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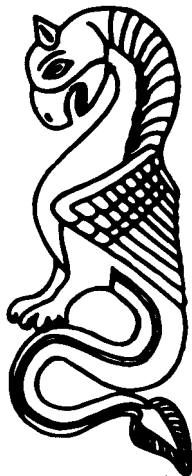
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The Bouer Hours in Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8: New Evidence for Manuscript Illumination from Bourges

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Manuscript illumination from Bourges, one of the leading cities in France at the end of the Middle Ages, has been comparatively little studied.¹ As a contribution to the research of this significant location and period, the present investigation focuses on one previously unstudied book of hours localizable to the city and datable to the end of the fifteenth century. It aims to establish for whom the manuscript was made, to examine iconographical aspects that derive from its miniatures and to consider the achievement of the artists responsible for its illumination.²

The heritage of manuscript illumination in Bourges extends back to the Romanesque period. The Bible of Saint-Sulpice of Bourges, illuminated in a style echoing the famous Souvigny Bible, is one of the important survivals.³ Three centuries later Bourges became an important artistic and cultural centre due to the ostentatious patronage of Jean, duc de Berry. The duke endowed Bourges, the capital of his richest duchy, with a palace and a Sainte-Chapelle, and the nearby castle in Mehun-sur-Yèvre was transformed into his most beautiful residence.⁴ The Château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre is reproduced on the leaves of various fifteenth-century manuscripts, including in the celebrated *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry*, which

¹ This article is dedicated to Oliver Pickering, with whom I had the great pleasure of cataloguing and digitizing the medieval manuscripts held in Leeds University Library. I am indebted to Oliver for his scholarly example and personal encouragement at the outset of my career.

² I am grateful to Jean-Yves Ribault, Chris Sheppard, and Thomas Tolley for their helpful comments on this article. For his generous and valuable advice on the attribution of the miniatures, I would like to thank François Avril.

³ The Bible of Saint-Sulpice of Bourges survives as MS 3 in the Bibliothèque municipale de Bourges. The Souvigny Bible, MS 1 in the Bibliothèque municipale de Moulins, is no. 43 in Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), II, 53–55. For a more detailed study, see François Garnier, 'Quelques particularités du langage iconographique de la Bible de Saint-Sulpice', in *En Berry, du Moyen-Âge à la Renaissance: pages d'histoire et d'histoire de l'art: mélanges offerts à Jean-Yves Ribault, Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry*, Hors-Série, ed. by Philippe Goldman and Christian-E. Roth (Bourges: Société d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry, 1996), pp. 155–59.

⁴ For Jean de France, see Françoise Lehoux, *Jean de France, duc de Berri: sa vie, son action politique (1340–1416)*, 4 vols (Paris: Picard, 1966–68).

the Limbourg brothers realised around 1414–16.⁵ Unfortunately, this outstanding patronage was brought to an abrupt end in 1416, when the duke and the illuminator brothers died from the plague.

Bourges continued to thrive as an important centre of illumination under new patrons. The Dauphin Charles escaped Paris from the conflict between the Burgundians and Armagnacs in 1418 to the Château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre, newly-inherited from his great-uncle, Jean de Berry, who had left no male heir.⁶ Disinherited by the Treaty of Troyes in 1420, and unable to throw the English out of Paris and northern France on his claim to the throne in 1422, Charles VII ruled his small kingdom from Bourges, becoming known as the ‘King of Bourges’. Major art production recommenced in the city especially under the patronage of its native habitant, the king’s *argentier*, the immensely wealthy financier, Jacques Cœur.

In the second half of the fifteenth century Louis XI, Charles VIII, and Louis XII also preferred to reside in nearby Tours and the Loire valley, while Paris remained in many respects a provincial town until the end of the century. The recovery of the country from the Hundred Years’ War which had ended in 1453 and the proximity of the court to Bourges improved the city’s economy and subsequently increased local patronage. In 1463 the foundation of a university, and in 1484 the move of two major fairs to the city, further expanded manuscript production, diverted the urban elite to commercial activity and introduced more trade in Bourges.⁷ It is during these final prolific decades of manuscript illumination industry, before eventually being eliminated by printing in the 1520s, that large numbers of significant manuscripts were produced in Bourges and survive today. This examination of one of them aims to contribute towards a fuller understanding and recognition of the contribution Bourges artists made to the development of Renaissance culture in northern Europe.

The contents of Leeds, University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8 are fairly standard for a fifteenth-century book of hours with a calendar, gospel extracts, a passion extract according to John, Hours of the Virgin, the Cross and the Holy Spirit, Penitential Psalms and Litany, Office of the Dead, suffrages and prayers (see the detailed description in Appendix 1).⁸ All texts are in Latin apart from the calendar and the rubrics on fols 125r–128v which are in French. These rubrics are for single prayers to be said at various occasions: on getting up in the morning (‘premierement au matin quant tu te leveras de ton lit tu diras’), on going out of the house (‘quant tu sortiras de ta maison’), on using holy water (‘quant tu prendras leau Benoiste dy’, that is, ‘l’eau bénite’), in front of the crucifix (‘quant tu levas devant le crucifix’), and when the priest turns around (‘quant le prestre se retourne dy’). These prayers are followed by five prayers for the Mass, with rubrics in French for all except the last.

The calendar is illustrated with zodiacal signs in vignettes in the outer margins and occupations of the months in large bas-de-page miniatures. The calendar page for May includes the zodiacal sign of Gemini, behind a shield with the coat of arms of the Bouer family:

⁵ Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65.

⁶ G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, 6 vols (Paris, Librairie de la Société bibliographique: A. Picard, 1881–91), I, Le dauphin, 1403–1422, p. 70.

⁷ The two former Lyonnaise fairs at Easter and All Saints’ Day were moved to Bourges for an initial five-year period. The choice of Bourges over other major cities of France demonstrates the importance of the city at the time. For the economic reasons for moving the fairs further from the borders, see Harry A. Miskimin, *Money and Power in Fifteenth-Century France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 116.

⁸ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, Lampeter–Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983). For the contents of typical late medieval books of hours, see, for instance, Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London; New York: Phaidon, 1986), pp. 170–76.

de sinople, au sautoir d'argent, chargé de cinq fleurs-de-lys d'azur, et cantonné de quatre têtes de taureaux d'or (figure 1).⁹ Henceforth, therefore, the manuscript will be referred to as the Bouer Hours.

The Bouer family was one of the oldest and most notable families of Bourges in the period, ennobled for their services to the state. The family is recorded from the thirteenth century beginning with Philippe Bouer, whose son of the same name was made the Seigneur de Villeneuve in 1319 (see the genealogical table in Appendix 2).¹⁰ His great-grandson, Macé, became a lieutenant general of Thibaud Portier, a seneschal of Berry, in 1398. Macé's grandson, also called Macé, was one of the four *élus*, or aldermen, of Bourges in 1434. Macé had three sons, Jean, Etienne, and Philippe. The oldest son, Jean (d. 1481), followed his father in 1474 to become one of the *échevins*, as the *élus* were now called, a senior officer in the local administration. Jean built his house next to his younger brother Philippe, who in 1474 was a crown prosecutor and the first mayor of Bourges. It was perhaps Philippe who commissioned the Bouer Hours, which can tentatively be dated by the dress depicted in its miniatures and the architectural frames that surround them to the last two decades of the fifteenth century.¹¹ Philippe Bouer's elevated position in society around this time suggests that he had the means to acquire such a manuscript, while the masculine word forms used in the prayers imply that it was prepared for a male reader.¹²

The Bouer family began its social ascent as merchants in the spice trade in 1340, but also in particular in money changing, with one Jean Bouer recorded as a *changeur* in 1322.¹³ Since

⁹ Identified in Gaspard Thaumas de la Thaumassière, *Histoire du Berry*. Réimprimé par la Revue du Berry, d'après l'édition de François Toubreau, de 1689 edn., 4 vols (Bourges: Jollet, 1863–71), IV, 504; and François-Alexandre Aubert de la Chesnaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse, contenant les généalogies, l'histoire & la chronologie des familles nobles de la France, l'explication de leurs armes et l'état des grandes terres du royaume ...* 3. éd. entièrement refondue, 10 vols (Nendeln: Kraus reprint, 1969), III, 680. The name 'Bouer' is occasionally spelt in the variant forms of 'Boüer' or 'Bouër'.

¹⁰ For the Bouer family, see Alain Collas, *L'Ascension sociale des notables urbains: l'exemple de Bourges: 1286–1600* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010), esp. p. 198; La Thaumassière, *Histoire du Berry*, IV, 504–07; Philippe Goldman, 'Les changeurs à Bourges au XVe siècle: groupe social ou étape professionnelle?' *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique, Historique et Archéologique de la Corrèze*, 120 (1998), 138–39; M. D. Mater, *Études sur la numismatique du Berry: notes et documents sur la Monnaie de Bourges* (Chalon-sur-Saône: Émile Bertrand, 1909), pp. 2–8, 30–32, 106–10, 116; and H. Petitjean de Maransange, *Dictionnaire historique, généalogique et héraldique des anciennes familles du Berry*, 2 vols (Bourges: A. Tardy, 1926), I, 103. The genealogy of the family presented here is based on all the above sources; however, in cases of inconsistencies I have followed Collas whose research is most recent and who meticulously follows information available from archival sources.

¹¹ Although mostly the figures are clothed in standard biblical dress, there are some details that can help with the dating of the manuscript. The necklines of the women's dresses are square rather than V-shaped and the men no longer wear short doublets nor pointed shoes, all suggesting a date at least as late as the 1480s. St Luke wears his cloak on one shoulder in the style of the end of the century, and the men wear their hair long down the neck and their hats are round, both in the style of Charles VIII. The architectural frames are Renaissance rather than Gothic in inspiration, with semicircular rather than ogee arches and round rather than polygonal pilasters. At the same time the frames suggest that the manuscript probably dates from no later than c. 1500, since after that date one would expect more Italianate frames, tabernacle in their shape.

¹² For instance, the future active participle in 'ego sum facturur' (fol. 113v) in the *Obsecro te* prayer has the masculine ending -us. Similarly, 'michi indigno famulo tuo' (fol. 113v) has the masculine dative endings in -o, rather than the endings in -e for a female patron, as was the typical orthographical shortening from the feminine dative ending of -ae. If the manuscript was purchased rather than commissioned, the choice of endings one way or another may not necessarily indicate an intention of preparing the text for a man or a woman, as the scribe may have simply copied the text without making any linguistic choices. However, if the manuscript was commissioned, one would expect the gender of the forms to correspond to the gender of the patron.

¹³ Arch. dép. Cher E 985 pièce 48; Collas, *L'Ascension sociale des notables urbains*, pp. 9, 16, 17, 198.

the name 'Bouer' originates from the terminology of coin making, referring to the action of striking with the hammer called 'bouard', it seems that it was this profession chosen by the first member of the family that gave them their name.¹⁴ In the fifteenth century several members of the family worked in the royal Mint in Bourges, opened by Charles VII in 1425.¹⁵ In the first year, one Philippe Bouer worked as a moneyer and guard, and his son Macé as a moneyer.¹⁶ In 1450 Macé is recorded again, alongside his son Jean (d. 1481) who was also a moneyer.¹⁷ Jean's son, Guillaume, was an officer in the Mint in 1498, and in 1540, having followed the entire profession of coin making, he is recorded as Provost of the Mint, a seigniorial officer providing for and overseeing all the moneyers.¹⁸ The principal offices in the Mint were reserved for the city's most important families, Cœur, de Village, and others, while the lesser nobility was given more modest positions and the actual striking of the coins was done by artisans who had the technical knowledge of working with precious metal from their training as moulders, founders, locksmiths, fitters, and goldsmiths.¹⁹ Appointments in the Mint were subject to considerable competition as they were associated with privileges and exemptions, and could significantly advance one's social standing and wealth. The connections of the Bouer family with the Mint appear to have improved their standing in society. For instance, Macé Bouer, who worked as a moneyer in 1425, was made an alderman of Bourges in 1434.

Mints were also known to employ women, one of whom was Jean Bouer's daughter, Collette, whose brother, Guillaume, married his second cousin, Marie de l'Hôpital, on 13 October 1502.²⁰ Could the Bouer Hours have been made to celebrate the marriage of Guillaume and Marie? The arms of the Bouer family included on the calendar page for May are held by Gemini, represented by a nude couple. Their gaze into each other's eyes and their embrace, perhaps alluding to Adam and Eve rather than twins, evokes the question of what this placement of the arms would have meant for the fifteenth-century viewer. Held by Adam and Eve, God's original model for marriage, could the placement of the arms here have signified a marriage?²¹ In earlier manuscripts, Gemini are often represented by two boys, nude or clothed, standing side by side, or holding hands, arm in arm or embracing. At times Gemini are represented by conjoined twins or a figure with two heads, and on occasions by two soldiers, thus alluding to the original purpose of shields being painted with arms to identify one's own from the enemy in battle.²² However, representations of Gemini as embracing

¹⁴ Jean Brutel de La Rivière, Antoine Furetiere, Henri Basnage (sieur de Beauval), *Dictionnaire universel, contenant generalement tous les mots françois, tant vieux que modernes, & les termes de sciences & des arts*. Nouvelle éd. revu, corrigé et considérablement augmenté par M. Brutel de la Rivière edn., 4 vols (La Haye: chez P. Husson [et al.], 1727), I, [BOUER, no page numbers].

¹⁵ After great initial need, the activity of the Mint in Bourges gradually declined, as is shown by the number of officers recorded working there in the various years it operated: twenty-eight in 1425, eighteen in 1450, fifteen in 1540, sixteen in 1579, and thirteen in 1589; see Mater, *Études sur la numismatique du Berry*, p. 10.

¹⁶ Mater, *Études sur la numismatique du Berry*, p. 5.

¹⁷ Mater, *Études sur la numismatique du Berry*, p. 6.

¹⁸ Mater, *Études sur la numismatique du Berry*, p. 30.

¹⁹ Mater, *Études sur la numismatique du Berry*, p. 4.

²⁰ *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Centre*. ed. by Société des Antiquaires de Centre, 2e Série, 49 vols (Bourges: Société des Antiquaires de Centre, 1911), XXXIV, 359. For the de l'Hôpital family, see also La Thaumassière, *Histoire du Berry*, IV, 1874.

²¹ There appears to be no study that has thoroughly considered the significance of this iconographical development.

²² For the latter, see, for instance, the Psalter in the Use of Soissons datable to the end of the thirteenth century, Le Mans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 157.

couples can already be found in the thirteenth century, and by the late fifteenth century this subject depicting a nude couple is relatively common.²³ For instance, the same composition of the nude Gemini couple holding the arms can be found in the books of hours that Jean Colombe of Bourges illuminated for Guyot II Le Peley and Louis de Laval.²⁴ Thus it appears that the pastime of courting associated with the month of May in calendar illustrations had extended its theme to the zodiacal sign in books of hours by this date, and it would therefore seem unlikely that this iconography suggests a marriage in the Bouer Hours.²⁵

Two different hands can be identified as responsible for the miniatures in the Bouer Hours. The first five full-page miniatures are painted by the superior hand, comprising the four evangelist-scribe portraits and the *Betrayal of Christ* miniature (figure 2). The quality of this work is striking and the technique of the artist suggests that he was used to painting also on a larger scale. The draperies are painted with a skilful use of hatching. This is evident, for instance, in the three-dimensional appearance of the evangelist's clothing in the miniature of *St Luke painting a portrait of the Virgin* (figure 3). The ochre-coloured robe under his purple-grey cloak is shaped with shadows and intricate highlighting painted with series of parallel strokes in burgundy and gold covering the entire garment. To create the realistic illusion of the main light falling on Luke's sleeve, it appears that the artist left a narrow strip of parchment intentionally unpainted before applying layers of hatching on top. Later wear of the pigment in these areas is ruled out by the fact that the highlighting in gold and the cross-hatching in paint remain intact on top, and it thus appears that the artist planned the effect from the outset, showing evidence of a considerable painterly rather than economic technique.

Emotion is portrayed convincingly, displaying the artist's psychologically perceptive style, as seen in the pious dispositions of the evangelists, the quiet acceptance of Christ, and the array of mocking and sneering expressions of Judas and the Roman soldiers in the *Betrayal*. The characters of the soldiers are individualized as the artist depicts them with realism, abandoning the stereotypical formula typically employed in anterior and contemporary workshop productions from Bourges. The faces are painted with a wide range of tonal transitions in the flesh, built up with individual overlaid brush strokes. The tonal variations on St Luke's face are rendered with relatively wide strokes of colour that blend into a naturalistic impression, and his eye alone, which measures less than a millimetre in diameter, is composed with five careful strokes in different colours (figure 4a). The artist has also paid great attention to Luke's hands: each knuckle of his fingers is painted in darker flesh colour, and the foreshortening of the hand holding a paint brush displays a realistic perspective. The Virgin's face in the same miniature is painted with fine strokes in pale hues with shadows in

²³ For a thirteenth-century example, see the Cistercian Psalter datable to around 1260, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 54. Here the man and woman are seated with their long gowns draped around their lower bodies while their upper bodies are covered by the sun they hold between them. The image is both a literal and personified representation of the sun, depicted with a face, entering the star constellation of Gemini, *Sol in geminos*. The sun is placed on a blue roundel or a round shield representing the sky, and it may have been from such early compositions that the iconographic subject of Gemini holding the shield developed.

²⁴ Troyes, Médiathèque de l'Agglomération Troyenne, MS 3901, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Lat. 920.

²⁵ Furthermore, if the Bouer Hours had been commissioned or purchased in celebration of a union, it would be surprising not to find the painted arms impaled with the blazon of the bride if she were entitled to use her own arms. Certainly one would expect Marie de l'Hôpital to use her own arms as she came from an important Bourges family. Jean de l'Hôpital, one member of her family, although apparently not her father of the same name, became the mayor of Bourges in 1478, following Guillaume's uncle, Philippe Bouer. See La Thaumassière, *Histoire du Berry*, I, 322.

blue and grey around her veil, eyes, nose, and chin, and small stipples of red on her cheeks, eyelids, nose, and chin (figure 4b). The sense of celestial beauty portrayed by the Virgin's cool-coloured face is achieved by the inclusion of blue pigment into the facial tone.

The *Betrayal* miniature shows the artist's mastery of light. He uses colour and liquid gold to create the atmospheric effects of nocturnal light on the faces and clothes of the figures. The torch-lit effect on the faces is realised using parallel strokes in red over an undertone of tan flesh colour with shadows in grey for all figures except for Christ. Applying an undertone of white and grey for Christ's face, the artist has subtly highlighted him from the other figures, directing the viewer's gaze to him. The details of Malchus's armour, highlighted by the light shining on it from his lantern, are picked out in liquid gold. The effect of the same light reaching Christ's robe across his knees is created with thick vertical strokes and cross-hatching in gold. The areas of light and shadow on his garment are rendered in contrasting colours of yellow gold against tones of purple, blue, and black, while the entire purple fabric is covered with cross-hatching in pink and gold. Remarkable also is the vibrant red of the blood gushing from Malchus's ear. Applied in thick blobs of colour, appearing almost tactile on top of the paint surface, it adds a dramatic effect to the depiction of the events taking place.

The five full-page miniatures are all within one quire, which would have enabled the artist to work on them separately while the rest of the manuscript was illuminated by another artist. Their borders are in different styles and their incipits in different scripts, suggesting an apparently clear division of work. The manuscript seems to have been executed at one time rather than in two consecutive stints, because its ink and script for the text and the preparation of the leaves are uniform throughout. Thus the work between the artists appears to have been planned from the outset, and most probably carried out in a workshop.

Stylistically the illuminator of the five superior miniatures is closest to Jean de Montluçon, a painter of both panels and manuscripts from the Bourbonnais town of Montluçon. Jean Raoul (1417–94), according to his real name, is recorded in Bourges for over three decades from 1461 until his death in 1494, where he and his workshop became known by the name of his native town.²⁶ Jean's son, Jacquelin, who also trained as an illuminator and painter, worked on various high-profile commissions and continued the activities of the Montluçon workshop until his death in 1505. The starting point for establishing the career and works of Jean de Montluçon is the *Marriage of the Virgin* miniature in the so-called Chappes Hours, the only genuinely attested work by Jean de Montluçon as it includes his signature.²⁷ The words 'Iohannes de Montelucio me pinxit' ('Jean de Montluçon painted me') are inscribed on the chasuble worn by the high priest. More miniatures within this manuscript and in other manuscripts can be attributed to the artist by stylistic comparisons to this signed miniature, apparently painted towards the end of his career around 1490.²⁸

The identification of the Bouer Master with Jean de Montluçon appears to be supported first by the borders of the five superior miniatures in the Bouer Hours. They have coloured marble columns with bases and capitals in gold, and the border for the miniature of St John

²⁶ See Jean-Yves Ribault, 'Le retable des Antonites de Chambéry et l'atelier de Jean et Jacquelin de Montluçon, peintres de Bourges' in *Savoie et région alpine. Actes du 116e Congrès international de sociétés savants, Chambéry-Annecy, 1991* (Paris, 1994), pp. 285–301; Nicole Reynaud, 'Jean et Jacquelin de Montluçon et leur entourage' in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), pp. 338–42; Frédéric Elsig, *Painting in France in the 15th Century* (Milan: Five Continents Editions, 2004), pp. 58–59.

²⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque l'Arsenal, MS 438, fol. 74r.

²⁸ Nicole Reynaud in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, pp. 339–40.

has a particularly distinctive feature of an arch resembling a gilt branch which is held by putti. The same decorative border can be found around the *Annunciation to the Virgin* miniature in the so-called Hours of Louis d'Orleans, the completion of which has been attributed to Jean de Montluçon.²⁹ However, no convincing case has yet been made to show that the border was necessarily invented or even painted by Montluçon. Moreover, an attribution based on decorative elements such as a border, easily copied from one manuscript to another, is potentially unreliable.

Secondly, the case for Jean de Montluçon as the Master of the Bouer Hours seems to be supported by the close resemblance of St Joseph's facial features in the signed miniature with those of St Mark in the Bouer Hours. They both have white hair and beards, bald crowns, and round faces, although of slightly different shapes, and similar kindly expressions. Their eyebrows, as well as their wrinkle lines, in the corner of the eye, on the forehead and neck, appear formed with similar brush strokes, while the saints also share the gentle downward gaze from between the rounded upper and lower eyelids. Yet the presumed Jean de Montluçon of the signed miniature characterizes the face of his saint with more confidence, with stronger black outlines and more emphasized features.

The Bouer miniatures, devoid of the harshness and sense of caricature that appear to distinguish Montluçon's style, might represent his early, less mature style. Or they could have been painted by a different artist who perhaps copied the facial type of Joseph from the Chappes Hours or another manuscript, model book or sketch. The separation between these seemingly two different hands manifests itself also in the appearance of the Virgin, painted by the superior hand in the Bouer Hours with sharper and more delicate features than by Montluçon in the Chappes Hours.³⁰ Also the atmospheric quality created by the intricate and complex colouring and highlighting in the *Betrayal* miniature in the Bouer Hours appears to be lacking in the surviving works attributed to Jean de Montluçon, and indeed in works by any of his contemporaries in Bourges. The manuscript might thus provide evidence of another, previously unrecognized but important artist, working closely in the entourage of Jean de Montluçon.

The question of the second artist in the Bouer Hours is no simpler. The rest of the miniatures are stylistically closest to manuscripts attributed to the so-called Master of Morgan M.271, an apparent imitator of the illuminator who has been named the Master of Spencer 6.³¹ In addition to the eponymous manuscript in the Pierpoint Morgan Library, to this Master can be attributed another similar book of hours in a private collection, as well as some further manuscripts and fragments.³² Judging by the number of miniatures that survive in the style

²⁹ St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.v.I.126, fol. 12r. See François Avril in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, p. 400. I am grateful to François Avril for bringing this to my attention.

³⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque l'Arsenal, MS 438, fol. 74r.

³¹ The former is named after New York, Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.271 and the latter after New York, New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, MS 6. See John Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library; London: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 73–74, nos 95, 95A; Nicole Reynaud, 'Le Maître de Spencer 6' in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, pp. 343–45; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (New York: New York Public Library; London: Harvey Miller, 2005), pp. 278–82, no. 62; Sotheby's, London, 7 Dec. 2004, lot 47, illus.; François Avril, Maxence Hermant, Françoise Bibolet, *Très Riches Heures de Champagne: L'Enluminure en Champagne à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Hazan, 2007), p. 186.

³² This book of hours was offered for sale in 1985, 1987, and most recently in 2004, but remains in a private

of the Spencer Master, so far in over thirty manuscripts, fragments and incunabula executed for patrons in Bourges, Troyes, Tours, and Paris, he appears to have been the most active illuminator in Bourges around 1500. The Spencer Master may perhaps be identifiable with one Laurent Boiron, an illuminator and bookseller documented in the city between 1479 and 1511.³³

In the Bouer Hours the female figures have the same bulging foreheads as those painted by the Morgan and Spencer Masters. The figures are generally more proportioned than the tall and looming characters painted by the Spencer Master, but also less stout and short as some of those painted by the Morgan Master. The bright red-orange often found in the palette of the Spencer Master is not included in the Bouer Hours, which instead has a more muted tone, as in Morgan M.271, probably a red lake rather than vermilion. Yet this could indicate a matter of pigment availability to the artist at a given time and not necessarily a different artist.

Comparison of the *Baptism of Christ* miniature in the Bouer Hours with the same attributed to the Spencer Master in a copy of Jean Chapuis's *Les sept articles de la foi* shows an identical composition in the two manuscripts.³⁴ The Spencer Master carefully depicts each muscle and every detail on the body of Christ. He picks out the irises in Christ's eyes with touches of paint, creating an arresting gaze towards the viewer, but portrays the body with an unnaturally high and thin waist. Although in less pronounced detail, the artist of the Bouer Hours displays his seemingly better understanding of anatomy on the body of Christ, as well as on the bodies of the nude Gemini couple and the centaur archer representing Sagittarius in the calendar, the latter two having near-identical equivalents in books of hours attributed to the Morgan Master.³⁵ The female figure of Gemini is depicted with long blonde hair, white skin, small breasts high on her chest, and broad hips, according to the idealized female nude figure type of fifteenth-century northern Europe, while at the same time appearing relatively naturalistic (figure 1). The male figure of Gemini, as well as the human-half of the centaur, appear yet more realistic with tanned skin, beard and neck-length hair in the fashion of the end of the century. The shadows and contours of these small nude figures in the calendar are created by cross-hatching in thin strokes of black ink or paint, displaying strong skill in design and drawing.

It seems likely that the secondary illuminator of the Bouer Hours was the artist who has been named as the Master of Morgan M.271 but whose identity remains anonymous. On the one hand, a possibility presents itself that the manuscripts attributed to this Master represent early work of the Spencer Master. The variations within the manuscripts might be explained by developments in his style and compositions. On the other hand, the differences in style within works previously attributed to the Spencer Master could be seen as representing the work of two different artists, thus the Morgan and Spencer Masters, most probably working closely together. The fact that the manuscripts attributed to the Morgan Master, one internally dated to 1488, appear to predate works that have been attributed to the Spencer Master, generally

collection. Drouot, Paris, 29 mars 1985, no. 29, illus.; Sotheby's, London, 1 Dec. 1987, lot 67, illus.; Sotheby's, London, 7 Dec. 2004, lot 47, illus. Reconstructing the works and careers of this artist and the so-called Master of Spencer 6 forms a part of my forthcoming doctoral dissertation at the University of Edinburgh.

³³ Arch. munic. Bourges, CC 4.

³⁴ London, British Library, MS Egerton 940, fol. 4r.

³⁵ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.271, fols 5r, 11r; Sotheby's, London, 7 Dec. 2004, lot 47, fols 5v, 11v.

datable towards 1500, would at least challenge the previously presumed chronology that it was the Morgan Master who followed the style of the Spencer Master.³⁶

Both artists of the Bouer Hours show evident relation to the work of Jean Colombe. Active from c. 1463 to c. 1493, Colombe led an extremely prolific studio in Bourges.³⁷ Colombe's influence on the secondary illuminator in the Bouer Hours is evident, for instance, in his use of Colombe's economic simplification method of representing crowds of people from an overhead perspective depicting only the tops of heads (fols 19r, 66v, 69r, 73r). He appears also to have adopted Colombe's devices of image-on-image commentary by introducing related sculptural figures on framing columns and adding connected scenes as bas-relief sculpture in the interior wall decoration.

Jean de Montluçon knew Jean Colombe well. They lived just thirty metres from each other and it is not surprising to find that on occasions they collaborated.³⁸ Around 1474–75 Montluçon appears to have assisted Colombe in illuminating some miniatures in the copy of *Passages d'Outremer* commissioned by Louis de Laval.³⁹ Ten years later when Colombe completed the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* for Charles I, duc de Savoie, in the third and final campaign around 1485, Jean de Montluçon may have worked as one of his assistants.⁴⁰

The Bouer Hours includes various clues to its artists' knowledge of the *Très Riches Heures*. The miniature of the *Betrayal of Christ* (figure 2) incorporates a detail revealing the main artist's precise knowledge of the *Ego sum* composition by the Limbourg brothers.⁴¹ This direct quotation presents Malchus's arm and the lantern lying on the ground exactly in the same position in the left foreground corner of the Bouer *Betrayal* miniature as they are found in the *Ego sum* miniature in the *Très Riches Heures*. First, it follows that the Bouer Hours postdates 1485 and Colombe's commission to complete the *Très Riches Heures*. Secondly, the minute preciseness of the quotation suggests that the artist was involved in the Colombe commission and saw the manuscript at first-hand rather than copied it from a model book.⁴²

Moreover, the calendar cycle in the Bouer Hours has close echoes to the *Très Riches Heures*, but whether the second illuminator who painted these had seen the celebrated manuscript himself or painted the scenes over his Master's designs remains uncertain. These

³⁶ Nicole Reynaud in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, p. 343. For the inscribed date, see Sotheby's, London, 7 Dec. 2004, lot 47, illus.

³⁷ The life of Jean Colombe is well documented thanks to the research of Jean-Yves Ribault (continuing earlier research by Paul Chenu, Alfred Gandilhon and Maurice de Laugardière). See Jean-Yves Ribault, 'Les Colombe, une famille d'artistes à Bourges au XVe siècle' in *Michel Colombe et son temps. Actes du 124e Congrès des Sociétés historiques et Scientifiques. Section Histoire de l'Art et Archéologie, Nantes, 19–26 avril 1999* (Paris: Le Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2001), pp. 13–26. See also Claude Schaefer, 'Œuvres du début de la carrière de l'enlumineur Jean Colombe', *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire du Berry*, 35 (1973), 45–57 (p. 45).

³⁸ Ribault, 'Le retable des Antonites de Chambéry et l'atelier de Jean et Jacquelin de Montluçon, peintres de Bourges', p. 292.

³⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr. 5594. See François Avril in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, p. 332.

⁴⁰ Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65. The borders of Jean Colombe's full-page miniatures on fols 82r, 95r, 100v, 122v, 126r, 133v, 184r, 201r, have the same coloured marble columns decorated in gold *rincaux* and the gilt branches as found in the Bouer Hours; they may have been painted in both manuscripts by Jean de Montluçon. For the most recent scholarship on this manuscript see the commentary volume accompanying the facsimile, *Les Très Riches Heures del duca di Berry*, ed. by Patricia Stirnemann and Inès Villela-Petit (Modèle: Panini, 2011).

⁴¹ Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 142r. I am grateful to Jean-Yves Ribault for this observation.

⁴² This and other iconographic borrowings from the Limbourg part, particularly from the calendar, in the Bouer Hours and other Bourges manuscripts of the period, also indicate that Jean Colombe and his assistants must have seen the *Très Riches Heures* in its complete state and not only the unfinished quires when they completed the illumination of the manuscript.

compositions are also closely shared with calendar cycles painted by the Morgan and Spencer Masters. For instance, an identical composition of the October scene of tilling and sowing in the Bouer Hours, clearly inspired by the Limbourg composition in the *Très Riches Heures*, can be found in a book of hours now in Paris attributed to the Spencer Master, with slightly different variations found in two books of hours attributed to the Morgan Master.⁴³ Other occupations of the months and zodiacal signs show similar matching cycles.

The finest of the calendar scenes in the Bouer Hours is that of February which shows two peasants shovelling snow in a wintry landscape (figure 5). Although landscapes with snow had represented the winter season in manuscripts before, it appears that a pictorial tradition of a snowy February developed particularly in Bourges manuscripts inspired by this scene in the *Très Riches Heures*.⁴⁴ A snowy landscape with a cart by a wattle fence, echoing both the Limbourg and the Bouer Hours scenes, was painted by the Morgan Master on the background of Aquarius at January in the book of hours of 1488.⁴⁵ This manuscript today lacks its leaf for February which no doubt contained another magnificent snowy landscape.

Similarities can be observed between the snowy February scene in the Bouer Hours and one possibly attributable to Jean de Montluçon that is found in the calendar of a Franciscan missal now in Lyon.⁴⁶ Both are lively compositions. While the Lyon manuscript shows three peasants, the Bouer Hours has two. The peasants are dressed in tunics, stockings, and hats, shovelling paths into the snow on the foregrounds of the images. Rising behind the peasants in the Lyon manuscript is a busy wintry townscape of timber-framed houses with long chimneys and fenced-off yards occupied by wooden carts and bare trees, identical to the single house depicted in the Bouer Hours.⁴⁷ The palettes of the two February scenes are similar, but the tones of the Lyon manuscript are more subdued and muted, and its figures, depicted with more banality, have rough angular faces with large noses half-covered under the rims of their hats and notably hunched bodies; their bent posture can be interpreted as a means of diminishing and mocking peasants, the lowest of the three orders of medieval society.⁴⁸ In the Bouer Hours the artist has depicted a more romantic and idealistic image of peasantry: the sky has a lighter shade of blue, the peasants are clothed in vibrant blue and warm brown, and clean

⁴³ Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 438, fol. 10r; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.271, fol. 10r and Sotheby's, London, 7 Dec. 2004, lot 47, fol. 10r.

⁴⁴ Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 2v. The illuminator Évrard d'Espinques from Ahun, who is documented as having made trips to Bourges in 1480, also depicted a snowy landscape in a manuscript of Barthélemy l'Anglais's *Livre des propriétés des choses* that he completed the same year, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS fr. 9140, fol. 206r. See Nicole Reynaud in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, p. 167. A similar winter hunting scene can be found on the calendar page for February in a book of hours in the Use of either Tours or Bourges from around 1500: Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 2283, fol. 2r. Here a narrow bas-de-page vignette depicts a hunter in half-portrait on the foreground with his crossbow, bolt, and quiver, while his dogs lead the way into the snowy landscape searching for a sniff of the rabbit.

⁴⁵ Sotheby's, London, 7 Dec. 2004, lot 47, fol. 1v.

⁴⁶ Bibliothèque municipale, MS 514, fol. 1v. This manuscript is no. 63 in Françoise Cotton, 'Les manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque de Lyon', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 65 (1965), pp. 265–320; no. 27 in *Chefs-d'œuvre des peintres-enlumineurs de Jean de Berry et de l'École de Bourges* (Bourges: Musée de Bourges, 1951); and no. 328 in *Les manuscrits à peintures en France du XIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1955). For Jean de Montluçon's possible participation in the execution of the calendar scenes in this manuscript otherwise attributable to Jean Colombe, see Nicole Reynaud in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520*, p. 339.

⁴⁷ These characteristics are recognizable in the fifteenth-century houses that survive in Bourges today, rebuilt after the fire of Madeleine in 1487.

⁴⁸ For the functions of negative imagery of peasantry in medieval calendar cycles, see Jonathan Alexander, 'Labeur and paresse: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor', *The Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), 436–52.

white stockings, and the young peasant facing the viewer has a pleasant rounded face with a solemn expression.

The subject choices for the full-page miniatures in the Bouer Hours are conventional for fifteenth-century French books of hours. The *Coronation of the Virgin* at Compline in the Hours of the Virgin and *Pentecost* at the beginning of the Hours of the Holy Spirit are examples of traditional and transitional compositions in the manuscript. The *Coronation* shows the Virgin crowned as the Queen of Heaven with Christ seated by her side, accompanied only by the crowds of Cherubim and Seraphim in red and blue. The theological idea for the *Coronation of the Virgin* originated from the marriage of Christ and Ecclesia. By the early fifteenth century the iconographical subject of the Crowned Virgin Mary accompanied by her Son had developed to become Trinity-orientated as God the Father and the Holy Spirit were added to the scheme. But the presence of Christ alone in the Bouer *Coronation* shows a return to the original idea that it was the Son who greeted Mary. The evidence of cutting down the excesses, the later additions of the two other persons from this subject, places this miniature within the context of pre-Reformation activities of the Church. Overall there appears to be a preference for the traditional rather than the more modern version of the *Coronation* in Bourges.

The Hours of the Holy Spirit are introduced by the standard accompanying miniature of *Pentecost* depicting the fiftieth day after Christ's Resurrection on which the Holy Spirit descended upon the apostles assembled together in a house (figure 6). Using streaks of gold flames, which in places resemble small dragon heads, the present artist has represented 'parted tongues as it were of fire' (Acts 2. 3) that rested upon the apostles and gave them the ability to speak other languages, or tongues. The Virgin Mary, who was not actually present at the event according to the Bible, has been included in images of Pentecost gradually since the eleventh century and she is typically placed in the centre of the group.⁴⁹ Here she is shown off-centre to the right, standing behind a prie-dieu with the apostles kneeling behind her, except for John who is singled out, standing beside her immediately below the window from which the Dove of the Holy Spirit descends. According to the Bible, John was the only apostle present at the Crucifixion, but there is no biblical justification for his being singled out from the other apostles in representations of Pentecost. Before the composition centralizing the Virgin Mary developed in the *Pentecost* iconography, the preference was to give this principal place to either Peter, referring to the foundation of the Church, or to Peter and Paul together, as representatives of the universal Church, or rarely to John and Peter together.⁵⁰

Surprisingly no-one appears to have studied this new iconographic scheme emphasizing St John, which seems to develop in the second half of the fifteenth century. A further development from the one in the Bouer Hours placed the Virgin and John in the forefront of the image, seen in profile on each side of a small prie-dieu, while the apostles gather around the two principal figures.⁵¹ Why was John singled out from the other apostles? Is the composition emphasizing

⁴⁹ For Pentecost iconography, see Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 8 vols (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1966–1991), 4.1, Die Kirche, pp. 11–36; see also Claudine A. Chavannes-Mazel, 'Paradise and Pentecost', in *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication. Papers from the Third Utrecht Symposium on Medieval Literacy, Utrecht, 7–9 December 2000*, ed. by Mariëlle Hageman and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 121–60.

⁵⁰ Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4.1, pp. 23–24.

⁵¹ This composition can be found in various late fifteenth-century French books of hours, including at least one in the Use of Bourges (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 43), and one in the Use of Tours which shows John lifting his hand towards the Holy Dove (Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 158).

a link between St John and the Church, since the Virgin represents Ecclesia at *Pentecost*? The link may be inspired by the prayer *O interemerata*, addressed to both the Virgin and to St John, the two principal witnesses to the Crucifixion. The importance of John above the other apostles derives in part from the alleged last words of Christ dying on the Cross, asking John to take care of his mother.⁵² It is likely that a fifteenth-century reader would have linked this prayer in their book of hours to interpreting the image of *Pentecost*.

What was the initial cause for the change in the composition? It is plausible that the first *Pentecost* arrangement emphasizing St John carried a double meaning. In addition to representing the importance of the apostle John to the Virgin Mary following her son's death, the composition may have drawn attention to John as a patron saint. The placement of St John in the Bouer Hours under the window from which the Dove descends, presents a more subtle emphasis than the arrangement placing John alone with the Virgin at the forefront of the image; thus the Bouer Hours composition may represent an early, intermediary stage in the development. It is possible that the placement of John was intended to make a link with the patron of the manuscript, although this is unlikely since the only prominent Jean Bouer at the end of the fifteenth century, the one who was arrested on the order of Louis XI for his involvement in the riot of 1474 about a certain tax, died in 1481 and thus before the manuscript appears to have been made.⁵³ Another suggestion could be that the composition was devised by an artist named Jean to emphasize himself. Jean Colombe may have invented the composition in another manuscript, from which the present artist could have copied it without necessarily realizing its meaning. By placing the Dove (Fr. *colombe*) above St Jean's head, Colombe would have created a visual signature in his original miniature.⁵⁴

The miniature of *Pentecost* holds within itself another image. The inclusion of biblical events in the decoration of architectural interiors in bas-relief is a characteristic feature in the work of Jean Colombe and his followers in Bourges. In the Bouer Hours, above the apostles' heads, on the wall behind, there is a scene with two figures: a young man or woman with long hair kneeling in prayer, while an older man, standing at their side, is holding out his right arm. The composition appears to represent neither of the events most commonly linked with Pentecost: the Baptism or the Ascension.⁵⁵ Nor is an event of anointing, an Old Testament type of Pentecost, represented.⁵⁶ The figures are not facing each other in the composition, nor is any act of pouring represented. An intriguing possibility is provided by the subject of *Noli me tangere*, Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene after his Resurrection, when Christ asks her with these words not to touch him as he is yet to ascend to the father (John 20. 14–18).⁵⁷ But the inclusion of this subject in *Pentecost* appears at first out of place.

⁵² This is conveyed in the prayer as follows: 'Vos enim estis illi duo, in quibus unigenitus Dei filius ob sincerissimae virginitatis meritum, dilectionis suae confirmavit privilegium in cruce pendens, uni vestrum ita dicens: Mulier ecce filius tuus: deinde ad alium: Ecce mater tua.'

⁵³ For the incident of 1474, see Collas, *L'Ascension sociale des notables urbains*, p. 75.

⁵⁴ For Colombe's use of the mottos OMNIS SPIRITUS LAUDET DOMINUM and OMNIS SPIRITUS in his miniatures as 'signatures' (making the link with the significance of his name and the symbol of the Holy Spirit), see Claude Schaefer, *Jean Fouquet: an der Schwelle zur Renaissance* (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1994), p. 283.

⁵⁵ Baptism is associated with Pentecost due to the period between Easter and Pentecost being reserved for baptism in the early Church, and Ascension because it was through Pentecost that Christ's promise at Ascension to send the Holy Spirit to the apostles was fulfilled.

⁵⁶ Anointing is typologically linked with Pentecost as it also involves the descent of the Holy Spirit and the anointing oil stands as a parallel for the tongues of fire.

⁵⁷ I am grateful to John Lowden for suggesting this subject on compositional grounds.

It might be that in decorating the room occupied by the apostles the artist was not inspired by the main subject of the miniature, but by the murals commissioned by the canons Jean and Martin du Breuil for the chapel of St John the Baptist in Bourges Cathedral. These wall paintings represent on one side of the chapel a *Crucifixion*, and on the other, a *Noli me tangere*. The stances of the two figures and the positions of Christ's arms are identical in the *Noli me tangere* mural and the detail in the Bouer Hours. It is very likely that the monumental wall painting, completed around 1475, and with its life-size figures, inspired the local artistic production that followed.⁵⁸ Similarly to miniatures which by the inclusion of topographical portraiture place biblical events in recognizable locations — a characteristic feature of Bourges manuscripts — the artist here may have wished to situate the miraculous event of Pentecost in the locally admired private chapel.⁵⁹

Italianate motifs such as putti were added regularly and often superficially onto border decoration in Bourges illumination in the second half of the fifteenth century by the Montluçon workshop and others. The columns of the *St John on Patmos* miniature in the Bouer Hours are borne by lions, and the placement of the lions here may be significant. The motif appears to echo Italian ecclesiastical architecture where lions were placed to guard the entrances of churches from sin and evil due to their supposed extraordinary watchful qualities and ability to sleep with their eyes open, as found, for instance, in the Basilica di San Zeno in Verona. Perhaps by placing the lions to bear the columns at the very beginning of the manuscript, around the first full-page miniature, the intention was to create a parallel between the entrances to a church and a personal prayer book. The miniatures in devotional manuscripts mirror the images one could be surrounded by in a church, and when entering a book of hours through columns borne by watchful lions as one might enter a church, the pictorial device might be interpreted as strengthening the devotional experience of using a private prayer book as a portable chapel or church.

The frame columns in the Bouer Hours support prophets, angels, shepherds, apostles and soldiers, which each contribute to the iconographic scheme of the miniature. The nude Italianate figures of Adam and Eve, placed on the columns that frame the *Annunciation to the Virgin* at Matins, reveal another layer of meaning, a parallel between the Old and New Testament encouraging the viewer to contemplate the typological interpretation of the Virgin as the new Eve. The fifteenth-century viewer was likely to be familiar with the use of typology in art due to the increasing popularity of works such as the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and *Biblia pauperum*. Sometimes the column figures add humour to the solemn subject of the miniature, yet keeping to the overall pictorial programme and meaning, never departing or distracting from it. The scene of the *Flight into Egypt* at Vespers is flanked by columns supporting two of Herod's soldiers gesturing in different directions, while the miniature itself depicts the Holy Family escaping. David's victory over Goliath at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms is watched from the columns by two soldiers, one punching the air in the excitement of the combat, while the other stands with his arms folded over his chest appearing utterly bored.

⁵⁸ For the rediscovery of the murals in 1990 and their dating, see Jean-Louis Aurat, 'Le "Christ en Croix" de la Cathédral de Bourges', *Revue de l'Art*, 1 (1993), 60–61. See also Jean-Yves Ribault, 'Note sur le peintre Hayne de Vulcob et sa famille', *Cahiers d'Archéologie & d'Histoire du Berry*, 152 (2002), 45–48 (p. 48).

⁵⁹ It is intriguing to note that the Spencer Master appears to have included a detail showing an identical kneeling figure as in the Bouer Hours detail on the collar of one of his figures (London, British Library, Egerton 940, fol. 2v).

Another interesting pictorial aspect of this manuscript is the use of orientalizing features in the dress. Sts Elizabeth and Joseph wear turbans traceable to Abbasid dress from Baghdad that was later adopted by the Egyptian Mamluks (fols 41r and 60v), and St Peter and the young David hold Ottoman-style sabres with wide curved blades and curved guards, rather than more traditional long swords with straight blades (fols 19r and 73r).⁶⁰ Both artists in the Bouer Hours appear to introduce these small eastern details of headdresses and artefacts without any cohesive aim to show that the events take place somewhere particular. The influences are mingled with the traditional, as the figures are dressed in standard biblical robes rather than in kaftans. Exotic details are not used to suggest otherness either, as the three 'Kings of the East' in the *Adoration of the Magi* miniature show no evidence of their origin by dress or appearance. The issue of sources is too complex to tackle here, but it can be noted that in addition to copying such influences from earlier manuscripts, such as the *Très Riches Heures*, fifteenth-century Bourges artists could have seen oriental commodities first-hand. Jacques Cœur of Bourges had applied his financial genius to transforming the scale of the French Levantine trade in the 1440s, and merchants continued to supply the main ports of southern France with goods imported from Syria and Egypt throughout the century.⁶¹

It can be concluded that this previously unstudied book of hours in Leeds provides important evidence for the work of one very talented and another thoroughly interesting artist. The manuscript displays proficiency in painting realistic facial features and expressions that portray emotion convincingly. Colour, gold highlighting, and hatching techniques are used skilfully to evoke effects of light, and the miniatures display a good understanding of the principles of linear perspective and spatial recession in their interiors and landscapes. Forthcoming research may well resolve with more certainty the identities of the artists responsible for this manuscript and the question for which member of the Bouer family the manuscript was made or personalized; however, whatever patronage may have led to its creation, the Bouer Hours is an important survival representing the richness and complexity that characterizes manuscript illumination in Bourges at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance.⁶²

⁶⁰ Similar details of dress can be seen, for example, in the book of hours painted by the Spencer Master around 1508 for Guillaume de Seigne and his wife Claudine Fortier (London, British Library, MS Harley 2969). On the subject of orientalizing features, see Joyce Kubiski, 'Orientalizing in Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century French Manuscript Painting (*Cité des Dames* Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master)', *Gesta*, 40 (2001), 161–80. I discuss sources and the meaning of orientalizing motifs in late fifteenth-century French manuscript painting in a forthcoming article.

⁶¹ For a good background to this subject, see Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ; Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1983).

⁶² My latest findings on the careers and works of Jean de Montluçon, the Master of Morgan M.271 and the Master of Spencer 6, presented at the Fifty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, will be further developed in my forthcoming doctoral dissertation for the University of Edinburgh.

APPENDIX 1

Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection MS 8

Book of Hours, Latin (calendar and some rubrics in French)

Material: Parchment, 141 fols, 188 x 125 mm.

Preparation of page: pinholes in outer margins, ruling in red ink, written space 100 x 60 mm., one col., 20 lines.

Script: Bâtarde, brown ink.

Decoration:

Initials: 2- and 1-line initials alternating in brown and blue, decorated in gold.

Line-endings: alternating in brown and blue, decorated in gold.

Borders: only on the outer margin of the first of each calendar page: curling acanthus leaves, thistles, strawberries, bell flowers, pansies, and other flowers.

Miniatures: 20 full-page miniatures, 20 small miniatures with half-length compositions, 24 calendar images; see: <http://ludos.leeds.ac.uk/collection/medmss>

Binding: blue velvet and gilt edges, nineteenth-century.

Provenance:

1. Made most probably in Bourges between 1485 and 1494 for the Bouer family of Bourges, whose arms are on fol. 5r: vert a cross argent between 4 oxheads or.
2. In the sixteenth century belonged to one Marie de Cumières, who was probably a nun. Her inscription 'Seur Marie de cumieres bonne fille' is on fol. 1r.
3. In the collection of the well-known bibliophile J. B. D. Guyon de Sardièrre (d. 1759) in the eighteenth century, whose inscriptions are on fols 1r and 140v.
4. Lord Brotherton acquired the manuscript from the London bookseller Charles James Sawyer in the 1920s.

Composition:

Quire	Folios	Text	Miniatures (f=full page)
1 ⁶	1–6	fols 1r–12v Calendar	fol. 1r January: Aquarius; Feasting fol. 2r February: Pisces; Shovelling snow fol. 3r March: Aries; Pruning fol. 4r April: Taurus; Making flower wreaths fol. 5r May: Gemini; Riding fol. 6r June: Cancer; Mowing
2 ⁶	7–12	cont. Calendar	fol. 7r July: Leo; Binding sheaves and reaping fol. 8r August: Virgo; Threshing fol. 9r September: Libra; Wine pressing fol. 10r October: Scorpio; Tilling and sowing fol. 11r November: Sagittarius; Knocking acorns for pigs fol. 12r December: Capricorn; Killing a pig

The Bouer Hours in Leeds University Library

3 ⁸	13–20	fols 13r–18v Gospel extracts fols 18v–27r Passion extract from John	fol. 13r St John on Patmos (f) fol. 14v St Luke painting a portrait of the Virgin (f) fol. 16r St Matthew adding ink to his pen (f) fol. 17v St Mark sharpening his pen (f) fol. 19r Betrayal of Christ (f)
4 ⁸	21–28	<i>cont.</i> Passion extract from John fols 27r–28v Prayer before and after the Corpus Christi	
5 ⁸	29–36	fols 29r–66v Hours of the Virgin: Matins	fol. 29r Annunciation to the Virgin (f)
6 ⁸	37–44	Lauds	fol. 41r Visitation (f)
7 ⁸	45–52	Prime Terce	fol. 48v Nativity (f) fol. 52v Annunciation to the Shepherds (f)
8 ⁸	53–60	Sext None Vespers	fol. 55v Adoration of the Magi (f) fol. 58r Presentation in the Temple (f) fol. 60v Flight into Egypt (f)
9 ⁸	61–68	Compline fols 66r–68v Hours of the Cross	fol. 63r Coronation of the Virgin (f) fol. 66v Christ Carrying the Cross (f)
10 ⁴	69–72	fols 68v–71r Hours of the Holy Spirit fols 71v–72v blank	fol. 69r Pentecost (f)
11 ⁸	73–80	fols 73r–81r Penitential Psalms	fol. 73r David and Goliath (f)
12 ⁸	81–88	fols 81r–84r Litany fol. 84v blank fols 85r–106r Office of the Dead	fol. 85r Three Living and Three Dead (f)
13 ⁸	89–96	<i>cont.</i> Office of the Dead	
14 ⁸	97–104	<i>cont.</i> Office of the Dead	
15 ⁴	105–108	<i>cont.</i> Office of the Dead fols 106r–107r Prayer <i>Pro defunctis</i> fols 107v–108v blank	

16 ⁸	109–116	<p>fols 109r–111r Suffrages to the Holy Trinity</p> <p>fols 111r–112r <i>De sancta facie</i> fols 112r–115v <i>Obsecro te</i> fols 115v–118v <i>O intemerata</i></p>	<p>fol. 109r Baptism of Christ (f) fol. 109v God the Father fol. 110r Christ fol. 110v Holy Spirit fol. 111r St Veronica with her Veil fol. 112v Virgin and Child attended by the angels (f) fol. 115v Virgin and Child</p>
17 ⁸	117–124	<p><i>cont. O intemerata</i> fols 118v–120r <i>Stabat mater</i> fol. 120r–v <i>Salutacio marie virginis</i> fol. 120v <i>Ave regina celorum</i> fols 120v–125r <i>Missus est gabriel angelus</i></p>	<p>fol. 118v Pietà</p> <p>fol. 121r Annunciation</p>
19 ⁸	125–132	<p>fols 125r–126v Prayers for various occasions fols 126v–128r Prayers for the Mass fols 128v–138v Suffrages</p>	<p>fol. 128v St Michael fol. 129r St John the Baptist; fol. 129r St John the Apostle fol. 129v Sts Peter and Paul fol. 130r St James fol. 131r St Stephen fol. 131v St Christopher fol. 132v St Sebastian</p>
20 ⁸ +1	133–141	<p><i>cont. Suffrages</i></p> <p>fols 139r–140v The Seven Oes of St Gregory</p>	<p>fol. 133v St Nicholas fol. 134r St Claudius fol. 134r St Anthony fol. 135v St Anne fol. 136r St Mary Magdalene fol. 136v St Katherine fol. 137r St Margaret fol. 137v St Barbara fol. 138r St Apollonia fol. 139r Vision of Pope Gregory (f)</p>

Liturgical evidence:

Calendar: French, rather empty with several ferial days, but the Bourges saints emphasized

in gold are St Guillaume (10 Jan.), archbishop of Bourges, and St Ursinus (29 Dec.), the first bishop of Bourges from the third century. Other saints' days in gold are for Sts James and Philip, John, Barnabas, Peter, Lawrence, Francis of Assisi, Denis, Stephen, and Martin of Tours.

Hours of the Virgin: Use of Bourges (Prime antiphon *O admirabile* and capitulum *Ad initio*; None antiphon *Germinavit*; no None capitulum).

APPENDIX 2

The Bouer Family Genealogy

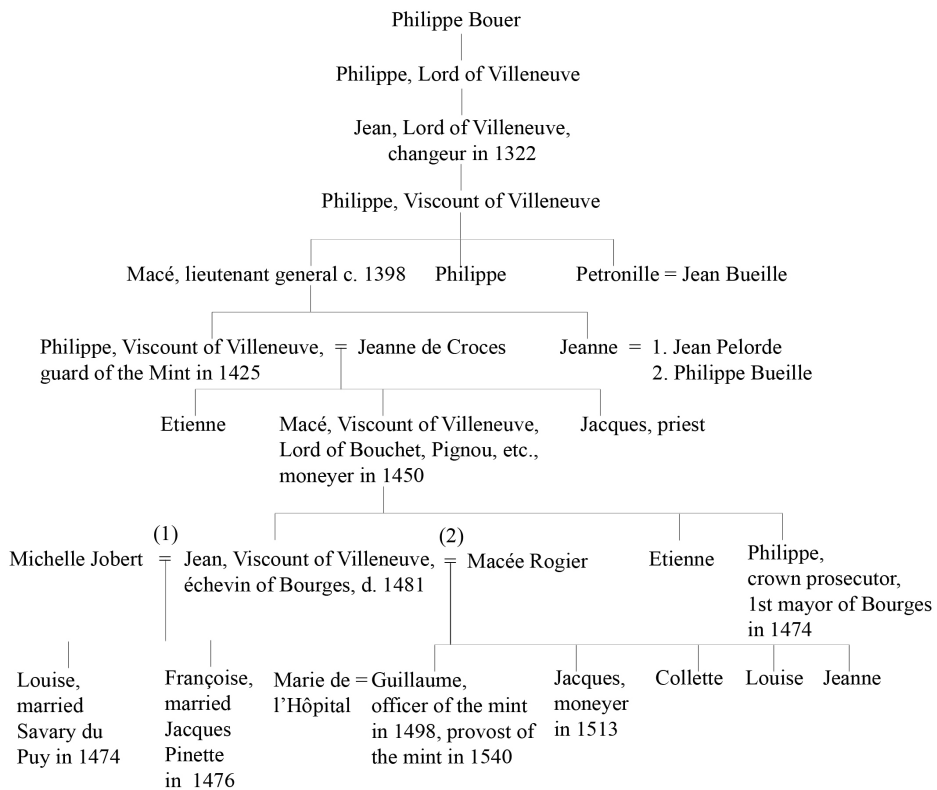




Figure 1: Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8, f. 5r (detail: Gemini holding the coat of arms of the Bouer family).



Figure 2: Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8, f. 19r (the Betrayal of Christ).



Figure 3: Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8, f. 14v (St Luke painting a portrait of the Virgin).



Figure 4a: Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8, f. 14v (micrograph detail: Luke).



Figure 4b: Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8, f. 14v (micrograph detail: Mary).



Figure 5: Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8, f. 2r (calendar: February, detail).



Figure 6: Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS 8, f. 69r (Pentecost).