breathe of life]." (Genesis 6:17) The epitaph in the center bears the motto of Wary de Lucy and the date 1531. On the right, another prophet holds a tablet likewise inscribed that reads: "[And] the waters increased, and lifted up the ark on high from the earth..." (Genesis 7:17)²⁵ The console below, against a blue damascened ground, bears, in the center, the arms of Wary de Lucy and the large letters F I L, the first letters of the donor's motto.

The aperture of the north angle, bay 1, held *Moses and the Tablets of the Law*, also in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 11).²⁶ Moses, fully frontal, holds the tablet in his left arm and points to the written word with his right hand. He is flanked by two men, seen in three-quarter profile from the rear, leaning against the piers. A crowd of onlookers stand behind him, and, in the background, two figures stand in a deep landscape with rocky mountainous outcroppings under a threatening sky. In the predella below, a prophet at the left points to a tablet with a biblical inscription that reads: "...Keep every commandment that I command you this day..." (Deuteronomy 27:1). The epitaph in the center bears donor's motto. At the right, another prophet points to a tablet similarly inscribed that may be read: "If you be willing...you shall eat the good things of the land..." (Isaiah 1:19)²⁷ In the center of the console below, which is set against a damascened ground of red, a shield is emblazoned with the arms of the donor; below that are two small shields, one inscribed V and the other B for Valentin Bousch. The letters F I L are again spaced across the width of the console.

The fourth surviving window, representing the *Crucifixion*, was originally in the south angle window or bay 2, and is now in the church of Saint Joseph in Stockbridge, Massachusetts (fig. 12). The crucifix is centered on the Renaissance frame. The head of Christ hangs to his right and his sudarium flutters in the wind. Below the termini of the arms of the cross are the sun and the moon, partially occluded by the arch. A donor, presumably Wary de Lucy, kneels in prayer at the base of the cross on the left; at the right, John the Evangelist supports the Virgin Mary, collapsed in grief. A prophet in an opening at the left of the predella below holds a tablet inscribed with a biblical text that reads: "They have dug my hands and feet." (Psalms 21:17) A banderole over his right shoulder reads: "... and I have risen up..." (Psalms 3:6) The epitaph in the center of the predella is inscribed with the donor's motto and the date 1531. And in the right opening of the predella another prophet displays an inscribed tablet that reads: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all things to myself..." (John 12:32)²⁸

The stained glass in the remaining three windows—bays 0, 4, and 6—had been lost by 1850.²⁹ In 1875, relying on oral tradition, the parish priest claimed that the cycle was completed by the *Nativity*, the *Pentecost*, and the *Last Judgment*.³⁰ By 1877 the apertures missing their stained glass were mostly blank glazed with some fragments of original glass in the traceries. God the Father, for example, appeared in the tracery of bay 0, the dove of the Holy Spirit in the

tracery of bay 1, a pelican above the *Crucifixion* in bay 2, a phoenix in bay 3, and the Lamb of God in bay 4.³¹ The subjects of the missing windows are not documented, but scholars have generally agreed with the 1875 accounting except for the axial window, bay 0. Given the devotion accorded the cult of the Virgin by the dukes of Lorraine and the prominent position of the *Annunciation* in the axial window at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port—the nearby site of Valentin Bousch's first commission in Lorraine—this would be the more likely choice of subject.³²

The circumstances under which Valentin came to Lorraine are not documented, but the stirrings of reformist sentiment in Strasbourg and Alsace may well have played a role.³³ By 1520 the writings of Martin Luther were widely circulated, and theologians such as Martin Bucer (1491–1551) promoted reformist thought in Strasbourg. The next few years saw incidents of civic unrest including violent outbreaks of iconoclasm. Sensing the oncoming storm and an environment hostile to ecclesiastical commissions, Valentin and many other artists began to look for work in regions that, if not faithful to Catholic orthodoxy, sought moderate reforms rather than a complete rejection of Catholicism. Lorraine lay between the more radical teachings of Martin Luther (1483–1546) in Strasbourg and the Germanic territories and the humanist movements in France. François I was initially receptive to reformist thought though the aristocracy remained Catholic. Both Saint-Nicolas-de-Port and Metz had active Protestant communities. In Metz, a circle of humanists gathered and read Luther, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (ca. 1455–1537), and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), among others. Although the cadres of reformists never attracted a large following, the civic authorities nonetheless prosecuted them in the 1520s, sometimes violently. Lefèvre d'Étaples, who early on enjoyed the support of François I, sought to reform the Church without leaving it and was more in line with moderates such as Erasmus and Martin Bucer. In the early 1530s, there was still belief within these moderate circles that the more flagrant excesses of the Church could be reformed and the Church itself reinvigorated through a reexamination of the Scriptures through original texts. Wary de Lucy would have been aware of these theological disputations and the glazing cycle at Flavigny-sur-Moselle appears to reflect the humanist thinking of its progressive commissioner.

The entire cycle covers the history of humanity and its relationship to God, from the Creation and the Fall to Christ's redemptive sacrifice on the cross and the salvation of mankind. In depictions of the creation that represent the firmament as a ring studded with all things

created, God the Father is usually depicted as the Creator inside the firmament. Another tradition casts Christ as the Creator, as exemplified by the woodcut illustration in the Lübeck Bible of 1494 (fig. 13). But in the *Creation and Expulsion* window, Christ is outside the firmament looking in at creation, his hand raised in blessing. He is in the celestial realm, and with the dove of the Holy Spirit and God the Father above, the Trinity is explicitly depicted. Christ is understood as the embodiment of the will and Word of God; as John the Evangelist proclaimed: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God...” (John 1:1) Adam and Eve defied the Word of God and were expelled from Eden. In the next window of the cycle, humanity is again punished for its sins, and, in the next, is offered redemption through obedience to God’s Law brought down by Moses. The axial window represents the Incarnation of Christ, and the next one delineates the New Alliance or Covenant through the Crucifixion, providing the means for creating a new relationship between the believer and God. And, finally, those of faith who adhere to the Word of God will find salvation at the Last Judgment. Reflecting the humanistic thinking of the time, the Old Testament is balanced with the New Testament and the biblical texts cited by the prophets and the evangelists are the sole authority, underscoring the preeminence of the Word, a fundament of reformist thought. Christ, the person of the Word, introduces us to the Creation and all the drama at the core of Christian belief that follows. A cycle of such iconographic complexity is unprecedented in Lorraine and underscores the influence that the turbulent intellectual climate of the time exerted on the patron and his gifted painter.³⁴

The four surviving windows from the priory church at Flavigny are a testament to the exceptional powers and range of Valentin Bousch’s artistic abilities. For the *Crucifixion* window he drew on conventional late-medieval iconography: the cross is placed on the central axis and dominates the narrative scene, the sun and moon on either side above, often angels collecting Christ’s blood in chalices, and the ground below populated with varying numbers of participants, frequently including Roman soldiers, multiple mourners, and a donor, all set against a deep landscape. Here the scene has been pared down to the mother of Christ, John who proclaimed the Word, and the donor whose presence attests to his piety and faith in the Word. The pale body of Christ is sharply set off by the modulated blues of the sky. But in a compositional innovation, the crucifix is brought forward, out of the picture plane and in front of the architecture that frames

the scene, supported by the projecting plinth in the predella bearing the commissioner's motto below. This spatial manipulation removes the *Crucifixion* from its fictive earthly surrounds behind the architectural frame and brings it into the viewer's space, effectively converting it from a historical narrative into an immediate and compelling devotional image, inviting the pious to contemplate Christ's redemptive sacrifice.³⁵

The *Deluge* was created in the same year as the *Crucifixion* but is compositionally more radical. The naked man at the left and the soldier opposite him dominate the foreground of the composition and effectively frame the distant rising waters and the milling crowd clamoring for the last bits of dry land that occupy the central panel in the window's third register. The ark plying the rough waters under full sail against the sheets of rain beyond occupy the top two central panels. Overturning convention, Valentin has relegated the main subject to the background. The two figures that dominate the foreground have nothing to do with the narrative, but their bent and crouching poses and the angular disposition of their limbs, while leaning against the piers for support at the precipice edge—the nude even clutches a sprig of a tree—as they anxiously gaze out at the alarming scene before them, focuses the viewer's attention and introduces dramatic tension to the scene.³⁶ This compositional arrangement and the inclusion of a nude male other than Adam, which is highly unusual for the time, speaks to the increasing Italianate influence on Valentin's work.

The composition of *Moses and the Tablet of Law* is purposely more static than that of the *Deluge*. The scene is again flanked by two men, here fully clothed, but Moses, the main subject, stands on axis and dominates the foreground. He points to the text on the tablet, underscoring the importance of the Word. The mother holding her child in the crowd behind perhaps foreshadows the Virgin and Child. The composition of the *Deluge* is appropriately agitated and tension filled, for this is the chaos brought on by the wages of mankind's sins. Adherence to the Law, the Ten Commandments, and the Word of God, however, restores order and peace to the world in fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together; the lion and the ox shall eat straw..." (Isaiah 65:25) This is reflected in the stolid balance and symmetry of the Moses window, in contrast to the agitated tumult of *Deluge* window. It is likely that this sort of compositional interplay occurred in the three lost windows as well.

The *Creation* window is viewed through a triple arcade defined by the outer fictive renaissance piers in conjunction with the two actual stone mullions within the window. Responding to the two mullions are two fictive piers that support the vaulting on the far side, thus creating a shallow open arcade in which the central narrative takes place. Contradicting the confines of this architectural construct is the deep space that Adam and Eve inhabit within the firmament, where the supporting piers are no longer visible. God the Father, along with the dove of the Holy Spirit and the cherubim, is beyond the far side of the arcade, looking in as the viewer does on the near side. The narrative unfolds, then, within the open arcade set between the viewer's space on the near side and celestial space on the far. To create the illusion of greater depth, the Creator stands in front of the firmament while Adam and Eve emerge from behind it. Through this highly inventive and manipulative spatial construct, unparalleled in his earlier works, Valentin visually defies the dimensional limitations of the picture plane. He has effectively created a renaissance retable in which the figurative panels above the predella, conventionally two-dimensional, are projected into three.

Although the spatial constructs of the composition are complex, the narrative reads with remarkable clarity, in large part due to the figures' monumental sculptural presence and their animated postures. The figure of Christ balances the expulsion group, while the bold red and deep violet of the Creator's garments are echoed in the wings and robe of the angel at the right and counterbalance the pale tones of Adam and Eve. The choice of red and blue, the former visually projecting and the latter receding, adds optical depth to the composition and brings an almost pulsating vibrancy to the divine figures. The forward-leaning stance of Christ and his extended index finger direct the eye across the composition to the *Expulsion*. The stances of Adam and Eve suggest forward movement, with the couple beginning to disappear behind the framing architecture, thus visually directing the viewer to the next window in the choir of Saint-Firmin, where the iconographic cycle continues.

Stained glass imposes two rigid restraints on the designer: the T bars, or horizontal bars that support the individual panels; and the saddle bars, small iron rods running across the center of each panel attached by lead ties to the comes, which strengthen the panels against wind and other external forces. Saddle bars are not necessary in a museum installation and have been removed from the *Creation* window.³⁷ Valentin would sometimes confine whole scenes to a

single panel, or he would adjust his composition so that the T bars would not intrude on crucial features, such as faces; both expediencies were employed in the *Deluge* window. In the figural panels of the *Creation* window, Valentin likewise adjusted his compositions so that the most prominent elements avoid the intrusion of these supporting bars.

Although saddle bars were standard at the time, it is not entirely clear if the *Creation* window was designed to accommodate them.³⁸ The bottom panels appear to be designed so that bars could run across their centers without interfering with the designs. The sections of the piers in the figural panels are divided in the middle within each panel precisely where the lead line would be covered by the saddle bar, but would significantly interfere with the design elsewhere. In the *Expulsion* panel with the heads of Adam and Eve, for example, a saddle bar aligned with the pier division would run across their faces, which Valentin is not likely to have countenanced. Valentin may have minimized their visual intrusion in the figural panels by resorting to the difficult and expensive solution of forging each saddle bar to conform to the lead lines in crucial areas of the composition. In the panel with the head of the Creator, for example, the saddle bar might have originally followed the horizontal lead line through the center of the pier at the left, then conforming to the outline of Christ's cloak, continuing along the hairline and the beard line, and then to the lead line of the firmament out to the edge of the panel.³⁹ Given Valentin's efforts to reduce the intrusion of the supportive elements of stained-glass windows in interest of his painterly aesthetic, it is likely that he would have employed this expediency, and his affluent patron was in a position to underwrite it.

Valentin's compositional ingenuity is most evident, however, in his ability to minimize the visual intrusion of the lead matrices within individual panels by moving the supportive leads in any color field to the peripheries, and thereby seemingly reducing them to a graphic element that outlines forms, rather than a structural one that holds pieces together. To achieve this, he reduced the number of colors in his palette—as every change of color would require a lead—while he increased the sizes of individual pieces of glass and, if possible, limited each color within each panel to a single, often very large, piece of glass. The purple tunic in the upper panel of the Creator, for example, is one piece of glass (fig. 14). The figures of Adam and Eve are likewise composed of unusually large pieces and the vaults in all three headers were each originally one exceptionally large piece of glass that would seem to push the medium to its limit.

In the Creator, lead comes boldly outline the figure, his tunic, and his billowing mantle. The interior lead lines of these components, on the other hand, merge into the dark recesses of the richly modeled drapery folds. The hand of the Creator in the same panel is outlined by a lead came, but it too is visually lost in the recessive shadows of the drapery modeling (fig. 15). The leads, of course, do not disappear, but the painterly approach used by Valentin renders them as minimal as their structural function allows. In the bottom panel, the folds of the red mantle, the lower portion of the tunic, and the feet are each of a piece, all four of which required complicated cuts that were executed with remarkable fluidity. Such virtuoso cuts are found throughout the glazing program: the cutting of the sky around the horns of the cow in the *Creation* scene and the Eve's torso with the cut out to accommodate the fig leaf are two of the more remarkable examples (figs. 16 and 17).

Valentin attained richly articulated forms through his exceptional painterly technique. The sculptural volumes of the nude bodies of Adam and Eve are achieved through the application of matte tones progressively thinned down from dark to near transparent in subtle gradations, thus defining anatomical forms (fig. 18). The glorious passages of billowing and deeply crevassed folds of the mantle and the more linear and limpid ones of the tunic are again modeled with carefully worked mattes in fine gradations from brilliant highlights to deep and darkened crevasses.⁴⁰ To make his paints more pliant, Bousch probably used gum Arabic as a medium, rather than the traditional vinegar or urine.⁴¹ Only rarely did he use cross-hatching, while the etching of mattes with stick or stylus is limited to the highlighting of hair, beards, elements of costume, and the like (fig. 19). The architectural detailing is achieved through a broad range of tonalities with remarkably subtle gradations, enhanced by marbleizing effects and touches of silver stain. He also used silver stain over pale blue glass to create varying hues of green without a change of glass, as can be seen in the ground upon which the Creator stands (fig. 20). This technique is also used in the wreath around the portrait bust of de Lucy. A masterful painterly detail is seen in the foreshortened projecting hand of Adam in the *Expulsion*. The retable-like framing of the window makes Valentin's artistic aspirations explicit. His painterly approach emulated that of the panel painter; he did not identify with conventional stained glass painters, whom he considered "*gens mécaniques*."⁴² While he may well be thought of as a painter on glass rather than a stained glass painter, he also, unlike a traditional glazier, conceptualized

the glazing program, created the designs, and produced the full-scale cartoons from which his workshop executed the windows.⁴³ While Renaissance in spirit, the *Creation and Expulsion* window is rooted in the late Medieval German tradition of stained glass production in which Valentin was immersed during his formative years in Strasbourg.

While late medieval glazing traditions of Strasbourg informed both the workshop practice and the fundamentals of Valentin's style, his artistic development in Lorraine blossomed into a powerful expression of his Germanic roots combined with an animated Italianate mannerism that found no greater voice than in his stained glass cycle at Flavigny. This is perhaps most apparent in the *Deluge* with the contorted nude figure pressed against the renaissance pier, but it is likewise evident in the angular stances of Adam and Eve in the *Expulsion* and in the voluminous and dramatically billowing folds of the Creator's vivid red mantle. It is not likely that there was a direct connection to Italian influences, but rather indirect exposure through Netherlandish sources that had permeated the Upper Rhine region.⁴⁴ The stylistic enrichment, iconographic complexity, narrative coherence, and reformist undercurrents of the *Creation and Expulsion* window, created in a critical moment of burgeoning Humanism and religious tensions, speak to the artistic flourishing of a master at the height of his artistic powers.

¹ Pot-metal and colorless glass with vitreous paint and silver stain. Sightline: 116 ¼ (9 ft. 8 ¼ in.) x 29 ½ (2 ft. 5 in.). (295.3 x 74 cm). Provenance: 1533, Bay 5 of the choir of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle (Meurthe-et-Moselle); 1877, documented *in situ*; ca. 1904, window removed from Saint-Firmin; 1907, still in France; by 1913, in New York with Jacques Seligmann & Co.; by 1929, acquired by William Randolph Hearst; 1952, acquired by Fritz Ziegler, Fort Langley (Vancouver), BC, from the Hearst estate; 2007, acquired at estate auction by Sam Fogg, London; 2018, acquired by the Hill Art Foundation. For the most recent and extensive study of this window, see Ariana Isler-de-Jongh, "A Stained-Glass Window from Flavigny-sur-Moselle," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 33 (1998): 153–67.

² ETS should read EST.

³ The historical region of Lorraine comprised the present-day *départments* of Meuse, Vosges, Meurthe-et-Moselle, and Moselle while the neighboring Alsace is divided into the Bas Rhin and Haut Rhin. All these *départments* are today incorporated into an even larger administrative region known as the Grand Est. The *départments* of concern in this essay are Meurthe-et-Moselle, Moselle, and Bas Rhin.

⁴ Chanoine A. Dedenon, *Histoire du prieuré benedictin de Flavigny-sur-Moselle* (Nancy: Impr. de Vagner, 1936), 72–73.

⁵ Michel Hérold, “l’un « Des Peintres sur verre qui distinguèrent au seizième siècle »,” *Revue de l’Art*, 103 (1994): 53.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 53. Documents in the Lorraine archives refer to him as “l’allemand” or “de Strasbourg.”

⁷ The most comprehensive monograph on Peter Hemmel remains: Paul Frankl, *Peter Hemmel Glasmaler von Andlau*, Deutscher Verein für Kunstgeschichte (Berlin, 1956). For more recent literature, see: “Bilder aus Licht und Farbe: Meisterwerke spätgotischer Glasmalerei ‘Strassburger Fenster’” in *Ulm und ihr künstlerisches Umfeld* exh. cat. (Ulm, Ulmer Museum, 1995).

⁸ Eve’s foreleg crossed over the rear in an “entrechat” pose seems to quote Baldung’s ca. 1510–15 *Eve*, now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. And the setting of the scene in an open arcade may have been inspired by Baldung’s ca. 1520 *Nativity*, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, which is similarly viewed through an arcade. Likewise, Bousch’s rendering of clouds as mottled “cotton balls” populated with cherubim may well have been inspired by Baldung’s characteristic treatment.

⁹ Hérold, “l’un « Des Peintres sur verre »,” 54. See also, Michel Hérold and Françoise Gâtouillât, *Corpus Vitrearum, France, Recensement V, Les Vitraux de Lorraine et d’Alsace* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1994), 25.

¹⁰ Hérold, “l’un « Des Peintres sur verre »,” 54.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹² *Ibid.*, 59.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 59. Bousch was documented as a resident at Metz in 1522, but he may have moved there as early as 1520. He was married and lived there for the rest of his life.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁶ The church was reconstructed in 1826. More recently, the apsidal windows were converted to double lancet windows; the first two lateral windows were converted to blind arcades, and the two triple lancet windows were eliminated, covered over by new construction. With the destruction of these windows, it is no longer possible to determine the original measurements of the apertures and, thus, the original height of the *Creation* window. Saint-Firmin today serves, appropriately, as the Office of Social Hygiene, given that Saint-Firmin was considered a healer.

¹⁷ Abbé Guillaume, “Le prieuré de Flavigny-sur-Moselle et sur quelques personages qui l’ont illustré,” *Mémoires de la société archéologie lorraine*, 3rd series, vol. 5, 1877.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 278–79 ff., states that this window was on the right or south side order and details the glazing in a counterclockwise order. This runs counter to conventional narrative, and all subsequent writers have detailed the program in clockwise order, beginning with bay 5.

¹⁹ Guillaume includes line illustrations of the three heraldic roundels following p. 280.

²⁰ Edmond Des Robert, “Trois Vitraux de prieuré de Flavigny-sur-Moselle,” *Bulletin mensuel de la Société d’archéologie lorraine* (Aug-Sept, 1907), p. 213.

An archival sketch of the window identifies the central coat of arms in an inscription below as that of de Lucy, but this is probably a misreading as only tinctures distinguish the Savigny and de Lucy arms. Nancy, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Abel, *carton* 152. See Isler-de-Jongh, “A Stained-Glass Window from Flavigny-sur-Moselle,” fig. 5.

²¹ Pot-metal and colorless glass with vitreous paint and silver stain. 27 1/8 x 27 1/2 in. (69 x 70 cm), each. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Joseph Pulitzer Bequest. 1917, 17.40.6; 17.40.5, respectively.

²² Pot-metal and colorless glass with vitreous paint and silver stain. Dia.: 32 in. (81 cm), each. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Joseph Pulitzer Bequest. 1917, 17.40.4; 17.40.3, respectively.

²³ Hérold and Gatouillat, *Les Vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace*, 73.

²⁴ Pot-metal and colorless glass with vitreous paint and silver stain. 11 ft. 10 in. x 67 in. (361 x 170 cm), without the console; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase. Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917. 17.40.2a–r

²⁵ The tablet on the left is inscribed: [ET] ECCE EGO / AD[D]VCAM / AQVAS DI / LVVII [SUPER] TERR[AM UT] IN[TER] / FICI / AM O[MN]E[M] / CARNEM / IN AQVA (sic) / The tablet on the right is inscribed: [ET] MVLTIPLI / CAT[A]E SV[N]T / AQV[A]E ET / ELEVAVE- / RV[N]T ARCA[M] / IN SVB / LIME [A] TERR[A])

²⁶ Pot-metal and colorless glass with vitreous paint and silver stain. 11 ft. 10 in. x 67 in. (361 x 170 cm), without the console; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase. Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917. 17.40.2a–r

²⁷ The left tablet is inscribed: CUSTODITE / OMNE MAN/ DATV[M] QVOD / PR[A]ECIPIO / VOBIS HOD[I]E / EXOD / 20 (Deuteronomy, 27:1), not Exodus 20 as given in the inscription. The right tablet is inscribed: inscribed: SI VOLV /- ERITIS ET / AVD[I]ERI / TIS ME / BONA TER / R[A]E COME / DETIS.

²⁸ The left tablet is inscribed: FODE / MANVS / ET PEDES / MEOS / DAVTE / PS / 44 The banderole over his right shoulder reads: “...ET / E[X]SURREXI / PS 3 The right tablet is inscribed: [ET] EGO SI / EXALTA / TVS FVE / RO O[MN]IA / TRAHA[M] / AD ME[IPSVM] / IOANNES / 12)

²⁹ Isler-de-Jongh, “A Stained-Glass Window from Flavigny-sur-Moselle,” 161.

³⁰ Léon Germain de Maily, “Sur les anciens vitraux de Flavigny,” *Bulletin mensuel de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* (1927): 74–5.

³¹ Guillaume, 282–83.

³² Hérold and Gatouillat, *Les Vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace*, 72; Isler-De Jongh, “A Stained-Glass Window from Flavigny-sur-Moselle,” 161.

³³ Hérold and Gatouillat, *Les Vitraux de Lorraine et d'Alsace*, 72.

³⁴ Hérold, “l'un « Des Peintres sur verre »,” 63

³⁵ This is in sharp contrast to Bousch's 1518 treatment of the subject in the axial bay of the church at Varangéville, in which the prominence of the crucifix is diminished by the vast and verdant landscape in which it is set. See Hérold, "l'un « Des Peintres sur verre », 58, fig. 11.

³⁶ The meaning of what appears to be a plum-colored cloak floating in midair beyond the nude is unclear.

³⁷ They appear to have been removed during the conservation work done for Sam Fogg in 2008.

³⁸ The earliest photograph of the window (Robert, 1907, pl. III) shows no saddle bars, though they were added subsequently, probably before the window was shipped to New York. The saddle bars are evident in the Hearst New York apartment installation and again while the window was in the Fritz residence in British Columbia.

³⁹ See James Bugslag, "Valentin Bousch's Artistic Practice in the Stained Glass of Flavigny-sur-Moselle," *The Metropolitan Museum Journal* 33 (1998): 174. A straight saddle bar was attached to the panel later, causing corrosion and surface accretion that left a ghost line still slightly visible in the shoulder.

⁴⁰ The matte is applied to the surface of the glass in liquid form and allowed to dry leaving a residue of unfired enamel, which is then worked away with brushes of different textures and other implements to achieve the desired gradations. The glass is then fired and the enamel fuses to the glass.

⁴¹ James Bugslag, "Valentin Bousch's Artistic Practice," 171. This article provides a cogent discussion of Valentin's technique and methodology. [Possible to move last sentence to the first full citation of Bugslag (note 39)?

⁴² Hérold, "l'un « Des Peintres sur verre », 64.

⁴³ Ibid., 65.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 66.



The *Creation and the Expulsion* window installed alongside suits of armor in the home of Fritz Ziegler's "castle" in Fort Langley, British Columbia, 1993.

The Provenance of the *Creation and Expulsion* Window of Valentin Bousch

Timothy Husband

The *Creation and Expulsion* (1533) was one of seven windows created by the Alsatian stained-glass artist Valentin Bousch (1490–1541) for the choir of Saint-Firmin in Flavigny-sur-Moselle (Meurthe-et-Moselle) in northeastern France. These windows were created between 1531 and 1533. Little of the early history of this Benedictine priory church, founded in the tenth century, is known. By the fifteenth century the community was apparently in decline. Wary de Lucy, the lay prior from 1510–1557, rebuilt the church between 1525 and 1530, preserving the twelfth-century tower, and commissioning the stained glass for the choir. The priory was secularized during the French revolution but rededicated after the Restoration of 1814 by a community of Benedictine nuns. By 1850 three of the windows had been removed. A description of the choir published in 1877 confirms that the *Creation and Expulsion*, the *Deluge*, *Moses and the Tablets of Law*, and the *Crucifixion* windows were still *in situ*. In 1904, responding to a new law separating church and state, the nuns emigrated to Italy, selling the church furnishings, including the four remaining stained-glass windows, before they left. Photographs of the *Creation and Expulsion*, the *Deluge*, and *Moses and the Tablets of Law* were published in 1907 in a French journal. In or after 1904 but before 1913 the windows came into the possession of the Paris art dealer Jacques Seligmann & Cie. and were subsequently shipped to their branch in New York (which had opened in 1904 and moved to new premises in 1914). The *Crucifixion* window was sold to the New York magnate Thomas Fortune Ryan in 1913, while the other two were sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1917. Although yet to be fully documented, it is likely that William Randolph Hearst acquired the *Creation and Expulsion* window directly from Jacques Seligmann (1858–1923), with whom Hearst had extensive dealings. The window was installed in Hearst's vast New York apartment in the Clarendon at 137 Riverside Drive, probably by 1923 but before 1929, and remained there until Hearst vacated the premises in 1937 or 1938. No further record of the *Creation and Expulsion* window is known until 1952 when it was sold to Fritz Zeigler (1902–1996) of Fort Langley, near Vancouver, British Columbia, by William Randolph Hearst, Jr., a year after his father's death. The window was installed in the Zeigler

A version of this text will appear in our upcoming publication, *Lux and Lumen: Spencer Finch and Valentin Bousch at Hill Art Foundation*

house and remained there until 2006. It was consigned to a local auction house in 2007 and was acquired by Sam Fogg of London, from whom the Hill Art Foundation acquired it in 2018.



The *Creation and the Expulsion* window installed in the main reception room of Mrs. William R. Hearst's home. Riverside Drive & 86th St., N.Y.C, c. 1929.

The Conservation of the *Creation and Expulsion* window of Valentin Bousch

Drew Anderson and Timothy Husband

An initial study of *The Creation and Expulsion* window of Valentin Bousch, completed shortly after its acquisition by the Hill Art Foundation, indicated that the window was in relatively sound condition and generally well-preserved, given its age and size. The most obvious issue was the numerous mending leads that visually disrupted the composition, but to fully evaluate the condition of the window and to develop a conservation program, a panel-by-panel examination was undertaken. The Hill Art Foundation engaged Timothy Husband, Curator Emeritus of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, and Drew Anderson, Conservator in the Department of Objects Conservation, both Metropolitan Museum of Art, to take on this project.

Each panel was examined, photographed in its pre-restoration state, and charted to identify the following:

1. clean breaks in original glass that could be glued
2. clean breaks in original glass poorly adjoined or detached requiring regluing
3. grozed breaks with mending leads (the edges of the glass that have been nipped away or grozed to accommodate the width of the lead)
4. Stopgaps (old glass, related or unrelated, used to fill a void)
5. Original glass from any of the other windows in Saint-Firmin reused herean
6. Restorations, distinguishing, in so far as possible, the earlier from the more recent conservation/restoration campaigns

In many instances, these conditions, particularly grozed breaks, could only be identified when the glass was removed from its leads. While this step was avoided where possible, in reality most panels had to be largely, if not entirely, dismantled. If, for example, a piece in the center of a panel required treatment, all the pieces between it and the nearest edge would have to be removed.

Clean breaks of original glass were glued with XTAL NYL-1 epoxy. As the hand-blown glass is never of uniform thickness or entirely in plane, the pieces had to be carefully

manipulated for the breaks to be perfectly aligned. Each piece was dry fitted on a light table to ensure correct alignment. A low-adhesive tape was used to hold the break lines together and small drops of HXTAL adhesive were placed along the top of each break line and allowed to wick into the crack. Grozed breaks in the original glass were filled with HXTAL NYL-1 epoxy resin tinted with a combination of Orasol® dyes to match the color of the glass. Small stopgaps were generally filled with the same HXTAL NYL-1 tinted epoxy resins. Larger stopgaps were either reused or replaced with modern glass, on a case-by-case basis, depending on which option was the least visually disruptive.

In the course of examination, it was observed that in the clouds below the dove of the Holy Spirit, the lettering of the donor's motto, and the right leg and foot of Adam in the *Expulsion*, to name three instances, losses had been replaced, not with restorations, but with original glass from elsewhere in the glazing program, detectable by the nature of the glass and the manner and technique of paint application. The *Creation and Expulsion* window was mirrored on the south side of the choir by another three-lancet window assuredly of like architectural framing including a predella with inscription panels. All the other windows in the choir were single lancets and had at their base ornamental consoles on damascened, or arabesque patterns in black on colored grounds, incorporating monograms and other personal identifiers of both the commissioner and the artist, rather than inscription panels. Therefore, at least the fragments of inscriptions, if not all the pieces of original glass used in this early restoration, must have come from the opposite window.

In large part, the restorations seemed to date to the first two decades of the twentieth century, probably repairs undertaken after the window had been removed from the choir of Saint-Firmin at Flavigny-sur-Moselle and/or prior to its shipment from the firm of Jacques Seligmann & Cie. in Paris to its branch in New York. The bottom panels and the headers have suffered the most damage, resulting in numerous breaks, losses, and subsequent restorations. The figural panels, on the other hand, have fared far better and the few restorations were largely confined to architectural elements, the sky, the ground, and drapery. There are natural breaks in the torsos of Adam and Eve, caused by impact, torque or pressure against a fault in the glass, but these have been glued/bonded and are visible only upon scrutiny. The few restorations in the figures are relatively insignificant — with the notable exception of the head of Eve in the

Expulsion scene. This appears to be an early restoration, the high quality of which, in both painting and technique, is aesthetically compatible with the original. This and other early interventions were retained because they are not unduly disturbing and modern replacements would not have significantly improved the appearance of the window. Additionally, they have been in place long enough to be considered part of the history of the window and, therefore, have been retained, conforming to the conservation guidelines of the *Corpus Vitrearum*, an international organization of stained glass scholars and conservators.

After breaks were glued and infills painted, where necessary, the panels were releaded. Lead comes of 1 cm width were used to indicate original lead lines. Original glass and adjacent stopgaps, restored glass or modern inserts were joined with copper foil or, in cases where the mend needed to be more substantial, with a lead came trimmed down to a minimal width, .5 cm or less. Finally, post-restoration photographs were taken.

Valentin Bousch devised his compositions to minimize the visual intrusion of the lead matrices by relegating the supportive leads to the peripheries of each color field, thereby seemingly reducing them to a graphic element that outlines forms, rather than a structural one holding pieces together. To achieve this, he reduced the number of colors in his palette—as every change of color would require a lead—while he increased the sizes of individual pieces of glass. The vaults in the headers, for example, were each originally one exceptionally large piece of glass. The upper portion of the Creator's purple tunic is, likewise, an unusually large piece of glass as are those that form the torsos of Adam and Eve. The limited colors and the out sized pieces of glass frequently required complex and daring cuts that posed an unprecedented challenge to the glazier at the bench and pressed the medium to its limits. The torso of Eve and the cutout to accommodate the fig leaf is a notable example, as is the cutting of the elongated and irregularly shaped cloud under the dove of the Holy Ghost. Only if a piece of glass were deemed at risk of breakage because of its excessive size or precarious shape would Valentin have resorted to interior leads.

The delineation and modeling of forms was achieved by the painterly application of mattes in tones ranging from dense black to pale flesh tones that were subtly worked in fine gradations from shadowy depths to bright highlights. In the deep, billowing folds of the Creator's mantle Valentin used such dark mattes that the paint and the outlining leads merge. In modeling

and delineating the figures of Adam and Eve he used a limited range of pale brown flesh tones in delicately worked gradations from opaque density to near transparent tones blended into the soft highlights. To expand his palette, he also used varying hues of mattes as well as silver stain on, for one example, pale blue glass to achieve the brown, yellow and green tones of the ground and plants on a single piece of glass. In contrast to his most esteemed contemporaries, Valentin approached the art of stained glass more as a panel painter than as a painter on glass.

With a clearer idea of Valentin's artistic methodology in mind, the excessive number of mending leads was particularly disturbing and prompted a close examination. Some breaks were natural, but most appeared to be deliberate cuts that did not conform to natural break lines. This anomaly is explained by the fact that nineteenth-century stained-glass restorers, in the tradition of medieval glaziers, were paid piece meal, applying their identifying mark to each piece of glass they leaded up. The restorers of the *Creation and Expulsion* window were thus incentivized to deliberately break pieces of glass to increase their pay. This practice, which also fulfilled the general expectation at the time that all authentic early stained glass would have a web of lead lines, continued into the early twentieth century and has been documented both by archival research and by internal evidence in the *Creation and Expulsion* window. The greatest challenge of this conservation campaign was therefore to undo the deleterious effects of this unfortunate practice and to return, in so far as possible, the original lead lines of this window and thereby restoring its appearance to reflect more accurately Valentin Bousch's artistic intentions.



Priory church of Saint-Firmin, Flavigny-sur-Moselle, interior of choir.