

Concours des vitraux de Jeanne d'Arc: The Multiple Ways of Materializing the Past in Late Nineteenth-Century French Stained Glass

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In 1893 the competition to design ten stained glass windows for the Cathédral Sainte-Croix, Orléans, depicting the life of Joan of Arc, concluded with a traveling exhibition held in Paris and Orléans. This little-known event might have been entirely forgotten had it not been for the debate that raged after the announcement of the winner. The jury's award to L. Jacques Galland and Esprit Gibelin contrasted with the critical reception that favored the designs of Swiss artist Eugène Grasset. The discussions surrounding the competition reveal disagreement over how best to materialize the past in French stained glass, what techniques should be deployed to produce architecturally consistent windows, and the response to technological advances that were widely used by commercial firms producing windows for middle-class audiences. The article demonstrates how technique, technology, and the question of "how it was made" were key factors in shaping critical judgment of medieval revival in one of France's illustrious decorative art traditions.

On May 7, 1897, the bishop of the central French city of Orléans, S.G. Monseigneur Touchet, inaugurated ten stained glass windows commemorating the life of the Catholic martyr Joan of Arc that had been installed in the Cathédrale Sainte-Croix (fig. 1).¹ The city had long honored the Maid of Orléans, who in April 1429 freed the city from a siege enforced by the English Plantagenet forces during the Hundred Years' War. The effort to commemorate Joan's life had been led by Touchet's predecessor, Bishop Dupanloup, who had recommended Joan for canonization in 1869. Well known at the time as "one of the most assiduous promoters of Joan's cult," Dupanloup had gained the posthumous title "l'évêque [bishop] de Jeanne d'Arc."² He had wanted to add to the city's existing

commemorations of Joan of Arc, particularly necessary, he felt, to reclaim a sense of French national pride after the disastrous 1870–71 war with Prussia. Not only had German troops made incursions into France through Joan’s home region of Lorraine, but Germany had annexed substantial territories in the region in the Treaty of Frankfurt in 1871. Plans were initiated in the 1870s to commemorate Joan of Arc’s life through stained glass, but it was not until 1892, fourteen years after Dupanloup’s death, that the competition to create a series of windows in her honor was opened to artists, designers, and stained glass firms.³

The competition to design and make the stained glass windows in Orléans might seem like a minor development in the history of provincial and ecclesiastical decorative arts, their construction little more than a footnote to broader histories of Catholic revival in late nineteenth-century France and the popular resurgence of the Joan of Arc myth.⁴ However, the political climate and the rising power of that myth in post-1871 France meant that the competition attracted many prominent artists and stained glass firms keen to secure the hundred-thousand-franc commission; more important, it generated an impassioned media response.

This article is about that response.⁵ The leading art and design critics, stained glass practitioners, and scholars of the Third Republic debated furiously in print about what constituted the most appropriate revival of stained glass and how to avoid a slavish imitation of the past and achieve a synthesis of old and new. As one contemporary put it, the aim should be to faithfully communicate something of the “magic of the ancient glassmakers.”⁶ Success depended on a number of related skills that critics were alert to: knowledge of the techniques of the past, including the “mysteries” of lost medieval techniques (for example, the use of heavy lead cames); a particular approach to painting on glass; and a sense of the vibrancy of color that was not predicated solely on scientific understanding.

Interest in the competition reflected the pan-European revival in stained glass in ecclesiastical, civic, and domestic contexts, as exemplified by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin’s treatises on Gothic architecture and his Medieval Court decked out in Gothic style in the 1851 Great Exhibition and by King Ludwig’s patronage of the craft in Bavaria.⁷ Commissions from church and state authorities did not drive the growth in stained glass production alone: the revival was popular as well as institutional. In Victorian England buying stained glass “was a relatively ordinary thing to do,” and across the continent stained glass was being installed in bourgeois homes, apartments, and retail environments.⁸ In France the explosion in the number of firms producing stained glass and the publicity they generated was known as *vitromanie*.⁹ The romantic and religious ideals suggested by the medium were evocative of a preindustrial era presumed to be more simple, which appealed to European populations convulsed by rapid urbanization, challenges to religious authority, and incessant political change. It was felt that the “forms of the past” could “produce a return to the virtues associated with this past.”¹⁰

Touchet hoped the Joan of Arc windows would harness the unifying power of the past to remedy the fractious political and spiritual allegiances of the French



Fig. 1
Cathédrale Sainte-Croix,
Orléans, 2013. Photograph
by author.

people.¹¹ Critics, journalists, and scholars did not heed this call for national cohesion, however, and instead plunged into heated debate about how the medieval past should be faithfully realized in stained glass as soon as the designs went on public display.

The competition was of national importance: the jury included figures from the church, the *École des Beaux-Arts*, and the museum world; the stained glass practitioner Édouard Didron; and the fine artist Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, by this time renowned for his murals in various churches and public buildings throughout the land.¹² The jury drew up a shortlist of ten entries. Each team comprised an artist-designer, responsible for designing the window and producing the cartoon, and a stained glass firm or craftsman that would make the window (fig. 2).¹³ On October 17, 1893, the jury met at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris and awarded the commission to the painter L. Jacques Galland and the master glassmaker Esprit Gibelin. Their windows were eventually installed and still grace the cathedral today. Yet in the autumn of 1893, in the immediate aftermath of the jury's decision, a critical outcry broke out when the competition entries were displayed in public exhibitions in Paris and Orléans.¹⁴

The controversy centered on the announcement of Galland and Gibelin as the winner instead of the team made up of glazier Félix Gaudin and the Swiss-born decorative artist Eugène Grasset, who was much admired for his posters

and graphic designs that had attracted much public attention during the previous decade. Fault lines were not simply drawn between traditionalists, grouped around the church, and modernists supporting a fluid art nouveau vision for contemporary stained glass. Critical reception was more nuanced and reflected a genuine sensitivity to medieval production methods and ecclesiastical architecture as part of a larger program to rejuvenate the medium. Like Walter Benjamin's angel of history, thrust forward by the storms of progress while poring over the debris of the past, competition entrants were expected to generate a medieval "spirit" in their work while using up-to-date technology and scientific knowledge.¹⁵

The debates surrounding the competition highlight the ambiguity about what constituted material quality and modernity in late nineteenth-century French stained glass. According to the critic Georges Cochet, among the ten entries on the shortlist it was the three works by Galland and Gibelin, Grasset and Gaudin, and Albert Maignan's collaboration with the Parisian firm Ch. Champigneulle et Fils that provoked the most extreme reactions at the public exhibitions, where their designs for the windows were represented by one window design each: Galland and Gibelin's winning entry, "Jeanne au sacre de Charles VII dans la cathédrale de Reims"; Grasset and Gaudin's much-admired "Jeanne sur la bucher de la place du Vieux-Marché de Rouen"; and Maignan and Champigneulle's "Jeanne est faite prisonnière devant compïègne" (figs. 3–5).¹⁶ The last entry most obviously harnessed the recent technical advances and popular trends in stained glass production associated with *vitromanie*, which adversely affected its critical judgment. The work was deemed too close to trends in popular and secular material culture and not sympathetic enough to ecclesiastical contexts.

Fig. 2
Concours pour l'exécution de verrières relatives à Jeanne d'Arc destinées à la Cathédrale d'Orléans: Exposition des projets 27 octobre–5 novembre 1893 (Orleans: H. Herluison, 1893). Bibliothèque des arts décoratifs, Paris, Br. 5779.

In this article I will explore the impact of *vitromanie* on the critical commentary surrounding the competition. Moreover, I will try to answer the question, Why did critics such as stained glass practitioners Émile Delalande and Édouard Didron, who defended the jury's decision, disagree so adamantly about the appropriate technique, figuration, and architectural contextualization required when producing revivalist ecclesiastical stained glass?¹⁷

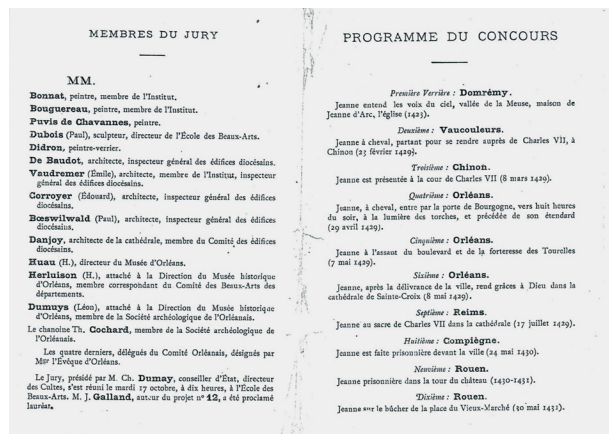
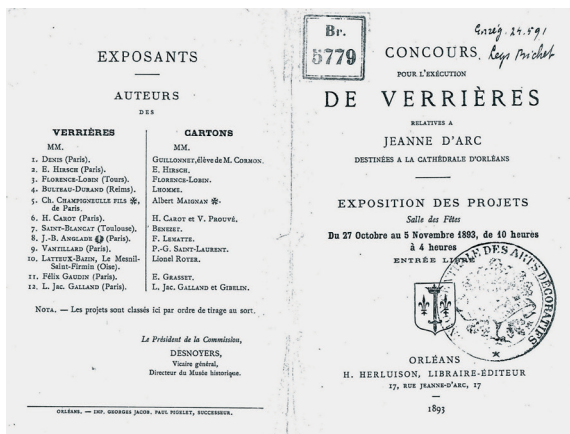




Fig. 3
L. Jacques Galland and Esprit Gibelin, "Jean au sacre de Charles VII dans la cathédrale de Reims," *L'oeuvre d'art: Revue bimensuelle* (October 1893). © Victoria and Albert Museum.

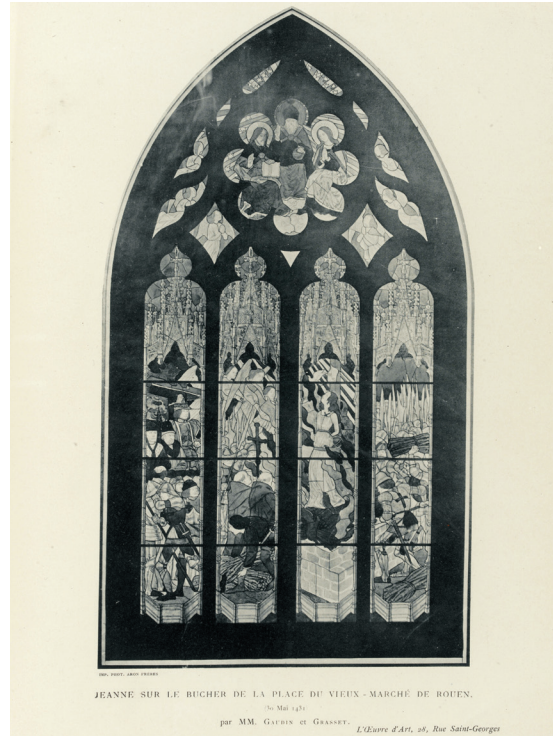


Fig. 4 (above)
Eugène Grasset and Félix Gaudin, "Jeanne sur le bucher de la place du Vieux-Marché de Rouen," *L'oeuvre d'art: Revue bimensuelle* (October 1893). © Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 5 (left)
Champigneulle et Fils, "Jeanne est faite prisonnière devant compiegne," *L'oeuvre d'art: Revue bimensuelle* (October 1893). © Victoria and Albert Museum.

The decorative arts have long been an integral part of late nineteenth-century French art history. Nancy Troy has broadened our understanding of French art nouveau by placing the decorative arts at the center of the history of modernism. As she notes, Le Corbusier, like the artists of the 1890s and those within the long history of French decorative art, shared a “fundamental and continuous concern for methods of production.”¹⁸ Debora Silverman’s detailed account of French decorative arts in the 1890s outlines the reconfiguration of French art nouveau, which went from being synonymous with technological achievements, epitomized by the Eiffel Tower, to being a celebration of “organic interiority,” a looking inward toward the feminine in the aesthetic and cultural atmosphere that held sway by the end of the decade.¹⁹ Both scholars emphasize the importance of continuity in fin de siècle French decorative arts: French makers and critics did not want to reject past techniques and forms or merely imitate them in an endless stream of historicism (as evinced in metropolitan department stores and antique markets of the period) but instead sought to renew traditions of French excellence in decorative art production and “expand, enrich, and augment the heritage that [had] been bequeathed.”²⁰

There might have been a great hope to unify the Third Republic through its traditions of decorative arts, as Silverman notes when she describes the powerful political symbolism of French artisans learning from their illustrious traditions of manufacture.²¹ However, as the specific example of stained glass production shows, there was plenty of disagreement over how this vision of French artisanal distinction should be made manifest in objects. Critics discussed at great length the techniques, materials, and technologies that would best ensure the continuity of excellence in French decorative arts. Silverman and Troy are concerned with larger cultural and political currents, so they do not refer in detail to the importance of “correct” production procedures or to the right way of reviving certain crafts.²² In fact, as I aim to show, technique and processes of making were a crucial part of the critical discourse about French applied arts in the 1890s with regard to both stained glass and other creations.

The competition for the Joan of Arc windows at Orléans provides an example of how late nineteenth-century aesthetics depended on a deep understanding of the technical lessons of the past. The principal disagreements surrounding this competition were over the nuances of medieval revival—most notably whether it was the look of the past that was to be appropriated or its techniques and processes—and the effects of *vitromanie* on the quality of fin de siècle stained glass.

To bring out the importance of stained glass process or technique, an understanding of the procedures specific to the medium is necessary. My goal here, however, is not to show how stained glass was or should be made. The ambiguity of the brief provided at the outset of the competition and the subsequent critical discourse demonstrate that the processes of making stained glass are not ahistorical; they instead reflect different attitudes toward technology, aesthetics, and revival that depend upon contrasting social, political, and national narratives. Indeed, these processes are as affected by the training, biases, and prejudices of the maker or makers as by any aesthetic preferences.

The Production of Stained Glass and the Competition Brief

To immortalize a popular national hero of France demanded a stringent brief. The jury obliged. It required that competitors be prepared to produce ten windows depicting the major moments of Joan of Arc's life in chronological order, from her birth in Domrémy around 1412 to her martyrdom at the stake in Rouen some nineteen years later.²³ Yet it was the stipulation that the windows should be consistent historically and harmonious in architectural placement, on the one hand, while making use of modern techniques and recent technical advances, on the other, that provided the teams with their most challenging conundrum.²⁴ The ambiguity of being “medieval” in spirit yet also “modern” touched the core of ongoing debates about how the earlier glory of French stained glass should be properly revived.

The Joan of Arc window competition arose at the end of a century in which two distinct trajectories of materializing the past in French stained glass had evolved: what Jean-François Luneau has described as *vitrail archéologique* and *vitrail-tableau*.²⁵ *Vitrail archéologique* denotes stained glass that attempted to copy medieval examples faithfully; the approach was bound up with the state-led project to restore France's abundant supply of medieval ecclesiastical stained glass. With meticulous attention to original contexts and style, the movement for *vitrail archéologique* reflected what was presumed to be a rational remaking of the medieval past, but by using modern technologies to make medieval-style depictions, as in the “Passion” window of the Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois in Paris and in much of the work of Eugène Viollet-le-Duc. By contrast, *vitrail-tableau* denotes windows that depicted historical subject matter in a figurative style closer in spirit and conception to the representative mode of contemporary oil painting. This latter style became popular throughout western Europe in the nineteenth century after the introduction of procedures to decorate glass using enamel paint developed by the German porcelain painter Michael Sigmund Frank in the 1810s.²⁶ The heavy lead comes, the H-shaped strips to hold the pieces of glass together—so essential in stained glass up until this moment—were no longer as necessary, since painters could now depict subjects with enamel paint in great detail without their support.²⁷

The critical response to the entries for the Joan of Arc windows competition affirms the persuasiveness of this binary mode of categorizing stained glass in late nineteenth-century France. In the brief itself the ecclesiastical authorities were asking for work that conformed more to Luneau's categorization of *vitrail archéologique*—collaborative working, architectural sympathy, and the appropriate use of lead comes in the glass. Adopting historical procedures of stained glass design and production was not felt to be sufficient by itself, however; it was thought that the 1890s moment of technological progress had to be interwoven in the revival of past technique.

Collaborative Working

The need for artists to be associated with a stained glass studio or production company reflected the inherently collaborative nature of stained glass production and the sequence of steps that go into making a stained glass window. These can be described briefly as follows.

Stained glass windows start with a small-scale drawing that is enlarged into a cartoon that shares the window's dimensions. The cartoon image is traced onto some form of tracing paper. Known as the cutline and showing the placement of the lead comes, this sheet of paper is attached to the underside of a plate of clear sheet glass, allowing the maker to paint the lead comes directly onto the glass using a smooth paste specifically mixed to adhere to the glass. Each panel of glass is cut along these lines and then painted by applying colored pigment mixed with gum (there are several ways to add fine decoration; multiple firings and grooves or scratches on the surface make further detail and layering possible). Each panel of glass is fired so that the pigment attaches itself to, or is fused with, the glass surface.

Once the painting on one side of the glass is complete and fired, the other side is “stained,” or given a wash made of a mixture of silver, gamboge (a resinous yellow pigment), and small amounts of gum. This gives the stained glass window its iridescent quality. The pieces of glass are then brought together, like a jigsaw puzzle, with lead comes connecting the glass panels and holding them in place. Finally, the comes are soldered together, and the window is fixed within its intended opening.²⁸

Because production includes so many stages, it was (and still is) common for firms to divide the labor, employing individuals to perform specific tasks—for example, having a cartooner, a glass painter, and a glass cutter. Critics looked for cohesion between these different tasks: the art critic Fernand Weyl praised the “harmonious unity” of Grasset and Gaudin’s work in the Orléans competition, and Édouard Didron and François Thiébault-Sisson used the word “harmony” in their assessments of what constituted good stained glass design.²⁹ Harmony was clearly important, and in British Arts and Crafts glass, or, more specifically, in the work of its leading protagonist, Christopher Whall, it was generally thought to be best achieved by one person undertaking all the different tasks involved in stained glass production from concept to realization.³⁰ The jury in the Joan of Arc competition, however, envisaged the artist as (ideally) the overseer of the whole project. This pattern of working was already recognized. Architects in the mold of Viollet-le-Duc or A. W. N. Pugin, who often designed and made cartoons for the stained glass on the buildings they worked on, were rarely, if ever, involved in the manufacture or execution of the windows.³¹

Architectural Sympathy

Another key characteristic that the jury members were looking for in competition entries was effective architectural contextualization—in other words,

design that was sympathetic with the surrounding medieval architecture.³² Contextualization was not simply a matter of matching the style of the window to that of the building. An 1897 report on the windows highlighted the overall importance of this attribute of stained glass design. It insisted on the need to “harmonize with the building, to serve it—because this art [stained glass] is a subordinate art—it must avoid leading the eye beyond the surface and instead bring together a screen before it; a screen luminous and soft, but nevertheless insurmountable.”³³ This expectation among critics and scholars that stained glass windows should “serve” architecture as a “subordinate art” reflected models of medieval ecclesiastical construction where masonry and windows were built simultaneously and contributed mutually to the brilliance of the space.³⁴ The poetic appeal of all the crafts working in unison under one roof, so to speak, had a strong resonance for many design theorists at the turn of the twentieth century, including Henry Van de Velde and designers of the *Deutsche Werkbund*, and even those associated with the early Bauhaus.³⁵ Yet for the jury and the critics of the Joan of Arc windows the concern was less ideological and more technical. Contextualization for them centered on how the entrants generated harmony between their modern (late nineteenth-century) window designs and the fifteenth-century encasements for them.³⁶

For the windows to blend in and be subservient to the architecture, entrants had to make sure their designs refrained from being overassertive or loud. According to the contemporary French stained glass scholar Léon Ottin, the compromise was not an easy one for the increasingly self-conscious artists of the period: they wanted to sign their work in “big letters.”³⁷ Subservience meant the strict avoidance of several tendencies common in stained glass production of the day: the use of brash colors, the insertion of an artist’s personal motif or style, and the overuse of figurative detail.

Lead Comes

The jury was particularly sensitive to the way windows incorporated lead into the design. Lead comes were essential in medieval window production: they kept the parts of the stained glass window together, a functional imperative that weakened with advances in sheet glass technology in subsequent centuries. The structural purpose of lead comes in medieval stained glass directly impacted their design and aesthetics, for large bold lines of lead had to crisscross the window, disrupting any effort to attain the level of realism readily achievable in oil painting, watercolor, and drawing.

In the late nineteenth century, the majority of French and British scholars and practitioners in the field of modern stained glass emphasized the importance of exposing leadwork, and they bemoaned the highly popular stained glass from Munich and Innsbruck that made little use of lead, achieving figurative detail through enamel paint.³⁸ Whall, for example, wrote in a somewhat schoolmasterish tone that stained glass should wear its medieval materiality on its sleeve:

You think it perhaps too “severe”? You do not like to see the leads so plainly. You would like better something more after the “Munich” school, where the lead line is disguised or circumvented. If so, my lesson has gone wrong; but we must try and get it right.

You would like it better because “it is more of a picture”; exactly, but you ought to like the other better because it is “more of a window.” Yes, even if all else were equal, you ought to like it better, *because* the lead lines cut it up. Keep your pictures for the walls and your windows for the holes in them.³⁹

Whall’s polemic reflected the widespread expectation among French and British scholars and practitioners that stained glass should not ape the realism of watercolors or oil paintings to create a picture but instead should follow the medieval form, where windows were made up from many pieces of glass with a single, flat perspective. Depth, according to this model of practice, was achieved by varying the thickness of the glass; the detail, by marking the interior side of the stained glass surface.⁴⁰

French scholars shared Whall’s dismissive attitude toward glass that copied the three-dimensionality of painting, but in their case the criticism was mostly directed at the early nineteenth-century production of stained glass at Sèvres and specifically its head, Alexandre Brogniart, who pioneered new methods of enamel painting in stained glass in response to the advances being made in Germany.⁴¹ Despite the technical advances in stained glass and accomplishments of Brogniart and the Munich glaziers, the scant use of lead lines in their windows meant their style could easily be associated with the broader, popular production of stained glass in the nineteenth century, a view propagated above all by scholars keen to secure the superiority of French medieval traditions. Technological advances that allowed stained glass firms to depict pictorial detail without lead, and even allowed makers to paint fake lead divisions, were derided as an inauthentic imitation of medieval stained glass.⁴²

The Orléans jury took a grave view of windows that shared the features associated with popular *vitromanie*—hence the negative critical response to Albert Maignan’s collaboration with Champigneulle, a company that was closely associated with the popular revival of stained glass. Champigneulle’s windows often made minimal use of lead comes and employed enamel painting for detailed figuration, much in the manner of the Munich glaziers.

Maignan and Champigneulle’s Entry and Popular *Vitromanie*

Georges Cochet’s critique of Maignan and Champigneulle in the 1893 edition of *L’oeuvre d’art* exemplifies the criticism of their work: “It is regrettable that these two, driven by their artistic temperament and patriotism, have completely forgotten the fundamental laws of stained glass.”⁴³ Criticism was generally not directed toward Maignan, however, who designed the cartoon: he was a

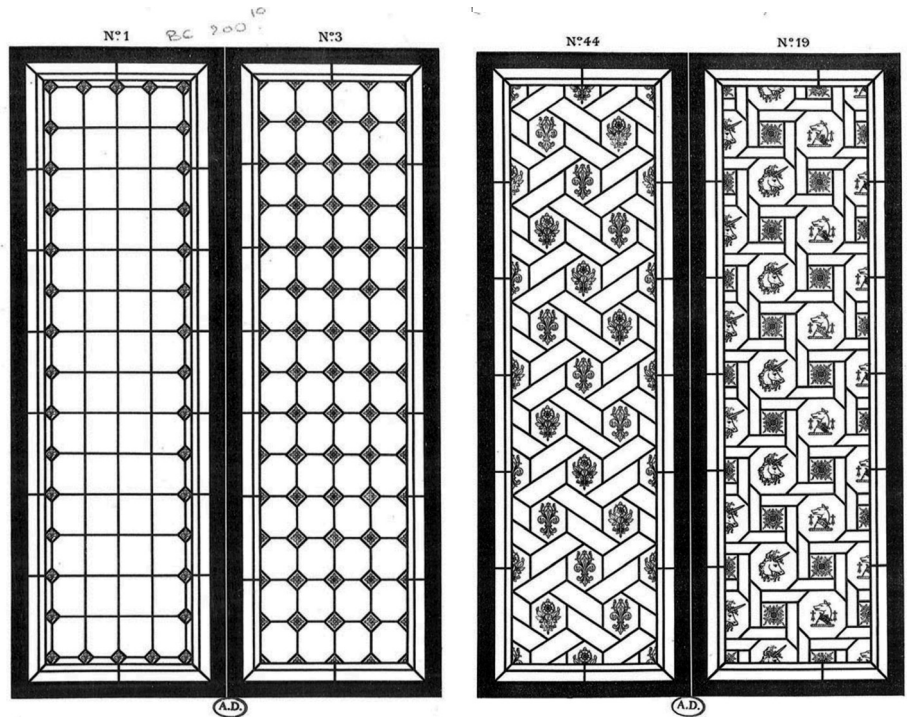
respected artist who illustrated editions of Victor Hugo and secured a string of decorative art commissions in the 1890s that were praised by Didron and others as “charming” and “curious.”⁴⁴ What really concerned the jury and the critics was the way Maignan’s sketches were translated into the medium of stained glass, the lack of harmony between the cartoon design and the production method employed by Champigneulle.

Champigneulle created Maignan’s design with minimal use of lead came and adopted a figurative, three-dimensional perspective (see fig. 5). This approach—epitomizing the tradition that Luneau described as *vitrail-tableau*—was integral to the company’s history. In 1868, Louis-Charles-Marie Champigneulle took over the stained glass atelier set up by Charles-Laurent Maréchal de Metz in 1837, which was known for producing “windows in a highly pictorial mode” (see fig. 7).⁴⁵ Its deployment of naturalistic figures on stained glass, which relied on recent technological advances, was widely criticized by reformers. Didron, for example, linked Champigneulle’s technique with painting on glass—associated with the mass production of stained glass for the middle-class domestic market—rather than the illustrious tradition of ecclesiastical stained glass.⁴⁶

Champigneulle’s work utilized eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century techniques imported from Germany that French scholars viewed with considerable disdain. Ottin, for example, explained how medieval traditions in stained glass had faded. Reflecting the fashion of the time and harnessing the improvements in enameling technology, churches and civic buildings opted for blank windows that let in more light and were sparsely decorated.⁴⁷ Like the Munich glass, early nineteenth-century Sèvres glass was thought to be representative of this decline. A number of French critics attacked Sèvres, renowned for porcelain production, for clumsily translating technical advances in enameling into the burgeoning field of stained glass.⁴⁸ Didron claimed that Champigneulle’s entry was “worse” than the glassware of Sèvres.⁴⁹ In his opinion, Champigneulle failed to adopt historically valorized production procedures and harked back to what was considered an aesthetically deprived era of French stained glass art, when scientific advancements were overprioritized. In creating the Joan of Arc entry, the firm had failed to heed the words of Ottin, who warned that in stained glass art, “science was not the big key that opened all the doors.”⁵⁰

The association of Champigneulle with the middlebrow taste of *vitromanie* clearly affected the critical responses to its work. The company was known for harnessing technological developments to produce smaller-scale, minor works for the domestic interior. In the 1884 *Annales industrielles*, an annual survey of developments within various industries, Champigneulle’s innovations were commended for freeing stained glass from the past. The author lauded the firm’s use of recent enameling technology to make stained glass light, elegant, and joyful, effects achieved through the introduction of chemicals to the glass paint that added shimmer to the colored surface.⁵¹ These features of Champigneulle’s production—alongside the scant use of lead and the preference for figurative aesthetics—may have been favored by the industry and the developing domestic market, but they were bemoaned by scholars upholding the ideals of history and national culture. In short, *vitromanie* and the new technologies

Fig. 6
*Vitraux: Modèles de
fenêtres décorées
par la hyalochromie.
Nouveau procédé
d'application &
de cuisson des
couleurs vitrifiables
breveté en France
et à l'étranger
(Paris: Rosey and
Engelmann, 1890).
Bibliothèque des
arts décoratifs,
Paris, BC 200/10.*



were tainted by both their popular appeal and their association with German production.

Champigneulle was just one company among many others in late nineteenth-century France that generated business by installing stained glass in domestic interiors. Sales catalogues, brochures, and the long list of companies in the stained glass section of annually published guides for architects are testament to the popularity of this medium at the time of the Orléans competition.⁵² Bourgeois audiences wanted to give their interiors a touch of history, and firms like Rosey and Engelmann, H. Chabin, and Champigneulle could oblige. Rosey and Engelmann provided many different designs suitable for the domestic interior across the price spectrum (fig. 6). Although the cost of the more complex patterns was well beyond the reach of the average Parisian family, the simple design shown in figure 6 on the left was more affordable.⁵³ What sales catalogues demonstrate is that the range of designs was broad enough to accommodate clients with lower incomes as well as their wealthier counterparts, who could buy their way to distinction.⁵⁴

Like Champigneulle, Rosey and Engelmann made considerable use of technical advances. The window designs shown in figure 6 were made possible and affordable through the use of Hyalochromie, a new procedure for applying vitrifiable colors to glass. Many of the commercial stained glass companies used such processes because they were quick and inexpensive and satiated the rising demand for fashionable domestic decoration. As Henry Coulier notes, however,



Fig. 7
 The sales catalogue *Vitraux d'art Champigneulle et Fils de Paris & Cie* (Paris, 1893) depicting an Indian-style window for the foyer of the Eden Theatre, Paris (left) and a Gothic window for the Comte de Valenças, Lisbon (right). © Victoria and Albert Museum.

the artificial production of luminescence provided only a short-term thrill: the material would quickly fade and flake off the glass surface.⁵⁵ Thiébauld-Sisson, who critiqued the Orléans competition, made an explicit link between Champigneulle and the perils of the commercial market, claiming that the firm primarily responded to the rage for “pretty, decorative bits and pieces,” which possessed none of the durability of traditionally made stained glass.⁵⁶

Equally transitory were the *crayons vitrifiables* developed by the late nineteenth-century Parisian chemist Alphonse Lacroix, which made decorating windows as easy as drawing on paper. Aimed at a market of amateur decorators and customers wanting craft activities for the home, these pencils contained vitrifying matter that could be fired onto glass at low temperatures.⁵⁷ This do-it-yourself arm of

vitromanie depended on the simplification of complex processes through the development of technologies that could be applied outside the specialist workshop and factory. Ottin criticized the practice of sticking either bits of paper or bands of translucent paper to windows in imitation of stained glass, which similarly represented a translation of the medium into a domestic handicraft.⁵⁸ Heritage, history, and the passing down of specialized trade skills from generation to generation all seemed to be undermined by such techniques, whose sole purpose was to circumvent the traditional procedures of stained glass production.

In addition to contributing material faults commonly associated with domestic stained glass, commercial production contributed to the influx of naturalistic or illusionistic three-dimensional figurative designs. A further corruption in the eyes of traditionalists was the insertion of personalized motifs—perhaps a portrait of the nouveau riche home owner or a heraldic device of dubious provenance. The firms were responding to a historically conscious audience attracted by goods that referenced, or were actually from, previous eras. The nineteenth-century fad for medievalism, inspired by the romantic literature of Victor Hugo and Walter Scott and extending to a love of chivalry and visits to the Musée des monuments français, was recognized at the time and has been well documented since then.⁵⁹

Stained glass firms actively offered customers the chance to insert themselves into historical narratives of their own devising, however much scholars bemoaned the affectation of historical lineage. Clients added images, portraits, personal symbols, or heraldic devices to windows whose form and medium suggested associations with a distant past.⁶⁰ Designs produced by the firm Maison E. Thibaud of Clermont-Ferrand show that personalized motifs (including coats of arms and portraits) could be added to stained glass designs for as little as ten to twenty francs.⁶¹ Champigneulle's firm also engaged in this practice, as we can see in examples of windows from their 1893 catalogue (fig. 7). Its designs were substantially more expensive: it charged 75–250 francs to depict a person in the style of the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth century and 250–500 francs for a whole scene.⁶² In 1884, for example, Champigneulle portrayed members of the de Wendel family as a historic donor group in a stained glass scheme designed by Laurent-Charles Maréchal that the de Wendels had commissioned for the Church of Saint-Martin in Hayange, Lorraine.⁶³ Critics familiar with the history of stained glass were presumably aware that this type of figurative depiction and individualization was far removed from the anonymity that characterized medieval production.⁶⁴

Figuration, the lack of lead comes, the overuse of new techniques and materials, and an overt attempt to please the market were all features of Champigneulle's stained glass production that encouraged critics to associate their entry in the Orléans competition with all that was wrong with the widespread and popular *vitromanie*.

Galland and Gibelin versus Grasset and Gaudin

General agreement about the flaws in the Maignan and Champigneulle entry did not mean general acceptance of the jury's decision to award the commission

to Galland and Gibelin instead of Grasset and Gaudin. Cochet, in his review, regretted that Grasset and Gaudin did not win, for their work held his “sympathies and wishes.”⁶⁵ But it was not until November 1893, by which time the exhibition had traveled from Paris to Orléans, that Delalande’s commentary ignited controversy over the jury’s decision. “For the glory of Joan” some of Delalande’s contemporaries signed his petition for a decision in favor of Grasset and Gaudin.⁶⁶ According to Thiébault-Sisson, many artists and literary figures signed the petition, although he does not name any of them.⁶⁷ In response to Delalande’s rebuke, Didron, the only stained glass practitioner on the jury, defended the jury’s decision in the December 1893 edition of *Révue des arts décoratifs* by pointing to the winning entry’s historical research and “accuracy.”⁶⁸

Eugène Grasset’s work received both critical and public admiration during and after the public exhibitions in the autumn of 1893. He was already a popular figure, well known for his innovative graphic design and for other work across the applied arts during the previous two decades—from bill posters that advertised the performances of Sarah Bernhardt, Marquet ink, and a range of fin de siècle products, festivals, and events to book illustrations, furniture, textiles, and jewelry produced in collaboration with Paul and Henry Vever.⁶⁹

Grasset had worked with Félix Gaudin in stained glass since 1886, producing designs for both civic and religious contexts. One of Grasset’s best-known stained glass windows, *Le printemps* (1894), now in the collection of the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris, demonstrates his modern attitude toward stained glass.⁷⁰ In this window he asserts the two-dimensionality of the medium, using lead came and bold blocks of color to create a secular, even naturalistic, composition of a young woman picking flowers in a landscape. This interpretation of the stained glass medium was less tied to revivalist aesthetics, with replication of the style and techniques of the past, and closer to the forms and iconography of the modern art nouveau interior.

Le printemps was reflective of a new direction in stained glass, oriented toward civic, domestic, and artistic contexts, as shown by various public commissions and perhaps most famously by the windows produced by the American glassmaker Louis Comfort Tiffany for the opening of Siegfried Bing’s *Maison de l’art nouveau* in 1895, the cartoons for which were designed by radical Parisian artists of the day, including Pierre Bonnard, Édouard Vuillard, Paul Sérusier, Ker-Xavier Roussel, and Maurice Denis. It is no surprise that these now well-known “Nabis” artists were interested in stained glass: the combination of the medieval spirituality of the medium and its surface flatness, with bold blocks of color encased by bold lines, accorded with the group’s interest in decorative art—such as Paul Gauguin’s fascination with cloisonné—and their reconceptualization of painting as the arrangement of a series of blocks of color, as articulated by the group’s main spokesperson, Maurice Denis, in 1890. Grasset’s work must be seen in parallel with this interest in stained glass among progressive artists of the period.⁷¹

Despite Grasset’s somewhat secular approach to stained glass, many critics felt that his designs were well suited to the ecclesiastical context of the Orléans

commission. His work was widely celebrated by the main commentators and allegedly by the public as well. Thiébauld-Sisson praised the “ingenious disposition of subjects in the architectural context.”⁷² Cochet claimed that in Grasset’s work “one witnesses the science of stained glass in all its splendor”: the artist was able to capture in Joan’s face her patience, modesty, chastity, and humility.⁷³ Delalande, one of Grasset’s main supporters, described the Swiss artist’s work as both “modern” and “independent.”⁷⁴ He continues: “It is not a banal copy of the illuminated manuscripts and tapestries of the era.” Rather, “the sentiment of *modernity* clearly emanates from this work.”⁷⁵

For Delalande, Grasset’s loose translation of pictorial detail into stained glass added to the charm of his designs. Other critics agreed, describing a sense of “harmony with the laws of stained glass”; the artist, they thought, was able to combine the appropriate amount of lead work with the effective arrangement of clear panes of colored glass.⁷⁶ In a special edition of the art journal *La plume* in 1894, produced on the occasion of a solo exhibition of Grasset’s work, many critics applauded the Orléans design that was included in the show. They generally felt that Grasset possessed an innate understanding of this “special art,” striking the correct balance between using modern technology and communicating something of the past mysteries of the medium.⁷⁷

Grasset’s work may have been well received by a broad range of critics, and has since garnered further admiration, but it failed to move the one person who mattered at the time: Édouard Didron, practitioner, writer, veteran of the stained glass revival, designer of windows for several Parisian churches, and member of the Orléans jury.⁷⁸ Defending the jury’s decision in the 1893 article for the *Revue des arts décoratifs*, Didron criticized Grasset’s depiction of Joan, suggesting that her character seemed “entirely compromised.”⁷⁹ He did praise Grasset’s understanding of stained glass, his sympathy for architectural context, and his overall talent as an artist, but he went on to explain that the artist’s windows were “exclusively decorative and not adequate to interpret the spirit of religious poetry imprinted on the life of the grand and mystical virgin of Lorraine.”⁸⁰ These objections must have been deep seated, because Didron later criticized one of Grasset’s other stained glass works: the window designs he produced for Vaucouleurs church that were exhibited at the 1900 Exposition universelle. In this case, Didron disliked the “truly incompatible” mixture of medieval detailing and modern translucent “American glass.”⁸¹

Didron judged that Galland’s entry was the most successful in communicating both the spirit of the past and the religious subject matter, and as the sole stained glass practitioner on the jury, his opinion mattered. Didron, on behalf of the jury, explained that Galland, influenced by his research on the medieval tapestries in the Musée du Cluny, had managed to demonstrate a “superior sense of the laws of decoration.”⁸² Didron praised Galland’s cogent depiction of fifteenth-century styles. Indeed, the central figures in the window design shown in figure 3 were probably modeled on Jean Fouquet’s panel depicting Étienne Chevalier and Saint Stephen dating from around 1450.⁸³ Didron also praised Galland and Gibelin for their intense and clear tones of color, which are still evident today, as shown by a contemporary photograph (fig. 8).⁸⁴



Fig. 8
L. Jacques Galland and
Esprit Gibelin, "Jeanne sur le
bûcher de la place du Vieux-
Marché de Rouen" (detail,
2013). Photograph by author.

Son of the well-known decorative artist Pierre-Victor Galland and a friend of James McNeill Whistler, L. Jacques Galland set up a stained glass atelier in 1889. The founding of the atelier was announced in the news section of *Révue des arts décoratifs*, the journal commending Galland for his discerning and delicate use of American glass (which, the authors point out, was actually invented in France).⁸⁵ Compared to Grasset, with his long list of commissions, Galland was a relative newcomer, which perhaps explains the negative critical reception of his entry to the Orléans competition. Henry Coulier, member of the *Chambre syndicale des peintres-verriers français*, in a later article for *Le journal de la peinture sur verre*, said about the colors that Didron and the jury had praised that Galland's use of color was "delirious" and made a mockery of the grandiose religious subject matter.⁸⁶ Coulier even adopted a much-used tactic of derision

by comparing Galland's work to popular stained glass. He wrote: "To color glass, it is not enough to simply toss a load of glass boxes [in the air], as in the Moulin Rouge, and then mount in lead the scraps of glass found scattered on the pavement."⁸⁷ Coulier's comparison of the vivid colors of Galland's work to the glasswork of the Moulin Rouge hints at an affiliation between the design and the strong, vibrant colors often seen in windows produced during the *vitromanie*. Other criticisms of Galland's design were not limited to the color of the glass. Coulier criticized the amount of lead work as excessive. And Thiébauld-Sisson suggested that the composition was incoherent and "intolerable," that it drew attention to the enormous dimensions of the figures.⁸⁸

As should now be apparent, a clear division had emerged between the critics who favored Grasset's work and Didron, who defended Galland. Ironically, Galland's supporters claimed that Grasset's work contained the very same deficiencies that supporters of Grasset noticed in Galland's. For example, Cochet stated that Galland demonstrated an "almost perfect" knowledge of the science of arranging lead lines; Coulier believed the contrary was true.⁸⁹ In the same vein, both Delalande and Didron accused Galland and Grasset, respectively, of not being historically accurate.⁹⁰

We could attribute this division of opinion among the critics to differences in taste and perhaps to concealed personal animosities.⁹¹ However, the main point of contention was the extent to which the designs were informed by the technical procedures of the past and avoided the overt figuration and material processes associated with nineteenth-century *vitromanie* (such as enamel painting on glass and use of new chemical procedures).⁹² What seemed crucial was that each team of artist and glazier should stay faithful to medieval production procedures in the treatment of the leading, the coloration of the glass, and the depiction of medieval detail.

Conditions of Uniqueness

One of the key attributes of medieval stained glass production was its uniqueness: only one stained glass window of its type was made for the particular aperture for which it was intended. This uniqueness arose, it was sometimes claimed, because the glass designer often worked closely with the architect of the building. There was a large degree of what craft theorist David Pye describes as the "workmanship of risk" in the production of medieval stained glass, where the "quality of the work "is continually at risk during the process of making."⁹³ With finite resources, rudimentary tools, geographical specificity, and an understanding of color that was not rooted in modern science, medieval stained glass producers worked under the conditions of risk. Despite greater access to scientific and historical understanding, the successful revival of stained glass by artists and glaziers depended on "falling in love with the beautiful traditions" of the medium.⁹⁴ Critics wanted modern stained glass to communicate the mystery or spirit of medieval production. This is evident in how often "magic" or "mystery" is used as a criterion of judgment in the discourse surrounding the Orléans competition.⁹⁵ Technological perfection, aided by scientific advances,

constituted a poor reiteration of the idiosyncrasies evident in localized preindustrial production.

The working conditions prevailing in the 1890s made emulation of past production procedures difficult. Naïveté, or simplicity in means and conception, so common in the idiosyncratic designs of medieval art, was very difficult to copy, especially in an age when science and technology had been applied to most areas of manufacturing in order to systematize, explain, and eradicate the uncertainties of preindustrial production methods. As the official report on the Joan of Arc windows noted, medieval stained glass included little mistakes, evidence of gay abandon, rough edges, stiffness, and clumsiness—attributes that were difficult for the “pure,” “refined,” and “critical” spirit of late nineteenth-century decorative artists to understand.⁹⁶ Indeed, it was difficult to be naïve when designing windows for an important building in the nineteenth century, when deficiencies in skill had become much more associated with aesthetic failure than artistic success.

Of all the entrants, Grasset showed a particular awareness of the different contexts of stained glass production in the past. He bemoaned, for example, the tendency to mass-produce glass that had a consistently flat surface; instead, he celebrated irregularity in surface texture, the specific coloration of medieval glass, and the deficiencies that occurred in medieval methods of stained glass production.⁹⁷

Other critics echoed Grasset’s suspicion of scientific refinement and precision. As Ottin suggested: “Mystery surrounds all specialism. It is why our efforts so often are in vain when we want to dig up the hidden secrets of the past.”⁹⁸ For Ottin, no artist could capture exactly the brilliant blues of the Bourges cathedral’s stained glass or the medieval naïveté of Chartres’s windows: existing examples set an impossible target, both in aesthetics and in architectural context, even before one considered the conditions of labor that produced them. Grasset’s sympathetic approach to the problems of revival, his loose interpretation of detail, and his willingness to fuse novelty with tradition suggest a sensitivity, integral to medieval production, that anticipates Pye’s framing of the workmanship of risk. This emphasis on risk gets to the heart of a paradox in the revival of decorative art mediums: effective translation of past techniques might depend less on self-conscious, scholarly knowledge and more on a willingness to experiment with material and process.

The critical appraisal of Grasset’s work often drew attention to the effectiveness of the artist’s collaboration with Félix Gaudin, a craftsman with whom he had been working for a number of years on secular and religious commissions.⁹⁹ The strength of the bond between the two is reflected in Gaudin’s response in 1894 to Didron’s critical review of Grasset’s work in the *Révue des arts décoratifs*. Here Gaudin writes of his pleasure in working with Grasset: “From the conception of the work and throughout its realization, we work hand in hand.” The glazier obtains “an expressive cartoon easy to translate,” and the artist “never sees his ideas lessened or distorted by the execution.”¹⁰⁰ This link between design and execution may explain why their work was so widely admired. The partnership

might have been formed in a scientific age, but Grasset's evident closeness to the production process and Gaudin's ability to collaborate with an artist who worked across several decorative art mediums replicates in part the unity between design and execution that was so praised by nineteenth-century commentators on medieval revival: it was a partnership likely to communicate a new technical mystery.

To give more substance to these observations would require further research on the methods of production employed by collaborative pairings of artists and firms that produced decorative art, a type of production that was increasingly common in late nineteenth-century French art nouveau. What is clear from the critical reception of the Orléans competition is the importance of production methods and manufacturing techniques when seeking to imitate or revive the past. Competition entrants were expected not just to reproduce the figurative styles of the past but to recall something of the medieval mysteries of production. Viollet-le-Duc, quoted by Delalande in his review of the 1894 Salon, gave this advice to the stained glass artist and producer: "Learn from that which has been made, make it better if you can, but do not ignore the paths already trodden and the results already achieved in the field of the arts."¹⁰¹

The figuration, technological sophistication, and overreliance on new science by the firms driving mass *vitromanie* did not demonstrate sensitivity to historical procedures: the appearance of the past in popular stained glass often concealed the modern methods used to produce it. Grasset's approach, commended for its modernity at the time, constituted a template for extracting the more intangible elements of past production methods—naïveté, spirit, and mystery—as opposed to likeness and accuracy. Regardless of who was the rightful winner in the eyes of the jury, then, the Orléans competition shows the importance that critics attached to faithful adoption of the production procedures of the past in the fin de siècle stained glass revival.

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- 1 S.G. Monseigneur Touchet, *Inauguration des verrières de Jeanne d'Arc: Allocution* (Orleans: Herluison, 1897), 8.
- 2 Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 195. See also Nora M. Heimann, "Spinner or Saint: Context and Meaning in Gauguin's First Fresco," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* 11:2 (Summer 2012), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer12/nora-heimann-context-and-meaning-in-gauguins-first-fresco> (date accessed August 26, 2104).
- 3 The competition was initially announced in 1879, but the quality of the entries was not of a sufficient standard, so the competition was canceled until this later date. *Les verrières de Jeanne d'Arc à la Cathédral d'Orléans* (Orleans: Herluison, 1897), 1.
- 4 For example, see Warner, *Joan of Arc*; Nora Heimann, *Joan of Arc in French Art and Culture* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005); Adrien Dansette, *Religious History of Modern France* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961); Michael Marlais, *Conservative Echoes in Fin de Siècle Parisian Art Criticism* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992).
- 5 In my discussion throughout I am indebted to Hans Robert Jauss for his argument that the reception of a work of art has priority over its iconography or its biography. Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 5.
- 6 Olivier Merson, *Les vitraux* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux-Arts, 1894), 286. All translations, including this one, are mine unless otherwise stated.
- 7 See Virginia Chieffo Raguin, *The History of Stained Glass: The Art of Light, Medieval to Contemporary* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 177–222. On Pugin's contribution to the stained glass revival see J. Cheshire, *Stained Glass and the Victorian Revival* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), 5–10.
- 8 Cheshire, *Stained Glass*, x.
- 9 In 1835 there were fewer than 6 stained glass firms in France, but by 1900 there were 450, most of which—168—were based in Paris. M. Callius, V. Chaussé, L. Finance, and F. Gatouillat, "Les ateliers," *Revue de l'art* (1986): 55. Primary sources giving evidence of *vitromanie* include Merson, *Les vitraux*, 365; Léon Ottin, *Le vitrail: Son histoire, ses manifestations à travers les âges et les peuples* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1896), 98–100; Emile Delalande, *Les vitraux aux Salons de 1894* (Paris, 1894), 1; and A. Cassagnes, ed., *Annales industrielles* 16:2 (Paris: Frédureau et Cie., 1884), 680. Secondary sources include Chantel Bouchon, "Faits contemporains dans le vitrail du XIXe siècle," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest* 93:4 (1986): 415; Laura Morowitz and Elizabeth Emery, *Consuming the Past: The Medieval Revival in Fin de Siècle France* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003), 3.
- 10 Jean-François Luneau, "Le vitrail néogothique," in Marcel Girault, ed., *Jules Laurand: Notable blésois peintre verrier* (Châtillon-sur-Inde: Rencontre avec le Patrimoine Religieux, 2008), 5.
- 11 Touchet, *Inauguration des verrières*, 13.
- 12 Puvion de Chavannes's appearance on the jury reflects the crossover between mural painting and stained glass in late nineteenth-century decorative arts. See Jean-François Luneau, "Vitrail archéologique, vitrail-tableau: Chronique bibliographique," *Revue de l'art* 124 (1999): 71.
- 13 *Concours pour l'exécution de verrières relatives à Jeanne d'Arc destinées à la Cathédrale d'Orléans: Exposition des projets 27 octobre–5 novembre 1893* (Orleans: H. Herluison, 1893).
- 14 Public exhibitions of entrants' designs were held at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, in October 1893 and between October 27 and November 5 in Orléans. François Thiébault-Sisson, "Le concours pour les vitraux d'Orléans," *La grande dame: Revue de l'élégance et des arts* (1894): 92.
- 15 Walter Benjamin, "Theses on the Philosophy of History," in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zorn (London: Pimlico, 1999), 249.
- 16 Georges Cochet, "Les vitraux de l'École des Beaux-Arts," *L'oeuvre d'art: Revue bi-mensuelle illustrée* 1:13 (October 1893): 5.
- 17 Édouard Didron was the nephew of Adolphe Didron, founder of a prominent midcentury stained glass atelier and founding editor of *Annales archéologiques* (1844–81), a scholarly journal on the medieval revival which included contributions from Viollet-le-Duc. Raguin, *History of Stained Glass*, 213.
- 18 Nancy Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France: Art Nouveau to Le Corbusier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 6.
- 19 Debora Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 7–10.
- 20 Here, Silverman cites the words of Minister of Public Instruction Raymond Poincaré, which, alongside her reference to other major figures within decorative art reform (Gustave Larroumet and Roger Marx), conveys her argument that France wanted to adapt and build on the past, not just copy it. Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 135–36. For more on the economic importance of decorative art reform, see Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts*, 27; and June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam, eds., *Nationalism in French Visual Culture, 1870–1914* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2005).
- 21 Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 48–49, 12.
- 22 Troy describes the workshops in Siegfried Bing's Maison de l'Art Nouveau but does not provide details of the production procedures adopted there. Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts*, 27.

- 23** *Concours pour l'exécution de verrières relatives à Jeanne d'Arc.*
- 24** Article II of the competition brief, quoted in Emile Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail à propos du concours des verrières de Jeanne d'Arc: Conférence faite par M. Emile Delalande à la salle de la Bourse du Commerce à Orléans (12 novembre 1893)*, 6.
- 25** Luneau, "Vitrail archéologique, vitrail-tableau," 68. See also Raguin, *History of Stained Glass*, 214.
- 26** Raguin, *History of Stained Glass*, 200.
- 27** See, for example the stained glass window *Visitation* by Johann Schraudolph pictured in Raguin, *History of Stained Glass*, 201. "Cames" are defined on pp. 106–7.
- 28** This précis of stained glass production is derived from the comprehensive accounts of stained glass production in Patrick Reyntiens, *The Technique of Stained Glass* (London: Batsford, 1977); Léon Ottin, *L'art de faire un vitrail* (Paris, 1892); and the seminal handbook by Christopher Whall, *Stained Glass Work: A Text-Book for Students and Workers in Glass* (London: Artistic Crafts Series of Technical Handbooks, 1905), part 1.
- 29** Fernand Weyl, *La plume: Numéro exceptionnel consacré à Eugène Grasset et enrichi de cent-sept compositions de l'artiste avec des textes dûs aux sommités de la critique artistique* (Paris: Adm. et Réd., 1894), 211; Édouard Didron, "Concours des vitraux de Jeanne d'Arc," *Revue des arts décoratifs* (December 1893): 204; Thiébault-Sisson, "Le concours," 91.
- 30** Nicola Gordon Bowe, "Stained Glass: Art or Anti-Art?," in Tanya Harrod with Helen Clifford, eds., *Obscure Objects of Desire: Reviewing the Crafts in the Twentieth Century* (London: Crafts Council, 1997), 49–50.
- 31** Raguin, *History of Stained Glass*, 178.
- 32** Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 3.
- 33** *Les verrières de Jeanne d'Arc*, 11.
- 34** Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 14–15. See also Madeline Harrison Caviness, *Sumptuous Arts at the Royal Abbeys in Reims and Braine: Ornatus Elegantiae, Varietate Stupendes* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990).
- 35** See "Programme of the Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar, April 1919," by Walter Gropius, and the original cover illustration depicting a cubist cathedral made from a woodblock print by Lyonel Feininger. Tim and Charlotte Benton with Dennis Sharp, *Form and Function: A Sourcebook for the History of Architecture and Design, 1890–1939* (London: Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1975), 78–79. And see Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1960), 35–36.
- 36** Article II of the competition brief, quoted in Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 6.
- 37** Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 5–6.
- 38** Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 197–98. See also *Les verrières de Jeanne d'Arc*, 10–11; Cochet, "Les vitraux," 3; Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 90; Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 7; Whall, *Stained Glass Work*, 84–94; Thiébault-Sisson, "Le concours," 92; H. P. Saucrè, *Le dessin à la peinture vitrifiables accessibles à tous pour la décoration des vitraux d'intérieur* (Paris: Bibliothèque Moderne, 1894).
- 39** Whall, *Stained Glass Work*, 84.
- 40** Henry Coulier, "Vitreaux d'expositions," *Le journal de la peinture sur verre* 1:4 (June 1, 1896): 4.
- 41** Merson, *Les vitraux*, 278; Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 198.
- 42** Coulier, "Vitreaux d'expositions," 4.
- 43** Cochet, "Les vitraux," 5.
- 44** Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 200; Thiébault-Sisson, "Le concours," 92.
- 45** Raguin, *History of Stained Glass*, 214.
- 46** Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 200. Didron also wrote a report on the stained glass windows that appeared in the 1867 Exposition universelle in Paris. Édouard Didron, *Les vitraux à l'Exposition universelle de 1867* (Paris, 1868). See also Cochet, "Les vitraux," 5.
- 47** Ottin explains how the eighteenth century witnessed the removal of dark stained glass that made the interiors of churches gloomy and its replacement with clear windows that bathed interiors in light. He reported that forty Parisian churches had undergone this treatment. Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 356; see also Merson, *Les vitraux*, 267.
- 48** Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 8; see also Merson, *Les vitraux*, 282; Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 198. Alfred Picard, the author of a report on the stained glass of the 1889 Exposition universelle, described Sèvres enameling on blank glass as "disastrous [*funeste*]" to the stained glass arts. Picard, *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889 à Paris: Rapport général par Alfred Picard. Mobilier, tissus, vêtements* (Paris: Imprimeur Nationale, 1891–92), 5:50.
- 49** Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 200.
- 50** Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 8.
- 51** Cassagnes, *Annales industrielles*, 681. Champigneulle's company benefited from his being judge of the 1889 stained glass window section of the Exposition universelle, a role for which Alfred Picard praised him in his *Exposition universelle internationale de 1889*, 5:58.
- 52** See sections titled "vitreaux" in 1890s editions of the architecture reference work *Indicateur de la propriété foncière dans Paris et le département de la Seine* (Paris: Impr. de l'Industrie du Bâtiment).
- 53** The simple design of blank glass cost twenty-three francs per square meter, whereas the more

elaborate patterns cost between sixty and eighty-five francs, as listed in Rosey and Engelmann's sales catalogue, *Vitraux: Modèles de fenêtres décorées par la hyalochromie: Nouveau procédé d'application & de cuisson des couleurs vitrifiables breveté en France et à l'étranger* (Paris: Rosey and Engelmann, 1890). Thus, simple decoration for a three-meter-square window would cost sixty-nine francs, a price beyond the means of a Parisian worker, representing approximately 50 percent of his typical monthly income, but perhaps within the grasp of an entry-level worker at a Parisian department store, for example, for whom it would represent 23 percent of his monthly income. These figures are based on those cited in Christophe Charle, *A Social History of France in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Miriam Kochan (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 148, 231.

54 In *Distinction*, Pierre Bourdieu gives an extensive account of the dynamics of taste, but an understanding of history is not included as one of the "assets" that helps secure the distinctiveness of one person's taste against others'. The various aspects of the late nineteenth-century medieval revival prove that history is important in the construction of middle-class taste. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Routledge, 1984), 161.

55 Coulier criticizes the use of "phosphorous paste," which some practitioners rubbed onto stained glass to lend the window artificial luminosity, claiming that it eventually damaged the glass. Coulier, "Vitraux d'expositions," 3. Outside the medium of stained glass, some were concerned about the durability of the new paint technologies of the late nineteenth century. See Johan Georges Vibert, *La science de la peinture* (Paris, 1891); and Gabriel Déneux, *Un procédé de peinture inaltérable: La peinture à l'encaustique* (Paris, 1890).

56 Thiébauld-Sisson, "Le concours," 92.

57 *Dessin vitrifiables: Le pyrofixateur Lacroix—Nouvel appareil breveté pour la cuisson automatique des dessins en couleurs vitrifiables par A Lacroix, chimiste à Paris* (Paris: Musée des Arts et Métiers, [ca. 1884]): objets patrimoniaux, inventory number 10069; Saucré, *Le dessin à la peinture vitrifiables*, 1 and 50.

58 Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 101.

59 See Morowitz and Emery, *Consuming the Past*, 16, 67. For more information on the fad for antiquarianism see Manuel Charpy, "Patina and the Bourgeoisie: The Appearance of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Paris," in *Surface Tensions: Surface, Finish and the Meaning of Objects*, ed. Glenn Adamson and Victoria Kelly (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2013).

60 Reinhard Kossellek also reminds us that the bourgeois audience of the nineteenth century characteristically believed that they existed within history, understood then as a "progressive development." See H. White, preface to Reinhard Kossellek, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing, History, Spacing, Concepts*, trans. Todd Presner (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), xiv.

61 *Vitraux d'art pour églises et appartements* (Clermont-Ferrand: Maison E. Thibaud, 1890).

62 *Vitraux d'art Champigneulle et Fils de Paris & Cie* (Paris, March 1893).

63 J. Lassare, "La commande et les commanditaires," *Revue de l'art* (1886): 52. On commissions of pictorial stained glass by English middle-class clients see Cheshire, *Stained Glass*, 163–64.

64 Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 5–6.

65 Cochet, "Les vitraux," 6.

66 Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 16.

67 Reported in Thiébauld-Sisson, "Le concours," 92.

68 See Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 92.

69 On Grasset see Melanie Wildman, *Eugène Grasset: A Passion for Design* (New York: CTG Publishing, 2012), which includes translations of several contemporary texts by Arsène Alexandre, Octave Uzanne, and others; Anne Murray-Robertson, *Grasset: Pioneer de l'art nouveau* (Lusanne: Édition Heures; Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1981); and "Eugène Grasset (1845–1917)," at the Musée des arts décoratifs website, <http://www.lesartsdecoratifs.fr/francais/publicite/collections-97/1-univers-de-la-publicite/metiers-et-grands-noms/affichistes/eugene-grasset> (date accessed January 5, 2014). Grasset's association with Bernhardt was mutually beneficial to both artists, and it was very likely to his advantage that his poster of Bernhardt as Jeanne d'Arc was one of the public successes of 1890.

70 See Murray-Robertson, *Grasset*, 64; and "Vitrail 'Le printemps,'" at the Musée des arts décoratifs website, <http://www.lesartsdecoratifs.fr/francais/arts-decoratifs/collections-26/parcours-27/chronologique/art-nouveau-art-deco/les-salles-300/1-art-nouveau/vitrail-le-printemps> (date accessed January 5, 2014).

71 Maurice Denis, "Définition de néo-surréalisme" *Art et critique* (August 1890), in Maurice Denis, *Théories 1890–1910: Du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique* (Paris, 1920), 1.

72 Thiébauld-Sisson, "Le concours," 91.

73 Cochet, "Les vitraux," 6.

74 Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 10. See also Gachons's review for *Le Soir* [1894] in *La plume: Numéro exceptionnel consacré à Eugène Grasset et enrichi de cent-sept compositions de l'artiste avec des textes dûs aux sommités de la critique artistique* (Paris: Adm. et Réd., 1894), 215.

75 Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 8.

76 Thiébauld-Sisson, "Le concours," 91.

77 Fernand Weyl, *Eugène Grasset: Numéro exceptionnel de "La plume" consacré à cet artiste* (Paris, 1894), 211.

- 78** The Musée d'Orsay acquired the cartoon designs for Grasset's entry in 1993. "Eugène Grasset, 'Le siège d'Orléans, projet de vitrail,'" at the museum website, http://www.musee-orsay.fr/en/collections/index-of-works/notice.html?no_cache=1&numid=150948&cHash=fa092cbe73 (date accessed May 30, 2014). Didron designed the stained glass windows for the churches Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Séverin, Saint-Louis d'Antin, and Saint-Merri, among others.
- 79** Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 201.
- 80** Ibid.
- 81** Murray-Robertson, *Grasset*, 69–71.
- 82** Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 202–3.
- 83** This panel is the left "donor" panel of the so-called Melun Diptych, now in the Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin. My thanks to the anonymous peer reviewer for this observation.
- 84** Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 201–3. Didron's positive assessment was later backed up by the official report of 1897, *Les verrières de Jeanne d'Arc*, 15.
- 85** "Chronique et nouvelles diverses," *Revue des arts décoratifs* (1889): 320–21.
- 86** Coulier, "Vitraux d'expositions," 3.
- 87** Ibid., 3. Other critics bemoaned prominent popular examples of stained glass in 1890s Paris, such as the stained glass at the Moulin Rouge and the Casino de Paris. See Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 100; Delalande, *Les vitraux aux Salons*, 1.
- 88** Thiébaud-Sisson, "Le concours," 92. Cochet also criticized the large dimensions of the horse depicted in the window, suggesting, cheekily, that the horse was a metaphor for Galland's ego. Cochet, "Les vitraux," 5.
- 89** Cochet, "Les vitraux," 5.
- 90** Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 12.
- 91** The historian Chantel Bouchon has suggested that Grasset's Swiss background hindered his success in what became a highly charged patriotic competition. Bouchon, "Les verrières de Jeanne d'Arc: Exaltation d'un culte à la fin du XIXe siècle," *Annales de Bretagne* (1986): 424. By contrast, Delalande attributes Grasset's defeat specifically to Didron's placement on the jury. Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 16.
- 92** See, for example, Delalande, *De l'esthétique du vitrail*, 9–10; and Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 204.
- 93** David Pye, *The Nature and Art of Workmanship* (London: Herbert, 1995), 20.
- 94** Merson, *Les vitraux*, 304–6.
- 95** Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 8; Didron, "Concours des vitraux," 201; Cochet, "Les vitraux," 6; *Vitraux d'art Champigneulle*, 13.
- 96** *Les verrières de Jeanne d'Arc*, 13.
- 97** Murray-Robertson, *Grasset*, 73.
- 98** Ottin, *Le vitrail*, 6.
- 99** Thiébaud-Sisson, "Le concours," 92.
- 100** Félix Gaudin, "Réponse à l'article de M. Éd. Didron" (1894), quoted in Murray-Robertson, *Grasset*, 62.
- 101** Delalande, *Les vitraux aux Salons*, 7.

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